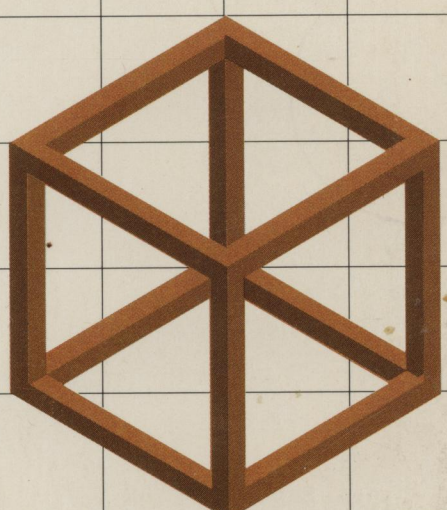
DIALOGUE



DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT *is an independent quarterly established to express Mormon culture and to examine the relevance of religion to secular life. It is edited by Latter-day Saints who wish to bring their faith into dialogue with the larger stream of Christian thought and with human experience as a whole and to foster artistic and scholarly achievement based on their cultural heritage. The journal encourages a variety of viewpoints; although every effort is made to ensure accurate scholarship and responsible judgment, the views expressed are those of the individual authors and are not necessarily those of the Mormon Church or of the editors.*

DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT, Vol. 16, no. 1, Spring 1983

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DIALOGUE welcomes articles, essays, poetry, fiction, selections for Notes and Comments, and art. Manuscripts must be sent in quadruplicate, accompanied by return postage, and should be prepared according to the *Chicago Manual of Style* including doublespacing all block quotations and notes. Send manuscripts to DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT, 202 West 300 North, Salt Lake City, 84103.

A CALL FOR PAPERS:

LATTER-DAY SAINTS IN WAR AND PEACE

Given the mounting worldwide concern about the rising intensity of the nuclear arms race and the increasing number of Latter-day Saints who live in countries beset by war or civil war, it seems appropriate that we again examine our history and theology in search of principles to guide our response to violence and our stance on militarism. In this issue of DIALOGUE we open the discussion with an essay by Edwin Brown Firmage. A professor of international law at the University of Utah, Firmage traces the evolution of Judeo-Christian teachings regarding force and war, including the admonitions of Mormon leaders from Joseph Smith and Brigham Young to J. Reuben Clark and Spencer W. Kimball. We believe his interpretations are provocative; we hope they will stimulate other thoughtful Latter-day Saints to write about the dilemmas posed by violence and war, and their struggles to reconcile Christian doctrine and national defense.

We plan a special DIALOGUE issue on Latter-day Saints in war and peace in 1984. We will welcome historical and theological manuscripts and personal essays on this general topic. These articles should be submitted no later than 31 December 1983, and will be eligible for consideration for the DIALOGUE-Silver Foundation awards for outstanding articles. This competition is announced elsewhere in this issue.

LKN
LJN

LETTERS

From a Born-Again Easterner

As a recent "born-again" Easterner I was saddened to see DIALOGUE move west to the tops of the mountains. It's somewhat ironic to note your westward trek at a time when statistics show that LDS Church population is shifting eastward.

Notwithstanding the pangs of nostalgia over your shift in base of operations and new mailing address, I am pleased that DIALOGUE is still in business. I salute Mary Bradford and Lester Bush for their outstanding editorial leadership over the past six years and wish the new editorial team the best in its new challenges.

Please continue to look east for ongoing aid and inspiration as you promote outstanding art, literature and scholarship as well as leadership for other LDS and non Mormon publications.

Alf Pratte
Shippensburg, Pennsylvania

Really Readable

The summer issue of DIALOGUE calls for fan mail. I am very impressed with the letters section — really readable and free of fluff and slips.

The typographic design is also excellent. I like the larger size and uncrowded look of the letters — it goes with the new editorial approach. I think the bylines look great, and the unity of typestyle and respect for negative space give a feel and look of quality. I have heard you went through a lot to put this one together, but I have found remarkably few signs of the travail — in all it is a fine first issue by the Utah team.

Kevin G. Barnhurst
Keene, New Hampshire

A Plague upon Your Computers

I am one of those unworthies whose name was stricken from the rolls during the summer mailing. Consequently, I am without the knowledge and understanding available to so many of my peers.

I would appreciate receiving the Summer 1982 issues (vol. 15, no. 2) as soon as this can be arranged. Best wishes to you and a plague upon your computer.

Courtney J. Lassetter
Saint Louis, Missouri

Joseph Smith's Methodism?

I wish to correct a misunderstanding conveyed by a recent article in DIALOGUE. The discussion by Marvin S. Hill, "The First Vision Controversy, A Critical and Reconciliation" (Summer 1982), refers to a claim by anti-Mormons that Joseph Smith sought membership in the Methodist Church in 1828, contrary to instructions he reportedly received in the First Vision. This is incorrect. There is no evidence to support the argument that Joseph Smith ever seriously considered joining the Methodist Church.

The source for this anti-Mormon claim is the *Amboy Journal* (30 April and 11 June 1879), which contains statements by Joseph and Hiel Lewis, sons of the Rev. Nathaniel Lewis.

If we assume that these newspaper stories are reasonably accurate (they were made fifty-one years after the fact by individuals extremely hostile to the Church), then we may conclude that Joseph Smith attended the Methodist Church while residing in Harmony, Pennsylvania (between December 1827 and June 1829), and that his name was placed on the class book.

Once Joseph Lewis and Joshua McKune, members of the congregation, discovered this fact, Joseph Smith was informed that:

> a character such as he was a disgrace to the church, that he could not be a member of the church unless he broke off his sins by repentance, made public confession, renounced his fraudulent and hypocritical practices, and gave some evidence that he intended to reform and conduct himself somewhat nearer like a christian than he had done. They gave him his choice, to go before the class, and publically ask to have his name stricken from the class book, or stand a disciplinary investigation. He chose the former, and immediately withdrew his name. So his name as a member of the class was on the book only three days. (*Amboy Journal*, 30 April 1879)

Several additional items should be noted about this event:

1. At the time (perhaps June 1928) Joseph was already translating the Book of Mormon. Martin Harris had begun work as his scribe in April 1928; the first 116 pages were translated by June 1828. Lucy Smith's letter to her sister-in-law, Mary Pierce, in January 1829, makes it clear that her son had been busy translating the Book of Mormon prior to that time. This letter also refers to persecution resulting from Joseph's work with the Book of Mormon.

2. Joseph Smith's wife, Emma, came from a staunch Methodist family. Emma's parents may have encouraged her to move back to Harmony in December 1827 in hopes that they could convince her she should not have married Joseph Smith because of his religious views. Furthermore, Emma's uncle, Nathaniel Lewis, was an influential Methodist preacher in Harmony and strenuously challenged the validity of Joseph Smith's religious claims (Erwin E. Wirkus, *Judge Me Dear Reader*, Las Vegas, Nev.: Ensign Publishers, 1978, pp. 21, 24; Larry C. Porter, "Reverend George Lane — Good 'Gifts,' Much 'Grace,' and Marked 'Usefulness,'" *BYU Studies*, Spring 1969, p. 332).

3. Joseph Smith's early history mentions a partiality for Methodism and a "desire to be united with them." There is reason to believe that he may have been briefly associated with the Methodist Church as a member of the "probationary class" sometime near 1820 but withdrew from it very shortly later (Richard L. Anderson, "Circumstantial Confirmation of the First Vision Through Reminiscences," *BYU Studies*, Spring 1969, p. 384).

What all this suggests to me is that Joseph Smith simply went to a Methodist service in 1828, probably with his wife and her family, at which time his name was placed on the class roll book. There is no historical indication of inconsistency in Joseph Smith's behavior in this matter. He had his name withdrawn from the class book rather than deny his personal beliefs. In fact, even the *Amboy Journal* (30 April 1879) shows that Joseph was never serious about becoming a Methodist: "It was the general opinion that his only object in joining the Church was to bolster up his reputation, and gain sympathy and help of christians; that is, putting on the cloak of religion to serve the devil in."

If anything, this episode with the Methodist Church in Harmony only serves to further illustrate the severe persecution Joseph Smith encountered while remaining faithful to his own religious convictions. The bitter opposition to his efforts was so great that he was even prevented from attending other religious services — a fine demonstration of unchristianlike behavior on the part of the various ministers at that time.

A. Brent Merrill
Berkeley, California

Hill Responds

Thanks to A. Brent Merrill for clarifying a point in my piece on the First Vision. My comment was that in light of the absence of a divine command to join no church in the 1832 version it was no great inconsistency, as Rev. Walters has insisted, that Joseph sought to be a Methodist in

Harmony, Pennsylvania in 1828. Thus I pretty much agree with Merrill on this, that there is no historical indication of inconsistency in Joseph's behavior.

I am not sure that I agree, however, with Merrill's statement that "there is no evidence to support the argument that Joseph ever seriously considered joining the Methodist Church." There is actually quite a lot of evidence that he did so, probably as a teenager in Palmyra. Merrill himself cites some of it, including Joseph's own admission that "in the process of time my mind became somewhat partial to the Methodist sect, and I *felt some desire* to be united with them" (italics added). This sounds as though Joseph was serious. Pomeroy Tucker says that Joseph "at one time joined the probationary class of the Methodist Church in Palmyra, and made some *active demonstrations* of engagedness, though his assumed convictions were insufficiently grounded or abiding to carry him along to the saving point of conversion" (italics added). Due to his bias, Tucker did not want to think that Joseph was sincere, yet he indicates that he gave the appearance of being so. O. Turner says that Joseph caught a "spark of Methodism in a camp meeting"; Charles Brown says that Joseph acquired a "spark of Methodist fire" on the Vienna road and became an exhorter in the evening meetings. We have no indication here as to whether Joseph's interest was brief or otherwise, but Brown's comment that he was an exhorter at "meetings" suggests some length of time was involved.

The evidence in the *Amboy Journal* has Joseph seeking membership in Harmony in June 1828, thus for the second time in his life. Merrill tells us that the Lewises were bitterly anti-Mormon, yet takes their word that Joseph remained on the class roll only three days. The Lewises were doing their best to disclaim any significant connection between their church at Harmony and the Mormon prophet. Should we believe them? In the same source Michael B. Morse, Joseph's brother-in-law (whom Mary Audentia Smith Anderson confirms was a teacher in the Methodist church at Harmony), maintained that Joseph's name was on the rolls as a probationer for six months but admits that Joseph never sought to become a full-fledged member. What was Joseph doing all this time? Again, I suspect that he was trying to please Emma and her family, who had close ties with the Methodists. Perhaps he was trying to make peace with Isaac Hale, on whose property he had recently come to reside. I agree with Merrill that all available evidence suggests Joseph's probationary activity was of a token sort and that he had no deep interest in Methodism in 1828. But if he had been commanded not to join a church, as the 1838 version reads, would he have gone even this far? The 1832 account spares us having to explain this point. In this account the Lord simply tells Joseph "none doeth good no not one they have turned aside from the Gospel." With no imperative to shun all churches, he was free in 1828 to become a Methodist probationer if he thought it best to do so. Keeping a roof over their heads and peace in the family to allow continued work on the Book of Mormon may have been sufficient motivation.

Marvin S. Hill
Provo, Utah

What Is Official?

Though I know several Mormon magazines of different format, DIALOGUE is among the best again. The entire spring 1982 edition is excellent, especially for anyone interested in Mormon history and theology. Well documented.

Sometimes I wondered at the frankness and honesty of some contributions, how delicate questions were addressed with utmost scholarly care. Sometimes I also wondered at the obvious gap between Mormon church leaders and scholars. Being a nonmember, I now have a slight impression of the problems attached to finding out what

is "official," "authoritative," and "binding" in Mormonism.

My best congratulations to Mrs. Bradford and her staff for their excellent work, bringing DIALOGUE back to the top. I am looking forward to new editions under the new editors.

Heinz Platzer
Vienna, Austria

New Direction Reproved?

Among the footnotes in Hutchinson's article (Spring 1982, p. 121, n. 27) is a statement that Benjamin Urrutia "leaps upon a repointing of Gen. 1:1 based upon Joseph Smith's interpretations." This is simply not true. The repointing in question is based on the work of Dr. Ephraim Avigdor Speiser, specifically his 1964 translation for the Anchor Bible. Hutchinson adds that I do this "with no evluation whatsoever of the demythologization at work in Gen. 1:1–2:4a and the profound montheism that it reflects." It seems that I am reproved for suggesting a new direction instead of being content with following the furrow others have plowed. If my theory is correct, the monotheism of the chapter in question may turn out to be a late and superficial phenomenon and not so "profound" as is usually assumed. In short, I did in my article what I intended.

Benjamin Urrutia
Salt Lake City, Utah

Several Sacred Groves?

Inspired by Marvin Hill's article (Summer 1982), I did a little reading in a book called *Varieties* . . . by someone named William James and found that in 1820, at the age of fourteen, one Stephen H. Bradley "saw the Saviour, by faith, in human shape" and another young man named David Brainerd said: "One morning while I was walking in a solitary place . . . attempting to pray . . . I thought that the Spirit of God had quite left me. . . . but as I was walking in a thick grove, unspeakable glory seemed to open to the apprehension of my soul. . . . I had no particular apprehension of any one person in the Trinity, either Father, the Son, or the Holy Ghost."

The point of all this is twofold: God apparently appeared to several young men in those days, which should give us Mormons confidence that he probably appeared to young Joseph as well. And secondly, if David Brainerd couldn't tell if there were one, two, or three gods in *his* grove, why should anyone think it odd that Joseph couldn't remember either?

Rustin Kaufman
Rexburg, Idaho

On the Mechanism of Translation

Congratulations on your success in transferring the editorial offices of DIALOGUE! The articles in the most recent issue (Summer 1982) were well written and informative. I particularly enjoyed the article, "Joseph Smith: 'The Gift of Seeing.'" Van Wagoner and Walker have done more than I thought possible to clarify the relative roles of the ancient "interpreters" and the "seer stone."

However, I must quibble with the impression they leave on the mechanism of translation of the Book of Mormon. By omitting reference to one key document and by quoting without comment all the statements of David Whitmer, Martin Harris, and Joseph Knight, Sr., to the effect that, in translating, Joseph Smith would see "a line of characters from the plates, and under it, the translation in English," Van Wagoner and Walker perpetuate an old misconception.

This document was Section 8 of the 1833 Book of Commandments which appears unaltered as Section 9 of the current Doctrine and Covenants. Unlike other explanations of the translation process, this document was produced in April 1829 *dur-*

ing the work of translation. Oliver Cowdery had just tried to translate and had failed. It is clear that Oliver had shared the Whitmer-Harris-Knight misconception, for we read, "Behold, you have not understood; you have supposed that I would give it unto you, when you took no thought save it was to ask me" (v. 7). The process required considerably more mental effort than reading off English: "You must study it out in your mind; then you must ask me if it be right. . . . Now, if you had known this you could have translated. . . ." (v. 8–10)

Precisely what "study it out" means, I don't profess to say, but it is important to understand that time and effort were required if one is now to understanding why, for example, Joseph Smith would opt to follow the available King James wording of the long Isaiah quotes in the Book of Mormon with only minor variations rather than to render a compeltely fresh translation. Only if one allows that Joseph Smith himself had to produce the English words, can one understand why so many ideas throughout the Book of Mormon are expressed in the familiar phrases and terminology of the King James New Testament. Finally, any claim that Joseph saw English would blame the Lord for all the grammatical errors in the first edition of the Book of Mormon.

Russell T. Pack
Los Alamos, New Mexico

"Home" Again

I picked up the Winter 1981 edition of DIALOGUE at a used bookstore in San Francisco. What took my eye? The article by Claudia R. Bushman — "Light and Dark Thoughts." I lived in the same neighborhood as Jean Lauper. I was well acquainted with the Laupers. Jean led the choir my husband sang in; Sergie Lauper was our stake president; my daughters were friends of her daughters. Jean gave a bridal shower for my daughter, Joy Matheson. We all knew what a perfectionist Jean Lauper was.

Each time I get homesick I reach for and read this article — then I am "home" again for awhile.

Ora Matheson
Campbell, California

Winter Thoughts

I just rediscovered my Winter 1981 women's issue on my shelves.

I was intrigued by the letters responding to Sandy Straubhaar's review of Orson Scott Card's book, *A Planet Called Treason*. I have a peculiar fondness for Brother Card. As my Sunday School teacher during a particularly bleak period of my life, his mildly irreverent quips and alternative religious views shocked me, delighted me, and highlighted my then-wobbly existence. In his class my slumbering intellect stirred, like some long-forgotten, hibernating bear quivering in a dream of half-remembered honey bees on a summer's day. My own impression of Ms. Staubhaar's review is that she missed the boat. I did not find Card's book offensive. I rather agree with Gary P. Gillum who found it a satirical comment on our society, and one that is much more true-to-life than we feel comfortable with.

Judith McConkie's work was interesting, delightful, and sometimes poignant. Her *Pyracantha* moved me as no other piece of art has ever done.

Claudia Bushman's observations on death in "Light and Dark Thoughts" were both stark and beautiful. Although dead bodies are generally considered gruesome and repulsive, participating in death rituals helps us to say good-bye and to let go. I appreciated very much the author's forthrightness in dealing with a generally taboo subject.

The only off-note in the issue for me was struck by Maureen Beecher's "Birthing." I was so appalled by the bellowing nurses, "white-suited mob of unknown faces," wires and tubes linking her to a mysterious bank of machines, and the "impersonal white sterility" of the hospital that

I found myself unable to agree with her that she had "known it all," experienced the full sisterhood and meaning of what it is to give birth. It is a tribute to the intensity of the experience that she could feel she had done so, but I protest her implication that the externals of the experience (whether in hospital or hogan) make no difference to the internal experience. I sincerely hope that the details surrounding the birth of her child are not typical of the experiences of today's women and babies.

I look forward to future issues!

Laury Mitchell
Fayetteville, Arkansas

Archaeology Symposium

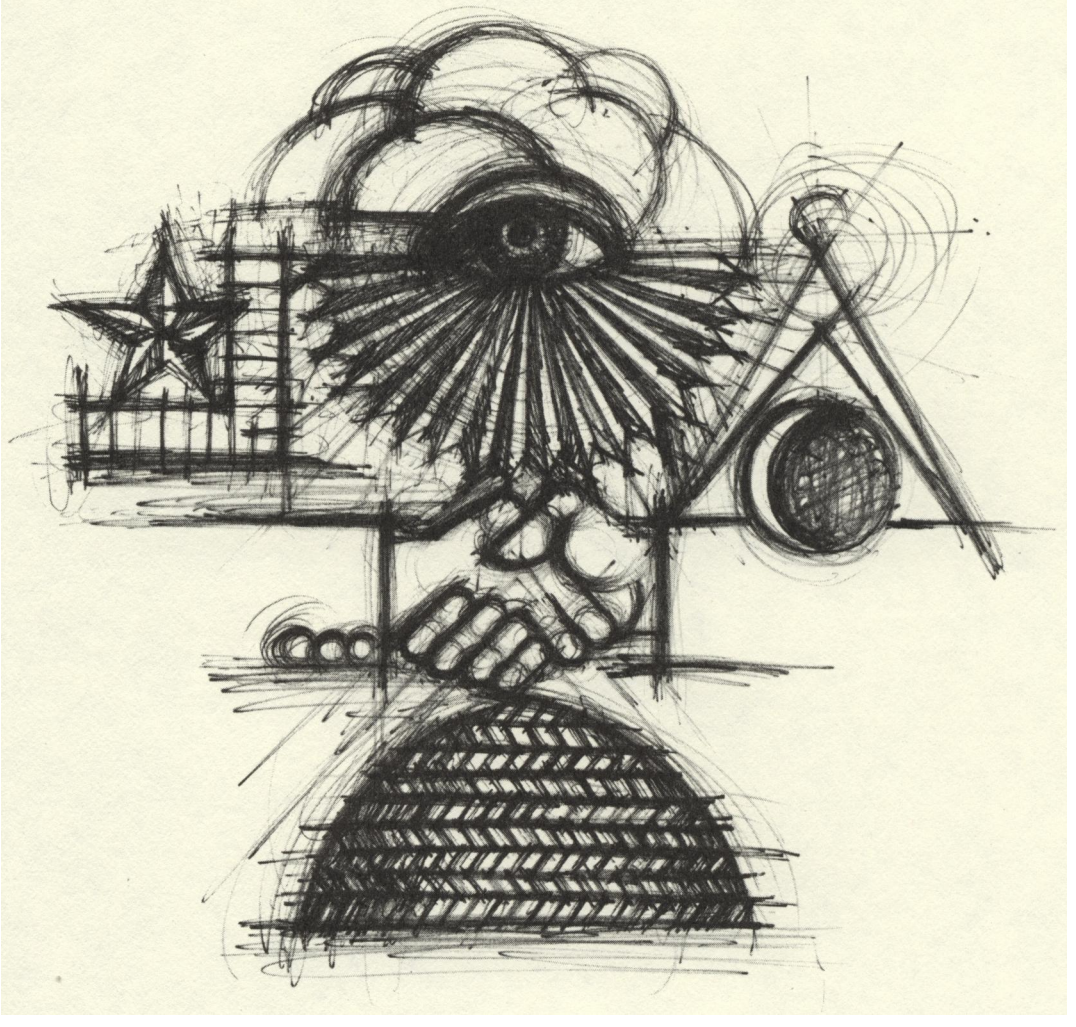
The Thirty-second Annual Symposium on the Archaeology of the Scriptures will be held at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, 22 October 1983. Participants will include Dr. Raphael Patai and Elder Howard W. Hunter. Dr. Clark Knowlton, Dept. of Sociology, University of Utah, SLC, Utah 84112, is now accepting abstracts of proposed papers.

David John Buerger

"The Fulness of the Priesthood": The Second Anointing in Latter-day Saint Theology and Practice

There is no exaltation in the kingdom of God without the fulness of the priesthood. . . . Every man who is faithful and will receive these [temple] ordinances and blessings obtains a fulness of the priesthood, and the Lord has said that "he makes them equal in power, and in might, and in dominion."

Joseph Fielding Smith, 1956
(*Doctrines of Salvation*, 3:132)



The importance of the endowment and such temple-associated rituals as washing, anointing, and sealing has been widely addressed by Church authorities and others in official Church publications.[1] The endowment in particular has been called the temporal steppingstone through which all people must pass to achieve exaltation with God the Father and Jesus Christ.[2] Yet despite the attention given temple work in the Church press, most Mormons, even faithful temple-goers, know little of the capstone of the endowment: receiving the "fulness of the priesthood" through the "second anointing," an ordinance also sometimes referred to as the "other endowment," "second endowment," "second blessings," "higher blessings," etc. A surprising amount about this little known ordinance can be learned, however, through a careful examination of those sources published and unpublished, which discuss it. This essay attempts to bring many of these sources together, placing them in the more general context of developing Mormon theology.

I

The Lord Almighty . . . will continue to preserve me . . . until I have fully accomplished my mission in this life, and so firmly established the dispensation of the fullness of the priesthood in the last days, that all the powers of earth and hell can never prevail against it.

Joseph Smith, Jr., 1842
(*History of the Church*, 5:139–40)

DAVID JOHN BUERGER is a certified financial planner in San Jose, California. *He wishes to thank Lester E. Bush, Jr., and Anthony A. Hutchinson for help in the preparation of this paper.*

[1] For example, see James E. Talmage, *The House of the Lord: A Study of Holy Sanctuaries, Ancient and Modern* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1912), pp. 18, 99–100, 234–38; John A. Widtsoe, "Fundamentals of Temple Doctrine," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 13 (July 1922): 129; Franklin D. Richards, "The Temple of the Lord: The Importance of Temples, Ancient and Modern," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 11 (Oct. 1920): 146–49; *Temples of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Corporation of the Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1979); entire issue of *Ensign* 4 (Aug. 1974); and numerous conference talks by various Church leaders. Also see Nels B. Lundwall, comp., *Temples of the Most High*, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1975), pp. 269–74; *Young Woman's Journal* 5 (Aug. 1894): 513; Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), pp. 109–10, 139–40, 226–28, 425, 594, 599, 613, 779; Bruce R. McConkie, comp., *Doctrines of Salvation: Sermons and Writings of Joseph Fielding Smith*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954–56), 2:40–46, 176–79; 3:131–34. Scholarly articles of certain aspects of the endowment ceremonies include Lisle G. Brown, "The Sacred Departments for Temple Work in Nauvoo: The Assembly Room and the Council Chamber," *BYU Studies* 19 (Spring 1979): 361–74; Andrew F. Ehat, "'They Might Have Known That He Was Not a Fallen Prophet' — The Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," *BYU Studies* 19 (Winter 1979): 133–66 (esp. notes); Andrew F. Ehat, "'It Seems Like Heaven Began on Earth': Joseph Smith and the Constitution of the Kingdom of God," *BYU Studies* 20 (Spring 1980): 253–80; Andrew F. Ehat and Lindon W. Cook, comps. and eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1980) (esp. notes; hereafter cited as *WJS*); and D. Michael Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," *BYU Studies* 19 (Fall 1978): 79–105.

[2] *Gospel Essentials*, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1979), p. 247.

For Joseph Smith and his successors, the temple clearly stood at the heart of the restoration. Both in Kirtland and Nauvoo, Joseph Smith labored continuously to complete holy edifices where the Saints might be "endowed with power from on high." [3] Washings, anointings, and sealings were first administered in the Kirtland Temple in 1836. Other temple instructions and rites were added in Nauvoo in 1842 and 1843. These have been continued to the present day. Not unexpectedly, given the generally progressive nature of other early concepts within Mormonism, these early rituals also moved through a preliminary stage.

The significance of what followed can best be understood in the context of the changing Latter-day Saint concept of salvation.[4] Prior to mid-1831, Mormon theology was clearly not predestinarian. The Book of Mormon, for example, contains no mention of terms such as "calling and election," "elect," "destined," "predestined," or "predestinate" in respect to mankind's afterlife, judgment or salvation. The Doctrine and Covenants' sole use of the phrase "calling and election" came in a June 1831 revelation (D&C 53:1, 7) that similarly avoided eschatological implications.

At some point between June and November 1831, however, LDS "salvation theology" changed. A precipitating event seemed to be the 3 June 1831 conferral of the "High Priesthood" on Church elders.[5] According to testimony in 1887 by Book of Mormon witness David Whitmer, the introduction of high priests, an event he considered to be an unfortunate aberration from scriptural sources, "all originated in the mind of Sidney Rigdon"; "Rigdon finally persuaded Brother Joseph to believe that the high priests which had such great power in ancient times, should be in the Church of Christ to-day. He had Brother Joseph inquire of the Lord about it, and they received an answer according to their erring desires." [6] Official Church histories contain no record of disagreement or controversy, and the significance of the event may have been perceived differently as time passed. The new office of high priest quickly came to be regarded as different from and greater than those of priest and elder because a high priest could "seal," that is, perform earthly ordinances which were ratified in heaven. Joseph Smith spelled out this crucial function on 25 October 1831, when he is reported to have said at a conference in Far West: "The order of the High Priesthood is that they have power given them to seal up the Saints unto eternal life And . . . it was the privilege of every Elder present to be ordained to the High Priesthood." [7]

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[3] Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1973), 2:197 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*). Remarks made on 15 Feb. 1835 by Oliver Cowdery.

[4] I am indebted to Anthony A. Hutchinson for extensive assistance with the following discussion of the evolution of Mormon salvation concepts.

[5] *History of the Church* 1:175–76.

[6] David Whitmer, *An Address to All Believers in Christ* (Richmond, n.p. 1887): 64, 35; see also pp. 32, 49, 62, 63, and 65.

[7] "Far West Record," in the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS Church Archives).

The far-reaching implications of this teaching went well beyond the biblical precedents which used sealing in a seemingly related sense. In the New Testament, for example, the terms "to seal" and "to place a seal on" metaphorically reflected the ancient practice of placing a wax or clay seal to close and protect a document from misappropriation. The confirming effect of a "sealing" is seen in several Pauline passages where God "seals" Christians by giving them the Holy Spirit or the Holy Spirit of promise as a ratification of future blessings and promises to come. The Revelation of John graphically depicts the servants of God receiving the seal or imprint of God in their foreheads. In all pertinent New Testament references, however, it is God who applies the seals; there is no clear reference to a human intermediary as part of the "sealing" function.[8]

The sixteenth-century Reformation used many of these "sealing" passages to support a belief in predestination. Liberal reaction to this Calvinist doctrine arose early in the seventeenth century when Armenians rejected this view, asserting that God's sovereignty and man's free will were compatible, and that such "sealings" depended upon choices of the individual believer. The Armenian doctrines of free will and individual works continued to be propagated on the American frontier through such nineteenth-century groups as Alexander Campbell's followers and other primitivist "seekers." In 1829, when Joseph Smith was working on the Book of Mormon manuscript, these same issues were discussed throughout the Burned-over District of western New York state.

Aside from obvious nonmetaphorical usages of the term "sealing" (e.g., "sealing up" a book or plates, or hiding an object), the Book of Mormon employs the term much like the New Testament. Mosiah 5:15 (1st ed., p. 167), for example, closely followed New Testament usage, but extended the meaning by clearly emphasizing works: "I would that you should be steadfast and immovable, always abounding in good works, that Christ, the Lord God Omnipotent, may seal you his, that you may be brought to Heaven." Alma 34:35 (1st ed., p. 321) further counters predestinarian ideas by warning: "If ye have procrastinated the day of your repentance, even until death, behold, ye have become subjected to the spirit of the Devil, and he doth seal you his; . . . and this is the final state of the wicked."

The most significant development in Book of Mormon sealing theology was God's sealing power granted to Nephi, the son of Helaman: "Whatsoever ye shall seal on earth shall be sealed in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." (Hel. 10:7, 1st ed., p. 435).[9] This passage parallels Christ's injunction to Peter in Matthew 16:17–19: "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona . . . Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." The shift from *bind* to *seal* — probably to remove "papist" associations with

[8] See, for example, Rom. 4:11, 2 Cor. 1:22; Eph. 1:13, 4:30; Rev. 13:16–18.

[9] The story clearly is patterned on the account of Elijah the Tishbite "sealing" the heavens by drought in 1 Kings 17; also compare the Nephi-Elijah connection in Hel. 5:30, 1 Kings 19:11–12. Additional parallels to Matt. 16:17–19 are Mark 8:29, Luke 9:20, and loose parallels in John 6:67–71 and 20:22–23. See also Gen. 14:26–32, JST.

the text[10]— does not carry the soteriological and eschatological overtones which "seal" had as a New Testament metaphor. Instead, Nephi can perform miraculous physical events such as commanding a drought that will bring about a famine (Hel. 11:4) to bring people to repentance. Thus, the Book of Mormon modifies seal to allow a *human* agent (Nephi), to seal metaphorically as well as a demonic agent (the devil), whereas the New Testament has only God sealing, and then strictly in an extended sense of the term. Associating a human with this power allowed Joseph Smith to introduce a whole set of theological innovations.

In this context, the 1831 ordination of high priests becomes such an innovation. In November 1831 these various concepts were transformed into a priesthood ritual allowing ordained high priests to "seal [persons] up unto eternal life" (D&C 68:2,12; D&C 1:8–9). Thus, Mormon priesthood bearers themselves could perform a ritual (no specified ceremony is mentioned) paralleling what strict Calvinists, for example, reserved solely to God. Zebedee Coltrin's 1831 missionary diary provides evidence that Mormon elders wasted no time in implementing this ordinance: "Tuesday came to Shalersville held a meeting in the Evening with the Br and after laboring with them some length of time Br David seeled them up unto Eternal life." [11] Whatever form the ordinance took at that time, an empowered priesthood bearer could thus simultaneously seal a whole group of people up to eternal life; this seems to have been a spoken ritual. No physical contact between the officiator and the recipients is mentioned.[12]

A second precursor to the Kirtland Temple's endowment came in an 1832 revelation (now D&C 88) commanding that a "School of the Prophets" be established to instruct various Church leaders. After describing a format for greeting members of the School, the revelation added that no one was to be admitted unless he was "clean from the blood of this generation."

> And he shall be received by the ordinance of the washing of feet, for unto this end was the ordinance of washing of feet instituted.
>
> And again, the ordinance of washing of feet is to be administered by the president, or presiding elder of the church.
>
> It is to be commenced with prayer; and after partaking of bread and wine, he is to gird himself according to the pattern given in the thirteenth chapter of John's testimony concerning me. Amen. (D&C 88:139–41; see also verses 74–75)

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[10] For other passages from the Book of Mormon which seem to describe the Roman Catholic church from the perspective of anti-papist frontiersmen in the Burned-over District, see 1 Ne. 13:4–9, 24–29; 14:10–17; 2 Ne. 28:18–28. See also Susan Curtis Mernitz, "Palmyra Revisited: a Look at Early Nineteenth Century America and the Book of Mormon," *The John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 2 (1982): 30–37.

[11] Zebedee Coltrin, Diary, 15 Nov. 1831, LDS Church Archives.

[12] In some ways, this ordinance paralleled that revealed in D&C 60:15 and D&C 84:92 wherein priesthood bearers were authorized to seal up wicked persons to a damning judgment with a washing-of-feet and shaking-off-of-dust ceremony. This "ordinance of damnation" could also be performed with reference to a group of people at once.

The School of the Prophets was formally established in late January 1833, and this ordinance was administered as directed.[13] While the revelation did not explicitly state any relationship between the ordinance of washing feet and the ritual of "sealing" which had been practiced for over a year, Joseph indicated that in addition to being "clean from the blood of this generation," participants in the washing of feet were "sealed up unto eternal life." [14]

Doctrine and Covenants 88:119 had commanded the Saints to "establish a house, even a house of prayer, a house of fasting, a house of faith, a house of learning, a house of glory, a house of order, a house of God." Six months later, on 1 June, the Lord rebuked the Prophet for failing to begin construction of a house where He would "endow those whom I have chosen with power from on high" (D&C 95:8).

While work on the Kirtland Temple thereafter proceeded apace, even before the dedication on 27 March 1836 (see D&C 109), Joseph had introduced the promised new ordinances which were to comprise the core of what later was termed the Kirtland endowment. On 21 January, according to Joseph Smith's account in the *History of the Church*, the First Presidency

> retired to the attic story of the printing office, where we attended the ordinance of washing our bodies in pure water. We also perfumed our bodies and our heads, in the name of the Lord.
>
> At early candle-light I met with the Presidency at the west school room, in the Temple, to attend to the ordinance of anointing our heads with holy oil . . . . I took the oil in my left hand, Father Smith being seated before me, and the remainder of the Presidency encircled him round about. We then stretched our right hands towards heaven, and blessed the oil, and consecrated it in the name of Jesus Christ.
>
> We then laid our hands upon our aged Father Smith, and invoked the blessings of heaven. I then anointed his head with the consecrated oil, and sealed many blessings upon him. The Presidency then in turn laid their hands upon his head, beginning at the oldest, until they had all laid their hands upon him, and pronounced such blessings upon his head, as the Lord put into their hearts, all blessing him to be our Patriarch, to anoint our heads. . . . The presidency then took the seat in their turn, according to their age, beginning at the oldest, and received their anointing and blessing under the hands of Father Smith.[15]

After several days of anointings administered to other priesthood bearers, the Prophet, on 6 February 1836,

> called the anointed together to receive the seal of all their blessings . . . . The first part [of the inspired order was] to be spent in solemn prayer before God, without any talking or confusion; and the conclusion with a sealing prayer by President Rigdon, when all the quorums were to shout with one accord a solemn hosanna to God and the Lamb, with an Amen, Amen and Amen; and then all take seats and lift up their hearts in silent prayer to God, and if any obtain a prophecy or vision, to rise and speak that all may be edified and rejoice together.[16]

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[13] *History of the Church*, 1:322–23.

[14] Ibid., p. 323, 23 Jan. 1833.

[15] Ibid., 2:379–82, 21 Jan. 1836.

[16] Ibid., p. 391–92, 6 Feb. 1836.

A few weeks later at the dedication of the temple, Joseph Smith instructed the quorums of lay members and Church officers on the ordinance of washing of feet.[17] Two days later, on March 29th, the Presidency "proceeded to cleanse our faces and our feet, and then proceeded to wash one another's feet." After this was done, those in attendance "partook of the bread and wine." [18] The next day, a group of about three hundred male Church members met in the temple and, after the administration of the sacrament, received the ordinance of washing of feet as well. The Prophet then announced that he "had now completed the organization of the Church, and we had passed through all the necessary ceremonies." [19] It was just four days later, however, again in the Kirtland Temple, that Joseph received a vision recorded in Doctrine and Covenants 110, of the prophet Elijah[20] who gave him the full sealing power of the Melchizedek priesthood — an authority which Joseph Smith did not fully reveal and use until Nauvoo.

In Nauvoo the Prophet Joseph continued to expand Mormon salvation concepts. He defined the principle of "making your calling and election sure" in a June 1839 sermon as a principle which allowed a Church member, after a lifetime of service and devotion, to be "sealed up" to exaltation while yet living, a concept clearly based on 2 Peter 1:10–11: "Wherefore . . . brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure: for if ye do these things, ye shall never fall: For so an entrance shall be ministered unto you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." [21] This June 1839 sermon[22] has additional importance, for in it Joseph not only linked making one's calling and election sure to sealing theology but also added the notion of a "Comforter" (John 14:26), which he defined as a personal manifestation of Jesus Christ. These ideas were in turn associated with the concept of personal revelation. He urged the Twelve Apostles and all Mormons to follow in his own footsteps and "become perfect in Jesus Christ." There was no reference to the temple in this sermon; indeed there were no functioning temples at this time.

In January 1841, well over two years after the Mormons had abandoned Kirtland and its temple, Joseph announced another revelation. In it the Lord

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[17] Ibid., p. 410–28, 27 March 1836.

[18] Ibid., pp. 429–30.

[19] Ibid., pp. 430–33.

[20] In addition to the scriptural parallels dealing with Elijah, the vision introducing Elijah in 1836 formed a foundation for further theological innovations. Elijah began to serve as a major symbol in Joseph Smith's sermons and in his 1838 account of his early life. No scriptural references from Malachi are cited by the angel in Joseph's 1832 account.

[21] See also 2 Pet. 1:19, and Eph. 1:13–14.

[22] *History of the Church*, 3:379–81, 27 June 1839. The original source is Willard Richards Pocket Companion, published in *WJS*, pp. 4–6. A brief discussion of this doctrine is in Roy W. Doxey, "Accepted of the Lord: The Doctrine of Making Your Calling and Election Sure," *Ensign* 6 (July 1976): 50–53; a more indepth discussion is: Hyrum L. Andrus, *Principles of Perfection* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1970), pp. 331–400.

asked, "How shall your washings be acceptable unto me, except ye perform them in a house which you have built to my name?" (D&C 124:37) The purpose of this new temple would be "that I may reveal mine ordinances therein unto my people; For I deign to reveal unto my church things which have been kept hid from before the foundation of the world, things that pertain to the dispensation of the fulness of times." (D&C 124:40–41). Anointed Saints were thus advised that their Kirtland ordinances were forerunners to other ordinances to be revealed after a temple was completed in Nauvoo. As before, however, these ordinances were revealed in advance by the Prophet to a select group of Church leaders and their wives — the "Quorum of the Anointed," or "Holy Order." [23] This action proved providential, as Joseph was killed well before the temple's dedication.

On 4 May 1842 the Prophet, after two days of preparation in the upper story of his store in Nauvoo, gathered together nine men: James Adams, Heber C. Kimball, William Law, William Marks, George Miller, Willard Richards, Hyrum Smith, Newel K. Whitney, and Brigham Young. There, according to the *History of the Church*, he

> instruct[ed] them in the principles and order of the Priesthood, attending to washings, anointings, endowments and the communication of keys pertaining to the Aaronic Priesthood, and so on to the highest order of the Melchisedek Priesthood, setting forth the order pertaining to the Ancient of Days, and all those plans and principles by which any one is enabled to secure the fullness of those blessings which have been prepared for the Church of the First Born, and come up and abide in the presence of the Eloheim in the eternal worlds. In this council was instituted the ancient order of things for the first time in these last days. . . . therefore let the Saints . . . [know] assuredly that all these things referred to in this council are always governed by the principle of revelation.[24]

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[23] This group was also called the Holy Order of the Holy Priesthood. For a brief discussion of this group, see D. Michael Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," *BYU Studies* 19 (Fall 1978): 84–96.

[24] *History of the Church*, 5:1–2. The context of the Nauvoo endowment ceremony is too complex to be fully treated in this short essay. Clearly one element was the gradual introduction of the practice of plural marriage, primarily to members of the elite "Holy Order" although Joseph Smith never taught plural marriage in the endowment council or Holy Order itself. "Sealing" spouses and families together for eternity (again finding their inspiration in the prophet Elijah), and progressing toward godhood ultimately required a formal ritual to give a sense of permanence and divine sanction to these beliefs. The addition of this "sealing" ritual, in the context of this discussion of second anointings, was added to the 1842 Holy Order ceremony one year later. See Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 123–225, 290–336; esp. see pp. 143–45. See also Danel W. Bachman, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith" (MA thesis, Purdue University, 1975).

The actual procedures of the endowment ceremony have created much speculation centered on its possible relationship to certain aspects of Masonic ritual. Some scholars have concluded that Joseph Smith relied heavily on certain Masonic rites in framing the endowment. During this period his sermons contain many allusions to such Masonic notions as signs, key words, tokens, degrees, ancient orders, etc. Indeed, Heber C. Kimball, a long-time Mason, wrote to Parley P. Pratt on 17 June 1842: "there is a similarity of preast Hood in masonry. Br Joseph Ses Masonary was taken from preasthood but has become degenerated.

There are some problems with this account. It is historically interesting that the *History* omits William Law and William Marks, who later became disaffected.[25] More significant is the apparent error in the statement that the "highest order of the Melchisedek Priesthood" was conferred upon these men. About four months later, in late August 1842, Joseph Smith declared to the Female Relief Society that "the Lord Almighty . . . will continue to preserve me . . . *until* I have fully accomplished my mission in this life, and so firmly established the dispensation of the fullness of the priesthood in the last days, that all the powers of earth and hell can never prevail against it" (italics

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But menny things are perfect. . . ." (typescript; original in LDS Church Archives). The introduction of a secret society may have been ideally suited to keep knowledge of polygamist practices from uninitiated Saints and non-Mormons. Unfortunately, a definitive study of the relationship of Freemasonry and Mormonism has not yet been published. Introductory material includes Reed C. Durham, Jr., "Is There No Help for the Widow's Son?", Presidential Address to the Mormon History Association, 20 April 1974; Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Joseph Smith and the Masons," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 64 (Spring 1971): 79–90; S. H. Goodwin, *Mormonism and Masonry: A Utah Point of View* (Salt Lake City: Grand Lodge, F.&A.M. of Utah, 1938); S. H. Goodwin, *Additional Studies in Mormonism and Masonry* (Salt Lake City, 1932); Mervin B. Hogan, *The Origin and Growth of Utah Masonry and Its Conflict With Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Campus Graphics, 1978); Mervin B. Hogan, *Mormonism and Freemasonry: The Illinois Episode* (Salt Lake City: Campus Graphics, 1980); Anthony W. Ivins, *Mormonism and Freemasonry* (Salt Lake City, 1934); and E. Cecil McGavin, *Mormonism and Masonry* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1956).

Brigham Young recalled specific procedures of the 4 May 1842 endowment on 7 February 1877:

> Prest Young was filled with the spirit of God & revelation & said when we got our washings and anointings under the hands of the Prophet Joseph at Nauvoo we had only one room to work in with the exception of a little side room or office were . . . he had performed these ceremonies. . . . then after we went into the large room over the store in Nauvoo. Joseph divided up the room the best that he could . . . gave us our instructions. . . . After we had got through. Bro Joseph turned to me (Prest B. Young) and said Bro Brigham this is not arranged right but we have done the best we could under the circumstances in which we are placed, and I . . . wish you to take this matter in hand and organize and systematize all these ceremonies. . . . I did so and each time I got something more so that when we went through the Temple at Nauvoo I understood and Knew how to place them there. we had our ceremonies pretty correct. (L. John Nuttall, Journal, typescript entry for 7 Feb. 1877, original in Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.)

Heber C. Kimball recorded his part in this event under a miscellaneous 1845 journal entry entitled "Strange Events": ". . . I was aniciated into the ancient order was washed and annointed and Sealled and ordained a Preast, and so forth in company with nine others." (LDS Church Archives)

Mormon apostate John C. Bennett described his perspective of the Holy Order in his *History of the Saints* (Boston: Leland & Whiting, 1842), pp. 217–35, 272–78.

[25] A complete list of names is found in Kimball, "Strange Events." Kimball's 21 December 1845 journal entry refers to two unnamed participants in this event as being "worse than dead." Law apostatized from the Church shortly before Joseph and Hyrum Smith's murders in June 1844; Marks became disaffected from the Church and, after briefly affiliating with Sidney Rigdon, James J. Strang, and other dissidents, ultimately joined the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in 1859. D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844," *BYU Studies* 16 (Winter 1976): 214.

added).[26] The establishment of "the fulness of the priesthood" was an event the Prophet viewed as his future life mission, not as an accomplished fact.

Almost a year later on 6 August 1843, Wilford Woodruff reported that Brigham Young confirmed that the fulness of the priesthood was yet to be given: "If any in the Church had the fullness of the Melchisedec Priesthood, he [Brigham Young] did not know it." Clearly, though, Joseph had at least discussed this concept with him for Young added, "For any person to have the fullness of that priesthood, he must be a king and a priest . . . . A person may be anointed king and priest long before he receives his kingdom." [27]

Other relevant facets of Mormon thinking had also matured by the time Brigham Young made that statement, notably a refinement in the Latter-day Saint view of "eternal life." Prior to receiving the "three degrees of glory" vision in February 1832 (now D&C 76), Mormons, including Joseph Smith, understood "eternal life" in the same sense as other Protestants: an undifferentiated heaven as the only alternative to an undifferentiated hell. Even after February 1832 and possibly as late as 1843, the Prophet apparently still conceived "eternal life" as dwelling in the presence of Elohim forever. It was not

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[26] *History of the Church*, 5:139–40, 31 Aug. 1842. Since this citation is not in the regular Nauvoo Relief Society minutes or in the Manuscript History of the Church, it probably represents an anachronistic reinterpretation of Joseph Smith's original comments.

[27] *History of the Church*, 5:527. This account was taken from Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 6 Aug. 1843, LDS Church Archives. Compare Orson Pratt's sermon, 24 May 1845, *Times and Seasons* 5 (1 June 1845): 920. Brigham Young's remarks on being anointed a king and priest originated in the endowment ritual administered to selected Church members by Joseph Smith. As Heber C. Kimball explained to a Nauvoo Temple audience on 21 Dec. 1845, "You have been anointed to be kings & priests, but you have not been ordained to it yet, and you have got to get it by being faithful." This concept was mentioned again by George Q. Cannon in 1883: ". . . in the washing that takes place in the first endowment, they are washed that they might *become* clean from the blood of this generation . . . in the same way they are ordained *to be* Kings and Priests — that ordinance does not make them . . . Kings and Priests. If they fully received of another endowment [*i.e.* the second anointing], a fulness of that power, and the promises are fulfilled in the bestowal of the power upon them." (Salt Lake [City] School of the Prophets Minute Book, typescript entry for 2 Aug. 1883, original in LDS Church Archives; emphasis in original). In 1941, Apostle David O. McKay explained that the "first anointing" is conferred in the initiatory ordinances of the endowment where "one . . . is anointed to become a king and a priest of the Most High; a queen and a priestess in the realms of God. . . . We are anointed that we may become such." "The Temple Ceremony," address delivered at the Salt Lake Temple Annex, 25 Sept. 1941, LDS Archives; also published in Joseph C. Muren, comp., *The Temple and Its Significance*, rev. ed. (Ogden, Utah: Temple Publications, 1974).

For purposes contemporary to the endowment received by members of the Nauvoo Holy Order, however, it may be that this "first anointing" was an actual, not promissory, ordination, for Heber C. Kimball's own diary recollection of the 4 May 1842 ceremony (cited n. 24) was that he was "ordained a Preast." Notably, the Kirtland "endowment" actually pronounced recipients "clean from the blood of this generation"; yet Kimball's 21 Dec. 1845 diary also records him telling the same temple audience cited above of more blessings to come "if you are faithful and keep your tongue in your mouth." Apparently the concept of purification was also undergoing development and the actual form of this ceremony changed as Joseph Smith developed a fuller understanding of the fulness of the priesthood ordinance and its relationship to the Mormon concept of godhood.

until May 1843 that Joseph taught that the celestial kingdom ostensibly[28] contained gradations, with the highest gradation reserved solely for men and women who entered into the new and everlasting covenant of marriage (see D&C 131:1–4).[29] In July 1843, Joseph dictated another revelation (now D&C 132) which defined those achieving "exaltation" in the highest degree of the celestial kingdom as "gods." [30]

The importance of this teaching is seen in another Joseph Smith sermon given shortly thereafter on 27 August 1843. Significantly, these comments occurred in a discussion of three orders or levels of priesthood: the Levitical or Aaronic order, the patriarchal order of Abraham, and the fulness of the priesthood of Melchizedek which included "kingly powers" of "anointing & sealing — called elected and made sure." [31] Said Joseph: "No man can attain to the Joint heirship with Jesus Christ with out being administered to by one having the same power & Authority of Melchisedec." This authority and power came not from "a Prophet nor apostle nor Patriarch only but of [a] King & Priest [of Jesus Christ]." [32]

During this same 27 August 1843 sermon the Prophet said: "Abrahams [*sic*] Patriarchal power" was the "greatest yet experienced in this church." [33] His choice of words is particularly revealing, for by this date ten men had received the initiatory washings and anointings, as well as the Aaronic and Melchizedek portions of the endowment of the "Patriarchal Priesthood" on 4 May 1842. Many of these had also received the ordinance of celestial marriage, for time and eternity with their wives. Joseph and Emma Hale Smith, for example, were sealed in May 1843, as were James and Harriet Adams, Brigham and Mary Ann Angell Young, Hyrum and Mary Fielding Smith, and Willard and Jennetta Richards Richards.[34] When Joseph said late in

[28] Although this is the current interpretation of this teaching, some have argued that Joseph Smith was merely redescribing the trilogistic concept of three general degrees of glory as outlined in D&C 76. In other words, the "highest level" spoken of in D&C 131:2 would be synonymous with "celestial kingdom," while the "celestial glory" in D&C 131:1 would only be referring to the "resurrection of the just" described by D&C 76.

[29] An early letter published by W. W. Phelps, *Manager & Advocate* 9 (June 1835): 130, suggests that Joseph Smith may have taught a variation of this doctrine eight years prior to D&C 131: "We shall by and bye learn that . . . we may prepare ourselves for a kingdom of glory; become archangels, even the sons of God where the man is neither without the woman, nor the woman without the man in the Lord. . . ."

[30] Although the doctrine and limited practice of plural marriage had been extant for several years prior to the 12 July 1843 dictation of D&C 132, the recording of this important revelation introduced several crucial ideas which are pivotal in understanding the theology surrounding the second anointing ritual. See Robert J. Woodford, "The Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants," Ph.D. diss., Dept. of Ancient Scripture, Brigham Young University, 1974, vol. 3, pp. 1731–61; and Bachman, "The Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage."

[31] Joseph Smith, Diary, LDS Church Archives; also cited in *WJS*, p. 244.

[32] In "Scriptural Items," LDS Church Archives, as cited in *WJS*, p. 245.

[33] Compare Joseph Smith sermon of 27 June 1839, cited n. 22.

[34] Joseph Smith, Diary, 28 May 1843, LDS Church Archives. I am indebted to Andrew F. Ehat for sharing his transcription of this entry which was originally made in Taylor shorthand.

August that the Patriarchal Priesthood was the "greatest yet experienced in this church," he was well aware that the fulness of the Melchizedek priesthood was yet to be conferred through a higher ordinance.

In a sense the institution of this "higher ordinance" was the logical next step. The previous twelve years of pronouncements, sealings, and anointings "unto eternal life" guaranteed a status that, according to Joseph's 1843 teachings, was subservient to that of the gods. From the perspective of these teachings, even the Nauvoo endowment administered to members of the "Holy Order" simply provided that the men who received it would live in the celestial kingdom as angels and servants. Until 1843, women had been excluded from these ordinances, possibly because of Joseph Smith's personal reluctance, Emma Smith's rejection of polygamy, John C. Bennett's lurid exposé, and/or the apostasy and subsequent reconciliation of Orson and Sarah Pratt over polygamy. However, Doctrine and Covenants 131 and 132 indicated that this exclusion deprived the men (who had received the previous ordinances) of the highest kingdom of glory — godhood. The higher ordinance was necessary to confirm the revealed promises of "kingly powers" (i.e., godhood) received in the endowment's initiatory ordinances. Godhood was therefore the meaning of this higher ordinance, or second anointing, for the previously revealed promises in Doctrine and Covenants 132:19–26 implicitly referred not to those who had been sealed in celestial marriage but to those who had been sealed and ordained "kings and priests," "queens and priestesses" to God. Such individuals would necessarily have received the "second anointing"; "Then shall they be gods, because they have all power, and the angels are subject unto them."

This special priesthood ordinance was first administered on 28 September 1843 to Joseph and Emma Smith. The *History of the Church* gives a discreet account of this event:

> At half-past eleven, a.m., a council convened over the store, consisting of myself, my brother Hyrum, Uncle John Smith, Newel K. Whitney, George Miller, Willard Richards, John Taylor, Amasa Lyman, John M. Bernhisel, and Lucien Woodworth; and at seven in the evening we met in the front upper room of the Mansion, with William Law and William Marks. By the common consent and unanimous voice of the counsel, I was chosen president of the special council.
>
> The president led in prayer that his days might be prolonged until his mission on the earth is accomplished, have dominion over his enemies, all their households be blessed, and all the Church and the world.[35]

Joseph Smith's journal, the original source, gives a fuller account: "Baurak Ale [a code name for Joseph Smith] was by common consent, & unanimous voice chosen president of the quorum. & anointed & ord[ained] to the highest and holiest order of the priesthood (& companion)." [36] His "companion" was his wife, Emma, to whom he had been sealed for time and eternity four months earlier on May 28. Wilford Woodruff's record of this event, found in his 1858

[35] *History of the Church*, 6:39.

[36] Joseph Smith, Diary, 28 Sept. 1843, LDS Church Archives. Baurak Ale was a scriptural "code" designation for Joseph Smith; see D&C 103:21 (1971 ed.).

Historian's Private Journal, was equally explicit: "Then by common consent Joseph Smith the Prophet Received his second Anointing of the Highest & Holiest order." [37]

During the next five months this higher priesthood ordinance of the second anointing was conferred upon at least twenty men and the wives of sixteen of these men. As the accompanying figure[38] shows, fulness of priesthood blessings during Joseph Smith's lifetime were reserved primarily for Church leaders. An apparent reason for the Prophet's concern to complete the temple and administer the fulness of the priesthood to the Twelve was that these leaders must "round up their shoulders and bear it [the Kingdom] off," and, said Joseph, " 'the Kingdom will be established, and I do not care what shall become of me.' " As George Q. Cannon noted in 1869, "It was by the virtue of this authority [*i.e.*, "endowment" and "holy anointing"], on the death of Joseph Smith, that President Young, as President of the quorum of the Twelve, presided over the Church." [39]

In an important discourse on priesthood on 10 March 1844, the Prophet Joseph was recorded as saying: "The spirit power & calling of Elijah is that ye have power to hold the keys of the revelations ordinances, oricles powers & endowments of the fulness of the Melchizedek Priesthood & of the Kingdom of God on the Earth & to receive, obtain & perform all the ordinances belonging to the Kingdom of God even unto the sealing of the hearts of the hearts [*sic*] fathers unto the children & the hearts of the children unto the fathers even those who are in heaven." [40]

Formally conferring the fulness of this, the sealing power of Elijah, completed the basic form of the priesthood endowment.[41] In a real sense, however, the constant reshuffling and recombining of theological and scriptural images during these early years could easily be termed "the fulness that was never full." At each step of the way, Joseph Smith proclaimed he had "completed the organization of the Church," and "passed through all the necessary ceremonies," or restored the "highest order of the Melchisedek Priesthood," only to introduce more revelations and theological innovations creating yet new layers of ritual,

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[37] Wilford Woodruff, Historian's Private Journal, 1858, typescript p. 24, original in LDS Church Archives.

[38] Table 1 is based upon independent research by Lisle G. Brown, especially with respect to the table's graphic design, Andrew F. Ehat, whose "Ehat Endowment Data Summary," cited in his "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Mormon Succession Question" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1982), pp. 97–98, provides most of the dating, and my own research. The listing contains only names and dates for which documentation is fairly certain. Some of the names included are documented as having received one or more of these ordinances, but no precise date has been located.

[39] George Q. Cannon, sermon, 5 Dec. 1869, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: LDS Book Depot, 1855–86), 13:49 (hereafter cited as *JD*).

[40] Wilford Woodruff, 10 Mar. 1844, Journal; also cited in *WJS*, p. 329.

[41] See Brigham Young's 26 Dec. 1845 comments cited in the heading to part II of this essay, recorded in Heber C. Kimball Journal, same date.

TABLE 1. KNOWN ENDOWMENTS, SEALINGS, AND SECOND ANOINTINGS DURING JOSEPH SMITH'S LIFETIME

Second Anointing	*Endowment*	*Males*	*Sealing*	*Females*	*Endowment*	*Second Anointing*
dbi*	4 May 42	James Adams	28 May 43	Harriet Adams	8 Oct 43	
	12 May 44	Almon Babbitt				
dnr*	28 Sep 43	John Bernhisel				
12 Nov 43	12 Oct 43	Reynolds Cahoon	nd*	Thirza Cahoon	29 Oct 43	12 Nov 43
dnr	3 Feb 44	William Clayton	22 Jul 43	Ruth Clayton		dnr
15 Nov 43	12 Oct 43	Alpheus Cutler	nd	Lois L. Cutler	29 Oct 43	15 Nov 43
				Sister Durphy	1 Oct 43	
	9 Oct 43	Joseph Fielding	nd	Hannah Fielding	1 Nov 43	
	11 May 44	John P. Greene				
25 Jan 44	2 Dec 43	Orson Hyde	dnr	Miranda N. Hyde	18 Feb 44	dnr
20 Jan 44	4 May 42	Heber C. Kimball	nd	Vilate Kimball	1 Nov 43	20 Jan 44
dnr	4 May 42	William Law	dnr	Jane Law	1 Oct 43	dnr
4 Feb 44	9 Dec 43	Cornelius Lott	20 Sep 43	Permilla Lott	23 Dec 43	4 Feb 44
	28 Sep 43	Amasa M. Lyman				
22 Oct 43	4 May 42	William Marks	nd	Rosanna Marks	1 Oct 43	22 Oct 43
	4 May 42	George Miller				
26 Feb 44	23 Dec 43	Isaac Morley	26 Feb 44	Lucy G. Morley	23 Dec 43	26 Feb 44
				Fanny Y. Murray	23 Dec 43	
26 Jan 44	23 Dec 43	Orson Pratt				
21 Jan 44	2 Dec 43	Parley P. Pratt	23 Jun 43	Mary Ann Pratt	nd	nd
2 Feb 44	9 Dec 43	William Phelps	2 Feb 44	Sally W. Phelps	23 Dec 43	2 Feb 44
nd	9 Dec 43	Levi Richards				
27 Jan 44	4 May 42	Willard Richards	29 May 43	Jenetta Richards	1 Nov 43	27 Jan 44
dnr	11 May 44	Sidney Rigdon				
31 Jan 44	2 Dec 43	George A. Smith	20 Jan 44	Bathsheba Smith	23 Dec 43	31 Jan 44
8 Oct 43	4 May 42	Hyrum Smith	8 Oct 43	Mary F. Smith	1 Oct 43	8 Oct 43
26 Feb 44	28 Sep 43	John Smith	nd	Clarissa Smith	8 Oct 43	26 Feb 44
				Lucy Mack Smith	8 Oct 43	12 Nov 43
28 Sep 43	5 May 42	Joseph Smith, Jr.	28 May 43	Emma Hale Smith	28 Sep 43	28 Sep 43
	17 Dec 43	Samuel H. Smith				
	12 May 44	William Smith				
nd	2 Dec 43	Orson Spencer	nd	Catherine Spencer	23 Dec 43	nd
30 Jan 44	28 Sep 43	John Taylor	30 Jan 44	Leonora Taylor	1 Nov 43	30 Jan 44
8 Oct 43	4 May 42	Hyrum Smith	29 May 43	Mercy Thompson	nd	dnr
27 Oct 43	4 May 42	Newel K. Whitney	21 Aug 42	Elizabeth Whitney	8 Oct 43	27 Oct 43
	14 May 44	Lyman Wight				
28 Jan 44	2 Dec 43	Wilford Woodruff	11 Nov 43	Phoebe Woodruff	23 Dec 43	28 Jan 44
dnr	28 Sep 43	Lucien Woodworth	nd	Phebe Woodworth	29 Oct 43	dnr
22 Nov 43	4 May 42	Brigham Young	29 May 43	Mary Ann Young	1 Nov 43	22 Nov 43
	3 Feb 44	Joseph Young		Jane A. Young	3 Feb 44	

*dbi = "died before introduced"; dnr = "did not receive" during Joseph Smith's lifetime; nd = "no date" available, but probably received during Joseph Smith's lifetime; blank space = nothing known, or received after Joseph Smith's death. Name of the sealings represent plural marriages.

deposited on or integrated with the old.[42] Centrally embedded in the evolution of the anointing ritual in early Mormon history (including passages from the Book of Mormon) was the theme of leadership.[43] As the ritual evolved, lay members of the Church advanced into the "inner circle," receiving ordinances and symbols formerly held only by Joseph Smith and his immediate circle, while Joseph and his associates moved on to higher kingdoms, more sure promises, and more secret rituals. Although change in the fundamental framework of ritual was frozen by Joseph Smith's death in June 1844, theologic perceptions dealing with certain aspects of the endowment — and, more particularly, the second anointing — underwent further modification.

II

Every man that gets his endowment . . . [has been] ordained to the Melchisedeck Priesthood, which is the highest order of Priesthood . . . . those who have come in here and have received their washing & anointing will be ordained Kings & Priests, and will then have received the fulness of the Priesthood, all that can be given on earth, for Brother Joseph said he had given us all that could be given to man on the earth.

Brigham Young, 1845
(Heber C. Kimball, Journal, 26 Dec. 1845)

Many aspiring to take control of the Church came to Nauvoo during the summer of 1844. One of these was Sidney Rigdon, formerly a counselor to Joseph Smith in the First Presidency. Although Rigdon had received his endowment on 11 May 1844, he had not received his second anointing. Indeed, *none* of the major contenders to Brigham Young and the Council of the Twelve — Sidney Rigdon, William Smith, James Jesse Strang, Lyman Wight, and later Joseph Smith III — had received this higher ordinance.[44] After Rig-

[42] Although it oversimplifies this complex developmental process, Andrew F. Ehat has attempted to show how Joseph Smith's additions to the Kirtland endowment in Nauvoo did not disrupt the ultimate order of the ceremony. His listing of temple ordinances, based on the *History of the Church*, is intended to illustrate this point. Items first revealed in Nauvoo are italicized, while those found in both the Kirtland and Nauvoo ceremonies are not: (1) Washing of the body with water and perfumed alcohol (*set wording*); (2) *Sealing the washing*; (3) Anointing *the body* with oil; (4) Sealing the anointing (set wording); (5) *Aaronic portion of the endowment*; (6) *Melchizedek portion of the endowment*; (7) *Marriage for time and eternity*; (8) *Anointing with oil*; and (9) *Sealing the anointing*; (10) Washing of feet (cited in *WJS*, pp. 140–41, note 6; and "Introduction of Temple Ordinances," p. 169.

[43] Examples of this idea clearly can be seen in the frequent use of the word "anoint" in the Book of Mormon with regard to kings (Jac. 1:9; Eth. 6:22, 27, 9:4, 14, 15, 21, 22, 10:10, 16), with ordained ministers in the early Doctrine and Covenants (68:20–21; 109:35, 53; 121:16), and with Joseph Smith as the anointed leader with the sealing power (D&C 124:57; 132:7, 18, 19).

[44] For the relationship of these contenders to the second anointing and the succession issue, see Andrew F. Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Mormon Succession Question" (MA thesis, Brigham Young University, 1982), pp. 189ff, esp. fig. 1.

don's attempt to become "guardian" of the Church failed in August 1844, he tried to undermine the authority of the Quorum of the Twelve by administering his own ceremony of washing and anointing to a group of dissidents. Primarily due to this action, Rigdon was excommunicated from the Church on 8 September 1844.[45]

Little actual ordinance work was done for a year or more after Joseph Smith's death. The Saints donated money, time, art, furnishings, and other material to make the temple attic ready for use;[46] and in late 1845, Church leaders began to prepare to administer the initial endowment to members. On 10 December 1845 the endowment was given for the first time in the temple. Its first recipients were members of the "Holy Order," who desired "to go through with our washings and Anointing again in the Temple of our God." [47] Between this date and 7 February 1846 when Brigham Young officially closed the temple, approximately 5,200 members were endowed.[48]

The endowment that these initiates received, as described by Heber C. Kimball's journal for the period, describes a sequence of ceremonial rituals, enactments, and words taking place within the framework of a processional movement from room to room to symbolize progression from birth to exaltation.[49]

A special altar for sealing ordinances was dedicated on 7 January 1846.[50] On January 8 the fulness of the priesthood was then administered for the first time in the Nauvoo Temple. Once again, among the earliest to receive the second anointing were those who had already received it from Joseph Smith. The first were Heber C. Kimball and his wife, Vilate Murray. Brigham Young, who performed the ordinance, and eight other observers gathered in Brigham's Room No. 1, donned special temple clothing, sang a hymn, and proceeded with the ordinance which involved anointing and the pronouncement of a blessing by Brigham Young. Among other things, he promised Heber C. Kimball

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[45] See Lisle G. Brown, "The Holy Order in Nauvoo," unpublished manuscript, pp. 12–17; copy in my possession.

[46] For details concerning the construction of the Nauvoo Temple, including the administration of endowments in 1842 as well as December 1845–February 1846, see Brown, "The Sacred Departments for Temple Work in Nauvoo," and Ehat, " 'They Might Have Known That He Was Not a Fallen Prophet.' "

[47] Heber C. Kimball, Journal, 9 Dec. 1845.

[48] *History of the Church*, 7:543–580; the last entry on page 580 gives two possible figures for the final day's ordinance count: the Seventy's Record would bring the cumulative total to 5,210; George A. Smith's estimate would boost this to 5,634 endowments. The lower figure is probably more representative, however, for by using a third source (Heber C. Kimball, Journal, 7 Feb. 1846) the cumulative total would be 5,154.

[49] Heber C. Kimball, Journal, 11 Dec. 1845. Compare Increase McGee and Maria Van Dusen's exposé, *Positively True: A Dialogue Between Adam and Eve, the Lord and the Devil, Called the Endowment* (Albany: C. Kilmer, 1847).

[50] *History of the Church*, 7:566. In addition to journal accounts, another published description of this altar dedication is in Helen Mar Whitney, "Scenes in Nauvoo, and Incidents from H. C. Kimball's Journal," *Woman's Exponent* 12 (1 July 1883): 10. These descriptions were taken from Heber C. Kimball, Journal, 7 Jan. 1846.

the "blessing of the Holy reserection, Even to the Eternal Godhead." Heber's wife was then anointed "a Queen & Priestess unto her husband" and received the same blessing as he did.[51]

Within the next few days, other leading brethren and their wives also received their second anointing. When the temple was closed on 7 February 1846, over two thousand couples had been sealed for time and eternity, and just under six hundred persons had received the fulness of the priesthood through their second anointing. In addition to Brigham Young, at least nineteen other men were delegated authority to perform second anointings.[52] On a typical day, six to twelve couples received this ordinance. A few women were sealed to their current husband for time but as a queen to a deceased man (usually Joseph Smith) for eternity. For the first time several polygamous second anointing sealings were also performed.[53]

In actual practice the second anointing as performed for couples by an officiator was the first of two parts comprising the fulness of the priesthood ceremony. The second part was private, without witnesses, and involved only the husband and wife. Its significance related to the resurrection of the dead as Heber C. Kimball notes.[54] In this part of the ordinance, the wife symbolically prepared her husband for his death and resurrection, a ceremony that gave the wife a claim on her husband for herself in the resurrection.[55] Kimball's journal

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[51] Book of Anointings, 8 Jan. 1846, pp. 3–4, photocopy of holograph, original in LDS Church Archives. The "Book of Anointings," a special record, lists all recipients of the second anointing in the Nauvoo Temple, including texts of several of the personal blessings received with the anointings (LDS Church Archives). Kimball and his wife, Vilate, originally received the second anointing on 20 Jan. 1844, and the second part of the fulness of the priesthood ceremony on 1 April 1844. Based on our discussion at the end of part 1 of this essay, it is possible that Kimball's ordination to the "Eternal Godhead" reflected an elite modification for this early Mormon leader's second anointing, which normally anointed a recipient to god*hood*; Brigham Young also was blessed, in his second anointing by Heber C. Kimball, to "attain unto [the] Eternal Godhead," as was his wife, Mary Ann. Aside from these references, no other evidence is presently known to support this supposition. It is noteworthy that one week prior to the commencement of second anointing conferrals in the Nauvoo Temple, Heber C. Kimball recorded a "temple wedding" between William A. Young and Adelia C. Clark wherein Brigham Young "pronounced them Husband & Wife, and sealed them together as such for time and for all eternity, and also sealed them up to eternal life, against all sins, except the sin against the Holy Ghost, which is the shedding of innocent blood, & pronounced various blessings upon them." (Heber C. Kimball, Journal, 1 Jan. 1846; the Book of Anointings contains no record of a second anointing for William G. Young and Adelia C. Clark.)

[52] Based on the Book of Anointings, typescript, original in LDS Church Archives, the men performing second anointings included Ezra T. Benson, Zebedee Coltrin, Winslow Farr, William Huntington, Orson Hyde, Aaron Johnson, Heber C. Kimball, Amasa M. Lyman, George Miller, Isaac Morley, William W. Phelps, Orson Pratt, Parley P. Pratt, Charles C. Rich, William Smith, William Snow, Daniel Spencer, Orson Spencer, John Taylor, and Brigham Young.

[53] Book of Anointings, typescript.

[54] Heber C. Kimball, Journal, "Strange Events."

[55] Compare the blessing Hyrum Smith gave John Taylor on 23 July 1843, that "shall be sealed upon your head in the day that you shall be anointed & your body prepared for its

refers to Mary washing and anointing Jesus' feet and may be derived from a speculative belief taught by some early Mormons that Jesus Christ married Mary and Martha, the sisters of Lazarus.[56]

A number of historical records indicate that the anointed husband and wife might perform the second part of the fulness of the priesthood ordinance from a few days to as much as a few years after an officiator performed the second anointing.[57]

These brief weeks in Nauvoo and its temple represent a unique concentration of second anointings. Although the endowment was sporadically administered after the Saints trekked westward, no available records or diaries indicate that the higher ordinance of fulness was given for over two decades.

III

It would seem to be necessary that there should be more care taken in the administration of the ordinances to the Saints in order that those who had not proven themselves worthy might not partake of the fulness of the anointings until they had proven themselves worthy thereof, upon being faithful to the initiatory principles; as great carelessness and a lack of appreciation had been manifested by many who had partaken of those sacred ordinances.

John Taylor, 12 Oct. 1883
(Salt Lake School of the Prophets Minute Book)

As the Church and its members adjusted to their new environment, initial emphasis on physical survival shifted to more spiritual activities, such as completing personal and Church histories and doing temple work. The Endowment House was dedicated by Heber C. Kimball and endowments were first

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buriel" (typescript from Patriarchal Blessing Book 3, p. 144, original in LDS Church Archives). For biblical accounts of Jesus Christ's anointing for his burial see Matt. 26:6–12, Mark 14:3–9, John 12:1–8.

[56] See Ogden Kraut, *Jesus Was Married* (n.p., 1969) for a compilation of early LDS citations on this belief. A more scholarly analysis of this question is William E. Phipps, *Was Jesus Married?* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), and William E. Phipps, "The Case for a Married Jesus," DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT 7 (Winter 1972): 44–49.

[57] Some journal entries which document this time separation between the first and second parts of the fulness of the priesthood ordinance include Heber C. Kimball (cited in text above); Phineas Richards, Journal, typescript entries for 22 Jan. 1846, 1 Feb. 1846, original in LDS Church Archives; Robert McQuarrie, Journal, typescript entries for 13 Nov. 1890, 1 June 1894, original in LDS Church Archives; William H. Smart, Diary, typescript entries for 31 May 1901, 20 June 1901, Western Americana, Marriot Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah; and Sylvester Q. Cannon, Journal, typescript entries for 30 Sept. 1904, and 28 Oct. 1904, original in LDS Church Archives.

administered there on 5 May 1855.[58] Another decade would pass, however, before second anointings were resumed. The explanation for this continued hiatus is unknown. Unquestionably the general subject continued to be discussed. On 26 November 1857, for example, Wilford Woodruff recorded in his diary that, "In company with G A Smith I called upon President Brigham Young and asked council about publishing the endowments or an outline of it telling the time when the Twelve received their 2nd Anointing & about the organization of the Council of 50 He gave his concent for us to publish an account of it so that the Saints might understand it." [59] A few weeks later, on December 18 as he worked to update the official history of the Church, Woodruff recorded a few relevant procedural comments by George A. Smith who noted "that Joseph taught that but one king & Priest could be anointed at one meeting in a private room dedicated by permission to anoint in, but one person could be anointed in a day but in the Temple several could be anointed in a day But at each anointing the meeting was dismissed and then came together." In Brigham Young's view, however, "When the Temple is finished & a place duly prepared we should not be confined to any particular Number in sealing and anointing." [60]

Whether President Young initially intended to await the completion of a new temple before reinstating second anointings is not clear. However, by early January 1867, ten years before the Saint George Temple was dedicated, he decided to resume this highest ordinance of Mormonism. On 26 December 1866 President Young met in council with the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve in a session which touched on the subject of endowments and second anointings. In this meeting he clarified several procedural issues before reinstituting the ordinance of the second anointing. Wilford Woodruff's diary for that procedural meeting on 26 December reports that President Young described "the order of the 2d Anointings"; the initiates would be dressed in temple clothes while "the Administrator" could wear street clothing or temple clothing.[61] A decade later he repeated these instructions to Wilford Woodruff.[62]

Furthermore, "there should be but one man anointed at any one meeting if more than one man is anointed in a day They should come together and open by Prayer as though their had not been any meeting before and thus continue to the end." [63] Wilford Woodruff's journal continues: "President Young said when a woman was anointed a Queen to a good man and he died & the woman was sealed to another man for time it was not necessary for her to be anointed a Queen again but if she was anointed a Queen to a man who was

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[58] Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 5 May 1855, LDS Church Archives.

[59] Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 26 Nov. 1857, LDS Church Archives.

[60] Ibid., 18 Dec. 1857.

[61] Ibid., 26 Dec. 1866.

[62] Ibid., 15 Jan. 1877.

[63] Ibid., 26 Dec. 1866.

not worthy of a wife & she is sealed to another man she should be anointed a Queen unto him. When a good man dies & his wives have not been anointed Queens unto him they may be anointed Queens to him after his death without any Proxy." [64] This last comment suggests that the second anointing was, at least during Brigham Young's administration, the only vicarious ordinance wherein a living proxy was not always required.

The next day, the First Presidency and most of the Twelve consecrated olive oil for use in administering the second anointing. And on 31 December 1866, Daniel H. Wells and his four wives received their second anointing from Brigham Young who had perfumed the consecrated oil for this ordinance. As Wilford Woodruff recorded, "The brethren rejoiced at the commencement again of the administration of these ordinances which had not been administered since they were in the Temple at Nauvoo." [65]

This event marked the beginning of a new period of conferring the fulness of the priesthood. George Q. Cannon and his three wives received their second anointing the next day, on 1 January 1867; Joseph A. Young received his on January 2; Brigham Young, Jr. on January 3, Joseph F. Smith and his two wives on January 4; and many others followed from January through June 1867.[66]

Brigham Young's views about the number of persons to receive the second anointing on a single day apparently changed slightly during the initial week, for on 2 January 1867, "it was decided by Presidet Young that we dress & offer up the signs of the Holy Priesthood before we give the 2d anointing & only anoint one man & his wives in one day at one place." [67] Eight weeks later, on February 26th, President Young again revised the procedure: "We should not anoint ownly one man & his family at one meeting. if any other women are to be anointed to another man it must be a separate meeting, there may [be] two meetings in a day at one place." [68]

After the ceremony was recorded in written form, President Young, then in the last year of his life, appointed Woodruff to preside over the Saint George

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[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid., 30–31 Dec. 1866. Compare Elijah Larkin Journal, 31 Dec. 1866, Lee Library.

[66] The cited names are found in Woodruff Journal, 31 Dec. 1866, 1–4 Jan. 1867. In addition to Woodruff's entries for 1867, other private journals and diaries, many available in the LDS Church Archives and Lee Library, record the administration of second anointings, including Elijah Larkin, Journal (31 Dec. 1866), Thomas Evans Jeremy, Journal (30 April 1867), Jesse N. Smith, Journal (3 June 1867), John Lyman Smith, Diary (30 July 1867), L. John Nuttall, Journal (23 Sept. 1867), Lorenzo Brown, Diary (2 Oct. 1867), Sylvester H. Earl, Diary (1867), John Lyman Smith, Diary (23 Oct. 1868), Henry Eyring, Journal (24 Feb. 1877), J. D. T. McAllister, Journal (10 April 1877), Samuel H. Rogers, Journal (1 Feb. 1878), Oliver B. Huntington, Journal (12 Jan. 1881), Samuel Bateman, Diary (30 Nov. 1887), and Thomas Memmott, Journal (13 Dec. 1889 and 13 Feb. 1890). An important published account of the second anointing is Mrs. T. B. H. (Fanny) Stenhouse, *An Englishwoman in Utah: The Story of a Life's Experience in Mormonism* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1880), pp. 320–21.

[67] Woodruff, Journal, 2 Jan. 1867.

[68] Ibid., 26 Feb. 1867.

Temple which had opened earlier that year and take charge of its affairs. In so doing, Woodruff recorded that the President gave "me power and authority to give Second Anointings, and seal women to me as I might be led by the Spirit of God."[69] Consistent with Woodruff's emphasis on vicarious work for the dead, vicarious second anointings were conducted in the Saint George Temple.[70]

Six years later on 28 April 1883, Church President John Taylor announced a revelation reestablishing the School of the Prophets for "all such as are worthy" — and thereby raised several interesting questions. At a preliminary organizational meeting on 25 July 1883, George Q. Cannon, counselor in the First Presidency, and George Reynolds, secretary to the First Presidency, were appointed to "get together all papers and information that they could obtain relating to the former Schools of the Prophets that were organized under the direction of the Presidents Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, so that the School might be properly organized in accordance with the designs of the Almighty."

They presented their findings to the First Presidency and the Twelve on 2 August 1883.[71] Understandably, in view of the time elapsed and complexity of the intervening history, there was confusion about how all the previous initiation rites and ordinances fit together. The August 2 minutes taken by John Irvine record George Q. Cannon's remarks:

> Now, whether the washing of feet [at the original Kirtland School] was suspended by the Endowment or not is a question in my mind, and probably, in all our minds. But it seems to me clear that after Peter, at least, had received an uncommon bestowal of power at the Transfiguration, that the Savior even after that washed his feet and the feet of the rest and commanded them that as they seen him do so should they do to one another. It was one of the last ordinances he performed in their midst. Brother Nuttall whispers to me a thing with which you are no doubt all familiar; that in the washing that takes place in the first endowment, they are washed that they might *become* clean from the blood of this generation — that is, I suppose, in the same way they are ordained *to be* Kings and Priests — that ordinance does not make them clean from the blood of this generation anymore than it makes them Kings and Priests. If they fully received of another endowment [i.e, the second anointing], a fulness of that power, and the promises are fulfilled in the bestowal of the power upon them. (Emphasis in original.)

Further discussion led to the conclusion that the original School in Kirtland had not used the "greeting" outlined in Doctrine and Covenants 88. Moreover, it was decided that the Kirtland School's washing ceremony was not intended to be a preparatory ordinance for the Kirtland Temple. Apostle Erastus

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[69] Typescript of signed statement by Wilford Woodruff, 26 March 1833, microfilm in James G. Bleak Papers, Lee Library.

[70] Samuel Hollister Rogers, Journal, typescript entry for 1 Feb. 1878, original in Lee Library.

[71] Salt Lake [City] School of the Prophets Minute Book, typescript entry for 2 Aug. 1883, original in LDS Church Archives.

Snow recalled: "I did not understand [it] to be a preparatory work . . . . I understood it rather as a finishing work, and the words used in most cases according to the best of my recollection, were: 'I wash you and pronounce you clean from the blood of this generation.' " He defined "finishing" as the last part of the Kirtland endowment — "something extra." [72]

President Taylor subsequently decided that the ordinance of washing of feet could be appropriately used to initiate individuals into the School of the Prophets. The "form of ceremony" decided upon by President Taylor was similar to that used in the Kirtland endowment and to that used in Nauvoo to confer the higher blessings in its invocation of proper authority, the place of this ritual as "an introductory ordinance," and a pronouncing of blessings upon the recipient. The ordinance was, of course, strongly reminiscent of the ritual performed by the Savior with his apostles during the Last Supper. School minutes state that President Taylor occasionally inserted "And I say unto thee thy sins are forgiven thee." He also specified that "the washing of feet is not the same ordinance associated with this as attended to administration of Endowments in the Kirtland Temple . . . . This is a distinct thing and is introductory to the School of the Prophets. The other was an endowment." [73] The exact purpose of the washing of feet may have thus been primarily a reminder of their responsibility to be united and to provide selfless service.

President Taylor asserted that the Church was then (in 1883) operating on a "higher plane," [74] apparently higher than that of the School initiation and the Kirtland endowment half a century earlier. His 1883 decision to allow the washing of feet as an initiation to the school, complete with the pronouncement of cleansing from the blood of this generation, suggests that only those who had received their second anointing, or were worthy to receive it, were admitted to the school since the preparatory endowment washed initiates only *to become* clean from the blood of their generation. After the complete order of temple ordinances was established in Nauvoo, it took conferral of the fulness of the priesthood to completely "cleanse" an individual from this blood. It would seem that if a member had not received the second anointing but was initiated into the 1883 school, the washing of feet would confirm earlier "cleansing" blessings from the preparatory endowment but would not affirm other promises given in the second anointing. Those who had previously received the fulness of the priesthood would merely be renewing blessings already received with the second anointing. A further requirement of those entering the 1883 school, besides the endowment and temple marriage, was "celestial" or plural marriage.[75]

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[72] School of the Prophets Minutes 27 Sept. 1883.

[73] Ibid., 12 Oct. 1883.

[74] Ibid., 28 Sept. 1883.

[75] This requirement would have been consistent with a revelation received by President John Taylor on 13 Oct. 1882 that all Church leaders, both local and Churchwide were to obey "my law" — *i.e.*, the law of plural marriage — or they would not "be considered worthy

President Taylor, reflecting on some of the foregoing uncertainties, explained at a meeting of the school on 12 October 1883:

> The reason why things are in the shape they are is because Joseph felt called upon to confer all ordinances connected with the Priesthood. He felt in a hurry on account of certain premonition [*sic*] that he had concerning his death, and was very desirous to impart the endowments and all the ordinances thereof to the Priesthood during his life time, and it would seem to be necessary that there should be more care taken in the administration of the ordinances to the Saints in order that those who had not proven themselves worthy might not partake of the fulness of the anointings until they had proven themselves worthy thereof, upon being faithful to the initiatory principles; as great carelessness and a lack of appreciation had been manifested by many who had partaken of these sacred ordinances.

The President concluded, "Had Joseph Smith lived he would have had much more to say on many of those points which he was prevented from doing by his death." [76]

IV

No man receives a fullness of the Melchisedek Priesthood till he has received his second anointings. Men recommended for this sacred ordinance should be men of God whose faith and integrity are unquestioned.

Joseph F. Smith
(in Anthony W. Ivins, Diary, 8 April 1901)

Once the basic format was established, second anointings were regularly administered in the temples at Saint George and Logan, and later at Salt Lake City and Manti; the ordinance typically was performed by the temple president, who, with the exception of Wilford Woodruff at Saint George for some years, was not an apostle. During the 1883 discussions in the School of the Prophets, President Taylor indicated that too many members had received the higher ordinances of the temple before they had proven themselves worthy. He and George Q. Cannon felt it would be advisible for the endowment to be administered in separate stages, with the fulness of the priesthood given only after the candidate had proven himself or herself worthy of the higher blessing.[77] Because of the proliferation of second anointings, the First Presidency issued, over the next few decades, several procedural requirements.

On 7 October 1889, six months after he was sustained president of the Church, Woodruff "spoke in regard to second anointing [*sic*] and said the Presidents of Stakes were to be judges of who were worthy to receive them." He also indicated that "it was an ordinance of the eternal world which be-

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to hold my priesthood." "Revelation," cited in B. H. Roberts, *Life of John Taylor* (Salt Lake City, 1892, pp. 349–51. See also John Taylor, 6 Oct. 1884, *Journal of Discourses*, 25:309.

[76] School of the Prophets Minutes, 12 Oct. 1883.

[77] School of the Prophets Minutes, 2 Aug. 1883, 27 Sept. 1883.

longed particularly to old men." [78] Although stake presidents were shortly thereafter given final signatory authority for general temple recommends, a 6 November 1891 First Presidency directive indicated that second anointings were still to be given final approval only by the president of the Church.[79]

In 1901, Lorenzo Snow, fourth Church president, stated "that persons who are recommended for second anointings should be those who have made an exceptional record, that they are persons who will never apostatize." [80] Other early twentieth-century First Presidency writings and correspondence[81] indicates that at various times the following criteria of worthiness were applied:

(1) Unquestionable and unshaken integrity to the work of the Lord.

(2) "Valient in the defense of the truth," "active in all good works," have borne "the heat and burden of the day, and endured faithfully to the end."

(3) Obedience to commandments such as tithing, law of chastity, honesty, etc.

(4) Age was to be considered, but a member did not need to be "old" to receive the ordinance; recipients, however, typically were over fifty years old.

(5) Candidates had to have "gathered with the body of the Church." Faithful "non-gatherers" would be "dealt with by the authority on the other side of the veil."

(6) Candidates could not be guilty of any major sins — e.g., a man who committed adultery after receiving his endowment would not be recommended, even after full repentance.[82]

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[78] Abraham H. Cannon, Journal, typescript entry for 7 Oct. 1889, vol. 11, p. 129, original in Lee Library; see also Cannon's journal entry for 18 Aug. 1893, vol. 17, p. 94, for a similar comment on stake presidents' authority to recommend candidates for second anointings.

[79] Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith, 6 Nov. 1891, To the Presidents of Stakes and Bishops of Wards, LDS Church Archives; also cited in James R. Clark ed., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1833–1964*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965–75), 3:228; hereafter cited as *MFP*). A similar circular letter was released just a few days later on 10 Nov. 1891 which was identical except for the omission of any mention of second anointings; also cited in *MFP*, 3:229.

[80] Anthony W. Ivins, Journal, typescript entry for 8 April 1901, original in Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[81] See, for example, Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, Anthon H. Lund to C. R. Hakes, 1 Aug. 1902; Smith, Winder, and Lund to S. L. Chipman, 16 June 1905; Smith and Winder to David John [and] Joseph B. Keeler, 18 March 1902; Smith, Winder, and Lund to C. N. Lund, 21 Nov. 1906; Smith, Winder, and Lund to Lewis Anderson, 14 March 1907; Smith, Winder, and Lund to Oleen N. Stohl, 22 May 1908; Smith, Winder, and Lund to Isaac Smith, 16 Feb. 1909; Joseph F. Smith, "Temple Instructions to the Bishops," 1918, in *MFP*, 5:112; and "Special Instructions to the Stake President," for 1901–21. All of these documents are in Confidential Research Files.

[82] Isaac C. Haight, who, according to tradiitonal sources, was excommunicated for authorizing the Mountain Meadows Massacre, was later rebaptized and died en route to the temple to receive his second anointing.

(7) Candidates did not have to be Church officers, but it was expected that officers such as apostles, stake presidents, high councilmen, bishops, and patriarchs would be worthy to receive the ordinance.

(8) Candidates for posthumous second anointings had to have received their endowment during their lifetime, and therefore must have been members of the Church as well.

(9) Usually candidates must have been married and sealed in the temple. Living bachelors ordinarily were not allowed to have deceased women anointed to them; single living women were more frequently anointed to deceased men.

Specific guidance on women's recommends varied somewhat. During Wilford Woodruff's administration, the rule was "not to permit a woman to be anointed to a man unless she had lived with him as his wife." [83] According to a First Presidency letter in 1900 (during President Snow's administration), this "rule" was a "restriction of the rule in such case which [was] obtained during the lifetime of President Brigham Young and John Taylor." After reviewing this policy, the First Presidency decided to "restore the practice" as follows: "Any woman who has been sealed to a man in life or by proxy whether she has lived with him or not, shall have the privilege of being anointed to him inasmuch as he shall have had his second blessings." [84] Joseph F. Smith, fifth president of the Church, followed this new rule in 1902,[85] but by 1907 he and his counselors John R. Winder and Anthon H. Lund wrote: "It is not customary for woman [*sic*] to be sealed to men, to whom they may have been sealed after death, but with whom they had not lived in their lifetime as husband and wife in the marriage relation. . . . They must be, or have been, husband and wife . . . or one flesh, to use the scriptural expression." [86] One 1904 First Presidency letter denied conferral of the second anointing upon a woman whose deceased husband was not considered worthy of a recommend due to his indifference toward temple work prior to his death.[87]

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[83] Lorenzo Snow, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith to John D. T. McAllister, 14 April 1900, Lorenzo Snow Letterpress Book, Confidential Research Files. See also Wilford Woodruff to James H. Martineau, 26 Oct. 1887, ibid.

[84] Snow, Cannon, and Smith to J. D. T. McAllister, 14 April 1900, ibid.

[85] First Presidency letter of 11 June 1902, recorded in J. D. T. McAllister Journal, typescript entry for 31 Dec. 1902, original in Lee Library.

[86] Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, and Anthon H. Lund to Lewis Anderson, 14 March 1907, Confidential Research Files.

[87] Smith, Winder, and Lund to Thomas R. Bassett, 4 Nov. 1904, ibid. Other letters containing directives on second anointings for females are the First Presidency to Thomas E. Bassett, 5 Jan. 1902; Smith, Winder, and Lund to Thomas E. Bassett, 16 Nov. 1903; Smith, Winder, and Lund to C. N. Lund, 21 Nov. 1906; Smith, Winder, and Lund to William Budge, 22 May 1908. With respect to the rule that a man and wife were to have been endowed members during their lifetimes in order to receive the second anointing posthumously, the First Presidency counseled one stake president that persons who had died before the Church was organized could be recommended, provided that adequate evidence was

The recommend itself was usually initiated by a candidate's stake president. It is not known to what extent stake presidents were encouraged to submit recommends for second anointings to the Church president. Evidence suggests that some men and women had requested second anointings prior to the 1890s.[88] One letter from Wilford Woodruff to Salt Lake Stake President Angus M. Cannon suggests that local initiative was occasionally exercised.[89] Bishops, however, were discouraged from submitting such recommends.[90] If a stake president felt a couple worthy of the ordinance — almost presupposing that all stake presidents had previously received the second anointing — they filled out an ordinary temple recommend without indicating on it that it was for a second anointing. They then submitted the recommend together with a short biographical summary of the candidates directly to the Church president, a procedure followed for both the living and the dead. Only after the Church president returned the signed recommend would the stake president then contact the candidates, who usually knew nothing of their candidacy. Recommended candidates were instructed not to discuss their second anointing with anyone outside the temple, and stake presidents were directed not to send more than one family per week to the temple for completion of the ordinance to maintain this confidentiality.[91]

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available to determine their worthiness. See Smith, Winder, and Lund to Oleen N. Stohl, 22 May 1908, Confidential Research Files.

[88] For example, see John Taylor to Eliza Perry Benson, 14 March 1886, John Taylor Letterpress Book, 1886–87, LDS Church Archives; John Hawkins to John Taylor, 6 June 1886, John Taylor Letter Ms. File, LDS Church Archives; Benjamin F. Johnson to First Presidency, 9 Dec. 1886, Office of the First Presidency Journal, L. John Nuttall Papers, LDS Church Archives; Eliza R. Snow to First Presidency, 27 Dec. 1886, ibid.; and Wilford Woodruff to M. W. Merrill, 29 March 1888, LDS Archives. (Note: most of the letters cited through the balance of this essay are in restricted files with various titles. These are cited from a compilation of extracts of First Presidency letters entitled "Historical Department — Confidential Research Files 1950–1974," LDS Church Archives vault, copy in Archives and Manuscripts, Lee Library.) One request from Benjamin F. Johnson to John Taylor, 29 Jan. 1887, LDS Church Archives "as[ked for] the Priviledge of 2d anointing for my son James Fransis, who is the Present Bishop at Tempe. . . . He is over 30 years of age and apears really one of the comeing young men of Zion." (Confidential Research File).

[89] Wilford Woodruff to Angus M. Cannon, 24 Jan. 1888, ibid. See letter from Smith, Winder, and Lund to President Moses W. Taylor, 4 Jan. 1902: "We would say that it is not expected that people shall be found asking that this most sacred ordinance shall be administered to them, but you should take pains to seek out the worthy people under your jurisdiction, and this by means of your counselors and Bishops," ibid.

[90] Abraham H. Cannon, Journal, 18 Aug. 1893, vol. 17, p. 94, Lee Library; Smith, Winder, and Lund to Moses W. Taylor, 4 Jan. 1902; George F. Gibbs (Secretary to the First Presidency) to Ira W. Hinckley, 9 Dec. 1905; Smith, Winder, and Lund to Thomas E. Bassett, 4 Feb. 1902; George F. Gibbs to Alma Merrill, 14 Jan. 1908; Winder and Lund to Don C. Walker, 24 March 1909; Joseph F. Smith, "Temple Instructions to the Bishops," 1918 (also cited in *MFP*, 5:112). All documents in Confidential Research Files.

[91] Smith, Winder, and Lund to Thomas E. Bassett, 4 Feb. 1902; Smith, Winder, and Lund to C. R. Hakes, 1 Aug. 1902; Smith, Winder, and Lund to J. S. Paige, Jr., 22 Sept. 1903; George F. Giggs to Alma Merrill, 14 Jan. 1908; Winder and Lund to Don C. Walker, 24 March 1909; and "Special Instructions to the Stake President," for 1901–21, ibid.

Consequently, it is unclear precisely what long-term effect the second anointing had upon the lives of its recipients, nor, for that matter is it known to what degree the conferral of godhood by the second anointing was held to be conditional or unconditional. Most of the earliest nineteenth-century comments explicitly dealing with the second anointing clearly imply that the ordinance was then held to be unconditional. As early as August 1843 Joseph Smith had expanded on the Calvinist doctrine of the elect in a sermon containing overtones of predestination. On August 13, the Prophet reportedly said, "When a seal is put upon the father and mother it secures their posterity so that they cannot be lost but will be saved by virtue of the covenant of their father." Another report recorded: ". . . the Covenant sealed on the fore heads of the Parents secured the children from falling that they shall all sit upon thrones as one with the God-head joint Heirs of God with Jesus Christ." [92] This promise seems to have been invoked in Heber C. Kimball's personal second anointing blessing given by Brigham Young on 8 January 1846 related to his posterity.[93]

Indeed, even the promises of godhood outlined in Joseph Smith's revelation on celestial marriage (now D&C 132) seemed unconditionally dependent upon having received the key ordinances of celestial marriage and being "sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise, through him whom I have anointed and appointed unto this power" (v. 18), a reference to the second anointing. Joseph equated this "sealing" with the "Holy Spirit of promise" in a 10 March 1844 sermon as "i e *Elijah*." He then explained, "to obtain this sealing is to make our calling and election sure." [94] Indeed, "the power of Elijah is sufficient to make our calling & Election sure." [95] This sealing power of Elijah, the power to seal on earth and in heaven, even the "Holy Spirit of promise," was bestowed "by revelation and commandment through the medium of mine anointed, whom I have appointed on the earth to hold this power (and I have appointed unto my servant Joseph to hold this power in the last days, and there is never but one on the earth at a time on whom this power and keys of the priesthood are conferred)" (D&C 132:7).[96]

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[92] William Clayton, Diary, 13 Aug. 1843, and Franklin D. Richards' "Scriptural Items," as cited in *WJS*, pp. 241–42, originals in LDS Church Archives. Compare *History of the Church*, 5:530–31. In *WJS*, p. 300, Ehat and Cook argue that this effect upon the posterity of parents was conditional, not unconditional. Their comment is based only upon the Howard and Martha Coray Notebook, cited in *WJS*, p. 241; furthermore, they assume the "sealing" spoken of by Joseph Smith is that of marriage. The actual "seal" discussed, however, was that of the Holy Spirit of Promise or the second anointing, not on a couple's marriage. This, as well as the comments cited in the narrative clearly show that Joseph Smith intended to state that the sealing unconditionally affected a couple's posterity after this life.

[93] Book of Anointings, 8 Jan. 1846.

[94] "Scriptural Items," cited in *WJS*, p. 335; emphasis in original.

[95] Wilford Woodruff, Journal, same date, cited in *WJS*, p. 330; see also D&C 124:124. This contemporary interpretation of equating the "Holy Spirit of promise" with the "calling and election sure" doctrine, particularly with respect to its conferral by a human intermediary, has since undergone significant reinterpretation.

[96] The ultimate receipt of this powerful sealing authority from a sole human intermediary, Joseph Smith, represented a striking departure from Joseph Smith's earlier caution against

The unconditional promise of exaltation in the highest degree of the celestial kingdom as gods and goddesses inherent in this priesthood sealing ordinance of Elijah was weighty indeed, yet so was the sole postmortal alternative: banishment as sons and daughters of perdition for whom there is no forgiveness in this life or in the hereafter.[97] The sealing of the Holy Spirit of promise seemingly did not leave recipients of the second anointing eligible for the graded degrees of judgment outlined in Doctrine and Covenants 76: they would be either gods or devils.

Doctrine and Covenants 132:26–27 implies that such persons would be deprived of godhood only if they committed the unpardonable sin: i.e., ". . . murder wherein ye shed innocent blood, and assent unto my death." [98] This would seem to give license to commit a wide variety of sins including adultery, rape, incest, theft, extortion, etc., and still be guaranteed godhood after "they shall be destroyed in the flesh, and shall be delivered unto the buffetings of Satan unto the day of redemption." [99]

Themes of the unconditional nature of the second anointing occasionally appeared in public sermons of Church authorities in Utah. On 7 April 1855, Orson Pratt stated,

> But we have no promise, unless we endure in faith unto the end . . . . In speaking of this, I will qualify my language by saying, that the Saint who has been sealed unto eternal life and falls in transgression and does not repent, but dies in his sin, will be afflicted and tormented after he leaves this vale of tears until the day of redemption; but having been sealed with the spirit of promise through the ordinances of the house of God, those things which have been sealed upon his head will be realized by him in the morning of the resurrection.[100]

Pratt's September 1860 comments on this subject were given in the same vein: "This would seem to be as near an unconditional promise as can well be made to mortals. But this is not altogether unconditional, for there are some exceptions; but it would come as near as anything we have ever read of." [101] And in

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the two great abominations of all Christian primitivists, papism and priestcraft; see Susan Curtis Mernitz, "Palmyra Revised," pp. 33–35.

[97] See Brigham Young, 8 Aug. 1852, *JD*, 3:93.

[98] It is possible that some early Mormons may have extended this deprivation of godhood to anyone who committed the unpardonable sin; John D. Lee's recollection of the deliberations preceding the Mountain Meadows massacre describes the concern of those involved that by killing the women and children, they might be guilty of shedding innocent blood. This task was left to the Indians so that "it would be certain that no Mormon would be guilty of shedding *innocent blood* — if it should happen that there was any innocent blood in the company that were to die." John D. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled; or The Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop, John D. Lee* (St. Louis: Brand & Comuany, 1877), p. 237; emphasis in original. Lee received his second anointing 17 Jan. 1846, John D. Lee, Diary, typescript entry for same date, original in LDS Church Archives.

[99] This passage of scripture may have provided some theoretical basis for the latter-day doctrine of blood atonement preached by several nineteenth-century Church authorities.

[100] *JD*, 2:260.

[101] 16 Sept. 1860, *JD*, 8:311–312.

November 1867, Brigham Young affirmed, "When men and women have travelled to a certain point in their labors in this life, God sets a seal upon them that they never can forsake their God or His kingdom; for, rather than they should do this, He will at once take them to Himself." [102]

Despite these affirmations of unconditionality, however, others were concerned that those who had received the second anointing might see it as a license to commit any sin short of the unpardonable one. These later expressions concerning the second anointing's conditional nature were not only more frequent than comments about its unconditional nature, but these conditional expressions implicitly or explicitly indicated that the second anointing could be invalidated by actions less serious than the sin against the Holy Ghost. Heber C. Kimball, for instance, graphically stated:

> Some will come with great zeal and anxiety, saying, "I want my endowments; I want my washings and anointings; I want my blessings; I wish to be sealed up to eternal lives; I wish to have my wife sealed and my children sealed to me;" in short, "I desire this and I wish that." What good would all this do you, if you do not live up to your profession and practise your religion? Not as much good as for me to take a bag of sand and baptize it, lay hands upon it for the gift of the Holy Ghost, wash it and anoint, and then seal it up to eternal lives, for the sand will be saved, having filled the measure of its creation, but you will not, except through faith and obedience.[103]

Eighteen months later, Kimball further explained, "Now you say I believe in the principle of election. I do; I believe . . . if [the elected] . . . be faithful to the end of their days, they will be saved — every one of them. That is as far as I believe in election." [104] Brigham Young echoed this idea: "There are few who live for the blessings of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob after they are sealed upon them. No blessing that is sealed upon us will do us any good, unless we live for it." [105] This pragmatic emphasis on salvation through works was also preached by George Q. Cannon:

> When he [Brigham Young] sealed a man up to eternal life, he bestowed upon him the blessings pertaining to eternity, and to the Godhead, or when he delegated others to do it in his stead, God in the eternal world recorded the act; the blessings that were sealed upon that man or that woman, they were sealed to be binding in this life, and in that life which is to come; they became part of the records of eternity, and would be fulfilled to the very letter upon the heads of those upon whom they were pro-

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[102] 17 Nov. 1867, *JD*, 12:103. Also of interest are Heber C. Kimball's 2 April 1854 remarks: "What you have agreed to do, God will require you to perform, if it should be ten thousand years after this time. And when the servants of God speak to you, and require you to do a thing, the Lord God will fulfil His words, and make you fulfil His words he gave to you through His servants. Inasmuch as you have come into this Church, and made a covenant to forsake the world, and cleave unto the Lord, and keep His commandments, the Lord will compel you to do it, if it should be in ten thousand years from this time. These are my views, and I know it will be so." *JD*, 2:151.

[103] Kimball, 6 Oct. 1855, *JD*, 3:124.

[104] Ibid., 19 April 1857, *JD*, 4:363–64. See also his comments on 6 April 1857, *JD*, 5:18–19.

[105] Brigham Young, 26 June 1865, *JD*, 11:117.

nounced, provided they were faithful before God, and fulfilled their part of the covenant.[106]

Indeed, the conditional nature of the second anointing has become even more pronounced within the last two generations, due to an apparent reinterpretation of the "Holy Spirit of promise." "Elijah's seal" is not seen as Joseph Smith saw it — as making one's "calling and election sure" — but is now explained as the Holy Ghost. In the writings of twentieth-century Church authorities,[107] the Holy Spirit of promise, or Holy Ghost, has now become a "divine censor" which both seals *and unseals* ordinances according to an ever-changing judgment of an individual's worthiness. Given this viewpoint, it is unclear when the Doctrine and Covenants 132:26 punishments of "destruction in the flesh" and "buffetings of Satan" would be applied for sins other than the unpardonable one. A strict interpretation would hold for immediate punishment after someone who received the second anointing and Holy Spirit of Promise sealing committed "any sin or transgression of the new and everlasting covenant whatever, and all manner of blasphemies." If the second anointing is "unsealed" however, it seems that these persons would no longer be subject to these prescribed penalties. Moreover, by ascribing a conditional stance to the second anointing, it would be difficult to perceive it as significantly different from the promissory anointing received in the regular endowment.

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It is not customary now for presidents of Stakes, as you know, to recommend people for higher blessings.

Heber J. Grant, 1927
(Heber J. Grant to Levi S. Udall, 6 April 1927)

At the turn of the century the Church had 264,000 members and about fifty stakes; by 1920 there were 508,000 members; in 1928 the one-hundredth stake was organized.[108] By the time Heber J. Grant became president late in 1918, over 14,000 second anointings had been performed for both living and deceased members.[109] In the midst of this growth, President Grant issued a

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[106] George Q. Cannon, 12 Aug. 1883, *JD*, 24:274. See also Charles W. Penrose, 2 Jan. 1881, *JD*, 21:356.

[107] See Joseph Fielding Smith's opinion on this question in *Doctrines of Salvation*, 1:55, and 2:94–99. Bruce R. McConkie echoes this idea in *Mormon Doctrine*, 2nd ed., p. 362. McConkie's "The Seven Deadly Heresies," a fireside address at Brigham Young University, 1 June 1980, should also be understood in light of this question. *BYU Devotional Speeches of the Year, 1980* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1981): 74–80, esp. p. 77.

[108] James B. Allen and Richard O. Cowan, *Mormonism in the Twentieth Century*, rev. ed. (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1969), pp. 51, 54.

[109] This figure is based on the Salt Lake Temple Ordinance Book, LDS Church Archives, as well as J. D. T. McAllister's "Totals To year ending Dec. 31, 1898" for the Saint George, Logan, Manti, and Salt Lake temples, LDS Church Archives. McAllister was, at the time, the president of the Manti Temple.

policy change which has affected the frequency of second-anointing administrations to this day.

The records which indicate the precise date of this policy change are not presently available to historians, but on 30 January 1926, President Grant wrote: "Second Blessings are only given by the President of the Church upon recommendation of a member of the Council of the Twelve." Evidently in response to a stake president's inquiry, the president continued: "At some time when one of the Apostles is in your Stake, if he feels to properly recommend Brother . . . the matter will [be] taken under advisement." [110]

This implied decision to discontinue receiving recommendations from stake presidents for second anointing candidates was reiterated by President Grant on 6 April 1927: "It is not customary now for presidents of Stakes, as you know, to recommend people for higher blessings. That matter should be taken up by the visiting apostle at your quarterly conference, and all recommendations of this kind should come direct from the apostles." [111]

This policy change dramatically curtailed second anointings among members. According to a George F. Richards letter written in 1949 during his tenure as president of the Council of the Twelve, the policy was a direct result of an incident occurring "about 1928." A "brother who had received his Second Blessings, while speaking in a priesthood meeting in one of the Idaho stakes, told the brethren that they all should have their Second Blessings. Of course that was a serious infraction of the charge which he received when he had his Second Anointings; but I have never learned of any serious consequences to follow, except the action on the part of the Authorities, discontinuing the administration of these blessings in the Church." [112]

While figures are not available for each president, averages proportioned to their dates in office would indicate that Wilford Woodruff authorized nearly 2,000 or an average of just over 300 each year the Salt Lake Temple operated during his administration. Lorenzo Snow apparently also authorized about 2,000 second anointings, roughly twice as many per year as had Woodruff. Joseph F. Smith apparently authorized about 4,000 anointings, or less than half as many per year as his predecessor. And Heber J. Grant apparently authorized only a few hundred for an annual average only one-tenth that of his predecessor. In the Salt Lake Temple the frequency of second anointings peaked at the turn of the century during President Snow's short administration and fell sharply in 1922 to a mere trickle by 1928. After 1928, the average was less than two per year for at least the next decade and a half. Data after

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[110] Heber J. Grant to S. L. Chipman, 30 Jan. 1926, Heber J. Grant Letter Books, Confidential Research Files.

[111] Heber J. Grant to Levi S. Udall, 6 April 1927, First Presidency Letterpress Copybooks, LDS Church Archives.

[112] George F. Richards to the Members of the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve, typescript copy, no date (but based on Richards 18 Aug. 1949 journal entry, this letter was delivered on the same date), original in George F. Richards Collection, LDS Church Archives.

1941 are not presently available to historians. By 1941, a total of 6,000 second anointings for the living and over 2,000 for the dead had been administered in the Salt Lake Temple during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Three-fourths of the total were for the living; and three-fifths of the total were for women. Counting all temples, just under 15,000 second anointings had been performed for the living by 1941, and just over 6,000 for the dead.[113]

During this period of declining administrations of higher blessings, George F. Richards singlehandedly labored to revive this practice. An apostle from 1906 to 1950, he was also president of the Salt Lake Temple from 1921 to 1937 and chaired a special apostolic committee which made extensive procedural changes in the endowment ceremony.[114] In a 1934 letter to President Grant, he listed five General Authorities who had not received second anointings and wrote, "I understand that it is in order for a member of the Council of the Twelve to recommend worthy members to the President of the Church to receive their Second blessings. Accordingly, I recommend that these brethren and their wives be invited to receive their blessings." [115] At least one of these candidates was not approved until December 1942 when he recorded in his journal, "I have anxiously looked forward to this action. The records show that there have been 32,495 such blessings administered in the Church and that during the last 12 years there have been but 8 administrations. Thirteen of the 32 General Authorities have not had theirs and at least two others who have had them with their first wives have later wives not yet anointed to their husbands." [116] A few days later he wrote in another journal entry: "This has been a wonderful year for me and my family . . . .I have been instrumental in renewing the former practice in the Church of administering Second Anointings

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[113] See note 109 and statistical reports in *Genealogical and Historical Magazine of the Arizona Temple District* 14 (April 1938): 10–11, and 15 (April 1939): 10–11. These statistics were published under the direction of Franklin T. Pomeroy. Interestingly the same type of statistics were included in George F. Richards's letter (cited n. 112); however, his totals are significantly different from those cited in the text. Richards claimed that just over 22,000 second anointings had been performed for the living by the end of 1942, with over 10,000 for the dead. His statistics for second anointings in the Nauvoo Temple are almost 150 short of the number recorded in the Book of Anointings, and his Salt Lake Temple statistics were dramatically inflated above those officially recorded in the Salt Lake Temple Ordinance Book.

It should also be noted that although a great number of vicarious second anointings were performed, Church officials seemed somewhat reluctant to permit a wholesale rash of these ordinances for the dead. President Lorenzo Snow was quoted as saying, "Many faithful people have gone into the spirit world without those blessings [i.e., the second anointing], and they will lose nothing by it," and that he preferred "to refer [them] to the future than to undertake to endorse recommends for persons who cannot be regularly recommended." George F. Gibbs to D. H. Cannon, 22 Dec. 1900. On 19 Oct. 1926, Heber J. Grant, Anthony W. Ivins, and Charles W. Nibley wrote Joseph W. McMurrin, saying it "has been some years since ordinances bestowing second blessings [i.e., second anointings] have been performed in cases where both parties are dead," Confidential Research Files.

[114] George F. Richards, Journal, 7, 8, 12 April 1921; 10, 27, 28 Dec. 1921; 3, 7 June 1922; 30, 31 August 1922; 14, 16, 17, 19, 20 April 1923; 12 July 1924; 9, 16 Dec. 1926; 25, 27 Jan. 1927 for a description of this committee's activities; LDS Church Archives.

[115] Ibid., 19 April 1934.

[116] Ibid., 10 Dec. 1942.

to faithful members, the practice having gone practically into disuse . . . . I am sure that the Lord has inspired what I have been able to do along these lines." [117]

Judging from his remarks seven years later, however, in a 1949 letter presented to the Council of the First Presidency and the Twelve, Richards still expressed frustration: "For a long time I have felt that I would like to express to you the disappointment I feel in that we have practically discontinued the administration of Second Anointings in the Church . . . . I have not been able to bring myself to feel that the Lord is pleased with us in neglecting such an important and sacred endowment . . . . Thousands of good and faithful men and women are dying without receiving a fulfillment of the promise made them in connection with the temple ceremonies." After citing various statistics and the Idaho incident discussed above, Richards concluded:

> It appears to me that the mistake made by the good brother in Idaho was not so serious as to justify letting those sacred ordinances come into disuse in the Church. I think now is the time to act; with such modifications as to details as the brethren might feel to make, insuring that these blessings be administered only to those who are worthy to receive them. . . .
>
> If there is condemnation resting upon us for our neglect, the longer we delay action the greater will be our condemnation. . . .
>
> Temples under construction now and in the future should be provided with a room for the administration of these blessings alone, to be known as the Holy of Holies, for if we do not move in the matter before us, some others coming after us will do so for it must be done, and temples should be designed and constructed with that thought in mind.
>
> It is to be hoped that this communication will not be shelved and forgotten without full consideration by this Council. For several years these matters have given me great mental anxiety and spiritual concern, and but for want of courage I would have sought an opportunity to be heard years ago. I do not want to leave this sphere of action without vigorously protesting our indifference and neglect.[118]

While the results of this exchange are not presently available, Richards did note in his journal that day: "The paper and other statements made by me in connection therewith were accepted 100%." [119]

Aside from a few letters and other fragmentary bits of information, very little is known of recent LDS practice regarding second anointings. One person recalled that when he was a small boy in a rural Utah town early this century, "second endowments [i.e., second anointings] *were spoken of* rather frequently." [120] Today, however, members typically do not understand such references or know of the ordinance. Nonetheless, occasional instances of

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[117] Ibid., 31 Dec. 1942.

[118] Letter cited n. 112.

[119] Richards, Journal, 18 Aug. 1949.

[120] Asael Carlyle Lambert, from holograph notes titled "Second Endowments," which recount an interview with Howard S. McDonald, located in A. C. Lambert Papers, Special Collections Division, Marriott Library, University of Utah; emphasis in original.

present-day anointings have occurred.[121] Vicarious second anointings are also performed, but are less frequent. Formerly the Church president delegated authority to perform second anointings to General Authorities and temple presidents; today it is understood that if the Church president does not perform the ceremony, he ordinarily must be present in the room while it is done by a designated individual, although his presence has not always been possible. The policy of the Church president calling up candidates to receive the second anointing still continues. In the past the ordinance typically was held in a special room called the Holy of Holies, a room with which only a few temples are equipped. At present, any room in a temple specifically set apart for the purpose will suffice.[122]

However, a more perplexing doctrinal question remains, without a clear answer presently available: In Mormon theology, must a faithful member receive the second anointing for exaltation in the highest degree of the celestial kingdom? The record of former LDS practices, both for the living and the dead, seems to say yes. Yet the current official policy initiated by Heber J. Grant suggests that Church authorities now feel that the second anointing is not required for exaltation.[123] However, the fact that the ordinance continues to be performed — albeit on a small scale — seems to signal some importance. While its current limitations may have partially stemmed from anxiety of the hierarchy to prevent this ritual from being conferred upon people who might later fall from faithfulness, it is more likely that the Church's current posture resulted from the second anointing becoming a conditional ordinance rather than an "unconditional" one. As a conditional ordinance, it becomes a "special blessing" for a limited number of proven, trustworthy older men and women or for the upper levels of a highly exclusivist and insular hierarchy. In such a light, much of the significance of the ordinance is reduced.[124]

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[121] For example, see Carrel H. Sheldon's letter in DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT 14 (Winter 1981): 15 where she tells of knowing one couple who received the second anointing during David O. McKay's administration and two couples during Spencer W. Kimball's administration.

[122] This procedural information was related to me by Provo Temple President Orville Gunther in March 1978 and was reiterated by Oakland Temple President Richard B. Sonne in a personal interview on 14 Nov. 1981, and by Idaho Falls Temple President Devier Harris on 29 Dec. 1982. A picture of the Holy of Holies in the Salt Lake Temple was published in James E. Talmage's original edition of *House of the Lord*; more recent "reprints" have removed the picture. The same picture was reprinted in *Improvement Era* 39 (Nov. 1936): 241.

[123] When John A. Tvedtnes, for instance, asked Apostle Harold B. Lee in a Salt Lake Temple missionary question-and-answer session, if the "second endowment" existed and, "if so, what connection does it have with the Holy Spirit of Promise, and who receives it and why and how?", Lee answered, "You don't have to worry. You've received all the ordinances necessary for exaltation. . . . It is a special blessing given by the President of the Church to men who have been called. It is not necessary to receive it, however. You have all the endowment you need to be exalted." John A. Tvedtnes, Journal, 30 June 1961; recounted by permission.

[124] In an interview with one temple president, I was told the second anointing was merely a "special blessing" and is not essential to exaltation. He said he was not sure why people

The early Mormons who received the second anointing recorded the event in their diaries with great joy. Abraham O. Smoot wrote that it "was a day of great enjoyment for me, it gave birth to the greatest blessings and an higher exaltation in the Priesthood than ever had been anticipated by me." [125] John D. Lee, called by Brigham Young to keep records of the anointings, wrote in his diary: "We received our anointings yea, Holy anointings in the Temple of the Lord — under the hands of Elder Orson Hyde this certainly produced more joy comfort and pleasure & reconciliation of feeling — than could possibly have been imagined." [126] For them, the event clearly had theological significance as well. Theoretically the blessing of the fulness of the priesthood is still attainable. As Bruce R. McConkie of the Quorum of the Twelve has noted,

> Holders of the Melchizedek Priesthood have power to press forward in righteousness, living by every word that proceedeth forth from the mouth of God, magnifying their callings, going from grace to grace, until through the fulness of the ordinances of the temple they receive the fulness of the priesthood and are ordained kings and priests. Those so attaining shall have exaltation and be kings, priests, rulers, and lords in their respective spheres in the eternal kingdoms of the great King who is God our Father.[127]

Whether, as Joseph Fielding Smith asserted, "There is no exaltation in the kingdom of God without the fulness of the priesthood," [128] remains to be seen.

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were called to receive second anointings and for that reason had "put the subject out of his mind." It is noteworthy that during his remarks preceeding a temple wedding ceremony I attended, he defined "fulness of the priesthood" as having received the Melchizedek Priesthood, the endowment, and the marriage sealing for eternity. "By receiving the temple marriage sealing," he stated, "you will receive the 'fulness of the priesthood' in the sense that it is the final ordinance for exaltation." In talking with him later, I mentioned it was my understanding the phrase "fulness of the priesthood" referred to the second anointing. He disagreed and reaffirmed what he stated before the wedding. I asked him if he had received precise instruction from higher sources regarding his statement on "fulness of the priesthood." He replied he had not; that "I researched it out on my own, and if you read Joseph Fielding Smith and Bruce R. McConkie, they say the same thing." Another interview with a different temple president drew similar comments. This president, however, not only described the second anointing as a "special blessing" but stated: "The second anointing doesn't do anything more for you than the first anointing and endowment; no special ordination is performed in the second anointing." If this information is correct, it seems likely that the ceremony's structure has been altered in recent years to reflect Church leaders' concerns about ordaining members to godhood as was done in former years. This would help explain present-day Church leaders' uniform, widespread use of the descriptive term "special blessing" when referring to the second anointing.

[125] Abraham O. Smoot, Journal, typescript entry for 17 Jan. 1846, p. 246, original in Lee Library.

[126] John D. Lee, Diary, typescript entry for 17 Jan. 1846, original in LDS Church Archives.

[127] McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2nd ed., p. 425.

[128] Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, 3:132.

Linda Sillitoe

Missing Persons

I know where the bodies are buried
in my house and can whistle past
indefinitely before I must dig and sift.

Almost at once, the remains of a girl scout
at nine, her green uniform folded more neatly
than it was worn, the sturdy body quite gone.

A turquoise bib recalls the chubby boy
with oatmeal around the mouth that opened,
swallowed, despite the sound asleep eyes.

Lost her baby, I heard then, in between
those I kept; only to find the more
they survive, the more I lose them again.

What do I do now with this doll dress
my lastborn wore for ten miniature months?

How do I greet these ghosts who haunt
the remains of the children? The young
mother who dressed each child in red

for this photo? The weary one who rocks
until dawn? The yellowed newspaper girl
smiling like a bride? Under the most dust

I find the diary kept from twelve to sixteen,
about boys, often as not, keening for them
as if nothing mattered but scouting out love.

There is nothing here I can keep or discard.
I'm putting it all back, sprinkling dust
over the top and closing the closet door

as if, in the dark, the ghosts will rest.

Edwin Brown Firmage

Allegiance and Stewardship: Holy War, Just War, and the Mormon Tradition in the Nuclear Age

THE CRISIS

The present escalation in nuclear weapons technology between the United States and the Soviet Union has progressed beyond the point where any increase in such weaponry necessarily results in increased national security. It has become, in fact, the ultimate act of idolatry, a reliance upon technology, a false god which cannot save us but which will insure our destruction. This idolatry constitutes violation of both of the two great commandments. Our failure to worship God and place our hope of salvation in him destroys our stewardship. Our generation may dissolve forever the linkage between generations, our part of that great chain of parents and children from the beginning through whom civilization and life itself have been bequeathed.

The United States and the Soviet Union are not engaged primarily in an arms race but in a technology race in which each side is seeking such an advantage that the other's armaments are not sufficient to protect the state, its people, and its own nuclear weapons. These weapons have caused us to lose touch with the legitimate and legitimating purposes of defense: the protection of one's people and land from harm by another. "National defense" or "national security" have become thoughtless slogans under which successive administrations in both superstates have developed arsenals equalling 6,000 times the destructive power of every bomb detonated by every nation in every battle in War II — 18,000 megatons of nuclear power (the equivalent of 18,000 million tons of TNT). The danger to peace and to humanity is perceived rationally by a few and intuitively by many. The resulting malaise erodes political alliances within and between states. Should not our instinct for survival lead us to question assumptions of ideology and alliance, of friend and enemy, that propel us toward the abyss of nuclear war? This process of reevaluation may stop our descent into the inferno — unless in fact we have already passed the point of choice.

What is the meaning of "national security" when under that banner we plan military strategy and develop nuclear weapons not simply to deter others

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EDWIN BROWN FIRMAGE, a professor of law at the University of Utah, was the first Utahn to speak out against MX "racetrack" deployment in the spring of 1979. He attended the arms control negotiations in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1971 as United Nations Visiting Scholar and has written on topics of arms control, peaceful resolution of disputes, and international law in leading national journals for twenty years. *This article is part of a book on legal and religious restraints on force and war which will be published next year. Portions of this article first appeared in* Christianity and Crisis, *42 (1 March 1982): 48, and are repeated here with permission.*

from their use, but to use them to fight and win such a war? What does it mean to win a nuclear war? If there is any issue upon which political campaigns should be fought and our highest offices attained and lost, then surely this is one. MX may move Mormons mentally from their mountain redoubt to a more sensitive appreciation of the nuclear threat under which Europeans have lived for years. Across generations, geography, and social class, people in Glasgow and London, Bonn and Berlin, even Salt Lake City and Moscow, may perceive that their common humanity binds them more closely to each other than the accident of nationality divides them.

Perhaps not since the rise of the modern nation-state, secular and territorial, replaced religion or feudal relationships as the primary object of loyalty and the basis of social organization has the issue of allegiance been presented on such a scale. Not since the Peace of Augsburg in the sixteenth century or the treaties of Westphalia and Utrecht in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has the issue of ultimate fidelity been so starkly drawn between competing paradigms. The technological revolution of the nuclear age is telescoping the earlier transition of three centuries into a few decades. Can the state demand our allegiance to a decision that will destroy hundreds of millions of people? Is this modern secular state substantial enough to bear such a burden? Has not the state — any state which would make such a demand of genocide — become the penultimate idol, displacing God with a murderous rival, an insane lie which offers annihilation rather than salvation? Are we not bound by the commandments to love God and our fellow humans to reject that idolatrous allegiance?

THE CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGE

For Latter-day Saints, principles related to war and peace have been taught in an atmosphere of pointed political relevance even before the MX controversy. President Spencer W. Kimball in 1976 rebuked our easy equation of weaponry with defense:

> We are a warlike people, easily distracted from our assignment of preparing for the coming of the Lord. When enemies rise up, we commit vast resources to the fabrication of gods of stone and steel — ships, planes, missiles, fortifications — and depend on them for protection and deliverance. When threatened, we become anti-enemy instead of pro-kingdom of God; we train a man in the art of war and call him a patriot, thus, in the manner of Satan's counterfeit of true patriotism, perverting the Savior's teaching:
>
> "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you;
>
> "That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven" (Matt. 5:44–45)....
>
> What are we to fear when the Lord is with us? Can we not take the Lord at his word and exercise a particle of faith in him? Our assignment is affirmative: to forsake the things of the world as ends in themselves; to leave off idolatry and press forward in faith; to carry the gospel to our enemies, that they might no longer be our enemies.[1]

Five years later, in the heat of the MX missile controversy, the First Presidency unitedly spoke against the nuclear arms race:

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[1] Spencer W. Kimball, "The False Gods We Worship," *Ensign* 6 (June 1976): 6.

> We repeat our warnings against the terrifying arms race in which the nations of the earth are presently engaged. We deplore in particular the building of vast arsenals of nuclear weaponry. . . . Its planners state that the [MX] system is strictly defensive in concept, and that the chances are extremely remote that it will ever be actually employed. However, history indicates that men have seldom created armaments that eventually were not put to use. . . . Our feelings would be the same about concentration in any part of the nation. . . .
>
> Such concentration, we are informed, may even invite attack under a first-strike strategy on the part of an aggressor. If such occurred the result would be near annihilation of most of what we have striven to build since our pioneer forebears first came to these western valleys. . . .
>
> Our fathers came to this western area to establish a base from which to carry the gospel of peace to the peoples of the earth. It is ironic, and a denial of the very essence of that gospel, that in this same general area there should be constructed a mammoth weapons system potentially capable of destroying much of civilization.[2]

The 1980 Christmas and 1981 Easter messages had sounded similar warnings, and the emphasis of this topic three times within six months through this most formal means of a First Presidency pronouncement represents an extraordinary concern. The Christmas message included this statement:

> We are dismayed by the growing tensions among the nations, and the unrestricted building of arsenals of war, including huge and threatening nuclear weaponry. . . .
>
> We call upon the leaders of nations to sit down and reason together in good faith to resolve their differences. If men of good will can bring themselves to do so, they may save the world from a holocaust, the depth and breadth of which can scarcely be imagined. We are confident that when there is enough of a desire for peace and a will to bring it about, it is not beyond the possibility of attainment.[3]

The Easter message of 1981 reiterated: "We deplore the use of nuclear weapons with their terrible potential for the destruction of life, property and even of civilization itself. . . . Our greatest strength will come of the righteousness of the people." [4]

Even though these statements of concern have unmistakable political relevance, that concern has not been limited to contemporary times. The LDS statements are part of our major biblical tradition. Condemnation of war, severe limitation upon the use of force, warnings against reliance on armaments to insure peace, and encouragement to resolve disputes peacefully have been at the center of prophetic communication to God's children from the beginning.

Certainly Christians can cite Old or New Testament scripture at each other in support of or against the use of violence. If this is to be more than a sterile exercise, one must examine the context of scriptural statements. Christians believing in the tradition of nonviolence must confront the existence of violence in the Old Testament. One could adopt a Marcionite rejection of the Old Testament, but this is impermissible for anyone who recognizes that the New

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[2] The First Presidency, "Statement of the First Presidency on Basing of the MX missile," *Church News*, 9 May 1981, p. 2.

[3] The First Presidency, "Christmas Message from the First Presidency," *Church News*, 20 Dec. 1980, p. 3.

[4] The First Presidency, "Easter Message — A Plea for Peace," *Church News*, 18 April 1981, p. 3.

Testament is, in a significant sense, a commentary on "the scriptures," the Old Testament, by prophetic Christian leaders, Jews, in the main, including the Messiah, who seemed unaware that their commentary on their times, and their dialectic response to the law and the prophets, was creating more scripture still. We cannot view the Christian testament as repudiating the Old Testament because the Messiah himself never sanctioned such rejection. Despite the admittedly tortuous and perilous tasks of textual interpretation and historical analysis, there is no other way. Clearly Old Testament violence sometimes seemed to be approved by Jehovah, at least in the perception of leaders at the time. Violence also occurred contrary to Jehovah's command. Nevertheless, it is evident that a pattern is identifiable. And exceptions to the pattern, while not infrequent, do not undermine the legitimacy of the rule.

Finally, with spiritual sensitivity one must attempt to determine which messages of scripture speak most appropriately to our own times, as prophetic leaders from Hosea and Isaiah to Jesus and Paul felt free to do in their own time. Otherwise, we are left without the capacity to use scripture today as all other generations have done. We must ponder our lives and choices, within the particular circumstances of our situations, searching scripture for meaning and guidance. Our ancient but inspired forebears responded similarly as they sought guidance by example from their scriptural records of God's dialogue with his children through time. Truths made timeless by the eternal nature of both God and humankind assure the continuing relevance of scripture, yet history does not really repeat itself. At best there are remarkable patterns, accompanied by profound dissimilarities, novel challenges. The existence of weapons that can eliminate life from a continent in seconds, and perhaps from the entire globe, is simply the most awesome example of this phenomenon. Hence the necessity to search the scriptures and prayerfully ask what teachings speak prophetically to our own time.

THE PARADIGM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT: THE EXODUS AND "HOLY WAR"

In the exodus from Egypt, Jehovah gave Israel its basic pattern for political leadership, relations between states, and the use of force in the first event of its separate existence, which was to provide the paradigm for the future. Jehovah promised to fight Israel's battles if only Israel had faith. "Fear . . . not, stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord. . . . The Lord shall fight for you and you shall hold your peace." (Exod. 14:13–14) In fulfillment of that promise, Israel did not engage in physical combat. Jehovah's miracle smote Pharoah and his host in the irresistible sea.

Force was used in many instances in the Old Testament, often, undoubtedly, without Jehovah's approval, but sometimes under his direction. Only by his command, however, is it permissible. God used force against Pharoah because "I am sure that the king of Egypt will not let you go. . . . And I will stretch out my hand, and smite Egypt . . . and after that he will let you go." (Exod. 3:19–20) But Jehovah, not Moses or Israel, administered the blow.

In Moses' last discourses to Israel, he reiterated the promise that if Israel would love the Lord single-mindedly, without deviating to worship false gods, Jehovah would defeat "greater nations and mightier" (Deut. 11:18–19, 22–23). But if Israel aped its enemies and relied on chariots and the "arm of flesh," Jehovah would reject them. (Josh. 24:13, 16.)

Israel is reminded that Jehovah had sent hornets before them when they prevailed over the nations of Canaan; Israel had not prevailed "with thy sword, nor with thy bow" (Josh. 24:12).

The conquest of Canaan was a time of violence, but it took place only under Jehovah's direction and victory was fundamentally possible only through faith in Jehovah. Israel seems to have participated mainly to manifest faith in Jehovah. Consistently inferior to her enemies in military strength, Israel prevails (when she does prevail) through faith rather than through superior armaments. "For the Lord hath driven out from before you great nations and strong. . . . for the Lord your God, He it is that fighteth for you, and he hath promised you. Take good heed therefore unto yourselves, that ye love the Lord your God" (Josh. 23:9–11).

After Moses and Joshua, prophetic teachings concerning war continued to follow the model of the Exodus. Jehovah assured Barak, captain of Israel's hosts, through Deborah, a prophetess and judge: "I will deliver [Sisera, a Canaanite general] into thine hand." Israel, still in a Bronze-Age culture, descended from its mountain redoubt on foot to face the 900 iron chariots of Sisera on valley terrain that gave him the advantage. But this advantage was nullified by a torrential rainstorm that mired the chariots in mud. Though Israel alone was no match for Sisera's host and iron chariots, Israel prevailed by faith in Jehovah.

Similarly, Gideon, another judge and deliverer of Israel, obeyed Jehovah and reduced his fighting men before confronting the much vaster hosts of Midian with the technological edge of camels as cavalry, one of the first times Israel faced such a force in war. Israel prevailed without itself possessing such capacity. (Judg. 6–7) The "Lord said unto Gideon, the people that are with thee are too many for me to give the Midianites into their hands, lest Israel vaunt themselves against me, saying, Mine own hand hath saved me." Jehovah directed Gideon to send home "whoever is fearful and afraid," and 22,000 left. Still, 10,000 remained. Jehovah directed that only 300 men be retained of the 10,000. The Lord said, "By the 300 men . . . will I save you, and deliver the Midianites into thine hand." By inspired strategem — the confusion caused by smashing lamps and breaking pitchers — rather than by Israelite superiority in armaments or animals of war, or numbers of fighting men, the Midianites were tricked into fighting among themselves and completed their own destruction.

After faithlessness in Israel and among its priesthood leaders, Eli's sons, had led to Israel's defeat at the hands of the Philistines (1 Sam. 4), a penitent Israel triumphed over the Philistines under the faithful leadership of Samuel. Jehovah intervened with a miracle. "The Lord thundered with a great thunder" upon the Philistines and "discomfited them" (1 Sam. 7:7–10).

Israel disrupted that primary relationship with Jehovah by desiring a king "that we also may be like all the nations" and demanded a king to "go out before us, and fight our battles" (1 Sam. 8:20).

This decision was the point of no return for ancient Israel. Samuel warned that a monarchy would surely result in centralization of government, excessive militarization of the society, and heavy taxation to support both. Without success, Samuel warned that mimicking the world would result in the destruction of the uniqueness of Israel as a standard to the nations, a beacon to those nations whose course of conduct was limited by the secular vision of man left to himself. (1 Sam. 8:11–19) Samuel presents one of the earliest and best descriptions of Leviathan.

After Saul was anointed the first king, he proved himself in battle against the Philistines. But his authority was undermined by his own disobedience, and Israel's army, facing superior numbers, melted away into the "high places" and caves where the chariots of the Philistines could not follow (1 Sam. 13:5–6).

Jonathan, the son of Saul, then became a savior of Israel, trusting in Jehovah to balance the odds. (1 Sam. 13–14) The Philistines had not allowed Israel to possess armaments or permitted blacksmiths to practice their trades "lest the Hebrews make them swords or spears." So Israel, trusting in Jehovah, "went down to the Philistines, to sharpen every man his share, and his coulter, and his axe, and his mattock" and to "sharpen his goad." An agricultural people, with faith in Jehovah armed themselves with the implements of the farm — and they prevailed.

Jonathan demonstrated saving faith by attacking the Philistine camp with only his armor-bearer, reasoning: "There is no restraint to the Lord to save by many or by few" (1 Sam. 14:6). Jehovah was with them. Tumult broke out, exacerbated by a miraculous earthquake, and Philistine attacked Philistine (1 Sam. 14:13–16).

Israel's greatest king, David, came to that position from an ultimate test of faith in the Lord's protection — his contest with Goliath.

The Philistine warrior, Goliath of Gath, caricatured the military power of this world. Standing "six cubits and a span" (nine feet nine inches), protected by a coat of mail weighing "five thousand shekels" (125 lbs.) and carrying a spear whose staff "was like a weaver's beam" and whose head weighed 600 shekels of iron (15 lbs.), Goliath challenged Israel's faith in Jehovah with the savage power of the world (1 Sam. 17:4–7).

David responded as had Moses and Joshua, Deborah and Gideon, Samuel and Jonathan. "The Lord that delivered me out of the paw of the lion, and out of the paw of the bear, he will deliver me out of the hand of this Philistine" (1 Sam. 17:37).

He hurled that same affirmation of faith at Goliath:

> Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a shield: but I come to thee in the name of the Lord of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, whom thou hast defied.
>
> And all this assembly shall know that the Lord saveth not with sword and spear: for the battle is the Lord's, and he will give you into our hands. (1 Sam. 17:45–51)

The lesson of the Old Testament is not that armaments are unnecessary or that Israel was never to fight but rather that faith in Jehovah and obedience to his word were the center of Israel's salvation. Reliance upon weaponry alone demonstrated faithlessness in God.

The relationship between modern nations is more complex than is the relationship between patriarchs of tribal groups; rules governing relationships between individuals or small groups do not necessarily apply to relationships between nations. But changes in size, social organization, or weaponry also do not necessarily abrogate such rules. The principle of peaceful resolution remains both a divine mandate and a goal of mankind. And surely the existence of weapons of mass destruction renders the goal of world peace more necessary than ever.

Israel was forbidden to kill and enjoined to have mercy. Many disputes could thus be avoided. And others, once begun, could be more easily ended. Ended with finality, not with simmering, cankering bitterness based upon perceived injustice done to the (temporarily) vanquished. In this way war could be renounced and peace proclaimed.

After the era of the exodus, the conquest, and of Israel's judges, the prophets taught the ways of peace as they consistently challenged the monarchy's ways of war. The kings were constantly chastised by prophetic calls to repentance and to peace: "And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people: and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more" (Isa. 2:4).

Isaiah taught that reliance upon weaponry and the ways of war would bring destruction, not security. Peace and tranquility could only come through faithful righteousness.

> Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help; and stay on horses, and trust in chariots, because they are many; and in horsemen, because they are very strong; but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord! (Isa. 31:1)
>
> . . . .
>
> Then judgment shall dwell in the wilderness, and righteousness remain in the fruitful field.
>
> And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance for ever.
>
> And my people shall dwell in a peaceable habitation, and in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting places. (Isa. 32:16–18)

The Psalmist counseled against placing "trust in chariots" or horses rather than in the Lord: "Some trust in chariots, and some in horses: but we will remember the name of the Lord our God. They are brought down and fallen: but we are risen, and stand upright." (Ps. 20:7–8) Hosea taught as did Isaiah:

> And in that day will I make a covenant for them with the beasts of the field, and with the fowls of heaven, and with the creeping things of the ground; and I will break the bow and the sword and the battle out of the earth, and will make them to lie down safely. (Hos. 2:18)

> Ye have plowed wickedness, ye have reaped iniquity; ye have eaten the fruit of lies: because thou didst trust in thy way, in the multitude of thy mighty men. (Hos. 10:13)

CHRISTIAN TEACHINGS ON FORCE AND WAR

The teachings of Israel's Messiah, the Prince of Peace, are the culmination of the law and the prophets. The message of the Christ is peace and goodwill, love for both neighbor and enemy: "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you" (Matt. 5:43–44).

Jesus knew that no dispute is finally solved by violence. The underlying cause usually remains, simply exacerbated by the evil results of war: hatred of our brothers and sisters as if they were somehow fundamentally different from ourselves, the teaching and glorification of violence, lust, ignorance, propaganda, and finally, suffering, starvation, disease, and death.

Jesus taught not only that we should not kill, but rather that "whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment." He advised us to agree with our adversary quickly, lest the institutions of the state grind both down. He abolished the law of vengeance and retaliation, recognizing that the ways of violence could do nothing but lead to more violence: Put up again thy sword into his place; for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword (Matt. 5:21–22, 25–26, 38–42; 26:52).

During the first four centuries A.D., Christians during periods of imperial persecution were put to death for refusal to fight in Roman armies or take an oath to Caesar; instead they heeded both the injunction of Jehovah from Sinai, "Thou shalt not kill" and the commandment of the Lord against oaths (Exod. 25:13, Matt. 5:33–37).

After the Emperor Constantine's defeat of his rival Maxentius at Mulvian Bridge near Rome in 312 A.D., and his adoption of Christianity as the state religion in 324, the future of the church seemed inextricably linked to that of the Roman Empire. Although church fathers continued to preach for centuries against militarism and to commend nonviolence as the Christian response to violence, Christian nonviolence came increasingly to be confined to members of the priesthood and particular groups within the church, much later to emerge within Christian history as the dominating characteristic of the Quakers, the Mennonites, and other "peace" churches.

As the empire was threatened by invaders and as assault upon the empire came to be seen as an attack on the church, a doctrine of "just war" developed, giving particular and severely limiting rules whereby the Christian could fight. War was permissible only (1) if the purpose was self-defensive; (2) if a rough proportionality existed between weapons used (damage done) and the nature of the hostilities (i.e., a minor infraction of Caesar's law could not be punished by massive, disproportional retaliation); (3) if weapons used and military

strategy allowed a distinction between combatant and noncombatant; and finally (4) if it were likely that a better peace would emerge if force were used than if restrained.

The disintegration and collapse of the Roman Empire was followed by a feudal social structure which in turn gave way to the modern European nation-state system of today. But many legal principles developed during the era of the Roman Empire which influenced the nation-state system, particularly that body of law which developed to govern and restrain the newly emerging nation-states: the law of nations, or international law.

GROWTH OF SECULAR LAW

The emergence of the modern nation state was accompanied by a secularization of what had previously been the province of theology. From the time of Hugo Grotius, a Dutch jurist and scholar in the late sixteenth century, restraints upon the use of force by states which had originated within Christian heritage came to be considered part of the law of nations: peaceful resolution of disputes was to be anxiously sought; violence must only be self-defensive; if violence were used, it should be contained at the lowest possible level; proportionality should exist between the evil that existed and the force used against it; distinctions must be maintained between combatant and noncombatant; protection should be extended to the prisoner, the sick, and the wounded; and respect must be shown for special repositories of culture, humanity and religion — our churches, museums, art, culture, hospitals, schools.

But technology proceeded inexorably in the other direction. Weaponry and strategy based upon new technology led toward a concept of "total war": war waged against an entire people until collapse of a culture ensued.

The Napoleonic Wars of the early nineteenth century saw economic sanctions like blockading imposed against entire nations without distinction between combatant and noncombatant. Sherman's march to the sea in the American Civil War, was a policy of utter destruction. World War I's new weapons like the machine gun and the use of poison gas brought deaths into the millions. World War II brought the horror of aerial bombardment of civilian targets, blurring the distinction between combatant and noncombatant; the demand for total destruction of an enemy state rather than simple surrender; and the use of nuclear weapons.

International law has tried, with painfully limited success, to keep pace. Witness the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 on the peaceful settlement of disputes, the interwar attempts at disarmament and the outlawing of war, the Geneva Conventions of 1949 which protected the sick, the wounded, and the prisoners,[5] the attempts to prohibit the most savage weaponry such as

[5] Edwin Brown Firmage, "Fact-Finding in the Resolution of International Disputes — From the Hague Peace Conferences to the United Nations," *Utah Law Review*, April 1972, pp. 421–73.

poison gas and biological weaponry, and finally attempts to limit nuclear weapons from the Non-Proliferation Treaty[6] SALT I and II.[7]

And the interrelation between law and religion, present at the birth of modern secular law from religious teaching, has continued.

DEVELOPMENT OF MORMON DOCTRINE ON WAR AND PEACE

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from its beginning has taught the Christian doctrine of peace. We are forbidden to use the ways of Satan to combat him. If we use his means, he has already won the battle. The Church has consistently spoken in favor of understandings between nations to control these tendencies and to resolve disputes peaceably.

As was his custom on most subjects, Brigham Young minced no words in expressing his feelings on war and armaments in 1861: "A large share of the ingenuity of the world is taxed to invent weapons of war. What a set of fools! Much of the skill, ingenuity, and ability of the Christian nations are now devoted to manufacturing instruments of death. May we be saved from the effects of death. May we be saved from the effects of them! As I often tell you, if we are faithful, the Lord will fight our battles much better than we can ourselves." [8]

He bluntly warned: "When the nations for years turned much of their attention to manufacturing instruments of death, they have sooner or later used those instruments. . . . From the authority of all history, the deadly weapons now stored up and being manufactured will be used until the people are wasted away." [9]

The LDS Church teaches that there are conditions under which force may be used in defense of ourselves, our families, and our homes. But the same teachings, given during the turmoil of persecution in Missouri, stress that we will be blessed for our forgiving those who trespass against us, even if we might have been justified in resorting to force. We are admonished even in the face of offense to "bear it patiently and revile not against them, neither seek revenge." Our posterity will be blessed to the third and fourth generation if we refrain from force against an aggressor who has done us repeated harm, though we would be justified in repelling force with force. (D&C 98:30–31)

The Church teaches the same principles that Israel heard first from Sinai and again from the Mount of the Beatitudes. We are forbidden to kill. Peace-

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[6] Edwin Brown Firmage, "The Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons," *The American Journal of International Law* 63 (Oct. 1969): 711–46.

[7] Edwin Brown Firmage and David Henry, "Vladivostok and Beyond: SALT I and the Prospects for SALT II," *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law* 14 (1975): 220–67.

[8] 10 Feb. 1861, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: William Budge, 1854–86), 8:324.

[9] 22 Aug. 1860, *Journal of Discourses*, 8:157.

makers are blessed. Only under dispensation from the Lord Himself are we permitted to deviate from this:

> Therefore, renounce war and proclaim peace. . . .
>
> And again, this is the law that I gave unto mine ancients, that they should not go out unto battle against any nation, kindred, tongue, or people, save I, the Lord, commanded them.
>
> And if any nation, tongue, or people should proclaim war against them, they should first lift a standard of peace unto that people, nation, or tongue;
>
> And if that people did not accept that offering of peace, neither the second nor the third time, they should bring these testimonies before the Lord.
>
> Then I, the Lord, would give unto them a commandment, and justify them in going out to battle against that nation, tongue, or people.
>
> And I, the Lord, would fight their battles, and their children's battles, and their children's children's. (D&C 98:16, 33–37)

To summarize these principles: (1) Latter-day Saints are under God's mandate to "renounce war and proclaim peace." This injunction is not phrased so as to leave us discretion. We are not to renounce war when "the enemy" agrees to do the same. Or to renounce war as long as the enemy disarms. Or to renounce war if the enemy is not excessively fearsome. We are quite simply to renounce war and proclaim peace. (2) We are forbidden as a people (the Church) to "go out to battle" unless the Lord commands it. (3) Even if others initiate war against us we are to "lift a standard of peace" to avert hostilities. These overtures of peace are to be made repeatedly; only afterwards will the Lord justify the use of force. (4) And, most important, consistent with the paradigm of Israel, Jehovah will then "fight their battles, and their children's battles, and their children's children's." He will be our warrior so that we need not be.

This picture of violence severely limited by God and excusable only under his direction is the pattern given from Israel's beginning, yet these rules, fully applicable under theocratic government, are qualified by our allegiance to secular and pluralistic states. We believe "that all men are bound to sustain and uphold the respective governments in which they reside, while protected in their inherent and inalienable rights" (D&C 134:5). The Church has acknowledged that its members might participate within the armed forces of their respective states, within the boundaries of individual conscience. Our participation as citizens and subjects in secular states, however, has never been held to supplant God's injunctions. Our primary fidelity to God Almighty remains. State-declared war does not negate Jehovah's injunction against killing: mass killing is hardly an exculpation. The lives of neighbor and enemy are as precious to the Lord as our own and we are directed to love accordingly. Christian teaching, in other words, remains and is not invalidated by our living in secular and pluralistic states even after a condition of war exists.

Brigham Young in 1859 dismissed the notion that the mass murder of warfare somehow came outside the Master's mandate against killing:

> Our traditions have been such that we are not apt to look upon war between two nations as murder; but suppose that one family should rise up against another and

> begin to slay them, would they not be taken up and tried for murder? Then why not nations that rise up and slay each other in a scientific way be equally guilty of murder? . . . . Does it justify the slaying of men, women, and children that otherwise would have remained home in peace, because a great army is doing the work? No: the guilty will be damned for it.[10]

I have always loved the centennial statement written by President Lorenzo Snow, 1 January 1901, in his "Greeting to the World":

> Awake, ye monarchs of the earth and rulers among nations. . . . Disband your armies; turn your weapons of strife into implements of industry; take the yoke from the necks of the people; arbitrate your disputes; meet in royal congress, and plan for union instead of conquest, for the banishment of poverty, for the uplifting of the masses, and for the health, wealth, enlightenment and happiness of all tribes and people and nations.[11]

In a conference address three months before the start of World War I, President Joseph F. Smith decried the idea that God caused wars to accomplish His purposes: "I don't want you to think . . . that God has designed or willed that war should come among the people of the world, that the nations of the world should be divided against each other in war, and engaged in the destruction of each other! God did not design or cause this." [12]

The calling of J. Reuben Clark, Jr., to the First Presidency brought together separate but compatible teachings against war and the use of force between states. He brought a rich background in international law. Christian concepts of the "just war" — self-defense, proportionality, the distinction between combatant and noncombatant — had become part of that discipline. President Clark also had extensive experience in government as Solicitor to the Department of State (the modern equivalent would be Legal Adviser to the Department of State), as our negotiator at various disarmament conferences between the two world wars, as Ambassador to Mexico, as the author of the Clark Memorandum to the Monroe Doctrine, and finally as Under-Secretary of State. His ministry truly was that of peacemaker. His service to our government was dominated by attempts to prevent war through arbitration and to negotiate agreements about arms limitations and laws of war if peaceful resolution failed. His ministry continued with remarkable consistency as a member of the First Presidency. His testimony of the Lord Jesus as Christ was at the center of his hope for a world at peace.

As the world lurched toward World War II, the First Presidency issued several statements denouncing war and pleading that the nations of the world resolve disputes by peaceful means. After that war, in general conference on 5 October 1946, President Clark presented his most complete sermon on the

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[10] 18 Dec. 1859, *Journal of Discourses*, 7:137.

[11] James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1833-1964*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965), 3:334.

[12] Joseph F. Smith, "Opening Address," *Eighty-Fifth Semi-annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4 Oct. 1914 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1915), p. 7.

relationship between Christian teaching, the necessity of peaceful resolution of disputes, the laws of war should peaceful resolution fail, and arms limitation. In this memorable sermon, President Clark noted the awesome advent of the nuclear era:

> Then as the crowning savagery of war, we Americans wiped out hundreds of thousands of civilian population with the atom bomb in Japan, few if any of the ordinary civilians being any more responsible for the war than were we, and perhaps most of them no more aiding Japan in the war than we were aiding America. Military men are now saying that the Atom Bomb was a mistake. It was more than that: it was a world tragedy. Thus we have lost all that we gained during the years from Grotius (1625) to 1912. And the worst of this Atomic Bomb tragedy is not that not only did the people of the United States not rise up in protest against this savagery, not only did it not shock us to read of this wholesale destruction of men, women, and children, and cripples, but that it actually drew from the nation at large a general approval of this fiendish butchery.

After noting and condemning the development by the United States of chemical and biological weaponry, President Clark continued:

> Thus we in America are now deliberately searching out and developing the most savage, murderous means of exterminating peoples that Satan can plant in our minds. We do it not only shamelessly, but with a boast. God will not forgive us for this.
>
> If we are to avoid extermination, if the world is not to be wiped out, we must find some way to curb the fiendish ingenuity of men who have apparently no fear of God, man, or the devil, and who are willing to plot and plan and invent instrumentalities that will wipe out all the flesh of the earth. . . . I protest with all of the energy I possess against this fiendish activity, and as an American citizen, I call upon our government and its agencies to see that these unholy experimentations are stopped, and that somehow we get into the minds of our war-minded general staff and its satellites, and into the general staffs of all the world, a proper respect for human life.[13]

President Clark, a true pastor of his people, attacked our own activities in war, not simply the activities of an enemy, which would have been easy enough to do, demanding no particular courage, however accurate the indictment.

In April conference of 1948, President Clark then turned to that issue within the general problem of war and peace closest to his heart: the necessity of controlling man's inclination to produce ever more fiendish ways to destroy his fellow man. He condemned any thought of our "first use" of weapons of mass destruction, or so-called "preemptive war":

> So far as one can judge, the next war is now planning under a system that will call for the use of weapons which will wipe out cities and, if necessary, nations. I have had it reported — I do not know how accurately — that our military men are saying that if we had a forty-eight hour lead, the war would be over. How many of us brethren are really horrified by the thought of the indiscriminate, wholesale slaughter of men, women and children — the old, the decrepit, the diseased; or are we sitting back and saying, "Let's get at it first." How far away is the spirit of murder from the hearts of those of us who take no thought in it? . . .

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[13] J. Reuben Clark, *Conference Report*, 5 Oct. 1946, p. 89.

> Today, we sit quietly, with our consciences scarcely stricken when we contemplate Nagasaki and Hiroshima where we introduced the use of the Atom Bomb. Now, if you want to know where the losses of war are, that great field to which I have referred is where you can look.[14]

CONCLUSION

Whether it was ever axiomatic that an increase in weaponry represented an increase in national security, it is not true in the nuclear age.

Onrushing technology associated with nuclear weaponry and other means of mass destruction threaten to snap the cord of congruence between people and their governments and consequently between allied governments. The essence of legitimacy of government is that relationship of congruence, of uncoerced affinity between people and government. Weapons now deployed and being developed and strategies based upon their use are visibly incompatible with protecting the people such weapons are supposed to defend. Governments that attempt to convince their people otherwise eventually will lose the credibility and legitimacy upon which their rule depends. Governments seeking to deploy such weapons within allied countries will be similarly rebuffed, as will acceding governments of the host states.

Concepts of national defense and national security and the military technology developed and deployed under such strategies must be congruent with the survival of the individual, society, and the species. Such a proposition would seem sufficiently tautological to be unnecessary. But the United States government, the Kremlin, and any other government which allows the deployment of such weapons systems violate this basic responsibility toward its people.

Self-defense first requires us to honor our sacred spiritual stewardship on behalf of our parents toward our children. In the final prophetic statement before the advent of the Lord, Malachi warned that the day would come that would burn as an oven. We who do wickedly would be as a stubble and would be left without root or branch: without rootedness in our past and without extending ourselves through our branches into the future. But he promised that Elijah would appear before the coming of the Lord to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers, lest we be smitten (Mal. 4). (Significantly, the Lord repeats these words in Doctrine and Covenants 98:16 in the context of his direction to his church to "renounce war and proclaim peace."

As children of our fathers and mothers we are stewards over all that every previous generation has bequeathed: of civilization and of life itself. As fathers and mothers of our children we must make secure our link in the chain of being by passing on our heritage lest it end with us.

We are stewards under God to protect and preserve all life on our planet.

We are stewards of our air and our water.

We are stewards for everyone who ever wrote a book, composed a song, a poem, or painted a painting.

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[14] J. Reuben Clark, *Conference Report*, 5 April 1948, p. 175.

We transmit every discovery of science and medicine, every development of architecture and engineering, of law and government.

Or else we will not.

I believe that man possesses an eternal spirit which cannot be destroyed.

But almost everything else can be.

Even the genetic heritage from the beginning of our race: our intelligence, our talents, that pool of genes from the beginning must be bequeathed through our branches.

Or else it will end with us.

Our allegiance to God is manifest as the Lord informs us in the parable of the final judgment (Matt. 25:31–46) by our stewardship toward our brothers and sisters. The Lord instructs us in the parable of the good Samaritan and in the Great Sermon's injunction that we must love our enemy. Such covenant-love must be extended to all the world. And now in the nuclear age this stewardship extends, in both directions, through the veil.

William G. Hartley

The Seventies in the 1880s: Revelations and Reorganizing

These 76 quorums were all torn to pieces." That disturbing report card for seventies quorums came from Joseph Young, senior president of all seventies in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in January 1880.[1] Such a disrupted state could not long continue, and two "thus saith the lord" revelations to Church President John Taylor — on 13 October 1882 and 14 April 1883 — triggered major reconstructions of the work and the quorums of the seventies.[2]

What circumstances prompted the revelations and what responses did they receive? Why was the then-current seventies quorum system malfunctioning? What did the revelations teach and mean in their 1880s context? How fully were the revelations' instructions implemented? How did the First Council of the Seventy interrelate with the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles regarding seventies' work? Why was the vacant First Quorum of Seventy *not* recreated? What differences did the revelations and restructurings make to seventies' work? What does this episode teach us about the role continuous revelation plays in priesthood history? What seventies problems were left unresolved?

This study draws heavily on seventies' records — those of the First Council and of individual quorums — and is thus biased towards those sources. The diaries of apostles Franklin D. Richards and Brigham Young, Jr., helped compensate for the First Presidency and Council of the Twelve minutes, unavailable for the 1880s.

THE SEVENTIES' BEGINNINGS

On 28 February 1835, Joseph Smith announced an unrecorded revelation about the seventies, established a new Melchizedek Priesthood office, and created a distinctively structured quorum of seventy men. The seventies, he taught, were to be "traveling quorums, to go into all the earth, whithersoever the Twelve Apostles shall call them." A month later a revelation on priesthood

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[1] First Council of the Seventy, Minutes 1878–1897, 24 Jan. 1880, microfilm, Historical Department Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. Minutes cited hereinafter as FCM: archives cited as LDS Church Archives.

[2] The two revelations are in James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1965), 2: 347–49, 352–54.

(D&C 107) specified that seventies were to "preach the Gospel," "be especial witnesses unto Gentiles in all the world," be a "quorum equal in authority to that of the Twelve," "act under the direction of the Twelve . . . in building up the Church and regulating all the affairs of the same in all nations," and to "have seven presidents" chosen "from their own ranks" who "are to choose other seventy . . . until seven times seventy, if the labor in the vineyard of necessity requires it." The Twelve were "to call upon the Seventy when they need assistance, instead of any others." Like the Twelve, the seventies had "responsibility to travel among all nations." [3]

Joseph Smith further explained that seventies could be multiplied until "there are one hundred and forty-four thousand," should be taken from elders quorums, and "are not to be High Priests." Seventies who had previously been ordained high priests were in office "not according to the order of heaven" and were replaced. During the 1830s, a second and a third quorum were organized. In October 1844 general conference the Church voted "that all in the Elders' Quorums under the age of thirty-five" become seventies, so that by the time of the exodus from Nauvoo thirty-five seventies' quorums had been created.[4]

To provide leadership for quorums two through ten, the First Quorum divided itself into nine seven-man presidencies, leaving the seven senior presidents of the First Quorum with no rank-and-file quorum members after October 1844. These seven men — the First Council of the Seventy — presided over *all* seventies and were sustained as Church General Authorities.[5]

THE SEVENTIES' SITUATION IN THE 1880s

By 1870, the Nauvoo-instituted policy that a seventy belonged to his original quorum for as long as he was a seventy, no matter where he lived, was creating problems. Utah's settlement process scattered members and presidents of the same quorum. Although some quorums kept track of their scattering sheep, others dwindled to one or two presidents and a handful of findable members. Seventies from different quorums who lived in the same community sometimes grouped themselves into an unofficial, local, "mass" quorum. By late 1880 it had become "impossible to reach all the Seventies and for the President to teach their members in a quorum capacity, or that they can be brought together as quorums." [6]

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[3] For general histories of the seventies see S. Dilworth Young, "The Seventies: A Historical Perspective," *Ensign* 6 (July 1976): 14–21; and James N. Baumgarten, "The Role and Function of the Seventies in L.D.S. Church History" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1960). The unrecorded revelation is discussed in Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, B. H. Roberts, ed., 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1957), 2:182, 202; D&C 107:25, 26, 34, 38, 93–8.

[4] *History of the Church*, 2:221, 476; 7:305; Seventies Record Book B., 1844–48, Ms, LDS Church Archives, p. 31.

[5] Clark, *Messages*, 2:353.

[6] FCM, 1 Jan. 1881.

When the decade of the 1880s opened, not only were quorum members scattered and some units disorganized but the quorums had shrunk. Normally when members died, apostatized, or became high priests, their vacancies were filled. But the priesthood reorganization of 1877 turned hundreds of seventies into high priests to fill bishopric and stake positions, then ordered a moratorium on ordaining new seventies — to the great disappointment of Senior President Joseph Young.[7]

Ideally seventies quorums were training and recruiting grounds for future missionaries, but in practice a man received a mission call first and then was ordained a seventy. As a result, by 1880 the quorums had very little official missionary work to do. "In the wards," one seventies leader said, "there was nothing for them to do, and they became tarnished." A March 1881 report shows that in at least two stakes the seventies had not met together for "several years." [8]

Another problem plaguing the seventies units by 1880 was gray hair. The First Council itself contained only old men. (See Table 1.) Horace S. Eldredge at sixty-three was the youngest and Joseph Young, the oldest, was eighty-two. The others were John Van Cott, sixty-five; Jacob Gates, sixty-eight; Levi W. Hancock, seventy-six; and Henry Harriman, seventy-five. Albert P. Rockwood had died in 1879 at age seventy-five, leaving one vacancy.

In April 1880, eight young men became council "Alternates" by advice of President John Taylor and vote of the general conference. These alternates were expected to carry the load laid down by three aged council members living in southern Utah — Elders Harriman, Gates, and Hancock. In addition, twenty-six-year-old William W. Taylor, son of President John Taylor, filled a council vacancy. These nine new men gave the seventies' work new vigor.

TABLE 1. FIRST COUNCIL OF THE SEVENTY, 1879–89

Members 1879	*Death Date*	*Replacement Members*	*Replacement Date*
Joseph Young	7/16/81	William W. Taylor (d. 8/8/84)	4/07/80
Levi W. Hancock	6/10/82	Abraham H. Cannon (ord. apostle 10/7/89)	10/09/82
Henry Harriman	.....	Seymour B. Young	10/14/82
Albert P. Rockwood	11/26/79	Christian D. Fjeldsted	4/28/84
Horace S. Eldredge	9/06/88	John Morgan	10/07/84
Jacob Gates	.....	Brigham H. Roberts	10/08/88
John Van Cott	2/18/83		

[7] William G. Hartley, "The Priesthood Reorganization of 1877: Brigham Young's Last Achievement," *BYU Studies* 20 (Fall 1979): 34–35. Evidently Brigham Young asked the Twelve to not take seventies into bishoprics midway through the 1877 reorganizings, saying he was "tired of the egress and ingress" (turnover) of seventies, but was ignored, see FCM, 24 Jan. 1880.

[8] FCM, 13 Dec. 1879; First Council of the Seventy, Seventies General Meeting Minutes, 1879–1884, 16 March 1881, microfilm, LDS Church Archives, cited hereinafter as SGMM.

Seeking even more helpers, the First Council talked about filling up its own First Quorum, vacant since Nauvoo.[9]

Scripturally, seventies exist to do missionary work. However, the council possessed no policy-making responsibility for proselyting. The Twelve, without asking for input from the council, determined when, where, and how many missionaries should be sent out, and then asked the council to supply the men. First Council minutes show that the Twelve, after Brigham Young's death, stepped up the seventies' missionary responsibilities and "were now throwing the labor of preaching the Gospel upon this body." Council records in May 1879 say President John Taylor was "calling upon us constantly" for missionary names.[10]

The First Council, when soliciting missionary nominations, looked mainly to the Salt Lake Stake where half of all seventies quorums were located. These quorum presidencies met in a Seventies' Council Meeting with the First Council every other week from 1879 (or earlier) to 1884. The meetings were "for preaching missionary purposes" and included short impromptu talks, sermons, quorum reports, and First Council requests for missionary names.[11] Usually thirty to thirty-five different quorums had at least one presidency member there, so missionary business was easy to parcel out. In places beyond Salt Lake, council visits and letters solicited additional nominees.

TEMPORARY STAKE AND WARD SEVENTIES PRESIDENTS

Because missionary demand exceeded supply, the First Council felt frustrated by the chaotic state of seventies units. In the fall of 1880, after exploring ways to communicate with scattered seventies, the council adopted a new organizational structure that established ward and stake seventies' presidents. A ward president, they reasoned, could become acquainted with and list all seventies residing in his ward, no matter what their official quorums were. If presidents in all wards did likewise, then practically every seventy could be located by ward and identified by quorum. A stake president of seventies could coordinate the ward presidents' work. After testing in the Salt Lake Stake, the new plan won approval from the Twelve and the First Presidency. Early in 1881 ward and stake seventies presidents were called and instructed. They were considered temporary, not replacements for or competitors with existing quorums and presidents.[12]

During this change, Joseph Young died on 16 July 1881. Eulogies portrayed him as a devout, spiritually-minded man whose instructions were "rich in the spirit and power of God," a man of "superior wisdom, talent, and

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[9] FCM, 10 May 1879, 10 April 1880. Alternates were Edward Stevenson, Aurelius Miner, Enoch Tripp, [?] Ferguson, William Hawk, W. G. Phillips, John Pack, and William H. Sharp.

[10] FCM, 7 Sept. 1878; SGMM, 7 May 1879.

[11] SGMM, 2 June 1880; SGMM is a record of these meetings.

[12] FCM, 26 June and 25 Dec. and 27 Nov. 1880; 28 May 1881; 1 Sept. 1880.

ability." By seniority, ailing Levi Hancock became the new senior president. Joseph's vacant slot in the Council was not filled until October 1882 by Abraham H. Cannon, twenty-three-year-old son of George Q. Cannon, first counselor in the First Presidency.[13]

The ward and stake plan's primary purposes were "to expedite the furnishing of missionaries and awaken Seventies." The new plan worked well, although some quorums resisted the ward presidents. Newly appointed presidents were instructed that seventies should meet at least monthly, a census of seventies should be sent to the First Council, and families of missionaries must be cared for. Each ward leader was told to compile a list of potential missionaries in his ward by nationality, have the bishop verify the men's worthiness and ability to go, send the list to be cleared by the stake seventies president and stake president, and then forward it to the First Council, usually preceding the twice-yearly general conferences. Approved nominees received form letters from the council asking if they could accept mission calls, provide for their families during the absence, and pay transportation costs out. Nominees answered by letter or in person.[14]

One sampling, the verbal and written responses of 1 and 2 April 1882, illustrates the acceptance rate.[15] Of seventy-eight men responding, the First Council approved thirty-five for missions and rejected forty-three. The average age of nominees was forty-four. In this and other samplings, the main reasons why the council turned men down for missions were age, lack of finances, and personal matters the men themselves raised — debts, farming on shares, unable to support family, feeble health, supporting someone else on a mission, an ill relative, or no one to run the business or farm. Names approved by the council were forwarded to the Twelve, and the Twelve called some, rejected some, and ignored some, according to William Taylor:

> It had been laid upon the First Council of Seventies to furnish missionaries from this body, but had not been able to respond to all the calls made upon them, which had given rise to some degree of censure. That many of the Seventies to whom they had written letters had been excused from taking missions, not being financially prepared, others through sickness and other causes. He thought it would be advisable to address a communication to the Presidency and the Twelve, that this matter might be laid before them.[16]

From 1880 to 1883, while the ward and stake system operated, the First Council tried to negotiate the restructuring and reviving of the official seventy-six quorums. In November 1882, for example, President Horace Eldredge asked the First Presidency if the seventies should be consolidated from seventy-six to fifty quorums, for which they had enough manpower or if the seventy-six units could be filled up? He also asked about filling up the First Quorum. No

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[13] SGMM, 20 July and 3 Aug. 1881.

[14] FCM, 25 Dec. 1880.

[15] Ibid., 1 and 2 April 1882.

[16] Ibid., 11 March 1882.

answers to his inquiries are recorded.[17] However, the First Council's periodic pleas to reform the quorums caused the First Presidency to wrestle with the matter—preparation for the 1882 and 1883 revelations that brought solutions.

REVELATION OF 13 OCTOBER 1882

The revelation John Taylor received on 13 October 1882 is best known for calling Heber J. Grant and George Teasdale to apostleships and Seymour B. Young, Joseph's son, to replace Levi Hancock who died the previous June, leaving a presidency position vacant in the First Council. After Seymour Young became a polygamist, as requested by the revelation, the council had three youthful workhorses with their famous fathers' surnames — Taylor, Cannon, and Young.[18]

Two lesser known parts of the revelation also affected the seventies. One part said the Twelve should "call to your aid any assistance that you may require from among the Seventies to assist you in your labors in introducing and maintaining the Gospel among the Lamanites throughout the land. And then let High Priests be selected, under the direction of the First Presidency, to preside over the various organizations that shall exist among this (Lamanite) people." [19]

Leaders responded quickly to this command. Isaiah Coombs, a seventy in Payson heard about the Lamanite work in a November 1882 stake conference and commented in his diary:

> Bro [George] Reynolds says this last Revelation marks a new epoch in our history. That was my view. It shows that the fulness of the Gentiles long looked for has come in, and that henceforth the burden of our labors will be directed to the House of Israel commencing with the Lamanites by whom we are surrounded and who manifest a great anxiety in the matter. Some of the Twelve are going out immediately among them and a majority of the quorum will move out in the same direction early in the Spring. The key is to be turned to that people by the Twelve, and the Seventies will follow up immediately to continue the work among them.[20]

President of the Twelve Wilford Woodruff told a Kaysville audience on 10 December 1882 that "we have now [after a half century of preaching to Gentiles] been commanded to turn to a branch of the house of Israel. Here are the Lamanites, thousands and thousands of them surrounding us. They look to us for the Gospel of Christ. It is our duty to go to them and organize them, and preach to them." He added that "We (the Twelve Apostles, Seventies and others) are called to go forth to preach the Gospel to the Lamanites

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[17] Ibid., 25 Nov. 1882.

[18] Clark, *Messages*, 2:348–349.

[19] Ibid. President Taylor submitted the revelation to the Twelve, the First Council, stake presidents, and others for approval: see John Taylor to Albert Carrington, 18 Oct. 1882, in *Millennial Star* 44 (13 Nov. 1882): 732–33.

[20] Isaiah M. Coombs, Diary, 23 Nov. 1882, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives.

and organize them. I am glad of it. I have felt for a long time that we should turn our attention to them." [21]

In his 1883 diary, Apostle Franklin D. Richards traced the Twelve's response to the Lamanite instruction. In a March meeting of the First Presidency and the Twelve, he noted, "conversation turned on missionary labor among Indians." In late April Apostle Teasdale reached Fort Gibson in the Cherokee Nation. By May plans were formulated to proselyte among the "Northern tribes of Indians." Apostle Francis M. Lyman reached the Uintah Basin Indians by late May. "I feel awakened to get out among the Indians of the North," Elder Richards confessed. By June plans called for Apostle Lorenzo Snow to visit the Shoshoni, Bannock, and Nez Perce Indians at Fort Hall, Idaho, and for Apostle Moses Thatcher to contact the Shoshonis and Crows in the Wind River Mountains. In July men left for the Crow reservation. On 31 October Apostle Teasdale reported on his Indian Territory mission.[22]

After initial enthusiasm among the Twelve, the missions received less attention, although its Committee on Indian Affairs was functioning five years later, in 1888. Available records do not indicate that the First Council or any sizeable group of seventies became part of the Lamanite missions as stipulated in the 1882 revelation.[23]

The 1882 revelation also commanded priesthood bearers and all members to "purify themselves" and to fully organize every priesthood quorum, and that leaders "inquire into the standing and fellowship of all my Holy Priesthood in their several Stakes." It said for all "to repent of all their sins and shortcomings, of their covetousness and pride and self will, and of all their iniquities wherein they sin against me; and to seek with all humility to fulfill my law." Heads of families were warned "to put their houses in order," to "purify themselves before me," and "to purge out iniquity from their households." [24]

The reformation call received immediate response from the Saints, including seventies. At the biweekly general seventies meetings in Salt Lake City, speakers mentioned that the revelation made them introspective and repentant.[25] William Taylor reported 3 January 1883 that during his visit to stakes and wards he "found a general desire to improve" and "a feeling that the Seventies expect a chastisement if they do not repent of their pride, self will, and covetousness. Many of the brethren hold the revelations as a great blessing and are endeavoring to take a course that is acceptable to the Lord and feel the necessity of purifying themselves and of setting their families in order." [26]

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[21] Sermon by Wilford Woodruff at Kaysville, Utah, 10 Dec. 1882, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1854–86; reprint ed. 1967), 23:330–331.

[22] Franklin D. Richards, Journal, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives, 21 March, 11 and 15 April, 6 and 30 May, 6 June, 18 July, 31 Oct. 1883.

[23] Brigham Young, Jr., Journal, 20 Dec. 1888, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives.

[24] Clark, *Messages*, 2:348–9.

[25] SGMM, 20 Dec. 1882.

[26] Ibid., 3 Jan. 1883.

Leaders announced that purification meant, among other things, living the Word of Wisdom. First Council records show that there was definite need for Word of Wisdom adherence, particularly regarding alcohol. From 1879 to 1882 the First Council cracked down on some seventies who were habitually drunk, and on those who operated liquor stores. The council urged seventies in the wards to help the youth avoid the saloons. Word of Wisdom observance soon became a key part of the seventies' reorganization program.[27]

INSTRUCTION AND REVELATION OF 14 APRIL 1883

The 1882 revelation instructed the Twelve to "assist in organizing the Seventies." Subsequently, the Twelve and First Council talked, at least informally, about reorganization methods. On 13 April 1883 the First Presidency, the Twelve, and the First Council met together in President John Taylor's office and discussed "the best method of filling up the quorums of the Seventies and of making the organization of the Seventies the most effective." President Taylor started the meeting by defining the duties of seventies and of the First Council. Next, his counselor George Q. Cannon and apostles Woodruff, Richards, and Erastus Snow spoke on "the necessity of the quorums being fully organized and acting" in order. The frail Horace Eldredge was in California but Presidents Harriman, Gates, Taylor, Cannon, and Young were present. According to Seymour Young, the First Council "suggested plans where there were places to fill up in the quorums and of ordaining new members." Attenders also discussed replacing John Van Cott who had died two months before. Apostle Richards called the session "a lengthy sitting, interesting, and satisfactory."[28]

John Taylor adjourned the meeting until the next morning, Saturday, so he could take the matter "under advisement." That afternoon, his First Council member-son William W. Taylor wrote out "father's views on the organization of the Seventies. Bro. George Reynolds completed this labor and the document was then presented to and approved by his [John Taylor's] counselors."[29]

The next morning, Saturday, 14 April, the three groups met again at John Taylor's office. First, George Reynolds read a set of instructions called "conclusions and directions of the Presidency as to method of reorganizing the Quorums of Seventies." Then came a surprise. The brethren read "a *Revelation* given today [that morning] through Pres. John Taylor approving our consideration and conclusion on this subject." Thus the seventies and the Church

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[27] Brigham Young, Jr., Journal, 28 Sept. 1883; FCM 22 Nov. and 6 Dec. 1879; 23 Oct. 1880; 26 Nov., 3 and 31 Dec. 1881; 14 and 21 Jan., 11 Feb. and 25 March 1882; SGMM, 7 and 22 Dec. 1881, 4 and 18 Jan., 31 Dec. 1882; 7 Nov. 1883. One seventy visited several brothers in saloons "and found in one two hundred youths," SGMM, 3 Nov. 1880.

[28] FCM, 6 May 1883; William W. Taylor, Journal, 13 April 1883, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives; Franklin D. Richards, Journal, 13 April 1883; SGGM, 2 May 1883.

[29] FCM, 6 May 1883; William W. Taylor, Journal, 13 April 1883.

received a two-part document that day: *Instructions*, and a *Revelation* sanctioning the *Instructions*.[30]

The *Instructions* first addressed the critical matter of recreating the First Quorum: "In the organization of these quorums in October, 1844, there were ten quorums, each provided with seven presidents, which presidents constituted the First Quorum of Seventies, and of which the First Seven Presidents of the Seventies were members, and over which they presided." But because seventies had greatly increased, "these regulations will not apply to the present circumstances." Further, although the First Quorum had not functioned since 1844, "it would seem there are duties devolving upon its members, as a quorum, that may require their official action." A new method of filling the First Quorum was then explained: "The First Quorum of Seventies may be composed of the First Seven Presidents of the Seventies, and the senior presidents of the first sixty-four quorums. These may form the Seventy referred to [in] the Book of Doctrine and Covenants, and may act in an official capacity as the First Quorum of the Seventies."

Senior presidents of other quorums beyond the first sixty-four "may meet with the First Quorum in their assemblies in any other than an official capacity." When any First Quorum members are absent, presidents of other quorums "can act in the place of such members with the First Quorum."

The First Council finally had official clearance to refill their own quorum, but such action, of necessity, took a back seat to organizing the other quorums.

The *Instructions*, bearing the First Presidency's signatures, ordered a badly needed reorganization of seventies quorums. It called for a geographical method of relocating and refilling existing seventies' quorums: "The headquarters of the different quorums, and the records thereof, may be distributed throughout the various Wards and Stakes." Such distribution should be based on "the number of the Priesthood residing in such locations." Vacancies in the realigned quorums, either in presidency or membership, "can be filled by the ordination of persons residing in the locality" of each quorum. Men transferring to the realigned quorums must bring certificates of standing from the quorum they were leaving and a certificate "of good standing from the Bishop of the Ward to which they belong." Problems about quorum presidents should be reported to the First Council "who may suspend such presidents, if their conduct seem to justify it, pending the actions of the First Quorum." Seventies dropped from fellowship by quorums "should be reported to the High Council having jurisdiction."

The second part of the document, the revelation, came in response to President John Taylor's prayer, "Show unto us Thy will, O Lord, concerning the organization of the Seventies," after presenting the *Instructions* before the Lord for confirmation or disapproval:

> What ye have written is my will, and is acceptable unto me: and furthermore, Thus saith the Lord unto the First Presidency, unto the Twelve, unto the Seventies and unto

[30] Franklin D. Richards, Journal, 14 April 1883; Clark, *Messages*, 2:352–54.

> all my holy Priesthood, let not your hearts be troubled, neither be ye concerned about the management and organization of my Church and Priesthood and the accomplishment of my work. Fear me and observe my laws and I will reveal unto you, from time to time, through the channels that I have appointed, everything that shall be necessary for the future development and perfection of my Church, for the adjustment and rolling forth of my kingdom, and for the building up and the establishment of my Zion. For ye are my Priesthood and I am your God. Even so. Amen.[31]

"These instructions have met our views," said Seymour Young, "God is determined to have a people pure in heart." [32] George Q. Cannon of the First Presidency felt "great joy and satisfaction," adding that "he had for some years felt dissatisfied with the condition of the Seventies." Apostle Richards observed that "the Lord has signified that he is pleased with their organization," and said the labor now facing the seventies was "to gather up all who belong to these quorums and to "make a more formidable organization than has ever before been in the Church." [33] Three thousand copies of the *Revelation* and *Instructions* were printed and distributed to seventies and stake leaders.[34]

Other council members were out of town so the three newest members, Presidents Taylor, Cannon, and Young, hammered out the nuts and bolts of the geographic restructurings and submitted a master plan to the Twelve. The trio developed four objectives: (1) to redistribute the quorums fairly evenly throughout the stakes, (2) to convince seventies to join the nearest quorum and to surrender memberships in quorums farther away, (3) to fill up quorums by transferring or newly ordaining seventies, and (4) to create new quorums in areas needing them. On 9 and 12 May the Twelve approved this plan.[35]

To redistribute quorums, the council calculated that seventies ought to be two-sevenths of any stake's total Melchizedek Priesthood bearers. Using the two-sevenths yardstick, they figured out how many seventies and quorums each stake needed. Then the council identified which quorums were surplus and shuffled those units' record books to stakes needing quorums. When possible, quorum headquarters were not moved. Between May and October 1883, the council visited stakes to move quorums and call presidencies where needed. Elder Gates helped reorganize and ordain in stakes south of Millard Stake, and President Eldredge, back from California, helped the trio reorganize the rest.[36]

Salt Lake Stake with 1100 seventies (one-fourth of the Church's total) was headquarters for forty quorums (half the Church's total). By ratio the stake deserved only seventeen quorums, so the council transferred out more than twenty quorum record books. Due to gaps in quorum records we can posi-

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[31] Clark, *Messages*, 2:352–54.

[32] SGMM, 2 May 1883.

[33] Journal History of the Church, 21 April 1883, Ms., LDS Church Archives, account originally in the *Ogden Daily Herald*.

[34] FCM, 6 May 1883.

[35] Ibid., 9 and 12 May 1883.

[36] Ibid., 27 May 1883; *Millennial Star* 45 (9 July 1883): 443; SGMM, 3 and 21 Oct., 22 May 1883; FCM, 8 June, 20 May 1883.

TABLE 2: LOCATION OF SEVENTIES QUORUMS, OCTOBER 1883*

Stake	*Total 70s Quorums*	*Quorum Number*	*Quorum President's Location*	*Transfer** 1883 from*
Bear Lake	4	6	St. Charles	
		11	Paris	
		18	Franklin	Salt Lake
		52	Malad	Provo
Beaver	1	12	Beaver	
Box Elder	3	5	Honeyville	
		58	Brigham City	
		59	Willard	
Cache	8	7	Weston	
		17	Smithfield	
		28	Wellsville	Salt Lake
		32	Providence	Salt Lake
		39	Richmond	
		40	Logan	
		62	Hyrum	Salt Lake
		64	Logan	
Davis	4	55	Kaysville	
		56	Farmington	
		70	Bountiful	
		74	Farmington	
Juab		49	Nephi	
		71	Nephi	
Millard	2	21	Scipio	Fillmore
		42	Fillmore	
Morgan	1	35	Morgan	
Parowan	2	63	Cedar City	
		69	Parowan	
St. George	3	9	Toquerville	
		25	Pine Valley	
		29	St. George	
Salt Lake	17	1, 2		
		4, 5		
		8, 10		
		13, 14		
		16, 23		
		24, 30		
		33, 57		
		62, 72		
		73		
Sanpete	6	26	Fairview	Salt Lake
		37	Wales	Salt Lake
		47	Ephraim	
		48	Manti	
		65	Gunnison	Salt Lake
		66	Mt. Pleasant	
Sevier	2	36	Richfield	
		41	Monroe	Salt Lake
Summit	2	22	Wanship	Salt Lake
		27	Coalville	
Tooele	2	31	Tooele	

Stake	*Total 70s Quorums*	*Quorum Number*	*Quorum President's Location*	*Transfer** 1883 from*
		43	Tooele	
Utah	10	15	Santaquin	Salt Lake
		19	Spanish Fork	
		34	Provo	
		44	Pleasant Grove	Utah Co.
		46	Payson	
		50	Spanish Fork	
		51	Springville	
		67	American Fork	
		68	Lehi	
Wasatch	1	20	Heber	
Weber	6	38	North Ogden	
		53	Ogden	
		54	West Weber	
		60	Ogden	
		75	Huntsville	Ogden
		76	Ogden	

* Source: FCM list, 21 Oct. 1883.

** Other quorums may have transferred but these are the ones that can be documented.

tively identify only ten of the transferred quorums. (See Table 2.) Quorums remaining within the stake received fixed geographic boundaries that encompassed from one to a handful of wards, sometimes matching the boundaries of elders quorums created in 1877.[37]

Late in 1883 the council published an up-to-date list of every quorum, its senior president, and his address. At least fourteen headquarters had been moved.

With seventy-six quorums geographically located, the council next assigned seventies to local quorums. The local quorum presidency was assigned to preside over all seventies in their area whether they belonged to the local quorum or not so that "all Seventies will have someone to look after them and they can be conveniently reached." [38] Newly ordained missionaries simply joined their closest quorum. Men belonging to an outside quorum were urged but not required to "join the Quorums where they are located." The reorganized Twenty-first Quorum, which moved its headquarters and records from Fillmore to Scipio, illustrates how badly the geographic system was needed: the new members of the Scipio quorum had previously belonged to *fifteen* different quorums.[39] Some men found it hard to surrender their standings in their old quorums. Some regretted losing seniority in their old quorums.

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[37] *Millennial Star* 45 (9 July 1883): 443; SGMM, 27 May 1883; Hartley, "Priesthood Reorganization of 1877," p. 23; FCM, 12 Aug. 1882.

[38] Fourth Quorum of Seventies, Minutes, 12 June 1883, microfilm, LDS Church Archives; First Council of the Seventy, Circular Letter, 22 Oct. 1884, LDS Church Historical Department Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, cited hereinafter as LDS Church Library; FCM, 11 June 1883.

[39] FCM, 27 May and 5 June 1883; "Record of the 21st Quorum of 70s" in Thomas Memmott, Journal, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives.

Quorum presidents living away from their quorum headquarters were asked to surrender their presidencies and join the local quorums. Absentee presidents were termed "a detriment instead of an advantage" to their units. If such men insisted on keeping their original quorum memberships the men could "be retained as members of the Quorum only, and others be set apart to act as the presidents." The council, when calling presidents for the revised quorums, tried to choose men who had been presidents in their previous quorums. The council also tried to call presidents from different wards encompassed by the quorum.[40]

FILLING QUORUMS AND CREATING NEW ONES

The reorganized quorums had many vacancies. In September 1883 the First Presidency and the Twelve authorized the council to "adopt any method which in their wisdom they may think proper" to recruit new seventies.[41] One way was to round up unenrolled seventies living near a given quorum and enroll them. Then, elders were hand-picked to become seventies, elders who it was hoped met apostle Wilford Woodruff's criteria that "every man ordained to the calling of "a Seventy should have heart, spirit and desire enough about him to go forth when called and to preach the Gospel among the nations, and without this spirit he should not be ordained." [42]

Soon, "many young men were being ordained." At Scipio, for example, twenty-seven elders joined the Twenty-first Quorum in 1883–84. Their average age was thirty-five. Presidents Cannon, Taylor, and Young traveled almost every Sunday in early 1884 to meet with seventies units, and they ordained twenty to forty new seventies each weekend. By April 1884, the council reported that the seventy-six quorums and presidencies were "nearly all filled up." Only First Council members could set apart a senior president of a quorum, but other presidents could be set apart and new seventies ordained by the quorum's senior president with the council's permission.[43]

During the 1880s the cut-off age for missionaries dropped from fifty-five to forty-five. Some quorums, needing more potential missionaries, wanted to prune off elderly members. The First Council, lacking authority to make high priests of older seventies, discussed the problem with the First Presidency and then announced that old seventies "have the consent of the First Presidency . . . to be recommended to the High Priests Quorum." [44] How many men were "promoted out" this way is not documented.

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[40] FCM, 2 Dec. 1884; First Council of the Seventy, Circular Letter, 22 Oct. 1884, LDS Library; SGMM, 6 June 1883; Thomas Memmott Journal, 24 Jan. 1883; Thirty-third Quorum of Seventies, Minutes, 15 Jan. 1884, microfilm, LDS Church Archives.

[41] FCM, 2 Sept. 1883.

[42] Robert Campbell to William Hyde, 18 Jan. 1884, First Council of the Seventy, Letterpress Copybooks, 1884–1909, film of holograph, LDS Church Archives, cited hereinafter as Council Copybook.

[43] FCM, 16 May 1883; SGMM, 17 Oct. 1883; Twenty-first Quorum Records in Memmott, Journal; Council Copybook, 11 April 1884; FCM, 29 Sept. 1885.

[44] FCM, 29 Jan. 1884, 5 Jan. 1886, 1 Dec. 1889, 11 March 1882, and 31 Aug. 1887.

Once quorums were filled and officered, the First Council began creating new quorums where stakes needed them. Table 3 shows twenty-five new units created between 1884 and 1888. Elder George Q. Cannon noted in 1883 that seventies "would continue to increase until they would number one hundred and forty-four thousand . . . in fact there was no limit." But by April 1888, after the 101st Quorum was formed, the Twelve ordered another moratorium "for the present" on ordinations except to fill vacancies.[45]

Along with staffing and reorganizing work, the First Council also performed its normal supervisory functions, issued circular letters of instructions, visited stakes and, after 1884, communicated with some quorums by telephone. In 1884 the council created three large districts encompassing all the quorums: William Taylor supervised the First District with twenty-six quorums; Seymour B. Young the Second District with twenty-three; and Abraham Cannon the Third District with thirty-three. When Elder Taylor died suddenly in mid-1884, his supervisory role in the First District passed to newly ordained John

TABLE 3: NEW SEVENTIES QUORUMS CREATED, 1884–1888

Compiled from "Stake and Mission Index to Numbered Seventies Quorums, 1857–1972," Register of Collections, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

Quorum Number	*Year Created*	*Location*
77	1884	Ogden, Utah
78	1884	Oakley, Idaho
79	1884	Montpelier, Idaho
80	1884	Spring City, Utah
81	1884	Emery Co., Utah
82	1884	Grass Valley, Utah
83	1885	E. Arizona
84	1885	Bannock, Idaho
85	1885	Kanab, Utah
86	1885	Panguitch, Utah
87	1885	Plain City, Utah
88	1885	Oneida, Idaho
89	1886	St. Joseph, Arizona
90	1886	Maricopa, Arizona
91	1886	Emery Co., Utah
92	1886	San Luis, Colorado
93	1887	Salt Lake City, Utah
94	1887	Salt Lake City, Utah
95	1887	Salt Lake City, Utah
96	1887	Wasatch Co., Utah
97	1887	Uintah Co., Utah
98	1887	Weber Co., Utah
99	1887	St. George, Utah
100	1888	Davis Co., Utah
101	1888	Emery Co., Utah

[45] Journal History, 22 April 1883, from the *Ogden Daily Herald*; Robert Campbell to Christian D. Fjeldsted, 19 April 1888, Council Copybook.

Morgan. Each supervisor tried to visit the stakes in his district annually to hold seventies conferences. Their reports punctuate the council's minutes after January 1884.[46]

In 1887 the First Council conducted a survey and found that the forty-four units responding averaged sixty-four men per unit, twenty-four in attendance at monthly quorum meetings, two theological classes per month, and three men on missions.[47]

PURIFYING THE SEVENTIES

The 1882 revelation also called for a purification, so the council added a reform campaign to the reorganizing movement. The purification vehicle proved to be the bishop's recommend. Every seventy, even the council members, had to obtain and submit to his quorum president a certificate signed by his bishop verifying his standing in the Church.

A big hurdle for many was the stipulation that they must obey the Word of Wisdom, a law not strictly enforced in the past. At an 1883 Fillmore Stake conference Apostle Francis M. Lyman and First Council members William Taylor and Abraham Cannon called for men to be ordained as seventies. Each ward submitted names but "after a rigid examination in regard to keeping the Word of Wisdom and other duties, but few were found qualified." By contrast, an early 1884 report for Kanab noted : "There has been a good reformation with the Seventies in regard to the Word of Wisdom." [48]

William Taylor explained the new "get tough" policy on the Word of Wisdom as nothing really new. He said it came from Joseph Smith as counsel "but through the Prophet Brigham as a command" and that "the Presidency and the Twelve Apostles have agreed strictly to adhere to it. They have called upon the Presidencies of Stakes to keep it and to teach others." A September 1886 circular from the First Council to all seventies reiterated the reform call voiced in the 1882 revelation: "We would meekly exhort you all to purify yourselves, and to labor to remove from your families everything that is contrary to the mind and will of God." [49]

By October 1884 "hundreds" of seventies were dragging their feet about recommends. The council decided to set a final deadline of 1 April 1887 for men to turn in recommends. When deadline day came, the council announced that "justice demands immediate action" and ordered quorum presidents to "strike from your rolls the names of all who have failed to comply." Such delinquents did not lose priesthood or ward fellowship but lost quorum membership and could not be readmitted without permission from the First Council. How many men were dropped from quorums is not known.[50]

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[46] FCM, 23 July and 22 Oct. and 24 June 1884, 9 March 1886; FCM for 1883–1890.

[47] FCM, 28 Dec. 1887.

[48] FCM, 28 Nov. 1883, 16 April 1884.

[49] SGMM, 21 Nov. 1883; FCM, 28 Nov. 1883, 29 Sept. 1886.

[50] FCM, 21 Oct. 1884, 15 Dec. 1886, 1 April 1887, 17 April 1889.

By 1886 the question of how to treat Word of Wisdom backsliders arose. Should they be booted out of quorums? Should they make binding promises to conform? The First Council counselled quorum presidencies that it was unwise to be "too rigid in exacting covenants" and not right to "make them covenant to keep the Word of Wisdom." A report late in 1890 about men added to the Fourth Quorum found that none used tobacco, some occasionally used beer, tea, and coffee, but by promising to do their best they became seventies anyway. In 1888 the council was asked if a quorum president should be "dealt with" if he persisted in using tobacco? The answer: "The line cannot be drawn at present." [51]

MISSIONARY ROLE

All this reorganizing, recruiting, and purifying activity had the primary purpose of producing more missionaries. By 1884 it was again Church policy that missionaries be ordained as seventies, so the seventies resumed their interrupted tradition of being *the* missionary force for the kingdom. The number of seventies serving missions after the 1883 reorganizings was almost double the number serving before the 1877 ban on ordaining new seventies.[52] (See Table 4.) The restructured quorums began paying transportation costs for their men called on missions, eliminating a $100 hurdle that stopped men before 1883. Also, quorums did a better job of helping families of men away on missions, thereby encouraging more men to go. By late 1885 the First Presidency urged stake presidents to set up 40- to 160-acre "missionary farms" in wards to help sustain missionaries' families, an idea the First Council also endorsed.[53]

To make seventies mission-ready, quorums held monthly or bi-monthly meetings for gospel study and teaching practice. Also, the council asked quorums to hold noncompulsory theological classes in each ward. These could be special Sunday School classes or weeknight classes — "any course tending to

TABLE 4: MISSIONARY DATA THE 1870S AND 1880S*

Period	*Years*	*Total Missionaries Sent*	*Total 70s as Missionaries*	*70s Percent of Total*	*Average No. of Missionaries Per Year*	*Average No. of 70s as Missionaries Per Year*
1871–76	6	838	571	69%	139	95
1877–83	7	1377	725	53%	197	104
1884–89	6	1421	1012	71%	236	169

* Source: "Missionary Record," typescript, LDS Church Archives.

[51] FCM, 7 Jan. 1885, 2 June 1886; Fourth Quorum Minutes, 13 Oct. 1890; FCM, 1 Feb. 1888.

[52] FCM, 27 May 1883.

[53] After 1883 the reasons cited in FCM for men not being able to accept missions decreasingly included transportation expense; FCM, 25 July 1888.

exercise Seventies in their callings i[s] acceptable." By 1886 some quorums sponsored from one to five theology classes each. Some quorums held weekly classes. These classes, which pioneered the priesthood study-class work of the next century, pursued both theology and nonreligious knowledge "in order that they may combat error upon scientific as well as religious grounds." The First Council warned against in-class debates, "devil's advocate" type representation, and doctrinal speculations.[54]

By late 1885 the First Presidency expressed its dissatisfaction about missionary results to the Twelve. Too many seventies were "so embarrassed by debt that they cannot go." The apostles were asked to "exercise a supervisory care over these nominations . . . so that unworthy representatives of our cause shall not go out." [55]

In the mid-1880s the First Council approved hundreds of men for mission calls, and by July 1887 reported to Apostle Richards that "under the blessings of the Lord we have been able to bring into a moderately complete state of organization the various quorums of the Seventies" and "we have succeeded in obtaining quite an extensive list of names of different nationalities who are well recommended by their respective bishops and co-laborers in the quorums. . . . We therefore respectfully submit the fact to you that we are now prepared, as we have ever tried to be in the past, to furnish you the names of any number of brethren you may require for missionary labor in any field. We have used the utmost care in the selecting of men for this service." [56] But Apostle Richards disagreed, saying that the Twelve had "selected the most of the missionaries from the Quorum of Elders and quite frequently from the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association, and I may say with gratifying success." The Missionary Committee, he said, would continue to use seventies' nominations as but one of various pools of names. He then announced more rigid qualifications for missionaries and harder clearance procedures.[57]

RECORD KEEPING AND FINANCES

The 1883 reorderings gave a new start to quorum record keeping. "Every quorum should have a recordbook," the council ordered, for minutes, for up-to-date rosters, and for genealogical data on each member. In 1886 the council called for a correct and full genealogical report of the quorums, to be transcribed upon the general First Council records.[58]

In addition to bishops' recommends, seventies were told to obtain a license. Applications for new seventies licenses needed the date of ordination of the

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[54] Thirty-third Quorum, Minutes, 18 April 1886; FCM, 9 March and 25 Jan. and 22 Feb. 1888.

[55] Clark, *Messages*, 3:42–43; FCM, 12 Nov. 1885.

[56] FCM, 20 July 1887.

[57] Ibid., 31 Aug. 1887.

[58] Ibid., 2 Dec. and 6 Nov. 1884.

applicant, the officiator's name, and the signature of the quorum president and bishop. The Church Archive contains stub-book after stub-book of seventies licenses issued from 1884 to 1889 and after.[59]

Council members had no annual appropriation from the church to pay council or personal expenses. They were self-supporting, and some found it hard going. Just before he died, Joseph Young made a plea to his fellow seventies for help, telling how he had labored for fifty years to provide for himself and now could not. Levi Hancock, in need, received some aid from the Presiding Bishopric. Seymour Young, on a mission in 1886, asked for $500 and the council turned him down — they did not like the precedent. With quorums revitalized after 1883, the council requested each unit to submit $35 a month — 50 cents per man — to a Seventies General Fund. The fund paid for the council's clerk, travel, printing, and mailing. The hope was that the fund would grow large enough "to assist those who are suddenly called to take foreign missions." [60]

THE FIRST QUORUM

For a third of a century the Church had operated without a First Quorum of the Seventy. Why then did the First Council try to resurrect it in the 1880s? Records do not provide clear-cut answers, but they suggest four.

One possible reason, one that historians need to probe, is that President Brigham Young did not want a First Quorum, that during his presidency of the Church he vetoed the First Quorum's resurrection, and that only after his death in 1877 was the First Quorum a discussable topic again.

Another reason, more substantiated, is that reorganizers of the seventies in the 1880s could not do their work without facing the First Quorum question head-on. To organize and fill all quorums but the first one, the one thought to be the most important, could not be done without debating that quorum's theoretical and practical roles past, present, and future.

A third reason could be that the membership at large, knowing the aging First Council had called a handful of alternates to help it, wondered why the council did not revive its own quorum instead to help out.

A fourth reason could be that Joseph Young, aware that a revitalizing of seventies quorums was upcoming, felt inadequate to lead these anticipated, vigorous units. The First Council's February 1880 minutes hint at this: "Br. Joseph Young said in relation to the Seven First Presidents presiding over all the quorums, that he was afraid of standing with his counselors and presiding over them." The statement, made during a discussion of the First Quorum, suggests that Joseph believed the First Council was but a skeleton crew unable to man the seventies ship properly without the First Quorum. (However, this

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[59] FCM, 2 Dec. 1884 and 16 May 1883; Seventies Ordination Certificate Stubs, 1839–1900, microfilm, LDS Library.

[60] First Council of the Seventy, Circular Letter, 10 March 1886, LDS Library; FCM, 14 July 1886; FCM, 1 May and 2 Oct. 1880 and 12 Feb. 1881.

raises a question with an answer beyond the scope of this study — why Joseph did not keep the old First Quorum going after 1844.)[61]

"The Seventy," the Doctrine and Covenants specifies, "form a quorum equal in authority to that of the Twelve" and can preside over the Church if the First Presidency and Twelve do not exist (D&C 107:24–26). Clearly, seventy-six or more quorums could not be "the Seventy" referred to. "The Seventy" apparently need to be an authority above the level of normal seventies quorums, and by general understanding a century ago "the Seventy" were to be the First Quorum. But who joins that quorum and how is it to be filled? During the 1880s three methods were considered: (1) the 1844 method, by which the seven presidents of quorums two through ten, when called together by the First Council, constituted "the Seventy"; (2) the method proposed by the 1883 *Instruction* by which the senior president of each of the next sixty-three quorums, when called together by the council, were "the Seventy"; and (3) the First Council's preferred method, the method by which the original First Quorum was filled in 1835, of calling sixty-three independent of their seventies quorum affiliation or office. Lack of consensus about which method to use was one of two major reasons why the First Quorum did not resurrect in the 1880s.

The second major reason seems to be that, although priesthood theory requires a First Quorum, priesthood practice during that decade revealed no urgency for the quorum. "It would seem there are duties devolving upon its members, as a quorum," the 1883 *Instruction* said, "that may require their official action." But what kind of duties and action? The decade's records provide few specifics except that "the Seventy" could hold trials for senior quorum presidents, receive reports, and conduct Seventies business — tasks that the council could easily handle anyway through existing apparatus.[62]

Three times the council had opportunities in the 1880s to resurrect the First Quorum and three times nothing happened. The first chance came in 1879–80. Late in 1879 the council discussed the desirability of filling the First Quorum but expressed uncertainty how to proceed. Joseph Young, either from historical amnesia or for personal or practical reasons, did not want to use the 1844 method of filling the quorum with presidencies of other quorums. Other leaders agreed. Council member John Van Cott, for example, "could not see any authority for Presidents of other Quorums being any part of the First Quorum." Seymour B. Young "thought a man could not be President in two places at once." "It was not by being in any particular Quorum that we receive any more authority," Joseph Young explained, "but it is in the organization."[63]

Early in 1880 Joseph asked for and received the Twelve's permission to fill the First Quorum by transferring some of the Eighth Quorum into it and then filling vacancies in both quorums with new seventies. But the plan hit a

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[61] FCM, 28 Feb. 1880.

[62] Clark, *Messages*, 2:353; FCM, 16 May 1883.

[63] FCM, 13 March and 28 Feb. and 20 March 1880.

snag. Elder William F. Cahoon, president of the Second Quorum, told Joseph that at the School of the Prophets in Kirtland Joseph Smith taught the 1844 method. Joseph Young said he had not known that before — evidently meaning he thought the 1844 idea was Brigham Young's. Accepting Elder Cahoon's testimony, Joseph Young decided that "when he called for a representation of the First Quorum he wanted the Presidency of the Second to the Tenth Quorums to rise." [64]

But a month later the Council was balking at the 1844 method. Alternate Enoch Tripp "spoke of the importance of being governed by what is written in the Revelations. Thought there should be a full and sufficient Quorum comprising the First Presidents with the Presidents of nine Quorums. He wished to see this settled." But Joseph Young decided "he would let everything rest as it was" because he wished to discuss the matter with the Twelve. He also consulted with old timers, including Harrison Burgess who also remembered Joseph Smith teaching the 1844 plan. Further, the council searched Church histories for items pertaining to the early seventies. Then the matter dropped, and the council did not tackle it again before Joseph Young died in 1881. In November 1882 President Eldredge asked the First Presidency about filling the quorum but no approval came.[65]

The second chance to form the First Quorum came when the 1883 *Instructions* and ratifying revelation *permitted* the First Quorum to be filled by calling the next sixty-three quorums' senior presidents. Obviously the First Quorum could not be filled by this method until the next sixty-three quorums had senior presidents properly installed. So Wilford Woodruff, president of the Twelve, instructed the council to organize and fill the existing quorums first before the First Quorum. The council obeyed. During the reorganizings, however, some senior presidents of quorums talked of sitting soon in the First Quorum. By late 1883 when the first sixty-four quorums had their senior president properly installed, the First Council could have called the First Quorum together but did not. From 1884 to 1888 the First Quorum topic appeared only once or twice in council minutes, and no action resulted. Perhaps the council was too busy filling old quorums and organizing new ones to tackle the First Quorum matter again.[66]

A third opportunity came in 1889–90. Jacob Gates, new senior president of the council, asked his colleagues to organize the First Quorum.[67] In response they drafted a letter to senior apostle Wilford Woodruff (the First Presidency was not yet organized after John Taylor's death in 1887) explaining what problems the 1883 method would cause if implemented. Using the sixty-three quorums' senior presidents, the council reasoned, would fill the First Quorum with many elderly men and many living far away from Salt Lake City. In-

[64] Ibid., 22 Dec. 1879, 6 and 13 and 20 March 1880.

[65] Ibid., 17 April and 5 and 12 June 1880, 25 Nov. 1882.

[66] Ibid., 16 May and 7 Nov. 1883, 25 Aug. 1885.

[67] Ibid., 5 Dec. 1888.

stead, why not fill the First Quorum with individually selected men who were vigorous and who lived close to headquarters? The letter added that, whatever method the Twelve approved, the council wanted permission to assemble the First Quorum members at the next general conference.[68]

The council submitted the letter to the Twelve in early 1889. No answer is recorded in council minutes, but a council letter written half a century later records what happened to the proposal: "When attention was called to the fact that the First Quorum would be scattered all over, and many of its members advanced in years, [so] it would be impossible to function as a quorum, the President [Woodruff] stated 'that we will do nothing with it for the present,' and since then nothing has been done." [69]

MILLENNIALISM

Joseph Smith said that if he lived to be eighty-five he would see the Savior come.[70] Based on that teaching, some Mormons, including seventies, thought the second coming would occur in 1890. While the seventies' reorganizings, revelations, and purifyings were not explicitly linked to an 1890 second coming, seventies' records contain occasional millennialistic sentiments. In April 1880, for example, President Joseph Young "said the signs of the times were ominous of a great crisis which were [*sic*] at our doors, indicating a great upheaving and the convulsions of nations, which showed the great necessity of the Seventies being prepared for any emergencies that may transpire and to hold themselves in reddiness for coming events." [71] Joseph Young told a confidant, Edward Stevenson, that he expected to see the second coming because Joseph Smith had promised him he "would not sleep" before the coming of the Son of Man.[72] "There were quite a few among us who had but a slight conception of the magnitude of the work," a seventy said in 1883; "as the idea is entertained by some that missionary work was drawing to a close." [73]

For the most part, however, such expressions were quiet. The First Council's own minutes during the 1880s, in fact, lack millennialistic fever. The most direct statement on the subject by a council member came in September

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[68] FCM, 12 Dec. 1888, contains the full text of the letter. Early in 1889, the letter was sent to the Twelve (ibid., 20 March 1889). The Twelve intimated they would meet with the First Council (ibid., 27 March 1889) to take action on the letter. That summer, Seymour B. Young consulted with the Twelve on the matter, but no results were recorded (ibid., 24 July 1889).

[69] Letter, no author, no addressee, no date, typescript, First Council of the Seventy, Outgoing Correspondence, 1939, LDS Church Archives.

[70] Alma P. Burton, comp., *Discourses of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1977), p. 236.

[71] FCM, 17 April 1880.

[72] Edward Stevenson, Diary, 1878–81, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives.

[73] SGMM, 23 Feb. 1883.

of the suspected millennial year, 1890, when President Morgan squelched notions that some Seventies entertained:

> John Morgan said there are likely to be many more quorums of 70s organized (there were now over 100), there are many erroneous notions entertained by the 70s in regard to preaching the Gospel, that their missions would necessarily be short; that the end is very near and the Elders about to be called home &c, but in such things they are mistaken, as the Gospel is to be preached to all nations and will necessarily take a long time; the work has hardly commenced. . . . not half the counties in the United States (Southern States especially) have ever heard the Gospel preached.[74]

THE FIRST COUNCIL AS SUBORDINATES

Scripture, including the 1882 and 1883 revelations, teaches that the First Council is subordinate to the Twelve and First Presidency. The council accepted that role but at times found it hard to wait for superiors to grant requests or make decisions. Joseph Young, for example, felt in 1880 that part of their difficulties stemmed from underuse by senior apostle John Taylor and the Twelve: "If he would call upon us to rally our forces, we would try and be ready; and for his part he wished the Twelve to give us a fair trial, and we would call out missionaries, place our hands upon their heads and bless them."[75]

The Twelve and/or First Presidency determined when to ordain more seventies and when to halt. They approved alternates and they released them. They approved the ward and stake seventies president experiment. They selected, rejected, or ignored men approved by the First Council for missions. They reviewed and approved the First Council's plans in 1883 for reapportioning seventies quorums among the stakes. They chose not to involve the seventies in the Lamanite missionary work. They tabled the First Council's 1889 proposal to recreate the First Quorum. The First Council readily acknowledged that they took "no important steps without applying to them [the Twelve and First Presidency] in all cases where necessary."[76]

The First Council did exercise some nominating powers regarding new council members. When John Van Cott died, the First Presidency and Twelve asked the First Council to nominate a Scandinavian replacement. When President Eldredge died, the Twelve asked the council for nominees to replace him. Of the four they suggested, B. H. Roberts was chosen.[77]

According to seventies' records, the First Council did not meet regularly with the Twelve. However, there was considerable correspondence between the two units and one-to-one contact between individual Council members and apostles. Seventies' business reached the Twelve and First Presidency informally through William W. Taylor talking to his father, John Taylor, and Abraham H. Cannon talking to his father, George Q. Cannon.

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[74] Fourth Quorum, Minutes, 8 Sept. 1890.

[75] FCM, 24 April 1880.

[76] Robert Campbell to Henry Herriman, 27 Nov. 1884, Council Copybook.

[77] FCM, 30 April 1884, 30 June 1883, 3 Oct. 1888.

SEVENTIES: HOW MUCH PRIESTHOOD AUTHORITY?

Who has higher authority, a seventy or high priest? That was a troubling question before, during, and after the 1880s. Joseph Young strongly asserted that seventies held higher authority. When a high priest asked to become a seventy in the early 1880s, Joseph Young ordained him and placed him in the Eighth Quorum. Joseph Young also said it was wrong for seventies to become high priests when called into bishoprics. Had not Joseph Smith rebuked Hyrum Smith for ordaining a seventy a high priest? Had not Joseph Smith and Brigham Young both taught that seventies were "Seventy Apostles" with full "keys, powers, and authority" of the apostleship "to order and set in order the Stakes of Zion, Bishops, Bishops Councillors and high councils?" To make seventies become high priests "was contrary to the teachings imparted to him by the Prophet Joseph Smith and his successor Brigham Young." John Van Cott said Brigham once taught that a seventy called to a bishopric ought to be "set apart" — not ordained — to act as a high priest, "for they could act in any calling, and could still be special witnesses [Seventy Apostles]." As late as 1888 the Council, in a general epistle, said that men chosen for stake and ward presiding positions "are not required to be ordained High Priests against their choice."

Joseph Young also believed that seventies ordained as high priests did not need to sever their membership ties with seventies quorums. John Van Cott agreed: "Brigham had said that we will take the Seventies back again" who became high priests. By late 1882 some men held dual memberships in both high prists and seventies quorums.[78]

During the 1880s several situations proved the high priests-seventies controversy was still alive. To illustrate, T. B. Lewis, sustained at October 1882 Conference to join the First Council, admitted he was a high priest and was not installed. Normally the First Council members were not allowed to ordain high priests, and in late 1887 when a council member helped an apostle ordain a high priest at a stake conference, others of the Twelve judged the action improper. On still another occasion apostles Moses Thatcher and Heber J. Grant ordained high priests leaving for missions to the office of seventy, and Abraham H. Cannon, a new apostle and former First Council member, reacted: "While I believe that a Seventy holds the higher office, there are some, even among the Twelve, who think a high priest is higher." One such was new Church President Wilford Woodruff who late in 1889 "decided it improper to ordain a high priest to a seventy." [79]

The Council maintained that seventies were general officers under its leadership and not stake officers like elders and high priests. But some bishops and stake officers disregarded the First Council and exercised local controls over seventies. Sometimes seventies were called into local positions and made high

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[78] Ibid., 29 May 1880, 21 May 1881, 2 June 1880, 13 Dec. 1879, 29 May 1880, 2 April 1881, 25 July 1888, 1 Oct. 1882; SGMM, 19 May 1880.

[79] SGMM, 18 Oct. 1882; FCM, 30 Nov. 1887, 9 Oct. 1889.

priests without informing seventies quorum presidents or the council. In a 25 July 1888 epistle the First Council criticized the practice: "It is a matter of regret that heretofore, Bishops of Wards and Presidents of Stakes have taken from the councils and the membership of these Quorums some of the best men to ordain them Bishops, Bishops Counselors, High Counselors, etc. without consulting the officers of the Quorums from which these men are taken." [80] But two weeks later, either through ignorance of the council's epistle or in deliberate confrontation, Apostle Francis M. Lyman ordained a seventies president a high priest without asking the First Council's approval.[81]

The council also disliked reports that bishops ordered seventies to do things that were beyond a bishop's jurisdiction. "A Bishop has no right to dictate Seventies in regard to their Quorum matters," the council warned; the bishop "has no jurisdiction over Seventies to send them out to preach in other wards than where they reside." But the council also recognized that bishops had the right to call on seventies to fill the office of "acting" elders, priests, teachers, deacons, or even doorkeepers.[82]

POLYGAMY AND THE SEVENTIES

Polygamous seventies in the 1880s, like other Mormon polygamists, had to deal with the "Raid" and the "Underground." As noted, Seymor B. Young added a second wife as ordered by the 1882 revelation before joining the First Council. All First Council members that decade were polygamists, though only B. H. Roberts went to jail for polygamy (a fine place to preach the gospel, he said). Seymour Young and Daniel Fjelsted "arranged" to go on foreign missions to avoid arrest. Of seventy-five senior presidents of the seventy-five seventies quorums in 1883, nine were imprisoned for polygamy, or one out of eight. Some men wrote to the council, asking for missions to avoid prison. Of the entire seventies' membership, enough men faced arrest to prompt the First Council to ask quorums to aid families of seventies on the underground or in jail.[83]

During Test Oath struggles in Idaho, some Saints, including seventies, agreed to defend the Church by taking the oath, losing Church membership, and then voting in support of Church-favored candidates and issues. In February 1889, for example, the Fifty-second Quorum in Oneida Stake was in "a

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[80] FCM, 25 July 1888.

[81] Ibid., 8 Aug. 1888, 8 Dec. 1886.

[82] Ibid., 8 Dec. 1886.

[83] Ibid., 11 Sept. 1889, 14 July and 20 Oct. 1886; statistics based on name matches between list of senior quorum presidents in 1883 and list of Mormons jailed for plural marriage reasons, contained in Andrew Jenson, "Prisoners for Conscience Sake," manuscript, LDS Church Archives. Those jailed and their quorum numbers: Wm. H. Tovey (4), Charles Monk (19), George Reynolds (24), Edward Peay (34), John F. Dorius (47), Walter Wilcox (57), Hans P. Hansen (58), Thomas Barrett (67), and William Yates (68).

deplorable condition" because forty-three members had taken the test oath and lost their Church memberships.[84]

Church leaders used the reorganization movement to enforce the Word of Wisdom but *not* to increase plural marriages. Hundreds of men obtained worthiness recommends from their bishops and scores of men filled new seven-man presidencies, but no instruction came from the First Presidency, and Twelve, or the First Council that these men needed to be polygamists. In fact, polygamists made poor "Minute Men" type missionaries because they had too many obligations. "It was not necessary to load ourselves up with large families," Apostle Brigham Young, Jr., told seventies in 1883; "but that when through faith and prayer the Lord calls us to take another wife, it is our duty to do so." [85]

However, the year before, the 1882 revelation had read, "It is not meet that men who will not abide my law [plural marriage] shall preside over my priesthood," thus setting a leaders-to-be-polygamists standard that General Authorities tried to enforce. At the priesthood session of April Conference in 1884 criticism was voiced of David H. Peery because he had resigned his stake president's calling rather than add a wife. In the same meeting stake presidents Lewis W. Shurtliff, William W. Cluff, and Abraham Hatch were warned that they were holding themselves and the Church back by not taking second wives. Accordingly, the First Council, when selecting new seventies quorum presidents after 1883, gave "preference to those who had embraced the law of celestial marriage." [86]

CONTINUOUS REVELATION AND PRIESTHOOD

In the 1883 revelation, the Lord addressed conservative Saints bothered by changes in Church practice. Like an "elastic clause" in the priesthood constitution, the verse informed members that the Lord can make changes in his priesthood. Priesthood leaders, it said, are not to be troubled or concerned "about the management and organization of my Church and Priesthood" but instead should trust the appointed channels and expect through those channels necessary future adjustments. Similar expression of priesthood elasticity came when the First Council objected to seventies quorum presidents being taken into bishoprics without the First Council's permission. Was not this wrong, the First Council asked the First Presidency. Presidents John Taylor and George Q. Cannon answered that it was *discourteous* but *not wrong*. Then they added: "While upon this subject, we may say that it is not wise to have

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[84] Brigham H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* 6 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1930), 6:213; FCM 13 Feb. and 20 March 1889.

[85] FCM, 27 May 1883.

[86] Clark, *Messages*, 2:348; Thomas Memmott, Journal, "Quotation Book," pp. 102–4 (In section on plural marriage under heading called "Notes on remarks made in Priesthood meeting, General Conference, April 1884").

cast iron rules by which to fetter the Priesthood. The Priesthood is a living, intelligent principle, and must necessarily have freedom to act as circumstances may dictate or require." [87]

CONCLUSION

The 1880s represent a golden age for seventies work. Beginning the decade disorganized, depleted, and scattered, the seventies, responding eagerly to two "thus saith the Lord" type of revelations in 1882 and 1883, experienced a large-scale restructuring. No less than fourteen quorums were relocated, hundreds of seventies were changed in their quorum membership, twenty-five new quorums were created, and many new quorum presidencies were called. More seventies served missions, perhaps 100 more per year, than in the 1870s. Because the average age of men called on missions dropped from above age forty to about the mid-thirties during the decade, returned missionaries brought younger blood into the quorums. Younger replacements for First Council vacancies helped it be more vigorous in supervising the work of the quorums. Because seventies and quorums were easily locatable after 1883, communication between First Council and quorums improved greatly. Pride in being a seventy increased because two revelations specifically expressed divine awareness of and approval of the seventies' calling. When bishops' recommends were required, many seventies made successful efforts to change, especially with regard to the newly enforced Word of Wisdom. Ward theology classes were started. Seventies' record books received vital updatings. Had Joseph Young lived until 1890, his discouragement with the state of things in 1880 probably would have changed to rejoicings over what the decade had done for his seventies.

Despite the major work done on reorganizing the seventies in the 1880s, some fundamental priesthood problems outlasted the decade. One was the

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[87] FCM, 15 Dec. 1886. The First Council did not always like the elastic approach, for the traditional view of seventies being seventy-apostles gave their quorums more importance. B. H. Roberts became a vocal, perhaps strident, traditionalist regarding seventies. In 1926 Apostle Rudger Clawson, on behalf of the Twelve, while criticizing Roberts for favoring previous revelations, wrote to President Heber J. Grant that previous revelations "must be construed with reference to the whole text of our law and the principles which control our government. In such a construction it will not be difficult to reconcile present practice or such further policies which may be adopted with the letter and spirit of the texts [of the revelations]." He added:

> The doing of the work of the Lord must always be of chief concern. The whole organization of the Church is, in the last analysis, a facility, an agency for that high purpose. So that, while we do not desire to be understood to make an effort to minimize the value and importance of adhering to the general directions given in the revelations for the organization and maintenance of the quorums, we do express the firm conviction that these scriptural directions are, as herinbefore stated, subject to the interpretation of the inspired servants of the Lord who preside over the Church, whose interpretations will always be made with reference to the needs of the Church and the progress of the work.

Rudger Clawson to President Heber J. Grant, Extracts of Council of the Twelve Minutes and First Council of the Seventy, 1888–1941, 9 Dec. 1926, microfilm, LDS Archives.

long-term debate about how much authority a seventy, especially a First Council member, held compared to a high priest. Also, the First Quorum's resurrection was shelved.[88] The goal of the 1883 revelation and *Instructions* was to place the seventies quorums in "perfect working order." But, ironically, the one matter left unperfected was the vacant First Quorum, the capstone quorum of the entire seventies organization. The long-standing expectation that seventies be missionary-producing quorums found only limited fulfillment: the quorums continued to be retirement places for returning missionaries more than productive training camps for future missionaries. The Lamanite missionary campaign involving the seventies, called for by the 1882 revelation, never materialized. Finally, by geographically distributing seventies quorums throughout the stakes, the 1883 reorganization moved the day a notch closer when seventies would become local officers supervised by stake presidents instead of general quorums supervised by the First Council.

[88] In October 1975 general conference, Church President Spencer W. Kimball announced the reconstitution of the First Quorum of the Seventy. Since then men have been called into the quorum without regard to previous seventies' quorum affiliation or lack of it. In October 1976 general conference, all Assistants to the Twelve — high priests by ordination — were called into the First Quorum.

Brooke Elizabeth Smith

Full Circle

I understand Stonehenge now:
The need for a circle
In relation to the sun.
I understand Sisterhood now
The need for a circle
In relation to the Son.

We have long since
Lifted the hands
That weighed congenially
Upon each other.

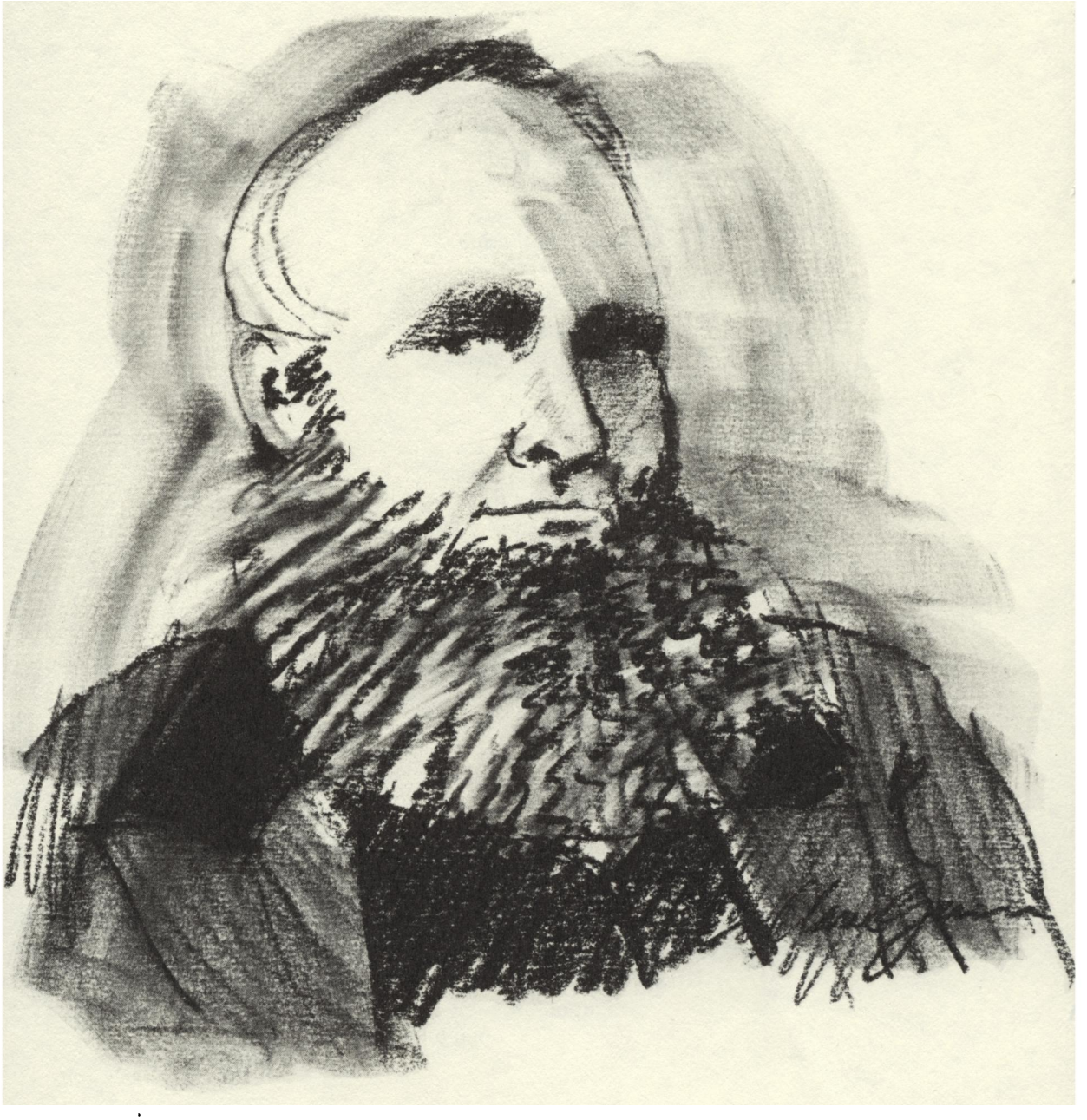
I can still see
The two concentric circles
We made and how they
Closed and opened to
Our embracing there.

I can still hear our voices
Praying:
Father and Mother, conjoin
To join our voice
With the songs and
Prayers we hear
And would be singing.

Saying:
In His name, may
Our Endowment confirm
And no frailty impede this
Blessing from distilling
Upon her,
upon us,
upon all women

Loretta L. Hefner

From Apostle to Apostate: The Personal Struggle of Amasa Mason Lyman



"The principles of the gospel are perfect," President Brigham Young admonished his audience early in the summer of 1867, "but are the Apostles who teach it perfect?" Even though he provided an answer ("No, they are not"), the question was rhetorical. He had just reminded his listeners that doctrinal deviations were not limited to the apostles of old. Even among the present Quorum, observed Young, was one apostle who does "not believe in the existence of a personage called God"; a second "who believes that infants have the spirits of some who have formerly lived on the earth, and that this is their resurrection"; and ("This is not all") "another one . . . who, I understand, for fifteen years, has been preaching on the sly . . . that the Savior was nothing more than a good man, and that his death had nothing to do with your salvation or mine." [1]

The first apostolic "heresies," Orson Pratt's, have been recounted elsewhere.[2] The second apostle, Orson Hyde, was associated with several rejected doctrinal innovations during his career including his 1844–45 notion that blacks were "neutrals" in the War in Heaven and that everyone had a personal "guardian angel." [3] Hyde's ideas on the "baby resurrection," as it was termed, were put forth about 1850, a year in which he recalled "President Young told me . . . my views on the baby resurrection was not true, that I might believe what I pleased if I would not preach false doctrine." Subsequently "Hyde renounced the doctrine and made it all right with the Quorum." [4] The third unorthodox apostle and the only one whose views led to his excommunication, was Amasa Mason Lyman, devout member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints for over thirty-five years, and an active participant in some of the Church's most dramatic and harrowing episodes.

The eighteen-year-old Lyman was introduced to Mormonism and baptized by twenty-year-old Orson Pratt in 1832. He left his family in New Hampshire, joined the Saints in Ohio, and almost immediately set out with Pratt on the first of sixteen missions he would ultimately serve. During one of these missions in 1834, he joined Zion's Camp, was stricken by ague and fever, and though still shaky, immediately resumed his missionary work. Like many others who served in Zion's Camp, Lyman was called late in 1834 to the First Council of the Seventy.

An early sign of Lyman's exceptional commitment was his courage and resourcefulness in antagonistic Missouri. On several occasions he disguised him-

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[1] Discourse, Salt Lake City, 23 June 1867, reported in the *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool 1854–82), 12:66, hereafter cited as JD, by volume and page numbers.

[2] Gary James Bergera, "The Orson Pratt-Brigham Young Controversies: Conflict within the Quorums, 1853 to 1868," DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT 13 (Summer 1980): 7–49.

[3] Joseph Smith Hyde, *Orson Hyde* (Salt Lake City, 1933), p. 6; Zina D. Huntington Young Diary, 13 Nov. 1844, Historical Department Archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter LDS Church Archives.

[4] Wilford Woodruff Journal, 10 Sept. and 4 Sept. 1867, LDS Church Archives.

self to gather information about the citizens' plans to force the Mormons out of the state. Then, in November 1838, Joseph Smith, Lyman, and several others were arrested, convicted, and sentenced to death by a military tribunal for their alleged crimes against the State of Missouri. Later the sentences were commuted to jail terms.

Lyman rejoined the Saints in Illinois in 1842 and was called to be an apostle, filling a vacancy in the Quorum of the Twelve created by the excommunication of his friend and first contact with Mormonism, Orson Pratt. When Pratt resolved his conflicts with Joseph Smith and was reinstated to the Quorum, Lyman was appointed a counselor to the First Presidency. A year after the death of Joseph Smith, Lyman was again called into the Quorum of the Twelve.

During the Saints' move west, Lyman helped the Mississippi group migrate and was one of three apostles asked to raise funds for the trek among the eastern Saints. By this time, Lyman, like other leading Mormons, had accepted the practice of celestial marriage. In Utah he settled his eight wives and their children in several communities — Farmington, Salt Lake City, Fillmore, Beaver, and Parowan.

In 1851, Lyman and fellow apostle Charles C. Rich directed the Church colonization of the San Bernardino area and lost thousands of dollars by personally refinancing the settlement's mortgages. From 1860–63 Lyman again joined Rich to preside over the European mission.

The intellectual antecedents of the ideas which finally culminated in Lyman's excommunication in 1870 are not completely clear. His impressive record of Church service clearly attests to a deep personal commitment to Mormonism. Yet remnants of his Universalist heritage occasionally showed. Even as leader of the Church colony in San Bernardino in the early 1850s, Lyman associated with local spiritualists and at least twice experimented with seances. By 1852, Lyman, like many other Americans, was reading the works of spiritualism's most prolific and prominent writer, Andrew Jackson Davis, in particular, *The Harmonial Philosophy, The Principles of Nature, Her Divine Revelations, and A Voice to Mankind*, and *The Philosophy of Spiritual Intercourse: Being an Explanation of Modern Mysteries.* As European mission president in 1860–63, he was immersed in what later historians have termed "the golden age of liberal theology," which was primarily the result of a social and scientific upheaval which seriously challenged traditional religions in the later half of the nineteenth century. Dramatic scientific discoveries and a concurrent shift in religious and moral attitudes led to skepticism toward biblical concepts of history and creation.

In America, liberal theology found its most fertile ground among New England protestant churches. Unitarians and Universalists made the most significant contributions to the liberal movement, but it also took root among Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Northern Baptist congregations. Although these denominations still preached essential Christianity, liberal theolo-

gians led their churches away from so-called myth, error, and intellectual bondage into the broader world of science, philosophy, and scholarship.[5]

That Lyman might be receptive to such a movement was apparent to some from the outset of his European mission. In 1860, an unknown reporter for the *Millennial Star* praised the new mission president's first sermon as:

> delightful and satisfying. The aim of the speaker was to give to "Mormonism" that massive, universal, and liberal character which properly belongs to it. . . . I could not help but wish for the speaker during his mission here, many opportunities of addressing large congregations of the liberal and advanced minds of England . . . [thereby] establishing in the public minds a more just and higher appreciation of "Mormonism."
>
> And there are those who believe the period has come [from which the Latter-day Saint Church will draw] some of its most liberal and advanced minds.[6]

Whatever his starting point, by early 1862 Lyman was immersed in some of the liberal theology then in vogue. In a March 1862 sermon delivered in Dundee, Scotland, he asserted that man, coming from a perfect spirit father, was innately good and could redeem himself by correcting his own mortal errors. There was thus simply no need for a savior. The historical figure, Jesus, whom most worshipped as the Christ, was in reality only a moral reformer, teacher, and exemplar of great love.[7]

Although this startling sermon was published in the *Millennial Star*, it did not come immediately to the attention of Brigham Young. In the interim, Lyman resumed his duties in Utah. In 1863, not long after his return from England, President Young heard that Lyman had given a sermon in Beaver, Utah, denying the divinity of Christ and the efficacy of the atonement. While touring Mormon settlements in southern Utah soon thereafter, Young preaching at Parowan, not far from Beaver, turned to Lyman, who was seated behind him on the dais, and asked the fifty-two-year-old apostle if he had ever preached such a sermon. Lyman replied that he had never thought of preaching that doctrine.

Young, relieved, continued his sermon on the importance of the atonement of Jesus. After discussing the necessity of man's efforts to achieve salvation, he said to the congregation, "If I were to stop here, you would say that I had preached the same doctrine that Amasa [had], but I will extend it further and say what he would have said had he finished his discourse." President Young said a savior had to exist to account for justice and mercy — man could not do this for himself. Young then turned to Lyman and asked if this were not what he had intended to preach. Lyman responded that it was. Young, the visiting

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[5] Loretta L. Hefner, "Amasa Mason Lyman, The Spiritualist," *Journal of Mormon History* 6 (1979): 75–87; Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 763–84.

[6] *LDS Millennial Star* 22 (18 Aug. 1860): 524.

[7] Amasa Mason Lyman, "Nature of the Mission of Jesus," 16 March 1862, *LDS Millennial Star* 24 (5 April 1862): 209–17.

members of the Quorum, and the congregation were fully satisfied, and nothing more was said.[8]

While the Church leadership may have missed the extent of Lyman's intellectual-universalist outlook during the next few years, he attracted unusual attention in 1866 when the *American Phrenological Journal*, a liberal national organ, wrote at some length about Lyman, its first featured Mormon, whom they characterized as "the Mormon Theodore Parker":

> [Amasa Lyman] is full of transcendental thoughts. . . . He could stand in a church in fellowship with Carlyle or Emerson, and they could not charge him with not being universal enough. He believes in the "divinity of the world," perhaps more than in the divinity of the mission of any man, and even Christ himself is only the embodiment of the world's divine mission. . . . Amasa thinks that the universe of truth is God, and man approximates to Deity as fast as he takes in universal truth. Amasa Lyman is an apostle of universal truth, rather than an apostle of any one Church organization. . . . Church organizations, apostleships, doctrines, forms, and ordinances are only the shell; the kernal of truth is within. . . . He is perhaps much too heterodox an Apostle, but the Mormon Church, which has taken in all sects and all people of all nations, seems to have gathered into it all classes of minds.[9]

Just the year before, ironically, Lyman had joined the Quorum in signing a public statement of censure against his old mentor, Orson Pratt.[10] One of the points in dispute was Pratt's "unorthodox" view of God which did not differ markedly from that attributed to Lyman above.

Already sensitized by Pratt's ongoing disagreement on several points of doctrine, as well as the previously alleged heresies of Lyman and Hyde, the First Presidency issued an 1865 statement prohibiting the publication of "any doctrines, as the doctrine of the Church . . . without first submitting [the text] for examination and approval to the First Presidency and the Twelve." Young amplified in a December 1866 statement that "if some doctrines be preached and published as the doctrines of the Church and not contradicted by us it would not be long before there would be schisms." [11] It was of more than passing interest, therefore, when just a few days later, in January 1867, Young and some associates came across a copy of Lyman's 1862 Dundee sermon. Eight passages were found to be doctrinally offensive, and a meeting of the First Presidency and complete Quorum of the Twelve was convened.[12]

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[8] The only narrative of the events leading up to the disfellowship is unfinished, written circa 1867–68, on newsprint in pencil. The document is thought to be in the handwriting of Robert Lang Campbell, chief clerk in the office of the Church Historian, 1854–72. Amasa Mason Lyman Collection, LDS Church Archives; hereafter cited as the Campbell narrative. The collection will be cited as AML Collection.

[9] "The Mormons' History of Their Leading Men," *American Phrenological Journal* 44 (1866): 150.

[10] *Deseret News*, 23 Aug. 1865.

[11] 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 Publishers, 1965–75), 2:239; Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 26 Dec. 1866, LDS Church Archives.

[12] Campbell narrative.

At the gathering in the president's office on 21 January 1867, Lyman was given a copy of the sermon and told "that it contained doctrines which were opposed to God's word, and which his brethren who held the apostleship condemned as false." Lyman responded that he found nothing in the sermon to be false or heretical, as he understood the doctrine.[13] He told the group that the Dundee address represented his views on the mission of Jesus but that he would not impose his views on them and would gladly listen if they had a different opinion. His associates, surprised and saddened by the realization that Lyman had lied to them about the Beaver sermon, lectured him sternly, and cited scripture in an attempt to correct his ideas.

> Wilford Woodruff spoke first of all, the Quorum followed, and they spoke in very strong terms. Wilford Woodruff said that he felt shocked at the idea that one of the Twelve should go so far into the darkness as to deny the blood of Christ and say that it was not necessary for the salvation of men and teach this as true doctrine. . . . "And I can tell Brother Lyman that that doctrine will send him to perdition, if he continues it, and so it will any man, and furthermore, such a doctrine would send this Church and Kingdom to pieces like an earthquake. There never was and never will be a saint on earth that believes in that doctrine, it is the worst heresy man can preach." [14]

After hearing similar reprimands from others Lyman begged them to stop and, weeping, asked forgiveness. He said he wanted to be found in good standing in the Church and that he would sign any confession necessary. The men left Lyman to confer with President Young who concluded that Lyman should "make [his confession] as public as he had his false doctrine." [15]

The following day the Twelve gathered again in the president's office to listen to Lyman's confession, no copy of which now survives. They found it unacceptable. President Young sharply told Lyman that if he did not produce a satisfactory document, one would be written for him. The president added, "If it had happened in Joseph's day, he would have cut [you] off [from] the church, and it was a question whether the Lord would justify us in retaining [you] in the church or not." [16]

The next day, Lyman returned with a satisfactory retraction which was published in the *Deseret News*:[17]

> To the Latter-day Saints Throughout
> All the World
>
> Great Salt Lake City
> January 23, 1867
>
> I have sinned a grievous sin in teaching a doctrine which makes the death of Jesus Christ of no force, thus sapping the foundation of the Christian religion. The above mentioned doctrine is found in a discourse which I preached on the "Nature of the

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 21 Jan. 1867.

[15] Manuscript History of the Church, 21 Jan. 1867, LDS Church Archives.

[16] Ibid., 22 Jan. 1867.

[17] *Deseret News*, 30 Jan. 1867.

Mission of Jesus," on the 16th of March, 1862, in Dundee, Scotland, and which was published in the *Millennial Star*, No. 14, Volume 24. The above preaching was done without submitting it to, or seeking the counsel of, those who bear the Priesthood with whom I am associated. In this I committed a great wrong, for which I most humbly crave and ask their forgiveness, as I do also of all the Saints who have heard my teaching on this subject. I will further say that it is my wish and desire that this confession of my errors shall also apply to all of my teachings of a similar kind among the people, and that the confession should be as widely circulated as my teachings have been. I do most honestly and firmly believe in the Sacrifice and Atonement made by Jesus Christ in opening up the way of salvation to mankind, and that without his death we would all have been lost. Everything that I have said that would deny this great truth is false, and has a tendency to destroy, in the minds of the people, the value of the plan of redemption.

(signed) Amasa M. Lyman

Four days later in Provo, Utah, Lyman "spoke on the subject of the Atonement of Jesus Christ." This time his doctrine was orthodox. "He wished it distinctly understood that he believed in it, [and] gave a lengthy eulogy on the life, ministry, and sacrifice of our Savior. He had done for us that which we could not do for ourselves viz open the prison, mark out the way, and invite us to follow. He [Lyman] reasoned to the effect that we could not have salvation without the Atonement of Jesus no more than we could have light without the sun." [18]

The sermon came as good news to the other Church leaders. Lyman was apparently convinced of his errors, had confessed them, and appeared ready to continue his ministry. However, during visits to smaller Utah communities outside Salt Lake City in the next few weeks, Lyman repudiated his confession and criticized the treatment he had received from his colleagues. While preaching a sermon in Fillmore, he "suggested that some would ask why he made [the confession] if his doctrines were true, and he said, 'I did it to save being thrown over the fence to the dogs.' " On another occasion, the apostle asked a man whether he would lie or be cut off from the Church, then he answered his own question: Lyman knew what *he* would do.[19]

Before long these remarks were reported to President Young. At the end of March 1867, another complaint from Beaver arrived where Lyman had preached a full discourse on the irrelevance of Christ's atonement. He had read David's protest against abuses inflicted upon him by his enemies (Psalm 35), then told an anecdote: "The countryman said that all men would lie if pinched hard enough; the merchant queried how hard an honest man would have to be pinched to make him tell a lie, to which the countryman made answer, 'Why pinch him until he lies.' " [20] Lyman then plunged into a sermon similar to the

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[18] Minute Book of Utah Stake, 27 Jan. 1867, LDS Church Archives.

[19] Francis Marion Lyman, Journal, Aug. 1867, LDS Church Archives. Also cited in the Campbell narrative. Date of sermon in Fillmore not given.

[20] Report of investigation, Brigham Young, John Taylor, George A. Smith, Wilford Woodruff, and George Q. Cannon to the Quorum of the Twelve, 6 May 1867, AML Collection.

Dundee address, adding that he was not sorry for what he had taught but regretted that he was not understood.

When President Young received word of the sermon, he promptly called a meeting of the Twelve. The clerk reported that after "a recapitulation of the evidence and circumstances of the case and upon due consultation, it was moved, seconded, and carried unanimously that Amasa M. Lyman be cut off from the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and his priesthood be taken from him, and he remain as a lay member of the church." [21]

On April 29 and 30, President Young, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, and George Q. Cannon, visited Fillmore "to take such action in the case as they might deem necessary." Lyman candidly admitted his behavior. Rather than dropping Lyman from the Quorum, the five General Authorities forbade Lyman to engage in any preaching and told him to "especially be silent respecting those erroneous and false doctrines which have been condemned by the First Presidency and the Twelve." [22]

Unfortunately, details of Lyman's reaction to the message and counsel of the General Authorities are not known.[23] He apparently took the instructions calmly, had no violent outbreaks of emotion, and did not attempt to placate his colleagues.

It is not clear why Lyman, who for years had obviously been motivated by a desire to keep his good standing in the Church, suddenly valued more a public proclamation of his concept of the Atonement. Perhaps he yearned to be understood. It appears that Lyman grew weary of his inner conflict and felt it was easier to admit his doubts about Jesus and the Atonement than to argue with his brethren.

Brigham Young and his colleagues among the General Authorities left no room for uncertainty among Church members about their views. Returning to Salt Lake City, they stopped at several communities and preached specifically and by name against the false doctrines Elder Lyman had spread. Joseph Fish, a resident of Parowan, Utah, recorded: "The speakers spoke quite pointedly on the subject of the atonement of the Savior. They sustained the notion in strong terms and spoke against Amasa Lyman's preaching on the subject." [24]

On returning to Salt Lake City the following week, the four members of Twelve submitted a report to the Quorum: [25]

> [The investigation] substantially confirmed the evidence which came before us, and more particularly by Elder Lyman's own explanations and statements in regard to his teachings on that occasion. . . .

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[21] Campbell narrative.

[22] Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 30 April 1867; Quorum of the Twelve and First Presidency to Amasa Mason Lyman, 30 April 1867, AML Collection.

[23] While there are forty-three journals and extensive correspondence in the AML Collection, documentation for this period is scanty.

[24] Joseph Fish, Journal, 9 May 1867, Mormon Settlements in Arizona Collection, Special Collections, Western Americana, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[25] Report of investigation, 6 May 1867, AML Collection.

> Having fully satisfied ourselves upon these points, we have become convinced that, duty to our God, to the Truth, to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the members thereof, to the holy calling which we have received, and to every consideration which can have weight with Saints of God, demands at our hands that Amasa M. Lyman be deprived of his priesthood. Therefore, we the undersigned members of the Quorum of the Twelve, feel to withdraw our fellowship from him, and to cut him off from the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.
>
> [signed]
> John Taylor
> Wilford Woodruff
> George A. Smith
> George Q. Cannon

While this action was slow in coming, it was nonetheless decisive. Removing an apostle from the Quorum of the Twelve, denying him his privileges to officiate in priesthood ordinances, and censoring him from preaching were harsh measures indeed. Yet the hierarchy must have retained some feeling of optimism toward Lyman's rehabilitation, because he was only disfellowshipped, not excommunicated, which would have totally divorced him from the Church. Furthermore, they attributed Lyman's heresies to his "vague imaginations and theories," and their prescribed cure was equally simple: "Become more practical and conversant with the actual affairs of life." [26]

Lyman obeyed their counsel, even though the advice was unappealing to him. In some ways, his family welcomed the decision. One of his eight wives had written of him in 1863, "Brother Lyman seemed to feel uncomfortable in his mind [and] he left his family mostly to their fate or to get along as best they could, although he was with them." [27] After the disfellowshipment, Amasa tried to give more time to his family and their needs. He reduced his travels drastically, and he worked daily in his orchards, in his sawmill, and on building or repairing homes for his wives. His journal entries changed from "spent the day reading" to "spent the day at the sawmill." While he remained in Fillmore with his wives, the only academic exercise he records is that he worked with his children, teaching them the basic skills of reading, grammar, and spelling.[28]

Nineteen months after the disfellowshipment, he began attending Church services regularly, not missing a Sunday meeting for months. His son, Francis Marion Lyman, attended that first meeting with Amasa and recorded the remarks which the bishop of the Fillmore Ward allowed Amasa to make.

> I can truly say my brethren and sisters it gives me pleasure to meet you once again; I do not arise as a minister to teach you, but by invitation from my brethren, and to speak of my feelings. The value of the Gospel to me is increasing every day. I have proved that it is true and good, and I am pleased and satisfied with it, and I am determined to live in this work and my chief desire is to keep my connection with it unbroken. I have no other hope but in this work and never have had. Many have

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[26] Quorum of the Twelve and First Presidency to AML, 30 April 1867, AML Collection.

[27] Eliza Partridge Lyman, Journal, July 1863, LDS Church Archives.

[28] Amasa Mason [Lyman], Journals, almost daily references throughout 1868–69, AML Collection.

wondered what bro Lymans course [would] be. My feelings are and have been to stay with this people. The great reason why I stay is because I had rather stay than go away, an action for which I have no reason as there is no one living whom I have injured.

The Gospel provides me all the blessings I enjoy, I love it because it is pure and holy for this reason I expect to live with you and when my wearied mortality shall find its rest in the grave it shall be with the Latter-day Saints. My business now is to watch bro Lyman. I can only pray that you will listen to the instructions you may receive from the Servants of God. Brethren and sisters I thank you and Bp [Thomas] Callister for this privilege of expressing a few of my feelings.

May the Lord bless you all and the Saints and me in particular, that I may live to merit his blessings in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.[29]

The General Authorities began visiting him again, another positive indication of Lyman's progress. Once President Young, impressed with Lyman's faithfulness, issued him a ticket to attend the local School of the Prophets.[30] This was certainly a token of good faith indicating that Lyman was on the way to full membership and a restoration of his priesthood.

Everything was going relatively well: business enterprises, family harmony, and his own Church activity. Then on 4 August 1869, Lyman made a seemingly harmless entry in his journal: "Today Brother William Godbe and wife came to town. . . . I spent the day with Brother Godbe." [31] While it was not unusual for old friends to call on Lyman, this friend's brewing conflicts with the Mormon Church make these few lines noteworthy. Godbe, a British convert to Mormonism, had been friends with Lyman since their days together in the European mission. Godbe came to Salt Lake City in 1851 and soon established himself as a prominent figure. A literate man with considerable intellectual skills, he was a successful businessman, and by the late 1860s, had become one of the richest men in the Territory.

By 1869, Godbe's loyalties had shifted noticeably and his reputation as a "stalwart" member of the Mormon community and a close friend to Brigham Young soon changed to that of an antagonist of both Young and the Church at large. He became involved with Edward Tullidge and Elias Lacy Thomas Harrison, both also friends of Lyman from his days in England. Tullidge and Harrison were conspicuously discontented with the Church, and in 1864 edited the five-issue *Peep-O-Day*, a magazine of cultural and scholarly topics, openly critical of the Church in its tone. Later, they would both work on publications such as *The Mormon Tribune*, *Utah Magazine*, and the *Salt Lake Tribune*, each of which also attacked the Church's political, economic, and religious policies.[32] Furthermore, beginning in 1869 Godbe and Harrison openly sup-

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[29] Francis Marion Lyman, Journal, 1 Nov. 1868.

[30] Parowan Stake School of the Prophets Minute Book, 1869, LDS Church Archives; Amasa Mason Lyman, Journal, 25 April 1869.

[31] Amasa Mason Lyman, Journal, 4 Aug. 1869.

[32] Ronald W. Walker, "The Commencement of the Godbeite Protest: Another View," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42 (Summer 1974): 224–28.

ported spiritualism, by then a popular, semi-religious movement in America numbering between one and two million adherents.

Lyman does not report any conversations with Godbe but five days later notes that he sent Godbe a letter. It was the beginning of a relationship that would last until Lyman's death. They corresponded frequently. Lyman began traveling to Salt Lake City to meet with Godbe and his associates. Before long, Lyman was neglecting the practical agrarian life and was again absorbed in philosophy, which had always interested him.

For nine months, Lyman maintained close contact with the Godbeites. Then on 8 May 1870, he called on President Young and his close friend, Apostle Charles C. Rich. That same evening he told William Clayton, his son-in-law, and Francis Marion Lyman, his eldest son, that he was going to resume preaching "in connection with the New Movement." Both knew that this decision would lead to an open confrontation with the Mormon hierarchy and Lyman's eventual excommunication, and the decision gave them, Lyman recorded in his journal, "much pain." [33]

Nevertheless, he began immediately, preached daily, and associated constantly with the members of the New Movement. Universal truth, salvation without atonement, and man's redemption through knowledge were the subjects of his sermons. He openly participated in spiritualism and seances.[34] Rumor circulated in Salt Lake City that Lyman would become president of the New Movement, or the Church of Zion, as it was officially called in 1870. William Clayton wrote Francis Marion Lyman, "Dr. [Ira Taggart] makes no secret of saying that your father is the man to take the lead of the apostate clique; that he is ready and expected to be the head of the apostate church." [35] Clayton was not the only one to make this report. Brigham Young wrote wryly to Albert Carrington, a future apostle then serving as European Mission President: "The church of the 'great unappreciated' has, I am informed, at last found a head. After various vain attempts, and several journeys of many thousands of miles in diverse directions, the coming man has at length been developed, as I am told by several of the brethren that Amasa M. Lyman has consented to take the presidency of the 'new movement.' " [36] Shortly thereafter, another of Lyman's sons, Lorenzo Snow Lyman, wrote of the same rumors in his home town of Fillmore.[37]

Word of Lyman's renewed activism spread through Salt Lake City rapidly. On 10 May 1870, while Lyman was at the home of Joseph Silver, three representatives from the Salt Lake Stake high council, in whose boundaries Lyman

[33] Amasa Mason Lyman, Journal, 8 May 1870; Francis Marion Lyman, Journal, May 1870.

[34] Amasa Mason Lyman, Journals, see almost daily references for 1870–73.

[35] William Clayton to Francis Marion Lyman, 16 Dec. 1869, William Clayton Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California, microfilm at LDS Church Archives.

[36] Brigham Young to Albert Carrington, 11 May 1870, in *LDS Millennial Star* 32 (14 June 1870): 378–79.

[37] Lorenzo Snow Lyman to Amasa Mason Lyman, 15 May 1870, AML Collection.

was temporarily residing, came to investigate. Joseph L. Barfoot, Emanuel M. Murphy, and William Thorne reported that Lyman "made a long statement of his views and feelings, he [said that he] had smothered [his] abilities to do good for 3 years and he now intended to take a cause to preach the truth as he understood it, independent of the authority 'he had been formerly identified with.' " Did he support the First Presidency of the Quorum of the Twelve? No. Did he belong to the New Movement? He evaded the question. The trio warned him that the consequence of not supporting the General Authorities was excommunication, but he retorted: "It was not for him to express any opinions on that matter," that the High Council should do its duty and "if [they] did it in righteousness he would have no evil feelings to [them]." What were his views on the divinity of Jesus and the efficacy of the atonement? The same as they were years ago, and that "til some one could give him better information they would remain unchanged." [38] The visit ended, the three took their findings to the Salt Lake Stake high council, and the council excommunicated him on 12 May 1870 and published its decision in the *Deseret News* the following day.[39]

Lyman seemed pleased. He wrote to his first wife, Maria Louisa Tanner Lyman, "My health is good and my spirits never beter One week ago today it was anounced that I was *cut off from the Church for apostacy.*" [40] Lyman had reentered the ministry and public life. He had been a preacher since age eighteen, the orator of the Church during his apostleship. Now he was finally meeting an urgent need: to preach the liberal doctrines that had been stifled for three years. He did it with the zeal and authority befitting "a prophet of the Godbeites." He preached spiritualism to groups several times a week, traveled through central and southern Utah and northern Arizona, established seance circles and generally propagated spiritualism and the New Movement philosophy.

The members of his family who shared the Mormon belief in the eternal nature of the family were griefstricken, particularly six of Lyman's seven living wives. Eliza Maria Partridge, Caroline Ely Partridge, and Lydia Partridge, all daughters of Edward Partridge, the first bishop in the Church, had long complained about Amasa's lack of support for them and their children and felt "he did not enjoy the proper spirit an apostle should." [41] They divorced him after his disfellowshipment.[42] Dionita Walker, Paulina Eliza Phelps, and Priscilla

[38] Report of Joseph L. Barfoot, Emanuel M. Murphy, and William Thorne to the Salt Lake Stake high council, 12 May 1870, AML Collection. It is not clear why the Salt Lake Stake high council was the ecclesiastical body to investigate Lyman or who suggested that they act on the matter. Lyman was on an extended visit to Salt Lake City, but his home was in Fillmore. However, after Lyman had publicly espoused the New Movement banner, the Mormon hierarchy presumably felt the need to act quickly.

[39] Amasa Mason Lyman, Journal, 12 May 1870. *Deseret News*, 13 May 1870.

[40] Amasa Mason Lyman to Maria Louisa Tanner Lyman, 20 May 1870, AML Collection.

[41] Eliza Partridge, Journal, July 1863.

[42] Eliza Partridge was sealed to Joseph Smith before she married Lyman, but her two sisters were sealed to Lyman. After the disfellowshipment, all three divorced him and the

Turley seemed to feel some alienation immediately after the excommunication and continued to be active in the Church, but continued their relationship with him.

Only Maria Louisa Tanner, Amasa's first wife, remained loyal to him and at times served as a medium for his seances. She wrote him immediately after his excommunication: "I am glad you feel free to preach the gospel my prayer is that you may have the spirit of the Lord to dwell with you and to teach you truth and righteousness for persecution is not at an end. my Marriage vows I hold sacred as also the covenants I have made at the waters edge. . . ." [43] On the back of the letter, assuring him of her devotion, she put in large writing, "DOUBT me not."

Amasa's apostasy caused deep divisions among his children as well. Francis Marion Lyman, Amasa's eldest son, to whom his father once said, "Remember my son, that not only yours alone, but the hope and interest of your father's house, hang upon your conduct in the future," [44] was wounded as well as indignant over his father's decision to embrace and preach the New Movement:

> I was broken hearted and speechless, but when I could sufficiently recover my presence of mind I remonstrated with him with my eyes full of tears and all to no purpose. My heart was too sore for argument and I parted with him thus, and took Rhoda [his wife] upstairs at George Crismons, where we wept together for hours. Father's death would have been a pleasure compared with what we suffered at this terrible announcement.[45]

On the other hand, at least four of Lyman's children supported him. Louisa Maria Lyman, his oldest daughter and sister of Francis Marion, felt such sympathy that it caused a divorce in her marriage to William Clayton.[46] Lorenzo Snow Lyman, son of Amasa and Dionita Walker, was a vocal supporter, corresponding extensively with his father until his death. He and two sisters, Agnes Hila and Love Josephine, daughters of Maria Louisa Tanner, wrote to Bishop Thomas Callister, the presiding bishop of Fillmore, asking that their names be removed from the records of the Church. All three remained close to their father, Lorenzo defending him when community members were critical. They, along with his wife, Maria Louisa, developed skills as spiritualist mediums and conducted seances for their father.

In the end, Lyman's excommunication seems to have been more negative for his family and the Mormon community than for him. He was pleased to be

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two sisters were sealed to Joseph Smith. Harriet Jane Lyman Lovell, a child of Amasa and Caroline Ely Partridge, whose mother decided to leave Amasa after his estrangement from the Church, remembers that Amasa "pleaded with [Caroline] and walked the floor all night trying to persuade her to stay with him, but she was firm and lived as a widow from that time on." Albert R. Lyman, *Amasa Mason Lyman, Trailblazer and Pioneer from the Atlantic to the Pacific* (Delta, Utah: Melvin A. Lyman, M.D., 1957), p. 279.

[43] Maria Louisa Tanner Lyman to Amasa Mason Lyman, 15 May 1867, AML Collection.

[44] Francis Marion Lyman, Journal, 1853.

[45] Ibid., 8 May 1870.

[46] Maria Louisa Lyman Clayton to Amasa Mason Lyman, 15 July 1870, AML Collection.

free, content to spend the remaining years of his life discussing his concept of truth, knowledge, and the reforming light of Jesus. Because Lyman felt that his concept of salvation was broader than that of any sect, he was not bitter toward the Church but tolerated what he felt was narrowness and egocentricity. The formal excommunication relieved him of a cumbersome annoyance. Lyman actively preached his liberal theology until the demise of the New Movement three years later in 1873. The movement's dissolution came about as a result of its loose organizational structure and the failure to convert a sufficient number of new members. Four years later, still staunch in his beliefs, "Mormonism's Theodore Parker" died of natural causes, at the age of sixty-three.

The intense redirection of Lyman's conviction baffled the Mormon community. The only explanation to many was that the once-faithful apostle was "diseased of the mind." Over the next century, folklore would invent explanations: a skull fracture from the kick of a horse, false doctrine taught by Dr. Ira Burns, a gentile-heretic, when he was in a state of delirium.[47]

In 1909, partly persuaded by assertions of mental illness, President Joseph F. Smith consented to a full posthumous restoration of all ordinances and blessings. As recently as 1954, Joseph Fielding Smith, then a member of the Quorum of the Twelve and Church Historian, explained to two members of the Lyman family that "Amasa M. Lyman, while serving as an Apostle, was stricken with an unexplainable blight of unsteadiness that caused him to waiver into setting forth doctrine foreign to the true precepts of the Gospel." [48]

Brigham Young's three renegade apostles thus chose not only different heresies but also different methods of resolving the problems. Believing that "my opinion is not worth as much to me as my fellowship in the Church," [49] Orson Hyde acquiesced to the authority of his Church president: "I thought

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[47] Francis Marion Lyman made several scathing remarks about Dr. Ira Burns and his relationship with his father in his journals and letters.

[48] Asael Lyman and George E. Lyman to George E. Lyman, 24 May 1954, discussing an interview with Joseph Fielding Smith, April 1953, in the Church Administration Building in Salt Lake City, Utah. Letter published in Albert R. Lyman's *Amasa Mason Lyman*, pp. 283–84.

Whether Lyman can be termed mentally ill in the clinical sense cannot be determined because no description of any unusual behavior is available. Each society, of course, determines what is normal. To the Mormon Church — to some extent to the entire country — spiritualism was not only abnormal but also synonymous with mental instability. In the School of the Prophets in Parowan, one member suggested that by "trifling with mediums we trifle with our spirits [and that] is what fills our insane houses." Parowan Stake School of the Prophets Minute Book, 19 June 1872, LDS Church Archives.

In California, *The Banner of Progress*, a spiritualistic periodical published in 1867, wrote: "The *Times* of last Thursday morning actually gave an account of the insanity of a young lady of the city from excitement in regard to a piece of music, which she was learning to play. How surprising it must be to the editors of that paper, that a person has become insane from some other cause than a belief in spiritualism." *The Banner of Progress*, 23 March 1867, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.

[49] "Minutes of a Meeting of the Presidency & Twelve Presidents of Seventies and Others Assembled in President Young's Council Room," Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 27 Jan. 1860, as quoted in "The Orson Pratt-Brigham Young Controversies," p. 19.

when the prophet pronounced upon favorite doctrines, it was for us to repudiate ours, and sustain his. . . ." [50]

Orson Pratt, while conceding both publicly and privately that one should not oppose a doctrine espoused by the president, reserved the right to retain his personal belief that Young's doctrine was in error, resisting considerable efforts by his brethren to comply.

At the far end of the spectrum was Amasa Lyman. While initially he appears to have been more deceptive with his colleagues than Hyde or Pratt, in the end Lyman carried the defense of his prerogatives further. Ultimately, he declined to acquiesce publicly or privately to the received views of Church leadership and submitted to complete separation.

The contrast between Lyman and Pratt is particularly interesting. Pratt ultimately believed in the prophetic authority vested in the president of the Church and in the role of the institutional Church in securing mankind's salvation. On the other hand, Lyman contended that the individual saved himself through moral progression, independent of any president, prophet, or Christ. Pratt's position compelled him to defer to his colleagues and president. Lyman's cosmology dictated just the opposite.

[50] Ibid., p. 25.

Richard L. Jensen

Forgotten Relief Societies, 1844-67

Nineteenth-century Latter-day Saint women showed a remarkable propensity for organizing. To engage in benevolent service, to share useful information, to fill social and spiritual needs, they met together in the humid summers of Nauvoo, Illinois, and in the blustery winters of Cardston, Canada. Mormon Relief Societies emerged in struggling branches in Europe and in new-founded settlements in Arizona and Wyoming. But between the vigorous movement in Nauvoo and the equally vital organizational efforts which began in the late 1860s fell a twenty-three year gap.

The Female Relief Society of Nauvoo received its initial impulse in 1842 from a seamstress's proposal to sew shirts for the men working on the Nauvoo Temple. In response, Sarah Kimball and her neighbors organized the effort, which the Prophet Joseph Smith soon sanctioned and amplified, declaring organization for women to be an essential feature of the organization of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Evidence that the Nauvoo Relief Society filled more needs than covering a few backs was the involvement of approximately 1,300 women in its activities.[1] But the original Relief Society was disbanded in early 1844 in the midst of conflicts in southwestern Illinois which threatened to tear the Church apart, conflicts which led to the eventual murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Indeed, Church leaders may well have suspended the Nauvoo Relief Society because of lack of confidence in its president, Emma Smith, wife of the Prophet.[2]

In late 1867 Brigham Young instructed Latter-day Saint bishops to organize Relief Societies in their wards and authorized Eliza R. Snow, secretary

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[1] Jill C. Mulvay, "The Liberal Shall Be Blessed: Sarah M. Kimball," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (1976): 210–11. *History of Relief Society* (Salt Lake City: The General Board of Relief Society, 1966), pp. 18–25.

[2] There is some evidence that Emma Smith used the Relief Society to promote opposition to her husband's teachings about plural marriage. See Minutes of General [Women's] Meeting, 17 July 1880, in "R. S. Reports," *Woman's Exponent* 9 (1 September 1880): 53–54; and Valeen Tippetts Avery, "Emma, Joseph, and the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo: Unsuspected Arena for a Power Struggle," paper presented at Mormon History Association annual meeting, Rexburg, Idaho, 2 May 1981.

of the original Relief Society, to assist. Less than two years later, Latter-day Saint women had created an impressive, far-flung organization which has persisted to the present time. Still, the gap between Nauvoo and the permanent "restoration" of the Relief Society is puzzling. Published accounts tell of the brief existence of local women's organizations, formed in Utah wards in the 1850s. They included an "Indian Relief Society" which functioned briefly, then expired by mid-1858.[3]

The gap is more apparent than real. Actually, there was a profusion of women's meetings at Winter Quarters in the spring of 1847 and again in the Salt Lake Valley from the fall of 1847 to the first months of 1848. Small groups of women met in private homes where they encouraged and blessed each other, often exercising such spiritual gifts as speaking in tongues. "Had a rejoicing time thro' the outpouring of the spirit of God," was a typical comment in Eliza R. Snow's journal in April 1847. "All hearts comforted." [4] Although there was no formal organization, procedures were well defined, and different women presided at various meetings. Eliza Snow and Patty Sessions were prime movers in initiating these meetings. Thus, sagging spirits were bolstered and deep feelings of sisterhood, begun in Nauvoo, took root.

These unofficial "female meetings" tapered off drastically by the spring of 1848, several months after most of the women made the trek across the plains

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[3] Generally, secondary sources recognize the existence of Relief Societies in Utah before 1867 but are vague about their origin and the scope of the movement. The phenomenon of a decentralized but officially mandated auxiliary organization has posed challenges for histories, particularly since the early records were not systematically submitted to Church headquarters. Susa Young Gates, "Relief Society Beginnings in Utah," *Relief Society Magazine* 9 (Spring 1922): 184–96, is the most detailed listing of pre-1867 Relief Societies in Utah. It mentions the Indian Relief Society but defers discussion of it to a subsequent article which never appeared. Emmeline B. Wells, "History of the Relief Society," *Woman's Exponent* 32 (July 1903): 6–7, evidently had access only to recollections and to Salt Lake City Fourteenth Ward Relief Society records, which later disappeared. Wells may be inaccurate in claiming that "temporary" Relief Societies were organized as early as 1851–52, but she correctly notes that in 1855 Brigham Young directed that each ward should have a Relief Society. The abbreviated treatment in the official *History of Relief Society* (Salt Lake City: The General Board of the Relief Society, 1966), pp. 28–29 is based on the two above-mentioned accounts. Kate B. Carter, ed., "The Relief Society," *Our Pioneer Heritage* 14 (1971): 71–73, 75–78, 103, 113, uses records relating to four supposed Relief Society organizations in Utah before 1867—records not available to the general researcher — and the Wells article cited above. Eliza R. Snow's brief mention of the early history of Relief Society, part of an autobiographical sketch prepared for Hubert Howe Bancroft in 1885, is published in *Eliza R. Snow, An Immortal: Selected Writings of Eliza R. Snow* (Salt Lake City: Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr., Foundation, 1957), pp. 1–48. This account fails to mention either the Indian Relief Society movement or the disorganization due to the move south, and it apparently telescopes events of 1855 and 1867–68. Leonard J. Arrington, *From Quaker to Latter-day Saint: Bishop Edwin D. Woolley* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), pp. 337–55, discusses the Salt Lake City Thirteenth Ward Indian Relief Society in some detail. Finally, Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), pp. 149–50, drawing in part upon early research for this essay, briefly discuss Indian Relief Societies as a general phenomenon.

[4] "Pioneer Diary of Eliza R. Snow," 26 April 1847, in *Eliza R. Snow, An Immortal*, p. 322. See also entries for 14 March 1847 through 6 April 1848, ibid., pp. 320–64; Patty Bartlett Sessions (Parry), Diary, 4 Feb. 1847–26 April 1848, Historical Department Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives.

to Utah. Women's meetings were then held only occasionally for several years. Interestingly, women met most frequently while Brigham Young and other Church officials were traveling, which may suggest that their absence made the need for mutual comfort and encouragement more acute. On the other hand, the women possibly knew or felt that the brethren did not approve of their holding "spiritual feasts" too frequently.[5]

The first formally constituted women's organization in Utah for which records exist was the Female Council of Health, begun in Salt Lake City in 1851. Its initial nucleus was a group of midwives who had been meeting weekly at the home of Phoebe Angell, the mother of Brigham Young's wife Mary Ann. They were members of the Council of Health, a local body founded in 1849 which was open to both men and women. Realizing that some women were reluctant to discuss medical matters in the presence of men and thus did not wish to join the Council of Health, the parent council organized the auxiliary female council and expanded it to include any woman interested in health care. Phoebe Angell was appointed its president and treasurer 17 September 1851 with Patty Sessions and Susannah Lippincott Richards as counselors. Members of the Female Council heard lectures by local physicians, discussed the use of faith and herbs in healing, attempted to design more healthful female fashions, spoke and sang in tongues, and enjoyed a social and spiritual interchange. They generally met twice a month. While no figures are available for the membership or attendance of the group, the fact that they occasionally met at Salt Lake's old tabernacle would seem to indicate that a considerable number of people was sometimes involved. In November 1852 the Female Council of Health appointed representatives to all but two of the nineteen wards in Salt Lake City to provide for the health needs of the poor. After the death of Phoebe Angell in November 1854, Patty Sessions was appointed to succeed her as president.[6]

Other needs soon arose which were outside the specific concerns of the Female Council of Health, and women responded with another organization. This time Brigham Young and other male Church leaders evidently helped provide the initial inspiration, but not the specific authorization, for the women's new organization. In the fall of 1853 Utah was limping toward the close of the Walker War, a series of sporadic conflicts with the Ute Indians. President Young began to outline with fervent intensity his vision of the mission which

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[5] "Pioneer Diary of Eliza R. Snow," especially entry for 4 Feb. 1848, pp. 361–62. Father John Smith, who presided in Salt Lake City in the absence of Brigham Young, met with the women 27 Dec. 1847 and they explained "the order of our meetings" to him, ibid., 27 Dec. 1847, p. 360. He apparently approved and promised to meet with them again. Men occasionally presided, but the meetings were organized by women; see Patty Sessions, Diary, particularly entry for 6 Feb. 1849.

[6] Phinehas Richards, Journal, 6 May–20 Dec. 1851, microfilm copy of holograph, LDS Church Archives; Patty Sessions, Diary, 22 March 1851–16 Jan. 1855; Female Council of Health in the Tabernacle, Minutes, 14 Aug. 1852, Miscellaneous Minutes Collection, LDS Church Archives; Christine Croft Waters, "Pioneering Physicians in Utah, 1847–1900" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1976), pp. 14–17, discusses the Council of Health and mentions the Female Council.

the Latter-day Saints should undertake among the Indian people. Latter-day Saints interpreted the Book of Mormon to find that Indians were descendants of the House of Israel who had been partakers of true religion and an advanced civilization, but had fallen to a degraded state. They were to be redeemed from degeneracy by the "gentiles," including particularly the Latter-day Saints.[7] Now, in this land of Utes, Paiutes, and Shoshoni, Latter-day Saint colonizers were confronted with the frustrating necessity of coexisting with people whom they were supposed to help but who often resented the Mormon presence and came into conflict with them. Brigham Young focused on the irony of the situation:

> My mind is continually upon the stretch and the spirit is upon me all the time and these are my thoughts and meditations, to say what is the use to send missionaries to all the world to convert the world, while we have a tribe of Israel in our midst, which [we] are called upon to save and redeem from their degredation and misery, and make them acquainted with the light and glory of the gospel of their fathers, but instead of this, many have appeared to only wish them dead, this mission is near, when the Lord will require it at the hands of this people, to save this portion of Israel.[8]

In the opinion of President Young, so urgent was the necessity of undertaking missionary work among the Indians that he urged Church leaders in early October 1853: "The time has come. If you will find a man to preside [in Salt Lake City] I will go. I say turn to the House of Israel now." [9] Two days later he issued a call in general conference to two dozen individuals to serve as missionaries among the Indians in the Great Basin. The Saints, he declared, had been driven from Nauvoo to the West so that they might preach the gospel to the Indians. The missionaries' first concern should be "to civilize them, teach them to work, and improve their condition by your utmost faith and diligence." [10] The following week, in an epistle to the Church throughout the world, President Young and his fellow authorities announced: "The time has come for the leaven of salvation to be offered to the remnants [of the House of Israel — the Indians] that dwell on the continent of America." [11]

Salt Lake City was relatively prosperous that autumn. Utah had experienced four consecutive good harvests. Business was brisk and most stomachs were full. Mormon apostle Parley P. Pratt suggested to the large October conference audience that heretofore, the settlers had been hard pressed just to sustain themselves and promote the immigration of their fellow Saints,

> but now we are able to feed and clothe the Indians, or at least, the women and children. They are discouraged at their situation, which is the cause of their stealing; but

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[7] See, for example, in the Book of Mormon: 1 Ne. 15:13–18; 22:3–8; 2 Ne. 30:3–6; 3 Nephi 21; Morm. 5:12–21; and D&C 3:16–30; 28:8; 32; 50:24.

[8] Brigham Young Speech, Nephi, Utah, 10 May 1854, Thomas Bullock Minutes Collection, LDS Church Archives.

[9] Minutes of Meeting in President's Office, 4 Oct. 1853, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.

[10] Synopsis of Brigham Young's address, 9 Oct. 1853, *Salt Lake City Deseret News*, 24 Nov. 1853.

[11] *Deseret News*, 15 Oct. 1853.

> now the time has come to improve them, and bring about their restoration and redemption, no matter what labor or expense is incurred thereby; for every word of that book [Book of Mormon] will be fulfilled, for it is the word of God unto you, and if we can redeem the children of Nephi and Laman we shall be made rich in the promised blessings.[12]

The Indian missionaries were expected to depart in the spring of 1854, when conditions were more favorable for travel. In the meantime, Pratt's comments about feeding and clothing the Indians must have fallen on responsive ears. Several women of Salt Lake City, including Matilda Dudley, Mary Hawkins, Amanda Smith, and Mary Bird, met 24 January 1854 and decided to organize "a socity of females for the purpose of makeing clothing for Indian women and children." [13] Two weeks later, 9 February 1854, at the home of Matilda Dudley, a thirty-five-year-old native of Pennsylvania, they formally organized. Matilda was elected president and treasurer; Mary Hawkins and Mary Bird, counselors; Louisa R. Taylor, secretary; and Amanda Smith, assistant secretary. Twelve other charter members were listed. They adopted four resolutions: Each new member should pay twenty-five cents; meetings were to be opened and closed with prayer; the society was to meet at 9:00 A.M. and close at 4:00 P.M.; and their first effort would be to make a rag carpet, sell it, and use the proceeds to purchase materials to make clothing for Indian women and children.[14]

The women's work progressed over the next four months. They expanded their membership, met weekly at the homes of various women, and took in donations which included seventy-five cents' worth of saleratus from Miss Dudley and varied cash contributions. The hymns they sang reflected the religious and humanitarian nature of their undertaking. One, Parley P. Pratt's "Oh, Stop and Tell Me, Red Man," bespoke the hopes for the Indian peoples which the women's organization embodied:

> Before your nation knew us,
> Some thousand moons ago,
> Our fathers fell in darkness,
> And wander'd to and fro.
> And long they've liv'd by hunting,
> Instead of work and arts,
> And so our race has dwindled
> To idle Indian hearts.

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[12] Minutes of General Conference Address, 9 Oct. 1853, *Deseret News*, 15 Oct. 1853.

[13] "Record of the Female Relief Society Organized on the 9th of Feby in the City of Great Salt Lake 1854," Louisa R. Taylor Papers, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, cited hereafter as Taylor Minutes. An almost identical record is found in the papers of Amanda Barnes Smith, Church Archives, referred to hereafter as Smith Minutes.

[14] Except for Amanda Smith, survivor of the Haun's Mill Massacre in Missouri and a member of the Relief Society in Nauvoo, none of the founders of the first Indian Relief Society appears to have been particularly prominent in the Latter-day Saint community. Matilda Dudley was born in Pennsylvania 15 March 1818, became a plural wife of Joseph Busby 13 March 1856, and died in Salt Lake City 8 Oct. 1895.

Yet hope within us lingers,
As if the Spirit spoke —
He'll come for your redemption
And break your Gentile yoke;
And all your captive brothers
From every clime shall come,
And quit their savage customs,
To live with God at home.[15]

With the coming of the spring thaw, 1854, Brigham Young sent the Indian missionaries to the vicinity of John D. Lee's small settlement at Fort Harmony, Iron County. Then, almost on their heels, he set out himself with a large traveling party to visit settlements south of the Salt Lake Valley, hoping to establish peace with the Utes. His visit with Chief Wakara at Chicken Creek, Juab County, was "eminently successful," as he expressed it.[16] Wakara and two other chiefs accompanied him for much of the remaining trip, having assured the Mormon leader that even men traveling alone to California need not fear violence from these Native Americans.

Peace with Wakara and establishment of the Southern Indian Mission signaled the beginning of the Mormons' most ambitious attempts to establish positive relationships with the Indians. By now Brigham Young recognized that enormous cultural differences posed formidible challenges. Still, he expected his people to aid the Indians in a substantial way and, in so doing, to strengthen their own position in the Great Basin. The Indians' precarious living conditions would improve as they learned skills in homemaking and health care, in raising cattle and growing wheat. Hopefully, many of them would eventually be converted to true religion as a part of their Mormon-sponsored redemption.

For the balance of his southern trip, Brigham Young turned his attention to the relationship he wished the missionaries and Utah's southernmost settlers to establish with the Indians. At Fillmore and Parowan he challenged the Saints to overcome their aversion to Indians, mingle with them, and teach them. "We have a considerable pill to swallow," he frankly declared, but now was the time to make good past promises: "I am sure there r [are] women present who have spoken in tongues [prophesying] that they would have to go among the Lamanites & instruct them to sew to knit to wash & perform all domestic works & the men have said that they were going to preach to the Lamanites I ask you now r you going to swallow your faith and eat up your own revelations & persecute these poor degraded beings who are forsaken of

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[15] *Sacred Hymns and Spiritual Songs for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 10th European ed. (Liverpool: Published for Orson Pratt by S. W. Richards, 1854), no. 283.

[16] Brigham Young to Thomas L. Kane, 29 June 1854, Brigham Young Letterbook 1, pp. 570–72, LDS Church Archives. Minutes of Meeting, 11 May 1854, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.

God Now I tell you the time has come that you will have to carry out that which you have seen years & years ago & make them honorable." [17]

The women of Parowan were to play a major role in carrying out President Young's instructions. An 1855 report of assignments gives a glimpse of skills and spiritual gifts crucial in everyday pioneer life which the women shared with their Indian neighbors: "Tom Whitney, an Indian, was set apart as chief of these Pai-edes [Paiutes], and Aunt Mary Smith, sisters Meeks, West, and Fish were set apart as nurses and teachers to the females, to teach them their organization, the taking care of children, &c., and to nurse according to revelation, that is, by laying on hands, anointing and with mild herbs." [18]

Young's southernmost stop was at Fort Harmony, where he reiterated to the Indian missionaries that their immediate purpose was to feed, clothe, and teach the Indians, and learn to speak with them in their own language.[19]

While the missionaries could help the Indians learn to farm more efficiently and provide them with some food where necessary, there was little they could do to clothe them. On the sound insight that a cultural transformation must include clothing (not to mention the necessity of providing protection against the elements), the missionaries appealed to readers of the *Deseret News* to donate used clothing, "especially shirts, to help cover the nakedness of the Indians, especially the women." [20]

Brigham Young went further. He announced to the people of Parowan: "We are going to propose to the sisters when we get home to make clothes, &c for the Indians & I give you the privilege to make clothing for those little children & the women, but the men I dont care so much about." [21]

Now Parley Pratt's suggestion of the previous fall was to be implemented: the Mormons would help clothe the Indians — specifically, those in Southern Utah. With this goal in mind, President Young, apparently unaware that an Indian Relief Society was already functioning in Salt Lake City, had a surprise awaiting him when he returned home.

Brigham Young's first Sunday sermon after his return reflected the optimism generated by his trip south. He declared that the Lord's spirit was influ-

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[17] Minutes of Meeting, Parowan, 21 May 1854, Thomas Bullock Minutes Collection, LDS Church Archives. See also Brigham Young Sermon, Fillmore, 14 May 1854, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.

[18] J. H. M[artineau] to G. A. Smith, Parowan, 30 May 1855, *Deseret News*, 11 July 1855. The commission to "teach them their organization" may have referred to Relief Society, if such an organization had been established at Parowan by May 1855 as part of the broader movement described below. Or it could refer to procedures normally followed by Latter-day Saints pioneer women in blessing meetings or in washing and anointing expectant mothers and the sick.

[19] Report of Brigham Young Speech, 19 May 1854, Juanita Brooks, ed., *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission: Diary of Thomas D. Brown* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1972), pp. 29–31.

[20] Letter of mission scribe, Thomas D. Brown, *Deseret News*, 22 June 1854.

[21] Minutes of Parowan Meeting, 21 May 1854, Thomas Bullock Minutes Collection, LDS Church Archives.

encing the Lamanites, that they would be converted were it not for "the foolishness of the whites," and that the time had come for settlers to play a more active role in their behalf. Turning from these generalities, he made a specific proposal which was strikingly reminiscent of Nauvoo and the organization of a Relief Society there: "I propose to the Sisters in this congregation to form themselves into societys to relieve the poor brethren and sustain them. We need not have a poor family. I propose to the women to clothe the Lamanite children and women and cover their nakedness. All the Lamanites will be numbered within this Kingdom in a very few years and they would be as zealous as any other. The sisters should meet in their own wards and it will do them good." [22] Once again, as in Nauvoo, ecclesiastical leaders had capitalized on a fledgling women's organization which had been initiated independently to achieve specific goals and sanctioned its expansion to meet official ends.

Brigham Young did not refer to the women's society which had already been functioning for four months, but by now he must have been conscious of its activities. The Wednesday following his homecoming address, one of his wives, Augusta Cobb, sang at its regularly scheduled meeting. Later that day, at the same location, Matilda Dudley chaired a meeting organizing a separate society for the Salt Lake Thirteenth Ward. She was elected president and treasurer; Augusta Cobb, first counselor; Sarah A. Cook, second counselor; and Martha Jane Coray, secretary. Appropriately, these meetings were held in the home of William and Rebecca Hennefer: William was one of the Southern Indian missionaries.[23]

The initial concern of the local societies, quickly organized in Salt Lake Valley, focused on the Indians, although Brigham Young's injunction to the women also called for aid to the poor among themselves. After some debate, the Thirteenth Ward organization adopted the name "Female Indian Relief Society." (Brigham Young's records used the term "Indian Relief Society.") Patty Sessions referred to the Sixteenth Ward society, of which she was elected president, as "a benevolent society to clothe the Indian squas [squaws]." [24]

The initial society for Indian relief, consisting of women from several Salt Lake City wards, met once more to finish cutting their carpet rags. They then disbanded and became members of the societies organized in their own wards. Their president, Matilda Dudley, was elected president in the Thirteenth Ward, apparently a confirmation of her being "called to preside" by Bishop Edwin D. Woolley. Amanda Smith of the original society became president of the Twelfth Ward group. Bishops were apparently charged to organize societies

[22] Minutes of Meeting, Salt Lake City, 4 June 1854, Thomas Bullock Minutes Collection, LDS Church Archives. The minutes are partially in Pittman shorthand.

[23] Taylor Minutes, 7 June 1854; Salt Lake Thirteenth Ward Indian Relief Society Minutes, 1854–57, LDS Church Archives.

[24] Thirteenth Ward Indian Relief Society Minutes, [7 June 1854]; Brigham Young Financial Records: Ledgers, 1853–55, pp. 397–402, and 1854–59, pp. 289–96; Journal, 1853–54, Brigham Young Papers; Patty Sessions, Diary, 10 June 1854; LDS Church Archives.

in their wards although they seldom participated directly in Indian Relief Society meetings.[25]

At least twenty-two Indian Relief Societies were organized in 1854, primarily in Salt Lake City. There was no systematic effort to encourage organization outside the city; however, a smattering of other wards also founded Indian Relief Societies. South Weber Ward, about twenty-five miles north of Salt Lake City, responded favorably when Phoebe Woodruff visited in June with her husband, Wilford, and encouraged the women there to organize. Other outlying settlements involved in the clothing drive—presumably through organized Relief Societies — were Big Cottonwood (Holladay), South Cottonwood (east of present-day Murray and west of Holladay), West Jordan, and Mill Creek. Interestingly, Brigham Young's own Eighteenth Ward was one of only three in the city which failed to organize. His wives, Mary Ann Angell Young and Augusta Cobb, and his daughter-in-law, Mary Ann Ayres Young, were all active in the Thirteenth Ward's society.[26]

The Indian Relief Societies met biweekly, weekly, or occasionally oftener when the women were eager to complete Indian clothing for a shipment south. The societies seemed somewhat ad hoc, working diligently on a short-term project of some urgency, yet reflecting concerns beyond simple relief programs. Soberly, the Thirteenth Ward women entered into a covenant: "That we speak no evil of each other nor of the authorities of the Church but endeavor by means in our power to cultivate a spirit of union humanity and love and that this shall be the covenant into which all shall enter who become members of this society." [27] This covenant was a tacit admission that disunity and gossip were viewed as potential problems, perhaps indicating that the society consciously sought to avoid some of the problems of the Relief Society at Nauvoo.

One of the first activities for the Relief Societies was soliciting donations. The Thirteenth Ward approached this task systematically, assigning pairs of women to visit specific blocks within the ward territory and request contributions. They accepted cash, yardage, sundry sewing items, carpet rags, and various items which could be converted into cash. Occasionally, a used article of clothing was donated. The Society sponsored a party in the Social Hall and the proceeds were used for Indian clothing.[28]

Having received donations, the women proceeded with the first phases of production. The Twelfth Ward bought one and one-half bolts of sheeting and began to sew clothing from that material. They also bought cotton, dyed it,

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[25] Taylor Minutes, 13 June 1854; Thirteenth Ward Indian Relief Society Minutes, [7 June 1854]; Smith Minutes, 10 June and [13 June] 1854. Amanda Smith's record thus includes minutes of the Twelfth Ward Indian Relief Society, 10 June 1854–16 Aug. 1854, as well as minutes of the original Indian Relief Society, 24 Jan. 1854–13 June 1854.

[26] Brigham Young Ledgers, 1853–55, pp. 397–402, and 1854–59, pp. 289–96. Wilford Woodruff, Diary, 16 June 1854, LDS Church Archives. Thirteenth Ward Indian Relief Society Minutes.

[27] Thirteenth Ward Indian Relief Society Minutes, 14 June 1854.

[28] Ibid., [7] and 21 June 1854 and donation lists.

wove it into thirty-three yards of plaid, then proceeded to make clothing items from it. Other materials used included linsey, homespun gingham, "Jeans," hickory, calico, linen, "factory," and "drilling." [29]

Dresses were the most numerous items sewed. Also common were slips, chemises, sacks (short, loose-fitting coats), and shirts, with an occasional apron, pair of stockings, or handkerchief. One sister donated a used purple woollen petticoat. Indian Relief Societies also made several quilts and, occasionally, blankets.

Individual ward Indian Relief Societies delivered the Indian clothing they had produced to Brigham Young, presumably by taking it to the General Tithing Office on the corner of South Temple and Main in downtown Salt Lake City, where clerks recorded in detail what was received. Brigham Young's twelve-year-old daughter Luna, daughter of Mary Ann Angell Young, thus delivered one lot of children's clothing from the Thirteenth Ward.[30]

2 Hickory dresses, small, @	.75	1.50
13 white chemises, small, @	.50	6.50
22 calico print dresses, small, @	.75	16.50
Total		$24.50

Even more detail was given for a shipment from the Sixteenth Ward:[31]

1 Hickory dress Plaid sleeves	2.00
1 Yellow & Blue homespun dress (new)	2.50
1 Yellow & blue homespun dress (old)	1.50
1 blue check cotton gown	2.00
1 white twilled shirt & sack	2.00
1 Dark green dress, homemade	2.50
1 Dark green dress, homemade	2.50
1 Fustian dress for child	1.00
. . .	
1 white woollen Blanket blue stripe each side	4.00
1 sleeve apron	.50

Each Relief Society was credited separately on Brigham Young's financial records for all items brought in. The bulk of Indian clothing was produced in a four-month period, from June to September 1854, although several items came in as late as December. The last items, two dresses, were contributed in April 1855. In all, Indian Relief Societies contributed Indian clothing and bedding valued at $1,540 and cash totaling $44. In addition, seventy-eight yards of rag carpet valued at $90.50 were credited to the Twelfth and Fourteenth Ward Indian Relief Societies and were purchased by Brigham Young's

[29] Smith Minutes, summary following minutes for 16 Aug. 1854. Brigham Young Financial Journal, 1853–54, pp. 264–65, 267–69, 275–76, 279–80, 285–86, 296–97, 309, 311, 313–15, 318, 332, 341–42, 344, 355–56, 358, 366, 373.

[30] Ibid., p. 344.

[31] Ibid., p. 265.

household, probably for use in the newly completed Lion House. The proceeds may have been used to purchase materials for Indian clothing.[32]

The average Indian Relief Society produced $70 worth of Indian goods representing about fifty items of clothing and bedding. At the same time, the five most productive wards contributed an average of $182 in goods, amounting to about 90 items from each ward. In all, the Indian Relief Societies contributed nearly 900 items of clothing, most of which were sewn specifically for the Indians by the women themselves. Given the fact that work was done by hand and that the communities contributing these items had a total population of less than ten thousand in 1854, the productivity of these women was impressive. In the Thirteenth Ward at the peak of activity, each of forty-one women donated an average of almost one day per week to this work; and the Twelfth Ward involved as many as twenty-one women in one work session. However, after the burst of initial enthusiasm in which much of the Indian clothing was completed, a typical work meeting would draw fewer women.[33]

Between August and October, Brigham Young shipped Indian goods valued at $1,880 to Cedar City for distribution to the Indians by Iron County settlers, and to Harmony for the Indian missionaries to distribute. This included some items purchased from or contributed by Salt Lake City merchants, as well as Relief Society donations. Isaac C. Haight, Cedar City mayor and iron works superintendent, and Rufus Allen, head of the Southern Indian Mission, were instructed to keep detailed accounts of their disbursements. The clothing was not to be a "handout"; rather, it was to be used to teach Indian families to work for goods they desired. Settlers and missionaries were to distribute the clothing to Indians in exchange for labor, or for skins or other items. In turn, they were to return payment for the clothing to Brigham Young, who represented the Church. Considering the barter economy of these remote areas, the Church's credit system provided a fairly convenient means by which all these transactions could be handled.[34]

Some modification of Brigham Young's instructions was necessary. Haight found numerous articles of clothing "all together unfit for the Indians," and was allowed to sell them to settlers, many of whom had received insufficient supplies that year. He was also allowed to use his own best judgment in setting

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[32] Brigham Young Ledgers, 1853–55, pp. 396–402, and 1854–59, pp. 289–96. Brigham Young Financial Journal, 1853–54; Isaac C. Haight and Rufus C. Allen accounts with Brigham Young, 17 Aug.–10 Oct. 1854, Brigham Young Miscellaneous Letterbook, LDS Church Archives.

[33] On population of wards, see Bishops' Reports for April Conference and October Conference, 1854, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.

[34] Brigham Young to Isaac C. Haight and Brethren and the Southern Settlements in Iron County, 18 Aug. 1854, Brigham Young Letterbook 1, p. 631. Young to Rufus C. Allen, 13 Sept. and [9 Oct. ?] 1854, Brigham Young Letterbook 1, pp. 674–75, 705. Brigham Young Financial Journal, 1853–54, pp. 286, 344. Indian Relief Societies received credit for $474 in Indian goods and $44 in cash after the last known shipment of goods was made to Southern Utah, 10 Oct. 1854; Brigham Young Ledger, 1854–55, pp. 396, 402; Brigham Young Ledger, 1854–59, pp. 289–96. Whether these later donations were also sent to Southern Utah or were used for other purposes is not known.

prices after he complained that the listed prices were too high. Allen was permitted to give away items of clothing to Indians when, in his opinion, circumstances warranted it. The point was that the Indian goods were a means to an end, not merely a commodity for sale.[35]

The generous donations made by the women of Salt Lake City saturated the market for Indian clothing in Southern Utah for years to come. Initial distribution was quite modest. During the first two months, Haight's books accounted for sales of $235 to settlers for distribution to Indians, theoretically leaving $466 in goods on hand.[36] The settlers of Cedar City did not work with as many Indians as some had expected. In November David Lewis, first counselor of the Southern Indian Mission, counseled them that they should not leave all the necessary work with the Indian people to the missionaries. He urged: "I would advise that you employ them — feed them well and at the end of a week or so give them one of those shirts which the Sisters of the various wards in and around the city [Salt Lake City] made & [which are] now lying among you to warm them [and] cheer them on to future diligence. These without your employing them may lie on the shelves & the Indian remain cold." [37]

But the missionaries fared little better. They reported that soon after the arrival of the Indian goods, "from a little misunderstanding of instructions and other motives," a few items had been used by white men and their families. They promised this would not happen again. After two months they had sold little clothing to Indians. Since their own crops failed that fall, they turned to haying at Cedar and Parowan to sustain themselves and had to recommend to the few Indians they met to seek employment in the towns. While the Indians who did so soon became sufficiently clothed, others preferred to live in the deserts and canyons where they hunted rabbits and other small game for food.[38]

With the expansion of the Southern Indian Mission southwest to Santa Clara, new opportunities arose through the willingness of Tutsagavits and other Paiutes to cooperate with the missionaries, to help them build homes, and to learn the arts of settled agriculture. By May 1855 Jacob Hamblin had distributed nearly $50 in Indian goods at Santa Clara. Others who bought clothing for Indians that spring included John D. Lee, Charles W. Dalton, and Robert Ritchie of Harmony. Items were generally sold for one-third to three-

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[35] I. C. Haight to Brigham Young, 8 Sept. 1854, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives. Young to Haight, 20 Sept. 1854, Brigham Young Letterbook 1, pp. 684–85. Young to Allen, 13 Sept. and [9 Oct. ?] 1854, Brigham Young Letterbook 1, pp. 674–75, 705.

[36] Haight to Young, 2 Oct. and 11 Oct. 1854, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives. If Haight sold clothing at less than the list price, which is likely, he distributed more than the figures would indicate at first glance.

[37] Brooks, ed., *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission*, p. 96.

[38] Ibid., p. 103. T. D. Brown to Young, 22 Dec. 1854, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives. Allen and Brown to Young, undated [late 1854], Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.

fifths of the original list price. Distribution at Harmony and Santa Clara continued at least as late as October 1855.[39]

By May 1856, some Indian relief goods remained at Cedar City and at Santa Clara, but their distribution no longer conformed with Brigham Young's original instructions. With the Southern Paiute market saturated, the supply was apparently drawn upon for the purchasing of Indian children from the Utes and for trading for skins. Indian missionaries and settlers occasionally purchased Paiute children from the Utes, preferring to bring them them up in Latter-day Saint homes rather than see them abused or taken to Mexico for sale as slaves.[40]

Latter-day Saint settlers found the Southern Paiutes, to whom most of the clothing was distributed, more inclined to cooperate and more willing to learn from the Mormons than were their neighbors, the Utes. The Utes frequently received gifts but apparently did not regularly earn clothing for steady work.

What effect the Indian Relief Society movement had on the Indians of Southern Utah is impossible to assess with any confidence. As a tangible sign of Mormon goodwill, providing clothing and bedding in return for labor or commodities helped alleviate antagonism and promote friendly relations between the Southern Paiutes and the Latter-day Saints. It may have enhanced the respect and friendship which Mormons such as Jacob Hamblin received from many of these Indians in the initial months of their relationship. And there were some real attempts by Southern Paiutes to adopt the ways of Mormon farmers.[41]

Nevertheless, relatively few Indians actually worked with or for the Mormons over extended periods of time. Among the starving Paiutes, as well as the Utes and Shoshoni, there was a growing inclination to seek handouts from Mormon settlers, rather than adopting their ways. Southern Paiutes who did try to fit into Mormon society often suffered culture shock. Few adult Indians were effectively converted to Mormonism. Few male Indians who grew up in Mormon homes married and raised families. Adult Indians and the children of mixed marriages suffered socially in Mormon communities. The excitement surrounding the Mountain Meadows Massacre in the 1850s, the Black Hawk War and Navajo wars of the 1860s, and the creation of reservations disrupted or changed the character of Mormon-Indian relations. The Indian population declined, partly because of epidemics; and aid to the Indians was increasingly left in the hands of the federal government. To some extent the Indians were

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[39] Jacob Hamblin, Diary, 1854–57, entry for 21 May 1855 and notations in back of volume, LDS Church Archives. Brown to Young, 14 April 1855 and 1 April 1856, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.

[40] Brown to Young, 30 May 1856, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives. Juanita Brooks, "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12 (1944): 4–15.

[41] Indian Agent George W. Armstrong to Brigham Young, 30 June 1857, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: Gideon and Co., 1857), pp. 308–9.

more effectively "controlled," particularly by the federal government, but they were not "redeemed" in the way Brigham Young had hoped.[42]

In the long run, the Latter-day Saint people themselves were the main benefactors from the establishment of Indian Relief Societies. By December 1854 the associations had produced an ample surplus of clothing for Southern Utah's Indians. Yet some of the women were reluctant to disband "their" organization. As sewing for the Indians tapered off, women began quilting and making rag rugs for local poor. Soon Brigham Young and the ward bishops, recognizing the potential in the women's organizations, found other projects for them. In early December 1854, Brigham Young requested the wards of Salt Lake City to provide rag carpeting for the floor of the old Salt Lake Tabernacle. Each ward was to furnish specified lengths and widths for a total of 771 square yards. For an organization like the Sixteenth Ward's Relief Society, or "Benevolent Society," the carpeting assignment posed little challenge. They completed half of their carpet by mid-December and soon were ready for other assignments.[43]

Next came a transition to more permanent concerns. In January 1855 Brigham Young notified bishops that he wanted the women to concentrate on aiding the Latter-day Saint poor. Bishop Shadrach Roundy of the Sixteenth Ward told his "Benevolent Society" president, Patty Sessions, that President Young "said we had clothed the squaws and children firstrate; we now must look after the poor in each ward." [44] President Young had mentioned this facet of relief work in his initial revival of the women's societies in June 1854, but it had been almost totally eclipsed by special projects.

The transition came in a variety of ways. Bishop Roundy called a special meeting of the existing Sixteenth Ward Benevolent Society to explain the new direction its members were being asked to take. The Thirteenth Ward's society completed its rag carpet assignment in January but did not meet again until August, when they, too, began to focus their efforts on the poor. They retained the same slate of officers and treated the organization as a continuation of their Indian Relief Society. Perhaps some wards saw the Indian Relief Society as a one-time effort having little or no direct continuity with the new Relief Society. Furthermore, wards and communities which had not produced goods for Indians now created Relief Societies, too. Brigham Young's announced intention was that Relief Societies be organized in all Mormon wards or com-

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[42] Brooks, "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier," pp. 25–48. Floyd A. O'Neil, "The Utes, Southern Paiutes, and Gosiutes," in Helen Z. Papanikolas, ed., *The Peoples of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976), pp. 46–49. Charles S. Peterson, "Jacob Hamblin, Apostle to the Lamanites, and the Indian Mission," *Journal of Mormon History* 2 (1975): 21–34.

[43] Copies of requisitions for carpeting from each of Salt Lake City's nineteen wards, 9–10 Dec. 1854, Brigham Young Letterbook 1, pp. 779–788. This must have followed informal notification by about a month. Patty Sessions, Diary, 2 Nov.–16 Dec. 1854.

[44] Patty Sessions, Diary, 19 Jan. 1855.

munities.[45] By 1858, Relief Societies functioned in Cedar City, Manti, Provo, Spanish Fork, and Willard, as well as in Salt Lake Valley. Clearly, the pattern became widespread, although few contemporary records have survived to fully document the movement.[46]

The need for Relief Society aid to the poor was soon far greater than anyone could have anticipated. In early 1855, the Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake Valley were relatively prosperous and comfortable; but during the summer, grasshopper infestation and drought decimated the year's harvest, and a severe winter followed. A second grasshopper infestation made the harvest of 1856 no better.[47] With the entire Utah Mormon community on the verge of starvation, Relief Societies had ample opportunity to serve. They took up collections for food, clothing, and money and produced various useful items, especially quilts and rag carpets, which could be provided for the poor, or sold or exchanged for necessary commodities.

Special needs arose so frequently that they became a regular facet of the societies' activity. Lucy Meserve Smith, president of the Relief Society for the city of Provo, told of providing clothing and bedding for the destitute survivors of handcart treks in late 1856:

> I never took more satisfaction and I might say pleasure in any labour I ever performed in my life, such a unimity [unanimity] of feeling prevailed. I only had to go into a store and make my wants known, if it was cloth it was measured off without charge. My councilors and I wallowed through the snow until our clothes were wet a foot high to get things together give our noticeses &c. We peaced blocks carded bats quilted and got together I think 27 Quilts, besides a great amount of other clothing, in one winter for the needy.[48]

In 1857–1858, when United States troops approached Salt Lake City in connection with the so-called Utah War, the Provo Relief Society contributed bedding and warm clothing for the Utah men standing guard in the moun-

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[45] In 1857 Wilford Woodruff reminded the bishops of Salt Lake Valley: "President Young had expressed a desire that in every ward there shall be a Female Relief Society established, which would be of great service to the Bishops, by relieving the poor." Minutes of Presiding Bishop's Meetings with Bishops, 17 Feb. 1857, LDS Church Archives. Woodruff pointed to the success of the Fourteenth Ward Relief Society, of which his wife Phoebe was president.

[46] Cedar City Relief Society Minutes, 1856–75, LDS Church Archives; Manti Ward Historical Record, 1850–59, LDS Church Archives; Spanish Fork Ward Relief Society Account Book, 1857–89, LDS Church Archives; Lucy Meserve Smith, "Historical Narrative," in Kenneth W. Godfrey, Audrey W. Godfrey, and Jill Mulvay Derr, *Women's Voices: An Untold History of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book 1982), p. 268; Brigham City First Ward Relief Society History, 1868–1915, in Brigham City First Ward Relief Society Account Book, 1912–20, LDS Church Archives. Curiously, the Brigham City First Ward records give the best information available about the society organized in Willard. Available information about other supposed Relief Societies in the 1850s is often sketchy and contradictory, and seldom contemporary.

[47] Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 148–56.

[48] Lucy Meserve Smith, "Historical Narrative," pp. 269–70.

tains. They later made a flag for the Provo Brass Band and rag carpets for a new meetinghouse.

The Salt Lake Fourteenth Ward Relief Society made similar contributions. From September 1856 to March 1858 they provided food, clothing, and cash amounting to the following:[49]

Paid out to poor in the ward	$213.77
Paid to our brethren of the army	43.75
" " H[and] C[art] Company	63.65
" " P.O. [Perpetual Emigrating?] Fund	126.00
" " Quilts to Temple	100.00
Total disbursements	$547.17

Such substantial contributions were significant in a time of deprivation.

Besides helping the poor, one outlying Relief Society broadened its focus to fill other needs. Local priesthood leaders Isaac C. Haight and John M. Higbee blessed the presidency of Cedar City's Relief Society "with power to wash and anoint the sick, and of laying on of hands." [50] And Bishop Phillip K. Smith told Cedar City women their organization was "not so much for the supplying of the poor, as for the advancement of the Sisters in the Kingdom of God." [51] With a charter membership of ninety-five in November 1856, the society quickly became a significant factor in the spiritual life of the community.

The Indian Relief Societies were among the first of a variety of organizations which blossomed forth in Salt Lake Valley in the mid-1850s. Within several months, the Polysophical Society, the Universal Scientific Society, the Deseret Philharmonic Society, the Horticultural Society, the Deseret Theological Institute, and the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society all held forth. A spirit of optimism, a broadening of interests, the pursuit of knowledge and excellence in varied fields seemed the order of the day. But during the Mormon Reformation of 1856–57, pluralism was discouraged, and many such organizations declined. Doubtless, crop failures and the progress of colonization dampened the enthusiasm of some groups. The Relief Societies and the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society, organizations of obvious utility, survived.

Latter-day Saint wards in Northern Utah suffered a major organizational setback from the mass evacuation of Saints in the spring of 1858. This move south had been proposed as a means of avoiding encounters with the Utah Expedition, which moved into the Salt Lake Valley in June and eventually established Camp Floyd in Cedar Valley, forty miles to the southwest. When

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[49] Wells, "History of the Relief Society," p. 7.

[50] Cedar City Relief Society Minutes, 2 Nov. 1856. See also Linda King Newell, "A Gift Given: A Gift Taken: Washing, Anointing, and Blessing the Sick among Mormon Women," *Sunstone* 6 (Sept.–Oct. 1981): 16–25.

[51] Cedar City Relief Society Minutes, 3 Dec. 1856. Bishop Smith's name is sometimes given as Klingonsmith.

people returned to their homes beginning in July, organizations did not quickly return to their previous state. Relief Societies, having just reached a high point in dedication and effectiveness, thus ceased to exist as a general rule, even in settlements like Provo which had not been evacuated but had been disrupted. It was as if there were an unspoken moratorium on creating local organizations.

The fact that Relief Societies were not then formally reestablished as a vehicle for poor relief and for women's social and spiritual enrichment may have been due, at least in part, to the multiplicity of voluntary cultural, theological, and intellectual organizations prior to the move south. Some of these societies had aroused apprehension, and the Polysophical Society, in particular, came under open attack by some Church leaders.[52]

Also, the troublesome presence of federal troops and camp followers in Northern Utah apparently had a dampening effect on organized Mormon activities. In January 1859 Isaac Morley told the Saints of Manti, where a Relief Society had continued to function, that they enjoyed the "privilege of meeting to worship while other settlements had not such privileges." [53] Fear, defensiveness, and demoralization — if not martial law — probably helped curtail group activity at this time.

Another issue was male leaders' perceptions of women's organizations which affected their relationships with the Relief Societies. In Nauvoo, after Church authorities allowed the Relief Society to grow, Emma Smith's resistance to plural marriage in that forum aroused doubts about the merits of the organization. Its meetings stopped abruptly in 1844. After Joseph Smith's death, Brigham Young, president of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, denounced any attempts of Latter-day Saint women to "meddle in the affairs of the kingdom of God." [54] Accusing such "meddling" of contributing to the martyrdom, he firmly announced that he would take the initiative on reestablishing any Relief Societies: "When I want Sisters or the Wives of the members of the church to get up Relief Society I will summon them to my aid but until that time let them stay at home and if you see Females huddling together veto the concern . . ." [55]

In the mid-1850s, when the Thirteenth Ward Indian Relief Society was formed, someone suggested it be called the "Female Indian Relief Society." Martha Jane Coray, according to the minutes, "objected to the word Female as no Association could be virtually sustained by females but must of necessity be kept by their Husbands Fathers or Guardians." [56] Matilda Dudley did not

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[52] Henry W. Naisbitt, "'Polysophical' and 'Mutual,'" *Improvement Era* 2 (1899): 741–47; Maureen Ursenbach, "Three Women and the Life of the Mind," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (1975): 28–32; John Hyde, *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs*, 2nd ed. (New York: W. P. Fetridge & Company, 1857), pp. 128–29.

[53] Minutes for 9 Jan. 1859 in Manti Ward Historical Record, 1850–59, LDS Church Archives.

[54] Seventies Record, Minutes for 9 March 1845, LDS Church Archives.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Salt Lake Thirteenth Ward Indian Relief Society Minutes, [7 June 1854].

oppose that argument. Rather, she countered that "the labor required was female labor" and that the proposed name was therefore appropriate. Despite such caution, that organization acted more independently than seemed prudent in later years. Bishop Woolley took his time reorganizing the Thirteenth Ward Relief Society, waiting until 1868. Then he pointedly emphasized that the sisters must be subject to his authority.[57]

On the other hand, the Cedar City Relief Society was particularly responsive to the direction of local male Church leaders, at whose urging the society helped promote obedience of wives to husbands and acceptance of the principle of plural marriage. Its visiting teachers sounded out individual women's opinions on those two topics and reported any dissent they found. Those who persisted in opposing the accepted teachings were to be excluded from the society. In its reinforcement of prevailing community values, Cedar City's Relief Society partook of the crisis mentality which led to the tragic Mountain Meadows Massacre. Members were exhorted to "mind your own business, and ask no Questions" [58] when their menfolk were called out to fulfill duties. The day before the massacre, the women were encouraged to "teach their sons and daughters the principles of righteousness, and to implant a desire on their hearts to avenge the blood of the Prophets." [59]

During the decade 1858–67 there were still poor to be cared for, including thousands of immigrants from Europe. Other needs continued to exist which Relief Societies had helped meet, but very few societies were reorganized. Cedar City's Relief Society functioned until April 1859, then lapsed for nine years. The Manti Relief Society continued at least through 1859, perhaps beyond then. The Spanish Fork Relief Society contributed an ox to the Perpetual Emigrating Fund in the winter of 1860–61 and may have been the only society to have had continuous existence throughout the 1860s. By 1864 Willard's society and perhaps those in a few other locations had regrouped after a period of inactivity.[60]

What accounts for the hiatus? The Latter-day Saints had not lost creative vitality. The construction and establishment of the Salt Lake Theater in 1861–62 and the building of the Salt Lake Tabernacle beginning in 1863 were evidence of that. Nor had they lost the will to provide time and means for the

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[57] Arrington, *From Quaker to Latter-day Saint*, pp. 328, 426.

[58] Cedar City Relief Society Minutes, 12 March 1856. The speaker was Elias Morris. On the mentality antecedant to the massacre, see Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), pp. 15–59.

[59] Cedar City Relief Society Minutes, 10 Sept. 1857. The speaker was Annabella Haight, wife of Cedar City Stake President Isaac C. Haight.

[60] Cedar City Relief Society Minutes, 1856–75; Brigham Young to Rhoda Snell and Adelia S. Richards, [Spanish Fork], 9 Feb. 1861; Young Letterbooks; Spanish Fork Relief Society Account Book, 1857–89; Brigham City First Ward Relief Society History, 1868–1915; Manti Ward Historical Record, 1850–59.

benefit of the poor. There were considerable donations to the Perpetual Emigrating Fund. Hundreds of wagons were sent to the Missouri Valley, and later to meet the railroad as it pushed west, to bring poor immigrants to the Salt Lake Valley. But for reasons that remain unclear, Brigham Young did not explicitly encourage the reinstatement of Relief Societies between 1858 and 1867. Not until after the Civil War, news of the coming of the transcontinental railroad, the discovery of precious metals in the hills of Utah, and the first signs of a major influx of non-Mormons into Utah did any thoroughgoing organizational efforts take place. And until Brigham Young took the initiative, the women were not formally organized into a Church-wide structure.

Uncertainty surrounds the role of Eliza R. Snow, who would later help organize Relief Societies throughout the Church. In what little she wrote or said about Relief Societies of the 1850s, she maintained one point — there was a widespread effort to organize societies beginning in 1855. She might have referred either to the Indian Relief Societies or to the organizational effort which immediately followed. Sister Snow considered the 1855 efforts as the beginning of what eventually became the Church-wide Relief Society under her own leadership. In her mind it was no mere temporary effort. But her own role in 1855 or at any point before 1867 remains less clear. In an 1855 account she seemed to telescope the events of 1855–57 with those of 1867–69, claiming she was commissioned by Brigham Young to promote the organizing effort of 1855. However, there is no evidence beyond her own statement that she played any role except that of encouraging her own Salt Lake City Eighteenth Ward.[61]

Eliza Snow's poor health — she was reportedly "in the last steps of consumption" in 1848–58 — has been mentioned as one reason why the Relief Society was not reorganized before 1867.[62] But her health had improved by the period of least activity, 1859–66, and even during her decade of illness, Eliza was not bedfast. During the time Indian Relief Societies were functioning, she visited friends and was a leading participant in the Polysophical Society. However, she apparently played no role in Indian Relief Societies and obviously was not essential to their success.[63] Other women who led out in

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[61] *Eliza R. Snow: An Immortal*, pp. 38–49; [Eliza R. Snow], Brief Sketch of the Organizations conducted by the Latter-day Saint Women of Utah, Salt Lake City, 1880, holograph, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California: microfilm, LDS Church Archives; Salt Lake City Eighteenth Ward Historical Record, 6 Sept. 1855, LDS Church Archives.

[62] Gates, "Relief Society Beginnings in Utah," pp. 191–92.

[63] Patty Sessions, Diary, 10 August 1854; *Deseret News*, 11 and 18 Jan. 1855; Samuel W. Richards, Diary, 20 March 1855, LDS Church Archives. John Hyde, a participant in the Polysophical Society who later left the Mormon Church, charged that Eliza Snow and a few unnamed associates exercised a sort of intellectual tyranny over Mormon women in the mid-1850s; Hyde, *Mormonism*, pp. 127–28. The apostate's claims may have been colored by his antagonism, but apparently Sister Snow was vigorous enough to exert a formidable influence.

organizing and conducting Relief Societies in the 1850s, at least in their own wards, would have been capable of doing so on the same basis in the early 1860s, had President Young given similar encouragement.

The questions about Eliza Snow's inactivity between the profusion of meetings in 1847 and the whirlwind tours beginning in 1868 parallel our ignorance of Latter-day Saint attitudes toward women's organizations during the same period. The relative success of the little-known Indian Relief Society movement, the health of its successor Relief Societies of 1855–58 and the overwhelming support given the Relief Society's reorganization in 1867–69 makes the inactivity of 1859–66 and the relative lack of women's meetings from 1848 to 1853 appear to be a curious anomaly. Additional insights into the Latter-day Saints' underlying assumptions about local organization, about women, and about women's proper sphere of activity are required to satisfactorily explain the events of 1847–67.

The scope of Relief Societies' activities in the 1850s was usually rather limited, focusing on specific work to be performed. Speaking in tongues, prophesying, and other intensely spiritual experiences characterized Mormon women's meetings in 1847, the Female Council of Health in the early 1850s, and to some extent the Polysophical Society in the mid-1850s. This was apparently not a feature of the new Relief Society movement, which steered clear of anything that might smack of "meddling in the affairs of the kingdom of God." The Cedar City Relief Society, with its early encouragement of spiritual gifts, was one notable exception.[64]

In 1867, when President Young asked Sister Snow to supervise the organization of Relief Societies in all wards and settlements, he clearly intended to revive the organization on a broader basis than the societies of the 1850s. Sister Snow's vision of Relief Society included spiritual dimensions in addition to compassionate service. With her organizational ability, her broader vision of the potential of women's organizations, and her ability to proceed aggressively while retaining priesthood sanction, Eliza Snow helped establish societies that caught the enthusiasm and filled the needs of their members.

Despite the lack of continuity, the Indian Relief Societies and the Relief Societies which immediately succeeded them in 1855–58 did leave a legacy for Mormonism. Not only did they provide for pressing needs of the time, but they helped establish some precedents. Once established, the tradition of quilting at meetings persisted and has even been introduced outside America in societies where quilting was not common. Beyond that, the notion that some of women's time at Relief Society meetings ought to be spent "making something" has generally continued until modern times. The monthly "work day" was only recently replaced by a "homemaking day" in which the members receive in-

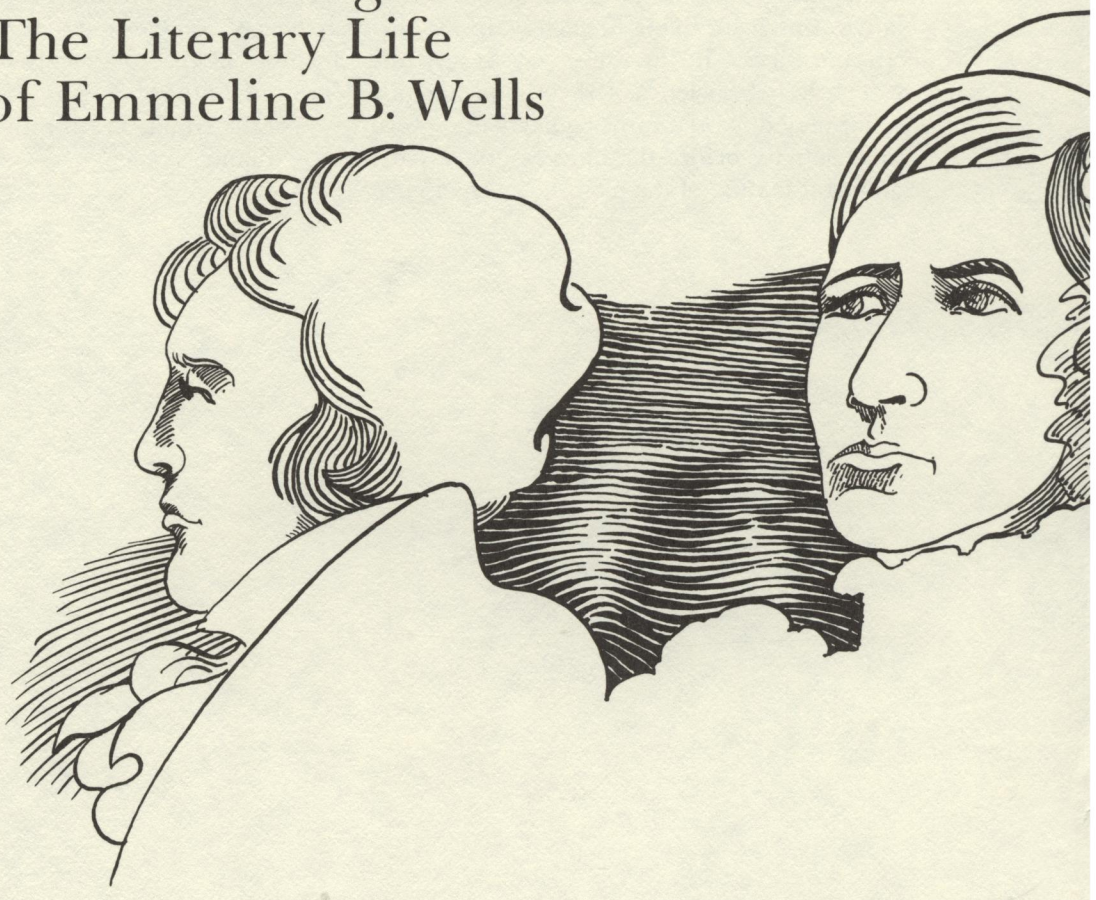
[64] Speaking in tongues was occasionally noted in the Cedar City Relief Society Minutes. Hannah Tapfield King received a blessing in tongues at a gathering of Salt Lake City's Fourteenth Ward Relief Society as recorded in her journal, 3 March 1855, typescript, LDS Church Archives. Perhaps fuller documentation of other Relief Societies of the period would show a greater abundance of spiritual gifts.

struction in homemaking skills. Finally, although recent LDS social and educational programs for Indians have not involved Relief Societies directly, those Native Americans living in each ward are the recipients of compassionate concern and service in the same way as any other member of the congregation.

The Relief Societies of the 1850s, like other facets of Latter-day Saint life in that period, passed rather quickly into obscurity. Yet the vitality of Mormon group activity before the move south — particularly among women — was a significant feature of the pioneering experience.

Carol Cornwall Madsen

A Bluestocking in Zion: The Literary Life of Emmeline B. Wells



In the afternoon of 1 July 1895, Emmeline Wells and thirteen other Mormon literary lights and friends met in the parlor of Julia C. Howe's home in memory of a deceased colleague, poet Hannah King. They read first from Hannah's poetry, then from their own pencillings, eliciting much good conversation and exchange of ideas. The afternoon, which stretched on into evening, was so pleasing and stimulating to those assembled that the women made plans to meet again the following year.[1]

One of many female literary and discussion groups popular in nineteenth-century Utah, this gathering was probably unaware of its eighteenth-century antecedent, the famed "Bluestocking Clubs," which flourished in London for nearly half a century. The same spirit which had earlier generated weekly

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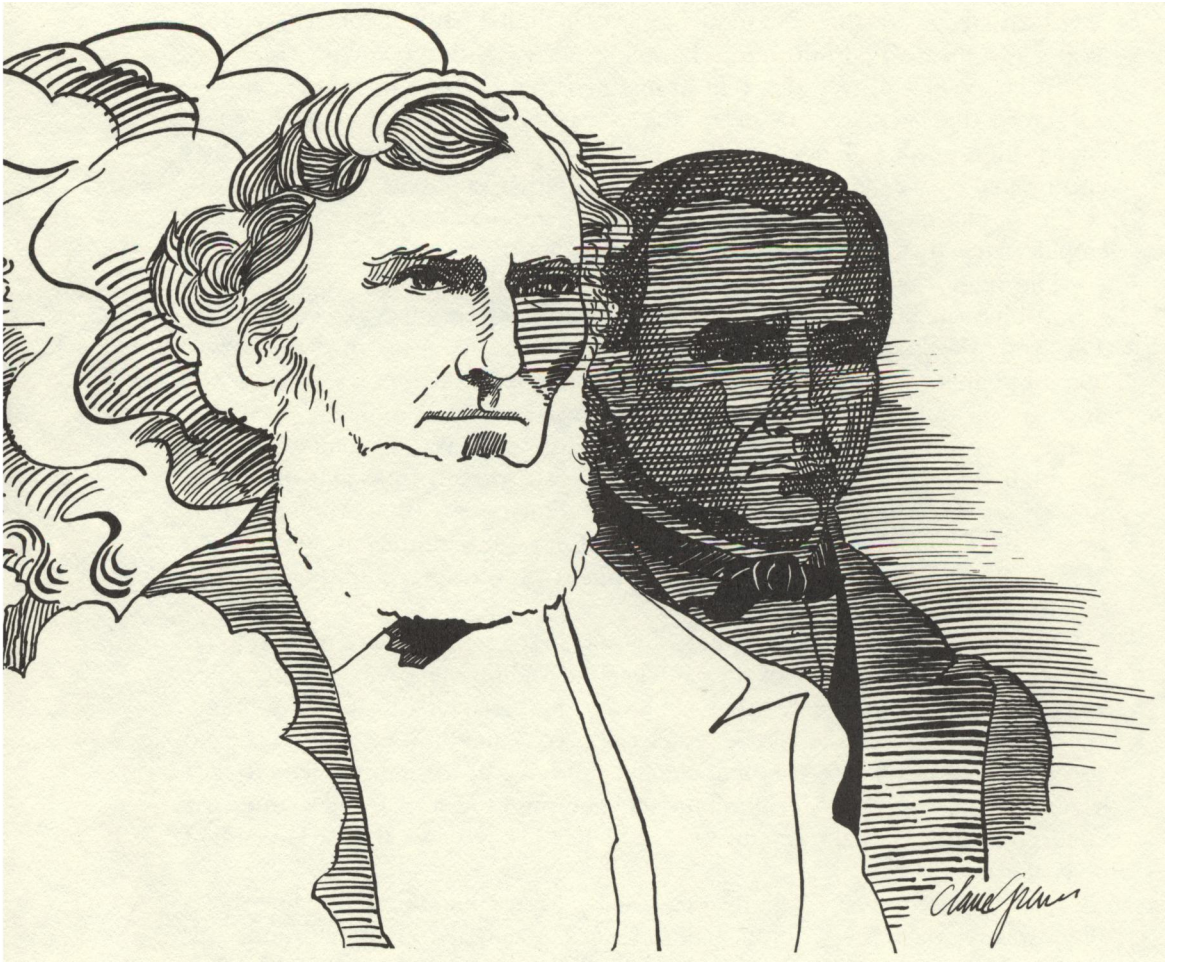
[1] "An Historic House (editorial)," *Woman's Exponent* 21 (15 Dec. 1892): 92 and "Editorial Notes," 24 (1 July 1895): 21.



gatherings of thinking women now animated a new generation to create a forum for those who only "dream" thoughts and have no opportunity to shape them or learn the thoughts of others.[2]

Publicly expressing ideas was not yet considered appropriate for women, an attitude Emmeline deplored: "I can see no good, sound, wholesome reason against woman's writing upon any of the general topics of the day," she wrote in 1875. "She may be a profound thinker," she continued, "but if her ideas never assume any form, what will it avail?" [3]

In thus protesting, Emmeline was again echoing her eighteenth-century counterparts. Well-educated (usually by their own efforts) intellectual women inaugurated a pattern of informal "assemblies" at which literary London met

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[2] Romania B. Pratt, "An Address to the Utah Women's Press Club," *Woman's Exponent* 25 (15 and 31 Dec. 1897): 230.

[3] Blanche Beechwood, "A Few Ideas on Writing," *Woman's Exponent* 3 (1 April 1875): 167.

for "learned conversation." Frequent guests included Samuel Johnson, Horace Walpole, Oliver Goldsmith, and Laurence Sterne.[4] But Hannah More, historian of the group, recorded that at one meeting when no men attended "we all agreed that men were by no means so necessary as we had all been foolish enough to fancy." [5] Bonded by their similar interests, intellects and ideas, they encouraged each other to write, assisted one another to publish, provided financial help, and gave each other friendship and emotional support, all functions employed by their nineteenth-century descendants.

The name *bluestocking* originated when a male guest once appeared in casual blue silk stockings rather than the more conventional black silk ones.[6] The symbol well reflected the informal and democratic nature of their association. But in time, rather than designating learned and literary women and men, its meaning was disapprovingly narrowed to apply only to "pedantic women" who "stepped out of their sphere." Emmeline Wells, a bluestocking in the original and complimentary meaning, hypothesized in 1894 that the reason women writers frequently assumed male pseudonyms was that women writers were "called blue stockings and considered almost unfeminine, at any rate not fit for wives and mothers, and often thought or considered immoral. That excuse is not valid now." [7]

Nor was it then. The original bluestockings earned the respect of their literary peers by the quality of their intellectual and literary achievement. Even more important, they claimed such achievement as a right. Elizabeth Montagu, known as "Queen of the Blues," asserted: "We can think for ourselves, and also act for ourselves." [8] Emmeline could not have put it more succinctly, yet ironically, this queen of Mormon bluestockings might never have developed her intellectual gifts had the circumstances of her life not issued such an urgent invitation.

Born 29 February 1828 in Petersham, Massachusetts, Emmeline Belos Woodward joined the Church at age fourteen, married at fifteen, and emigrated to Nauvoo in the spring of 1844 with her young husband, James Harvey Harris, and his parents. By October of that year, her newborn son had died, her parents-in-law had apostatized, and her husband had gone upriver to find work. He never returned. Sealed as a plural wife to the fifty-year-old Newell K. Whitney, presiding bishop of the Church, in February 1845, seventeen-year-old Emmeline still longed for her young husband and wrote in her diary:

> Today I am alone and I have time for reflection. Memory brings the past before me in all its joy and light. Life seems like a dream. Am I awake? Would that it were a

[4] Evelyn Gordon Bodek, "Salonières and Bluestockings: Educated Obsolescence and Germinating Feminism," *Feminist Studies* 3 (Spring–Summer 1976): 193.

[5] R. Brimley Johnson, ed., *Bluestocking Letters* (London: John Lane, 1926), pp. 4–5.

[6] James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (London: George Routledge and Sons. n.d.), p. 416; see also Phyllis Stock, *Better Than Rubies, A History of Women's Education* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1978), pp. 102–3.

[7] Emmeline B. Wells, "Pen Names," *Woman's Exponent* 23 (15 Sept. 1894): 190.

[8] Quoted in Walter S. Scott, *The Bluestocking Ladies* (London, 1947), p. 198; see also Stock, *Better Than Rubies*, p. 104.

> dream and that I could awake and find myself at the side of him my love. . . . Even now when he has left me to the mercy of a cold unfeeling world am I ready to receive him to my heart again whenever he returns and I want O how much I desire to have him come O James where art thou O that thou couldst hear my voice and thou shouldst return O come to her who gave and forsook all others for thee. . . . Is not my life a romance indeed it is a novel strange and marvellous.[9]

Certainly these words expressed the sincere emotions of a heartbroken young girl. Equally certainly they were colored by a childhood of fanciful dreaming, uninterrupted afternoons of reading, a spirited imagination, and a naturally romantic nature. Attending school in Old Furnace Village in South Hardwick, Massachusetts, young Emmeline stayed with a married sister. "I used to play in the garret alone," Emmeline remembered, "day after day when school hours were over and amuse myself, and often my sister would come and listen to my conversation with my scholars as I termed the beams in the wooden building." [10] Soon the pleasure of dressing up in old clothes and tying bits of old lace and silk around her dolls gave way to curiosity about the bundles of old letters and newspapers stored in a corner. She read them all. "A light had dawned upon me in that out of the way place," she wrote nearly fifty years later. "I had found out that women sometimes put their thoughts upon paper, and I conceived the idea of making rhymes, or jingles." "You are getting strange notions into your head," her mother warned. Deiadama Woodward, according to Emmeline, was "strong-minded, and wanted her daughter to be a woman, and not a sentimental wishy-washy novel writer." [11] But the romance of the old garret, scented by spring lilacs and apple-blossoms and the magic of old letters and romantic serialized tales in the musty newspapers, never quite left her. Romantic images and themes would return again and again in her stories, poetry, and essays, interlaced with the strong-minded attitudes more acceptable to her mother which would eventually surface in the *Woman's Exponent*, the Mormon women's newspaper which Emmeline edited from 1877 to 1914, from age forty-nine to age eighty-six.

Emmeline kept her literary muses distinct. The alliterative pen name Blanche Beechwood, used from about 1872 to 1877, identified her spirited polemics on woman's rights. (Other contemporaries used such names as Fanny Fern, Jennie June, Maggie Marigold, Fanny Forrester and Grace Greenwood.) But her genteel romances and sentimental poems were usually signed Aunt Em. She was not unique in speaking with two voices; but unlike some other writers who employed this style, she did not use one voice to belittle the other. This "artistic schizophrenia," as one writer has characterized it,[12] allowed Emmeline to reflect the two often conflicting ideologies about women which flourished during the nineteenth century. Aunt Em's voice was traditional, her poetry

[9] Emmeline B. Wells, Diary, 28 Feb. 1845, 6 June 1845, 20 Feb. 1845, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

[10] Ibid., 23 Jan. 1886.

[11] Aunt Em, "The Old Garrett," *Woman's Exponent* 17 (1 Oct. 1888): 67.

[12] See Ann D. Wood, "The 'Scribbling Women' and Fanny Fern: Why Women Wrote," *American Quarterly* 23 (Spring 1971): 18.

and stories fitting comfortably into her generation's genteel literary fiction. Blanche Beechwood, on the other hand, trumpeted the claims of the new woman, stepping out of her domestic cocoon to seek a place in the larger affairs of society. The literary dichotomy might have been just a stylistic device or it may have depicted a genuine conflict between the consistent expectations of Emmeline's traditional nature and the realities of her untraditional experience.

Whitney, old enough to be her father, had offered her security and prestige. His death in Salt Lake City, two months after the birth of their second daughter in 1850, left her once more on her own. Two years later, drawing on the resources offered by plural marriage, she suggested to Daniel H. Wells by letter that she come under his protection and care, reminding him of his long friendship with Whitney.[13] Acting on the suggestion, he married Emmeline as his seventh wife in 1852. Over the next nine years, she bore three more daughters. Living separately from the rest of the Wells family undoubtedly put her at some disadvantage, although this arrangement was not necessarily unique in polygamous families. Even so, her expectations of marital companionship and security evidently exceeded either Daniel's ability or desire to accommodate, for a decade of diaries is filled with expressions of longing for attention and "a strong arm to lean upon." Her pain at missed appointments is keen: "This evening I fully expected my husband here but was again disappointed. . . . he is not in want of me for a companion or in any sense, he does not need me at all, there are plenty ready and willing to administer to every wish caprice or whim of his, indeed they anticipate them, they are near him always, while I am shut out of his life . . . It is impossible for me to make myself useful to him in any way while I am held at such a distance." [14] The joy when he came, however, was almost indescribable: "My husband came, my heart gave one great bound towards him; O how enthusiastically I love him; truly and devotedly if he could only feel towards me in any degree as I do towards him how happy it would make me . . ." [15] Throughout her long life there always seemed to be an unfulfilled longing for a life and love perpetually beyond her grasp.

Meanwhile, in 1872, when Emmeline was forty-six, the *Woman's Exponent* was founded. Almost immediately Blanche Beechwood began contributing. Emmeline dropped the pseudonym after becoming editor in 1877 but continued Blanche's advocacy for women's rights in her editorials. Aunt Em's writings began to appear with regularity soon thereafter. For the next thirty-seven years the *Woman's Exponent* would be the setting for this interesting literary bifurcation.

Aunt Em was the little girl playing alone in the garret, now grown up and letting her fancy have full reign, within her tradition's restrictive code of literary propriety. This type of sentimental fiction had blossomed in eastern periodicals

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[13] Daniel H. Wells Papers, LDS Church Archives, as quoted in Patricia Rasmussen Eaton-Gadsby and Judith Rasmussen Dushku, "Emmeline B. Wells," in Vicky Burgess-Olson, *Sister Saints* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), p. 459.

[14] Wells, Diary, 13 Sept. 1874.

[15] Wells, Diary, 11 Oct. 1874.

about midcentury, but its American roots reached back to the teens and twenties when the periodic press began commercializing popular fiction. In the early 1820s, annuals or gift books containing sentimental stories, poetry, and domestic advice were so popular that entrepreneur Lewis A. Godey ventured on a monthly. *Godey's Lady's Book* was an immediate success and was promptly imitated. Within a few years women were not only chief subscribers to such periodicals but their major contributors. By 1840, Godey claimed: "We were the first to introduce the system of calling forth the slumbering talent of our country by offering an equivalent for the efforts of genius." [16]

That "slumbering talent" had deluged America with a surge of sentimental treacle that would engulf the reading public for decades. Mass literature had been feminized almost at birth. One literary historian aptly quipped that the Boston Brahmins had no sons, only daughters.[17] By the 1850s, some of these domestic novels had gone through fourteen editions in two years, selling well over 100,000 copies. Ripples from this vast wave of feminine literary success reached Liverpool where Nathaniel Hawthorne carped to his publisher in 1855: "America is now wholly given over to a d - - d mob of scribbling women, and I should have no chance of success while the public taste is occupied with their trash — and should be ashamed of myself if I did succeed." [18]

His sour grapes underscored the fact that women had cornered the literary market in 1855 and would continue to dominate it for several more decades. This sentimentalization of nineteenth-century literature both reflected and affirmed the Victorian culture from which it sprang. Anthony Trollope, popular British writer of the Victorian mode, defined its moral absolutes: "The purpose of a novel is to instruct in morals while it amuses." It should teach "that truth prevails while falsehood fails; that a girl will be loved as she is pure, and sweet, and unselfish; that a man will be honoured as he is true, and honest, and brave of heart; that things meanly done are ugly and odious, and things nobly done beautiful and gracious." [19] This genteel culture assigned women the guardianship of its moral values; thus, heroines dominate the literature with their virtue, their selflessness, their constancy, and most of all, their moral superiority. In these novels, frail but morally strong daughters redeem homes lost by profligate fathers, patient wives regenerate drunken husbands, and martyr maidens mortgage their own futures to shoulder family burdens. But virtue never goes unrewarded, and love and happiness are liberally bestowed on these hapless women — tied in greenback bundles.[20]

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[16] Quoted in Fred Lewis Pattee, *The Development of the American Short Story* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1923), p. 72.

[17] Fred Lewis Pattee, *The Feminine Fifties* (New York: Appleton-Century Company, 1940), pp. 25, 50.

[18] Quoted in Pattee, *The Feminine Fifties*, p. 110.

[19] Quoted in Walter L. Arnstein, *Britain Yesterday and Today, 1830 to the Present*, 3rd ed. (Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1976), p. 78.

[20] For a full discussion of this type of feminine literature, see Nina Baym, *Woman's Fiction, A Guide to Novels by and about Women in America, 1820–1870* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978.

Aunt Em's stories are a localized imitation of the genre, incorporating many of its characteristics but generally lacking the imagination and narrative skill that vitalized the words of such best-selling authors as Susan Warner, E. D. E. N. Southworth, or Elizabeth Stuart Phelps.[21]

Aunt Em assured her readers that all her stories were based on facts; indeed, many contain autobiographical elements. In "Aunt Esther's Sweetheart," Esther, ten years a widow and "possessed of that indescribable charm which for want of a better term we call magnetic," had given up her youthful sweetheart to marry an older man who could provide her security. She regretted her marriage almost immediately yet remained faithful until his death a few years later. His will bequeathed his wealth to her on condition that she not marry her first love, Sydney Manning, by then in India. Aunt Esther had used the inheritance to care for an orphaned niece and nephew, now grown. Then, after fifteen years, Sydney, now wealthy and still faithful, returns to claim Esther but she has already embraced the gospel and hopes to join the Saints in the west. Will Sydney accept the truth to marry her? Unfortunately, no. Religion for him "is a consideration of the future, not the present." Now Esther must choose. But what is earthly happiness, she concludes, against the promise of eternal joy? Sydney "showers her with burning kisses, his hot tears falling upon her face," then leaves forever. He dies heartbroken in India. Esther goes west, refuses many offers of marriage and devotes her "time, her means, and her energies, all to doing good for others in the household of faith; and many there were," Aunt Em concluded "who received blessings at her hands." [22]

Emmeline's own husband James had become a seaman, eventually landing in India where he died in 1859. During those years he had written frequently to Emmeline, sending the letters in care of his mother who did not forward them until many years after her son's death. Of all the strong emotions such a situation would evoke, satisfaction that James had not forgotten her and that his affections had remained constant seemed most important to Emmeline.

Lost letters and lost loves figure frequently in Aunt Em's stories. In "Some Old Love Letters" a little girl discovers in an old garret some undelivered love letters addressed to her aunt. The man who wrote them returns after an absence of many years and, not only renews the offer of marriage written in the letters to the woman who had never received them, but brings a new religion he has encountered in Kirtland, Ohio. He and his faithful sweetheart marry, join the Church, and move west, grateful that the newly found letters turn temporary disappointment into eternal happiness.[23]

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[21] Early appraisals of this literary revolution can be found in Pattee, *The Feminine Fifties*, Helen Waite Papashvily, *All the Happy Endings* (New York: Harper, 1956) and Herbert Ross Brown, *The Sentimental Novel in America, 1789–1860* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1940).

[22] *Woman's Exponent* 28 (15 June 1899): 8–11 and 28 (1 July 1899): 20–22; reprinted in 41 (Aug. 1913): 65–67 and 41 (Nov. 1913): 73–74.

[23] *Woman's Exponent* 41 (Sept. 1912): 6–8.

One of Aunt Em's most interesting stories, "A Christmas Romance," takes place in London on Christmas Eve where an impoverished young widow, Geraldine Brandon, hastens to finish a painting for the wealthy Lady Maynard, an interesting variation on the usual image of the destitute widow with a needle, not a paintbrush, in hand. Buying some presents for her children with her last few shillings, she unexpectedly meets her brother-in-law just back from India where he fled, disappointed, when Geraldine married his brother. Now wealthy himself, he proposes, and the two are married by the parish priest, who had once loved Geraldine's mother. Full of contrived coincidence, the story nevertheless conveys a sense of mood and place, gives dimension to the characters and holds together with stronger literary threads than Aunt Em's other pieces.[24]

Emmeline's attempt to collect and sell her stories in one volume was unsuccessful, even though she suggested that patronage amounted almost to a civic and religious duty: "Considering the many books of fiction bought by our people, it would be much better to encourage home talent and purchase those written by our own brethren or sisters, containing facts and good morals." [25]

She had more success with her poetry. While her attempts at fiction came late in her career, she had begun early to compose verse. A handcopied hymnal of 1843 includes a poem on friendship, signed Emmeline B. Harris.[26] In 1855 she wrote shyly to her sister wife Hannah Wells in Fillmore: "I feel very much inclined to give you a specimen of my poetry but do not wish to submit it to the criticism of your *husband* [who was also Emmeline's]. It is all in my mind and has been for two or three days, perhaps I will write it down and let *you* see it when you come home." [27] She continued to write poetry but did not find a regular outlet for publication until the *Woman's Exponent* was founded.

Her style is governed by her view of the purposes and elements of poetry: "If there was no sentiment in the world, there would be no poetry, and much of the history of the heart as well of the people would be lost to mankind. We all like to know not only what transpired in the past, but the feelings, affections, and sentiments of those who took part in the affairs of the times in which they lived and flourished." [28] Her poetry is certainly a history of the heart — her heart. It is somber, serious, and reflective. Above all it is religious, continually focusing on the possibility of hope and joy in a future life promised to the faithful. She seldom depicts life as happy, but finds that friends, nature's beauties,

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[24] *Woman's Exponent* 35 (Jan. 1907): 41–43, 47.

[25] *Woman's Exponent* 31 (1 and 15 Nov. 1902): 45.

[26] The handwritten hymnal has no name of owner or date affixed and so this date is only an approximation. The hymnal is in the LDS Church Archives.

[27] Emmeline B. Wells to Hannah F. Wells, 31 Dec. 1855, Emmeline B. Wells Papers, LDS Church Archives.

[28] "An Historical House (editorial)," *Woman's Exponent* 21 (15 Dec. 1892): 93.

and memories brighten an otherwise shadowed perspective. "My life has not been all calm and serene," she writes in "Sorrow and Sympathy,"

> But storms and clouds were thick upon my way;
> Yet here and there sometimes would intervene
> Bright hours of sunshine in the darkest day.
> And so I've traveled on, and sought to be
> Some help to other wanderers like me.[29]

Emmeline outlived three husbands, two daughters, a son, and several grandchildren as well as most of her contemporaries. Death was thus a constant in her life. Her poetic response to her daughter Emmie's death is typical:

> O, fitting time to weep with April showers
> That buds and blossoms may spring forth from tears,
> And bursting into beauty fragrant flowers,
> Twine with the cypress bough through coming years,
> Emblems that we who mourn may find relief.
> And joy immortal crown our night of grief.[30]

A wreath of intertwined cypress and flowers, traditional emblems of death and new life, figured frequently in her poetry. The sea as metaphor was another favorite. Its association with James underscored its intriguing and mysterious qualities. For example, the closing verse of "Memory of the Sea" reads:

> And the even constant beating
> 'Gainst the rocks that hemmed the sea,
> Where the winds in fury meeting,
> Dashed them backward ruthlessly,
> So our human hopes are driven,
> Recklessly tossed to and fro,
> And our strongest ties are riven —
> Rent asunder by a blow.
> Ever heaves the restless ocean,
> With its hidden mystery
> Sleeping in its surging bosom
> Until time shall cease to be.[31]

One interesting poem she entitled "The Wife to Her Husband." As a wife to three husbands, all of whom she loved well, she was likely addressing a composite of them. It begins:

> It seems to me that should I die
> And this poor body cold and lifeless lie,
> And thou should'st touch my lips with thy warm breath,
> The life-blood, quicken'd in each sep'rate vein,
> Would wildly, madly rushing back again
> Bring the glad spirit from the isle of death.

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[29] Emmeline B. Wells, *Musings and Memories*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1915), p. 283.

[30] Ibid., p. 231.

[31] Ibid., p. 36.

Several more verses amplify this theme. The poem continues with a wife's supreme offer to her husband — her unqualified confidence:

I do believe my faith in thee,
Stronger than life, an anchor firm to be;
Planted in thine integrity and worth,
A perfect trust implicit and secure;
That will all trials and all grief endure,
And bless and comfort me while here on earth.[32]

Whether the poem was meant to be autobiographical, Emmeline's analysis of the meaning of poetry allows the reader to see in it her own "feelings, affections, and sentiments." Three times for Emmeline such confidence was shattered — by desertion, by death, and by benign neglect. Yet each time, she found that in the end the faith was not misplaced. James, though absent, remained true. Whitney gave her five secure and happy years and a promise of eternal joy. And Daniel, who could not spread his conjugal attentions far enough, belatedly rediscovered the joy of the companionship he and Emmeline had once known in the early years of their marriage.

An even more obviously autobiographical poem is "Faith and Fidelity," its revelations tantalizing and frustrating. Where does poetry end and truth begin? In content somewhat like the popular confessionals and published personal writings of women popular in her time, it tells the story, in third person, of Emmeline's own experience after losing James and being left without family or close friends in Nauvoo. She is rescued by a noble stranger who comes by and listens to her tale of grief. Then

He took her in his arms, as her own father might,
This stranger patriarch, and comforted and blest
Her aching heart, and showed her greater truth and light,
Even where to seek a haven of sweet rest.

Without forgetting James, now an ocean and more away, she finds refuge with the stranger and travels with him to a new home in the west. There

She lives within a wall of human love;
A barrier so strong, stronger than she can know
Encircles her with strength as from above.
The patriarch who took her to his home and heart,
Had taught her sacred truths, reveal'd from heaven;
And now she comprehends their purposes in part
For the great mission unto woman given.

But then she is to suffer another wrenching tragedy. "The strong man dead, whose love had been so good" while beneath "the outward seeming lies the broken heart." [33]

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[32] Ibid., pp. 266–67.

[33] Ibid., pp. 207–230.

Newell K. Whitney, the noble patriarch who rescued Emmeline from her teenage grief, remained throughout her life a fixed point of spiritual and emotional reference. He was "as good a man as ever lived," she wrote in her diary, "a father to all within his reach and more than father to me, I looked to him almost as if he had been a God; my youth — my inexperience of life and its realities caused me to trust most implicitly in one who had power and integrity always at his command." [34] Orphaned as well as deserted at seventeen, Emmeline made surrogate parents of Newell K. and his first wife Elizabeth Ann Whitney even while she was herself his wife. Despite her long years as a Wells, she was deeply bound to the Whitneys, and Orson F. Whitney, their grandson, filled the place of the son she had lost in Nauvoo.

Though this long autobiographical poem does not recount her subsequent marriage to Daniel H. Wells, it gives the only documentation, except for a notation in a family Bible, of her knowledge of James's death in India and the subsequent discovery of his letters.

> Was it not wonderful, that after weary years
> Of sad and sorrowful heartache and pain,
> Longing to know the cause, and weeping floods of tears,
> These letters should have come to light again?
> The one who wrote them with affection, long since dead;
> What satisfaction could they ever bring?
> Sad memories wakened that she thought had fled,
> But "Dead Sea apples" seemed the offering.
> Garlands of cypress she may twine with roses fair,
> To lay upon that grave so far away;
> But O, what message will the sad memorial bear,
> To him who sleepeth in far-off Bombay?[35]

Emmeline's poetry, like her fiction, followed the genteel tradition. While sometimes markedly sentimental, only occasionally does it lapse into false sentiment. Unlike her fiction, her poetry conveys genuine feeling, the revelations of a woman's heart glimpsed beneath conventional proprieties of subject and form. She published her collected poetry under the title *Musings and Memories* in 1896, its popularity requiring a second edition in 1915.

Though her poems and stories were typical of her time and appreciated by her readers, a contemporary view will see Emmeline Wells's most solid public literary contribution in her journalism. While the sentimentalism of Aunt Em occasionally dominated some of her *Exponent* editorials, those informed by the intensity of Blanche Beechwood's strong views were spirited, logical, and convincing. There was no equivocation in her plea for equality of opportunity: "Let woman have the same opportunities for an education, observation and experience in public and private for a succession of years, and then see if she is not equally endowed with man and prepared to bear her part on all gen-

[34] Wells, Diary, 23 Sept. 1874.

[35] Wells, *Musings and Memories*, p. 230.

eral questions socially, politically, industrially and educationally as well as spiritually." [36]

Nor did she equivocate in her views on marriage. "Why," she asked, "is it not possible for man and woman to love each other truly, and dwell together in harmony, each according to the other all the freedom of thought, feeling, and expression they would grant to one who was not bound to them by indissoluble ties?" [37] She challenged men to prove themselves "noble enough to share with their wives such laurels as either may be able to win in the battlefield of life, instead of arrogating to [themselves] the right to dictate . . . in all things, saying 'thus far shalt thou go and no farther.' " [38] Women should become contributing members of society as well as effective home managers. "No home can be really attractive without intelligence," she wrote, "[or] without a broader sympathy than that which confines itself to one's own family. Whatever efforts woman can make, whatever she may do that is not detrimental to home life, that she should be permitted to do without ridicule and without censure." [39]

As a voting citizen since 1870, Emmeline early took an interest in the national suffrage movement and served as delegate to many of the national woman's suffrage association conventions. When the Edmunds-Tucker Act deprived Utah women of the vote in 1887, she was insistent that they regain it when Utah became a state. The unexpected debate over woman's suffrage which dominated Utah's constitutional convention for several days brought her fiesty commentary:

> It is pitiful to see how men opposed to woman suffrage try to make the women believe it is because they worship them so, and think them far too good, and one would really think to hear those eloquent orators talk that laws were all framed purposely to protect women in their rights, and men stood ready to defend them with their lives. . . . We can only say they have been bold and must answer to their own consciences . . . let us hope the practical experience that will come with the ballot may convince even them that good may follow and they and their children receive the benefit of what they could not discern in the future progress of the world.[40]

Like her fiction and poetry, Emmeline's political rhetoric was imitative, but it was guided by an overriding commitment to the cause of women. "I desire to do all in my power," she wrote in 1878, "to help elevate the condition of my people, especially women." [41]

Yet this did not end her contribution. To her contemporaries she gave poetry that stirred their sentiments, stories that pleased their Victorian sensibilities, and essays that pricked their social consciences. But it was to another

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[36] "Action or Indifference," *Woman's Exponent* 5 (1 Sept. 1876): 54.

[37] "Woman's Progression," *Woman's Exponent* 6 (15 Feb. 1878): 140.

[38] Ibid.

[39] "Woman's Relation to Home," *Woman's Exponent* 8 (30 Aug. 1879): 52.

[40] "Woman's Suffrage," *Woman's Exponent* 23 (March 1895): 244.

[41] Wells, Diary, 4 January 1878.

generation that she gave her most significant literary legacy — forty-eight diaries ranging from the teenage outpourings of a broken heart to unsparing critical commentary on the great and near-great of Utah's church-state.

She had a writer's sense of detail and mood. Forty years after leaving Massachusetts she returned to the cherished places of her childhood. A drive from Orange to New Salem with her sister and brother-in-law evoked sentient memories of people and places still important to her:

> We set off . . . over Walnut Hill. William Pallas and I in an open carriage or tea cart with square fringed top and one stout horse. . . . We went almost around the North Pond where I had often been skating with my big brothers in winter and where in summer we had almost risked our lives to gather water-lilies or pond lilies we often called them. O how lovely and fragrant they were and the long stems were hollow and yards in length. The boys used to smoke them sometimes. We went past the old grave yard & where the hearse house was and we drove in and got out and walked around. I found the grave of my favorite playmate, he had died many years before. . . . We drove on . . . through the heart of the village to the dear old place where Hiram [her brother] was born and where the little juniper tree has grown like a great giant elm. Went round to the back and unfastened the latch and let ourselves in. We lingered lovingly around the desolate and deserted place, went into the little parlor & saw the quaint old fire place & tiny mantelpiece, and up stairs where we children slept. Leaving this spot dreary indeed in its lonely isolation . . . we passed over the charming little brook where Sister Delia says I got my inspiration, when I used to jump up early in the morning and run down there and bathe my face and hands. . . . It was frozen over now except a place large enough to dip a bucket in, and it reminded me of the day on the morning of the first of March 1842 when eight of us went down into the waters of baptism in that very brook, the ice having been cut for our benefit.[42]

Reticence was not a quality she nurtured and the debates on woman's suffrage during Utah's constitutional convention in 1895 caused an indignant Emmeline to complain of suffrage opponent B. H. Roberts, who subsequently ran for Congress: "The idea that he should expect to be elected by women's votes after his anti-suffrage raid!" she exclaimed to her diary.[43] But she felt worse after he won. "I cannot understand," she lamented, "how the women of the State can be so unscrupulous as to vote for such a man!" [44] Time, however, erased their differences. Twelve years later, he was to honor her at a celebration of her eighty-second birthday with a tribute and a bouquet of white roses, her favorite. Her response by letter afterwards was tender and deeply respectful. His presentation she wrote was like "discovering a treasure — finding a beauty disguised in one, where we had only anticipated a quantum of reserve." [45]

Her later years brought a reconciliation not only with the members of her family who had not joined the Church but with her husband Daniel. In 1888,

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[42] Ibid., 28 Dec. 1885.

[43] Ibid., 20 Sept. 1898.

[44] Ibid., 10 Nov. 1898.

[45] Emmeline B. Wells to B. H. Roberts, 20 March 1910, B. H. Roberts Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.

he became president of the Manti Temple and repeatedly invited her to visit him. Finally in March 1890 she did. Her words glow with the warmth of the reunion: "O the joy of being once more in his dear presence his room is so nice and we are so cozy by the large grate and such a comfortable fire in it. We are more like lovers than husband and wife for we are so far removed from each other there is always the embarrassment of lovers and yet we have been married more than thirty-seven years. How odd it seems I do not feel old neither does he. We are young to each other and that is well." [46] Daniel was seventy-six. Emmeline was sixty-two. More visits followed. His death the next year was thus all the more poignant for their rediscovery, and she mourned over the "memories, only the coming and going and parting at the door. The joy when he came the sorrow when he went as though all the light died out of my life. Such intense love he has manifested towards me of late years. Such a remarkable change from the long ago — when I needed him so much more, how peculiarly these things come about." [47]

In 1912, when Emmeline was eighty-four, she received an honorary doctor of literature degree from Brigham Young University, only the second awarded in twenty-three years from that institution. The first recorded honorary degree given to a woman in the United States had been awarded thirty years earlier; fewer than a hundred women had been so honored when Emmeline joined their ranks.[48] In her acceptance speech she acknowledged the award not only as a personal tribute but also "as a matter of honor to my sex." She had always regretted "that great educational institutions had withheld this distinction from women" and she hoped that this honor to her "would have its influence in showing that Utah withheld nothing from the women of the state." [49] It would be twenty-eight years before the University of Utah awarded its first honorary

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[46] Wells, Diary, 13 March 1890.

[47] Ibid., 26 March 1891.

[48] This number is approximate since records have been kept only since 1882. It is based on a fifty-year compilation made in 1932 noting that at least 217 women were awarded honorary degrees during that period. See *Academic Degrees*, U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, Bulletin 1960, No. 28, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., p. 40.

[49] "Emmeline B. Wells, Lit.D.," *Woman's Exponent* 41 (March 1912): 51. While Emmeline was the center of attention during the awarding of her degree, a special reception being held in her honor with church and state dignitaries invited, other women have not always received such deference. Poet Edna St. Vincent Millay discovered in 1937 when she was selected to receive an honorary doctor of letters degree from New York University that she was to be feted in the home of the chancellor's wife while the male recipients of the degree would be entertained by the Chancellor and several hundred of his friends at the Waldorf Astoria. Her response must have awakened the administration to the enormity of its insensitivity: "On an occasion on which I shall be present solely for reasons of scholarship, I am, solely for reasons of sex, to be excluded from the company and the conversation of my fellow doctors. . . . I register this objection not for myself personally, but for all women. I hope that in future years many women may know the pride, as I shall know it on the ninth of June, of receiving an honorary degree from your distinguished university. I beg of you . . . that I may be the last woman so honoured, to be required to swallow from the very cup of this honour, the gall of this humiliation." Allen Ross Macdougall, ed., *Letters of Edna St. Vincent Millay* (New York: Harper Brothers, Publishers, 1952), p. 291.

degree to a woman and forty-four years before the Brigham Young University awarded its second to a woman.[50]

It cannot be denied that Emmeline B. Wells was a woman whose gifts coincided with those honored by her society. The feminization of American letters meant that "housewives with a mission" could use fiction, poetry, and the periodic press as excellent "influences." They became, in effect, secular extensions of the clergy. This alliance of press and pulpit insured a mass dissemination of their shared middle-class Victorian values which celebrated virtue, denounced evil, and apotheosized domestic life. John Milton, according to one cleric, could not be given "true eminence" because he lacked "pure religious sentiment" which, as everyone knew, focused on "domestic life . . . in which now almost all our joys or sorrows are centered." [51] Mormon or "home literature," popularized by Susa Young Gates, Nephi Anderson, Emmeline Wells and other Mormon writers, followed this prescription, reinforcing the social and religious values expressed at Mormon pulpits.

But Emmeline Wells added a western American voice to a larger literary movement, a female literary tradition which included, among others, such widely diverse writers as Jane Austen and Mary Wollstonecraft and American authors Mary Wilkins Freeman and Sarah Orne Jewett. Despite their differences, women writers were linked not only by their sex but by their common membership in a literary movement always apart from the literary mainstream. Bridging time and distance, they reached out to one another through their published writings, developing a literary network which one scholar has identified as an "intimate kinship." By this means Emmeline drew confidence as well as inspiration from such disparate authors as Margaret Fuller and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps and studied the writings of George Sand and Harriet Beecher Stowe, two authors who acknowledged their literary kinship with one another, though never meeting.[52]

Emmeline's contribution to this literary tradition was neither substantial nor enduring, but she assisted in transmitting it to another generation while adding, in her own time and place, to the growing swell of female literary voices. Bluestockings were here to stay.

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[50] Between 1892 and 1982, the University of Utah awarded 173 honorary degrees, eighteen to women. Between 1887 and 1982 Brigham Young University awarded 121 honorary degrees, six to women.

[51] As quoted in Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), p. 113.

[52] Women's literary tradition is discussed in full by Ellen Moers, *Literary Women* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1976).

Stephen W. Stathis

AMONG THE MORMONS

A Survey of Current Theses and Dissertations

Despite the marked decline in the number of students seeking advanced degrees, which is sending shock waves throughout American academia, interest in Mormon-related programs remains remarkably high. This trend becomes considerably more understandable when we realize that almost sixty percent of the Ph.D. dissertations and master's theses in Linda Thatcher's accompanying bibliography were completed at Brigham Young University. A sizeable number of their authors will find, or have already found, employment within the Church Educational System.

Unfortunately, proposed federal cutbacks in higher education funding and a frustratingly low number of jobs in teaching and research raise grave concerns regarding the future study of Mormonism elsewhere. If these trends continue, we may well be deprived in the future of such significant works as Edward Leo Lyman's exhaustive examination of "The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood" (University of California, Riverside, 1981), and Warren David Hansen's analysis of how Joseph Smith's social thought fit into the currents of social and philosophical thought of his time (Rutgers University, 1980).

Equally useful, is Michael Guy Bishop's comparison of American antebellum thought on familialism and early Mormon attempts to create a family unit which might remain intact in the hereafter (Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, 1981). LeAnn Cragun's examination of the Church's attempts at various times to manipulate its own history provides useful insight for the present (University of Hawaii, 1981).

DISSERTATIONS AND THESES RELATING TO MORMONS AND MORMONISM

Linda Thatcher

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Spicer, Judith Lee Cox. "Fertility Change in Utah: 1960–1975." Ph.D., University of Utah, 1981.

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Stewart, Jon Syfrit. "A Protestant Response to the Beliefs of the Mormon Church in America." D.Min., Drew University, 1981.

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Bidwell, John Thomas. "History of Theatre and Theatre Curriculum at Ricks College, Rexburg, Idaho." M.A., Brigham Young University, 1982.

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LeMone, Larry A. "A Follow-up Study of Brigham Young University — Hawaii Campus Graduates in Industrial Education, 1960–1979." M.S., Brigham Young University, 1982.

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Stone, William Jack. "The Stewardship Model of Management: A Scriptural Documentation and an Investigation of Its Implementation Within the LDS Church Educational System." Ed.D., Brigham Young University, 1981.

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Thompson, Elizabeth H. "An Evaluation of the BYU Study Program Abroad Program: Attitude Changes, Scholastic Satisfaction, and Religious Involvement." M.A., Brigham Young University, 1982.

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Buehner, Alice W. "The Communicational Function of Wearing Apparel for Lady Missionaries of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." M.A., Brigham Young University, 1982.

Jensen, Susan. "Health Problems of Selected LDS Missionaries throughout the World." M.S., Brigham Young University, 1982.

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James, Kimberly Jensen. " 'Between Two Fires:' Women on the 'Underground' of Mormon Polygamy." M.A., Brigham Young University, 1982.

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Kleinke, Joan A. "The Self-Reported Problems and Support Systems of Adult Women of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." Ed.D., Brigham Young University, 1982.

Neff, Karen Preece. "Attitudes Towards Women's Rights and Roles in Utah Territory, 1847–1887." M.S., Utah State University, 1982.

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Dean L. May

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Millennial Hymns of Parley P. Pratt

Born in 1807 in Burlington, New York, Parley P. Pratt was baptized by Oliver Cowdery in Seneca Lake on 1 September 1830, less than five months after the Church's founding. Among the first to be called to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in 1835, Pratt published *A Voice of Warning* in 1837, became founding editor of the *Millennial Star* in 1840, and, with William W. Phelps and Eliza R. Snow, was one of the most important verse writers in early Mormondom.

In fact, writing verses for Latter-day Saint hymns became almost an obsession with Pratt. He wrote lines to commemorate almost every important occasion in his own life and in the life of the Church. But his favorite themes were the restoration of the gospel and the millennial significance of the restoration. A grandson, Samuel Russell, collected most of Pratt's verses on these themes long after his death, set fifty of them to traditional hymn tunes, and published them with Cambridge University Press in 1913. The jubilaic significance of the number would not have been lost upon Pratt. The hymns Russell selected were written primarily in two groups: a first set of eleven in 1835 and a second set of twenty-nine in 1840. Five were written between these two sets and five after. What was their message and meaning to Pratt, the Church of his time, and the Church today?

Emma Smith included three hymns from the 1835 set in her first book, *Latter-day Saint Hymns*, published that same year. This was the year Pratt was called to be an apostle, occasioning a hymn (no. 21) which begins:

> Ye chosen Twelve to you are given
> The keys of this last ministry,
> To every nation under heaven,
> From land to land, from sea to sea.

In its last verse this hymn refers to the Lord's return. There are other millennial themes in this first set of Pratt hymns, but they are dominated by premillennial or restorationist images. For example, his number ten:

> When earth in bondage long had lain,
> And darkness o'er the nations reigned,

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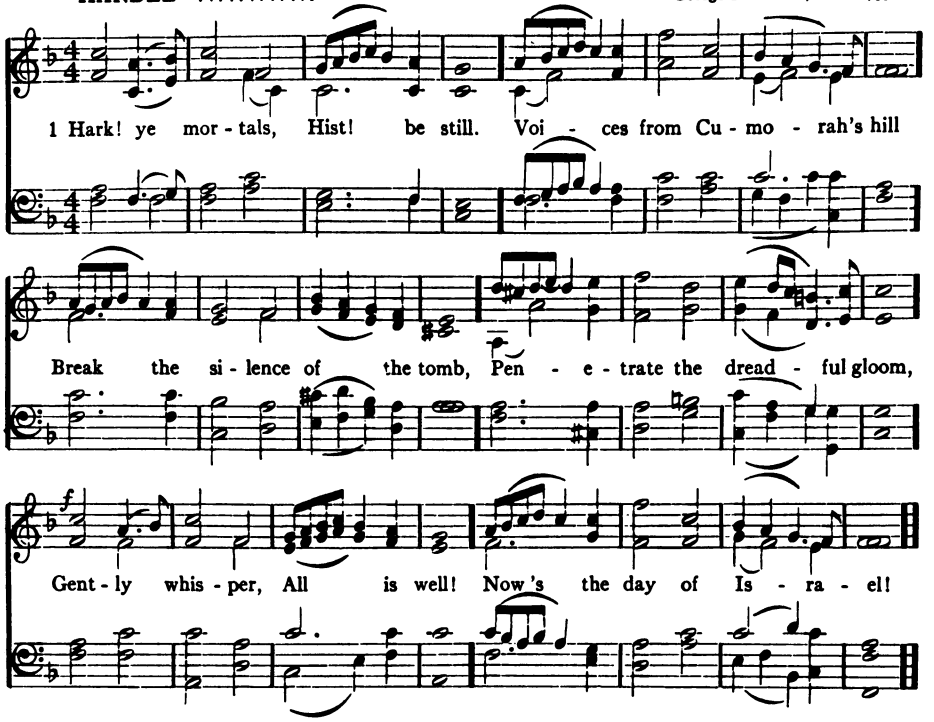
HANDEL 7.7.7.7.7.7.

George F. Handel, 1688–1759



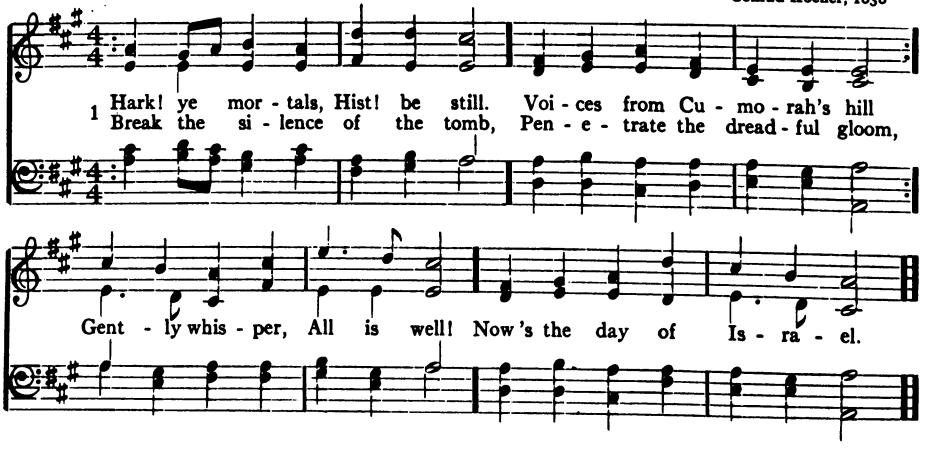
2 Now the Gentile reign is o'er;
Darkness covers earth no more;
Now shall Zion rise and shine,
Fill the world with light divine;
Angels join — the tidings tell,
Now's the day of Israel!

3 Jesus now will come again,
Saints with Him shall rise and reign,
Heaven and earth in songs combine,
All the worlds in chorus join;
Every tongue the music swell,
Now's the day of Israel!

Parley Parker Pratt, 1846

DIX 7.7.7.7.7.7.

Conrad Kocher, 1838



And all man's precepts proved in vain,
A perfect system to obtain,
A voice commissioned from on high.
Hark, hark! it is the angel's cry,
Descending from the throne of light
His garments shining clean and white.

Moreover they are, in my judgment, muted in fervor, often using the quiet beauties of nature as a leading metaphor. The first of the set begins:

Hark! listen to the gentle breeze
O'er hill, o'er valley, plain or grove!
It whispers in the ears of man
The voice of freedom, peace and love.

The song goes on to speak of flowers, birds, streams, and mountains in a manner that remind one of Phelps's "Earth, with Her Ten Thousand Flowers" written near the same time.

The latter 1830s, such turbulent and difficult times for the Mormons, are powerfully documented with five hymns much darker in tone. Some were not without their humor, at least in retrospect, such as "Adieu to the City" (no. 46), which Pratt wrote upon leaving New York in 1838 after a difficult and often disappointing ministry:

Adieu to the City where long I have wandered
To tell them of judgments and warn them to flee;
How often in sorrow their woes I have pondered!
Perhaps in affliction they'll think upon me.

More typical, however, is a hymn written in 1839 (no. 49).

This morning in silence I ponder and mourn
O'er scenes that have passed nevermore to return:
How vast are the labors, the troubles and fears
Of hundreds of millions who've toiled through the year.

How many ten thousands were slain by their foes,
While widows and orphans have mourned o'er their woes;
While pestilence famine and earthquakes appear,
And signs in the heavens throughout the past year!

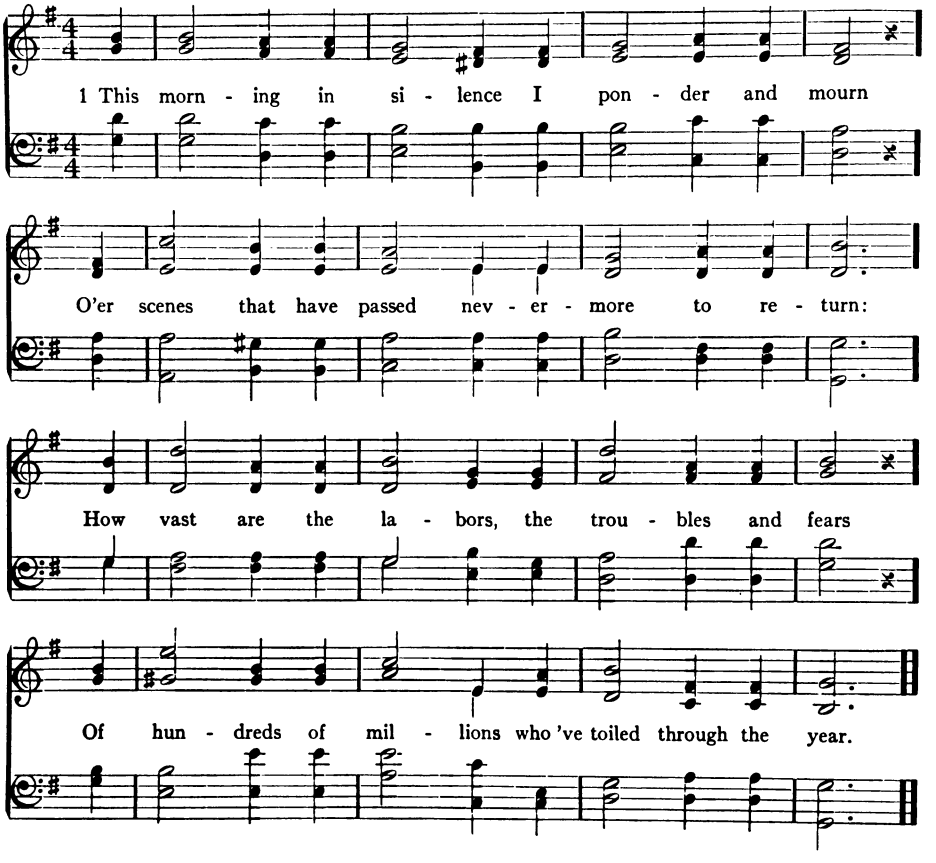
How many were murdered and plundered and robbed
How many forsaken and driven and mobbed!
How oft have the heavens bedewed with a tear
The earth, o'er the scenes they beheld the past year!

The list of woes is relieved only by the millennial promise of the last three stanzas. The millennial themes appear more strongly during this interregnum of 1836 to 1839 — nearly always at the end of several gloomy stanzas — as the promise of hope to the beleaguered Saints. This seems a defensive time in which the millennial embers are fanned up in reaction to the otherwise chilly fortunes of Pratt and the Saints.

Then came the mission of the Twelve to England and a great outpouring of twenty-nine hymns in one year. (Pratt's remarkable productivity is in part

Millennial Hymns

SCHUBERT 11.11.11.11. Franz Schubert, 1797–1828



2 How many ten thousands were slain by their foes,
While widows and orphans have mourned o'er their woes;
While pestilence, famine and earthquakes appear, [the past year!
And signs in the heavens throughout

3 How many were murdered and plundered and robbed!
How many forsaken and driven and mobbed!
How oft have the heavens bedewed with a tear [the past year!
The earth, o'er the scenes they beheld

4 The day star has dawned o'er the land of the blest [of rest,
The first beam of morning, the morning
When, cleansed from pollution, the earth shall appear [year.
As beautiful Eden, and peace crown the

5 Then welcome the new year; I hail with delight
The season approaching with time's rapid flight!
While each fleeting moment brings near and more near [year.
The day long foretold, the Millennial

6 I praise and adore the eternal I Am;
Hosanna, hosanna, to God and the Lamb!
Who order the seasons that glide o'er this sphere,
And crown with such blessings each happy new year.

Parley Parker Pratt, 1839

an eloquent indication of what deadlines will do for output, as he published a new hymn book in that year and began editing the *Millennial Star* in which many of his hymns were printed. He needed the material for both projects.)

The 1840 set begins with a hymn written especially for the first number of the *Star*, a hymn of power and confidence — Zion on the offensive!

> The morning breaks; the shadows flee;
> Lo! Zion's standard is unfurled.
> The dawning of a brighter day
> Majestic rises on the world.
>
> The clouds of error disappear
> Before the rays of truth divine;
> The glory, bursting from afar,
> Wide o'er the nations soon will shine.

This bold, millennial declaration is repeated in numerous contexts through dozens of metaphors from that time until his death in 1857. There are less defiant hymns in this set; for example "As the Dew from Heav'n Distilling (no. 41), but "The Morning Breaks" is surely the archetype of the group. During these years one can also see a focusing on Christ — his triumphant return and central place in the millennial world — as in hymn numbers twelve and fifteen.

> Behold the Mount of Olives rend!
> And on its top Messiah stand,
> His chosen Israel to defend,
> And save them with a mighty hand.
>
> Hosanna to the great Messiah,
> Long expected Savior King!
> He'll come and cleanse the earth by fire,
> And gather scattered Israel in.

It may be that his apostolic responsibility to testify of Christ weighed more heavily upon him as he preached the gospel in England.

Pratt always describes the millennial life with one or more of the following words: *light*, *peace*, *comfort*, *unity*, and above all, *joy*. Surely his certain assurance that these conditions were real and lasting in human experience and would one day prevail gave him and the early Saints courage to face difficult times. Even the two hymns Pratt wrote in 1837 for his own solace when his first wife, Thankful Halsey, died ended with stanzas holding up the millennial promise.

Yet it seems a bit odd to me, growing up under the bleak shadow of the mushroom cloud, that Pratt's world was to him so gloomy a place that his primary source of comfort was that hope. He lived, after all, in the ebullient age of Jackson, in an America burgeoning with optimism and faith in progress, comforted by the vista of limitless lands and opportunities on the western horizon. *We* are the ones who need the hope of the millennial promise. For in my judgment the conditions Pratt deplored have been squared or even cubed since his time, as love has waxed colder still and we all, ever more like sheep, have gone increasingly astray.

But, more than most realize, Latter-day Saints still live with that promise. The embers still glow and need but a little breath to make them burst into bright flame. The symbol of the RLDS Church, for example, is a millennial image of a child leading a lion. Their pastors and members have frequent discussions of what constitutes, as they put it, a Zionic community. They continue to pursue plans to build a temple in Jackson County, Missouri.

Several hundred Samoans of Utah Mormon persuasion began in 1969 to migrate to Independence, Missouri, acting, they felt, under inspiration as part of the preparation for Christ's return. It is remarkable how quickly Utah Mormons take up food storage at the hint of a rumor. In a memorable general conference address, Apostle Bruce R. McConkie wept openly as he assured Mormons that "soon the great millennial day will be upon us. This is thy day, O Zion! 'Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. . . .' "[1] In October 1976 President Spencer W. Kimball explained almost casually that the first Quorum of the Seventy was being reorganized, "anticipating the day when the Lord will return to take direct charge of His church and kingdom."[2]

One of the most powerful Pratt hymns ends its first stanza with words which ring true to all who see evidence of strong tides of millennial expectation among contemporary Mormons:

> Gently whisper, All is well!
> Now's the day of Israel!

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[1] Bruce R. McConkie, address, in *One Hundred Forty-eighth Annual General Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, held in the Tabernacle, Salt Lake City, Utah, April 1 and 2, 1978* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1978), p. 82, hereafter cited as *Conference Report*.

[2] Spencer W. Kimball, in *Conference Report*, Oct. 1976, p. 10.

REVIEWS

Ideas as Entities

Religion, Reason, and Truth — Historical Essays in the Philosophy of Religion by Sterling M. McMurrin (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1982), 280 pp., $25.

Reviewed by Blake T. Ostler, graduate student in law and philosophy at the University of Utah.

Probably few people derive their religious beliefs or lack of them from the philosophy of religion. However, when viewed historically, it becomes clear that the philosophy of religion has greatly influenced religion in general and Christianity in particular. Sterling McMurrin's new book, *Religion, Reason, and Truth*, is an exploration of the historical tension between faith and reason, between what religion claims for itself and what history reveals it to be. McMurrin's thesis is that past triumphs may well be present tragedies for religion.

Although McMurrin's book is a collection of independent essays, many of them previously published, it contains unifying themes. In approaching religious philosophy from the historical perspective, McMurrin is at his best, combining expertise in both the philosophy of religion and the history of philosophy. McMurrin treats ideas not merely as landmarks in a particular world view but as entities that have a life of their own. The genius of his particular approach is in searching the implications of an idea in history, its functions in thought and its impact on culture, in contrast to a socio-historical reductionism which sees an idea as a mere symptom of culture.

McMurrin emphasizes that "there is no intellectual pursuit more calculated to make a free person of a normal person, to free him from his cultural bondage, and no history is more liberating than the history of religions" (p. 135). In effect, the historian has crawled out of the murky cave where the masses still mistake the shadows cast by religion for the light of truth. McMurrin places such ideas as the immortality of the soul, the moral freedom of humans, and the absoluteness of God in the light of history and the cultures which produced them. In the context of our own "enlightened" culture, McMurrin claims, these ideas cannot be honestly maintained.

Although sympathetic to religion, *Religion, Reason, and Truth* is an extremely critical look at religion as an appendage to philosophy. More than once, McMurrin has personally intimated to me that he is a skeptic and a heretic but a religious person nevertheless. He celebrates a religious humanism that dares to face ultimate nothingness with present courage, that dares to follow reason where the heart fears to tread, that shuns the naiveté that characterized early liberal religion but which refuses to resort to existentialistic irrationalism. He is incensed by traditional absolutism which raises God above reason and lowers man below morality. "The God of the fundamentalist is an arbitrary tyrant," McMurrin charges. "He has created a world that groans in pain and suffering, accepts the blood of his own son as payment for his mercy, and creates souls to burn in hell eternally," and this despite his omnipotence (p. 99). McMurrin is equally critical of the liberal theologian who refuses to honestly confront the conflict between the theory of evolution and claims of Christianity. A Christian must believe that "Christ came into the world to save souls who had fallen from godliness, not risen from a distant cousin of the ape or from some primeval slime. The liberals have

often ridiculed this statement of the issue, but it cannot be ignored except by an intellectual gloss that intentionally avoids the basic problem" (p. 258). The liberal theologian refuses to see the problem in these terms because, avers McMurrin, he is "not genuinely interested in the truth; that his concern, rather, is simply to minister to his emotional life or possibly to promote the tyranny of a sacred book, perpetuate an antique theological tradition, or encourage submission to ecclesiastical authority."

McMurrin also employs logical positivism to analyze such ideas as *God*, *soul*, and *freedom*. Perhaps the greatest challenge to religion comes from positivism, a philosophy which contends that meaningful statements must be verifiable in principle — amenable to proof or disproof by some test that can at least be imagined. However, many religious ideas are devoid of cognitive content. Though it is grammatically correct to say that X is immaterial substance, how could one go about proving that something is substance without matter? The inquiry must stop with the assertion. McMurrin claims that such key religious ideas as *God* and *soul* are without logical reference or factual content because logical and syntactical analysis exposes them as disguised tautologies. Before a concept of God can be meaningful, it must be possible to describe in experiential terms what the world would be like with God as opposed to one without him.

Notwithstanding his criticisms, and perhaps because of them, McMurrin looks upon religious finitism with considerable favor. He lauds William James's view of God as a personal being who is struggling in the midst of the world's evils, who could conceivably fail but who would not turn his back on the suffering of his creatures. He laments that such a view did not wield greater influence on religion, for the traditional idea of God as absolute denies the possibility of moral discrimination and is meaningless in human experience. A concept of God as a personal living being, in contrast, heightens the significance of human moral actions and possesses cognitive content. A personal living being could make a difference in human experience. In McMurrin's opinion, James's pluralistic nominalism "was probably in principle as near the truth as theism is likely to come" (p. 60).

Religion, Reason, and Truth asserts that the modern religion which would preserve intellectual integrity must contend with life in its organic fact, relate God to process and human experience, recognize the value of human actions, and deal with history honestly. Logically, then, the theology most likely to prevail will be derived from James, Alfred North Whitehead, and Charles Hartshorne — process philosophers all.

Although obviously written for philosophers and not for Mormon audiences, *Religion, Reason, and Truth* has much to offer the thoughtful Latter-day Saint. Notwithstanding Mormonism's fundamentalist tendencies, its pluralistic emphasis, materialistic aspects, preference for process, and radical finitism make it eminently amenable to the thought of McMurrin's preferred trinity of process philosophers. McMurrin's analysis of the problems of religious history and evolution is timely and helps to place these perennial problems in the wider context of Judeo-Christian thought. However, one should not expect an inquiry into possible solutions to these or other problems facing Christianity. McMurrin merely wants to state these problems in a way that demands an honest confrontation with these issues.

Some will undoubtedly reject McMurrin's admitted naturalistic bias which refuses to allow mention of God equated with history. To speak of God in the context of history, argues McMurrin, is to pass from the sphere of history to the realm of myth. One may wonder how evolution and Christianity could possibly conflict if they are not in the same sphere of discourse. However, McMurrin's point is precisely that Chris-

tianity has confused myth with history, passed off legend as historical fact, and prostituted the prophetic message of human progress for a theology which denies the reality of time. Modern theologians will contend that McMurrin has failed to grasp the relation of myth to history and has misunderstood myth as a fairy tale instead of as a pedagogical goldmine. Eden need not be an historical fact to be an insightful explanation of the human predicament. Myth can expand historic fact to encompass generic human experience — a reality at least as relevant as history.

Religion, Reason, and Truth has its drawbacks. Despite McMurrin's lucid writing style, it is difficult reading. Those initiated into the intricacies of the philosophy of religion probably won't notice, but the neophyte will have a hard time staying awake while his mind is bombarded by allusions to recondite philosophers and little-known ideas. Moreover, the $25 price tag is enough to discourage students, families, and tithe-payers. Further, despite disclaimers, McMurrin has little patience with the supra-mundane. He may admit that reason has limits, but he is suspicious of anything claiming to go beyond those limits. It is easier to call revelation nonsense than to deal with its implications for epistemology. For, once one admits that his source of knowledge is beyond reason, how does one show that such an assertion is reasonable? Yet if revelation must be reasonable and if we are certain that God's reasons square with our own, is not God superfluous? McMurrin assumes the latter and turns his naturalistic foil against Christianity accordingly. It is, however, a double-edged sword that cuts both ways, for it is not unreasonable to doubt reason.

Susan B. Taber

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DIALOGUE—SILVER FOUNDATION AWARD ANNOUNCED

DIALOGUE and the Silver Foundation jointly announce a research and writing contest for papers in three categories: history, theology, and fiction and essays. To encourage fresh work rather than reward past efforts, we will accept only newly written papers. Papers previously submitted to DIALOGUE will not be accepted. The contest will close 31 December 1983.

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