

DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

HOLINESS TO THE LORD

THE

JUVENILE INSTRUCTOR

AN ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE

Published Semi Monthly
Designed Expressly for the
Education & Elevation
of the Young

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GEORGE Q. CANNON,
EDITOR.
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.

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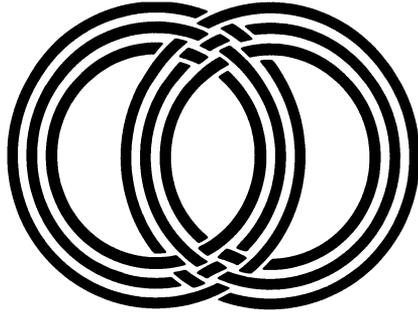
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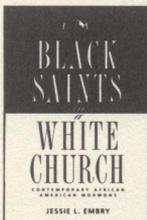
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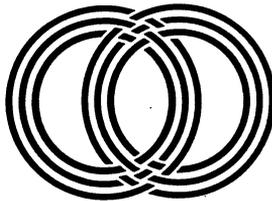
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LETTERS

"Spiritual Oppression"

I was impressed with the letter from Eileen Davies published in the winter 1993 issue, especially in her reference to the Savior's clearing of the temple. She asserts that "If the leaders of the church do not alter their behavior . . . they will move even farther from Jesus." In contrast to this, Joseph Smith taught what he called "an eternal principle, that has existed with God from all eternity: That man who rises up to condemn others, finding fault with the Church, saying that they are out of the way, while he himself is righteous, then know assuredly, that that man is on the high road to apostasy, and if he does not repent, will apostatize, as God lives." This is not an easy principle to live; its implications are sometimes painful, especially considering the fact that we are each given moral agency and a responsibility to work out our own salvation.

There is a significant difference between what the Savior did in the temple and what we do when we lift our hand to steady the ark. The Savior had the authority to set the temple in order. As politically incorrect as it may be, the true church in all dispensations has been led hierarchically.

I'm sure that when the Savior overturned tables of money and set soon-to-be-sacrificed animals free, scattering the profits and the commodities of the children of the covenant, upsetting their livelihood and traditions by striking out against their material and spiritual way of life, that many accused *him* (in Davies's words) of "spiritual oppression."

Jack Harrell
Normal, Illinois

The Divine in Each of Us

In the winter 1993 issue Helen Cannon criticized Jack Newell's essay entitled "Liberal Spirituality: A Personal Odyssey" (Spring 1993) for "his reverence for Joseph Campbell's flawed philosophies." Cannon assailed Campbell and his ideas, charging that he "is not well thought of in the scholarly community." To substantiate her position, she noted the absence of any reference to Campbell in her Folklore and Religion class text and cited two authorities: a reviewer of a Campbell biography and the author of a memoir about Campbell. Quotes from the latter not only maligned Campbell's scholarship, but attempted to defame his character based on anecdotal evidence from the 1960s.

Cannon's attempt to disparage Campbell was presented within the context of the authority system known as scholasticism. This approach, in which a proposition is validated by citing qualified authorities, promotes erudition built on a foundation of accepted knowledge and rejects ideas inconsistent with conventional wisdom. Criticism is justified when scholars fail to provide insightful analysis and logic supported by credible references. In this case, however, the system was abused by poor scholarship on the part of the critic which, if allowed to go unchecked, encourages intolerance and intellectual snobbery.

One failing of the authority system is that now and then radicals come along with personal observations or experiences that cannot be explained within the framework of traditional knowledge. Some scholars, fearing challenges to the status quo, have historically gone to great lengths to oppose change. Fear and distrust of experience places scholasticism at odds with sci-

ence, which relies on observation to disprove hypotheses, and with individuals, who promote personal experience as a method of validating knowledge. When these new ideas have merit, it is not unusual to see attempts to depreciate the message by defaming the messenger.

Joseph Campbell was the world's foremost authority on mythology, a pre-eminent scholar, writer, and teacher whose work continues to profoundly influence millions. His work is insightful and well researched. The reason he is considered a heretic by some scholars is because he believed that ultimate authority resides in personal observation and experience rather than tradition. He encouraged his students to personally experience God and the rapture of being alive.

Campbell's teachings are often described as simplistic and selfish by critics who have not taken the time to understand or experience them. "Follow your bliss" is not the advice of some spiritual hippie; it predates New Age feel-good nonsense by several millennia. The bliss to which Campbell referred came from the Sanskrit word *Ananda*, meaning bliss or rapture, which is the jumping-off place into transcendence (*The Power of Myth* [New York: Doubleday, 1988], 120). His message is that we can approach God without relying on external authority. Personal experiences that come from following our heart manifest that which is Divine in each of us.

It is ironic that LDS scholars so readily discount experience in favor of traditional scholasticism. The theme of the origin of the church and the Book of Mormon is that truth can be validated by personal experience. Tolerance for this belief would go a long way in mending the rift between the general member-

ship and those members who call themselves intellectuals. They may come to appreciate that while following your bliss does little to advance scholarly arguments, it is not bad advice for those looking for God.

John Coons
Redmond, Washington

A World Figure in Context

D. Michael Quinn's essay, "Ezra Taft Benson and Mormon Political Conflicts" (Summer 1993), is obviously an extensively researched, detailed, interesting piece of information. However, to what extent is it history? In a minimalist sense—as a chronicle of numerous small, local events—it is. However, as I understand written history, a mature historian—as distinguished from a mere chronicler—has vision, giving not only the little details but, most importantly, putting these details into their larger context. Mr. Quinn's essay is defective as true history because it ignores the larger issues of the time it purports to cover.

For example, in this essay Mr. Quinn primarily discusses the anti-communist movement in Utah during the 1950s to the 1980s, emphasizing then-Apostle Benson's activities against communism and their effects on the church. Strangely, however, Mr. Quinn ignores major world events during this same time period, e.g., Soviet troops marching into Hungary in 1956, the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961, Soviet and Warsaw-Pact troops invading Czechoslovakia one night in 1968, etc. Aren't these headline events relevant to any discussion of anti-communist activi-

ties—whether in Utah or any other part of the globe? Wouldn't a paragraph or two about some of these specific events give readers, especially younger readers, a more complete picture of these times?

Furthermore, besides ignoring world events, Mr. Quinn ignores the intellectual turmoil of the times. For one thing, he treats communism as an abstraction. There's no recognition in his essay that communist governments treat their citizens differently than do democratic governments. His only "discussion" of communism comes in a footnote in which he explains his guidelines for capitalizing the word (n12). However, how many readers need to know whether the word communism is capitalized? How many more need to know how communism operates?

For example, many readers who are writers would be interested to know that in at least one communist country, Albania, typewriters had to be registered with the government. As part of the registration requirement, owners submitted a sample of type-written work—apparently so the government could trace any typewritten literature by comparing type-face markings. Furthermore, readers who wear eye glasses would be interested to know that in Southeast Asia during these times as communists moved in, the first people to disappear in the middle of the night were those who wore eye glasses. Apparently glasses signified persons who read and hence who thought and hence who might not think good thoughts about the changes communists were making. In sum, communism has never been an abstract threat; communism has always been a concrete threat—as the Berlin Wall made literally apparent.

Furthermore, besides ignoring the nature of communism, Mr. Quinn also

ignores the political concept President Benson was defending—liberty. The major point of Mr. Quinn's piece seems to be that President Benson disturbed the decorum of the church and the nation from the 1950s to the 1980s for a not-so important reason, i.e., Mr. Quinn seems to be saying that since we lived in the land of liberty, then-Apostle Benson was making an unnecessary fuss about something we already had. Mr. Quinn essentially treats liberty as only one value among many values in a democracy, one that is no more important than, say, compromise or accommodation to other view points. (I would be curious to know how Mr. Quinn would explain the activities of Thomas Jefferson during the 1770s or those of Abraham Lincoln during the 1850s and 1860s. Both of these leaders also disturbed the decorum of their times.)

Consequently, because of the omission of these larger historical and intellectual issues, President Benson's activities at this time cannot be fairly understood from this essay.

As a corrective to Mr. Quinn's long but simplistic piece—to see the forest as well as the twigs—I would first recommend to *Dialogue* readers Sheri L. Dew's biography of President Benson which Mr. Quinn cites. In particular, Ms. Dew's passage explaining President Benson's visit to the Soviet Union in 1959 while he was U.S. Secretary of Agriculture—especially his impromptu speech to the congregation at the Central Baptist Church of Moscow—captures the essence of these larger issues in just four pages (341-45).

Furthermore, from secular sources perhaps the best intellectual explication of these larger issues comes from the work of Friedrich A. Hayek, co-winner of the Nobel Prize for economics in 1974. In his most famous book, *The Road*

to *Serfdom*, Hayek explains why liberty is ever vulnerable and why socialism is never benign. Building on David Hume's statement that "it is seldom that liberty of any kind is lost all at once," Hayek argues that socialism inevitably leads to serious problems, the worst being totalitarian government. In particular, Hayek, writing this book while teaching at the University of London during the rise of Hitler, entitled one chapter, "The Socialist Roots of Nazism." However, while dedicating this book to "The Socialists of All Parties," Hayek, in a painstaking, nonaccusatory analysis, treats socialists not as traitors but merely as naively trusting, well-meaning people lost in intellectual error. In a subsequent, more detailed volume, *The Constitution of Liberty*, Hayek argues that liberty is not just one value among many but the most important value of any progressive society, the "source and condition of most moral values."

Regardless, my point about Mr. Quinn's essay is that small events have little or no meaning by themselves, except in a parochial sense. Because of the limited focus of this essay, many readers may too quickly judge President Benson's activities as extreme. And there are problems with extremism in the defense of liberty. (Some of these are explained by Mr. Hayek in his concluding chapter to *The Constitution of Liberty*, "Why I Am Not a Conservative.")

Fortunately, Mr. Quinn's piece is apparently a first draft for a larger work. If Mr. Quinn wants President Benson's activities on behalf of liberty to be truly understood—and appreciated—he will not focus narrowly on events in Utah. A first-class historian of this period would place President Benson's activities within the larger context of intellectual and world history. Ezra

Taft Benson was a world figure long before he became president of the church and deserves to be presented in that context.

As for me—as a person who wears eye glasses and who uses a word processor and printer in my home—I'm very grateful President Benson spoke out forcefully against communism. I believe there was an Evil Empire and that he helped crack its foundation. Yes, he did ruffle feathers and disturb the decorum most of us prefer. But as one of the few people in all history to have spoken up for liberty, he deserves our admiration. His life is unique, as Ms. Dew's biography shows, for combining action, thought, and faith. And his life proves once again, as the scriptures show, a prophet of God has never had it easy.

Catherine Hammon Sundwall
Silver Spring, Maryland

Palmyra Professors

In the winter 1993 issue Stephen J. Hammer in his article "Professional Myths About Latter-day Therapy" made the usual mistake in saying that the "professors" mentioned in Joseph Smith-History 1:19 are "public teachers." To say that "professors" were public teachers is not consistent with: (1) the dictionary meaning of the word, (2) with the context of its use in JS-H, and (3) the schools in the Palmyra area in the spring of 1820.

The context is local churches and their creeds. The key thoughts in verses 18 and 19 (up to the word "professor") are: (1) Joseph Smith asks "which of all the sects was right" (these sects are the local churches mentioned in vv. 5, 8-10);

(2) Joseph is told he should join none of them, as they were all wrong; and (3) the creeds of these churches were an abomination in God's sight.

We should also consider the meaning of "professor" in dictionaries of the 1820 period. The first definition of "professor" in three dictionaries of the period is: "One who makes open declaration of his sentiments or opinions; particularly, one who makes a public avowal of his belief in the Scriptures and his faith in Christ, and thus unites himself to the visible church" (*An American Dictionary of the English Language* [1828], by Noah Webster); "One who declares himself of any opinion or party" (*A Dictionary of the English Language* [1805], by Samuel Johnson); "One who declares himself of any opinion or party" (*A Dictionary of the English Language, Abridged by the Editor, from that of Dr. Samuel Johnson* [1876], edited by Robert Gordon Latham). A "professor" then, by the first definition, in the context of JS-H 1:18, 19 is one who accepts (professes belief in) the creeds that were an abomination in God's sight. It is they who were teaching "commandments of men."

Mr. Hammer in his effort to summarize what a professor was only gave the second dictionary meaning and that was incomplete. The second and third definitions of "professor" in the dictionary references above are: "One that publicly teaches any science or branch of learning; particularly an officer in a university, college or other seminary"; "One who publicly practises or teaches an art"; and "One who publicly practises, or teaches, an art . . . One who is visibly religious."

Using the second and third dictionary definitions of "professor" is not consistent with the schools in the Palmyra area in the spring of 1820. It was a

newly-settled area and schools were not sophisticated enough to have "professors" teaching at a college, university, seminary level, or teaching an art. Milton V. Backman in his book *Joseph Smith's First Vision* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1971, 1980), 51, reported: "In the summer of 1820 [after Joseph Smith's first vision] an academy was opened in Palmyra village where students studied Latin and Greek. Four years later an independent school was also established there and pupils gathered in the upper room of the academy where they were taught geography, mathematics, astronomy, surveying, grammar, reading, and writing." Schools in the spring of 1820 were one-room school houses teaching the basics—reading, writing, and arithmetic, not church creeds (ibid., 51).

To assume that the JS-H 1:19 meaning of "professor" is the second dictionary definition is inconsistent with the reality of schools in the Palmyra area in the spring of 1820 and with the context of vv. 1:5, 8-10, 18, and 19. To me it is clear that the "professors" in JS-H 1:19 were those who professed to (accepted) the creeds of the Palmyra churches (sects) Joseph Smith was praying about.

John Farkas
Webster, New York

More on A. C. Lambert

In the fall 1993 issue Samuel W. Taylor wrote in an article entitled "The Ordeal of Lowry Nelson and the Mis-Spoken Word," "When A. C.'s [Lambert] secret quest was discovered it cost him his position on the BYU faculty."

Mr. Taylor infers by this that A. C. Lambert was forced to resign. This is not true. My father, A. C. Lambert, left Brigham Young University on his own resignation to become executive dean of Los Angeles State College where he es-

tablished an enviable record for academic and administrative abilities.

Carlyle B. Lambert
Provo, Utah

Pilgrimage

Joanna Brooks

After ten hours of driving, out of the old station wagon.
My mother, roadworn, care poor,
steps over the fallen gate.

Weeds up and reclaimed the place—
grasses dry and whispering,
ropey oaks thick with witches' hair.

Mother feels the walls,
bricks turn her hands red, old newspapers
brittle under her feet.

This was great grandfather's house.
Before that, great-great.
Can you feel our ancestors here? she says.

Truth is, no. We sit out in the yard,
squinting, picking grass,
the bad laughing daughters we have always been.
Glad to be out of the car for the first time since Beaver.

We love our laughing more than any house.
Who needs them? Blocks and blocks, forgotten,
burn and fall. The flowers keep coming up
and the animals keep coming in.

This is the history of that ruin:
Great-great Grandpa got gored by a bull
walking back from work on the Salt Lake temple.
Grandpa built temples and Grandma kept garden

and some people's hearts turn to their fathers,
but let me tell you—us bad daughters—
our hearts are turning to our mothers
and it is no easy task

to love again these small gardens,
hedged up stubborn against winter sky, summer sky,
enough somehow—miracle on miracle—
increasing long after she's gone.

Mom and Dad pick through the rocks.
I find what's holy in your face, sister,
golden grass, blue sky, your blue eyes same
as years ago, as children, Sunbeams.

Since then we learned that
telling the truth brings the bricks down sometimes.
Not that we don't love great-great grandfather,
his ribs sunpicked in the rubble of the house.
God's own grasses seem to violate his holy frame,
all white and arches. Grandmother (we guess)
lies under these fields, tossed out like a lost rib,
taken back, blooming again, sure as sage, as sun.

If all houses are like this one.
If all houses are like this one. Hush, sister,
let me tell you a secret (cupped hands):
the garden will grow up and up, overcome it.

Returning to the place
to find it ruined—
does this make you disappointed
or a discoverer?

If life has done something for me
(and I'm grateful for this opportunity)
it has constantly disappointed me.

All the right things fall apart and
we laugh at all the wrong places,
my sisters and I so bad
we could walk all the way there,
barefoot, if the reasons were right.

And wild and barefoot is the way we go
'cause someone else's reasons fit like someone else's shoes.
Their memories fit wrong too.
Too small for our young heads.

We have a photograph of this day.
Melissa stands in mustard weed breast high.
She is blonde, wearing her blue cardigan,
blessed. The house is behind her.
She's laughing.

“Similarity of Priesthood in Masonry”: The Relationship between Freemasonry and Mormonism

Michael W. Homer

MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS AGO REED C. DURHAM, JR., director of the LDS Institute of Religion adjacent to the University of Utah, delivered his presidential address at the Mormon History Association in Nauvoo, Illinois, on the topic of Mormonism and Freemasonry. He concluded his controversial remarks by stating that the Mormon temple endowment “had an immediate inspiration from Masonry,” that “the Prophet first embraced Masonry and, then in the process, he modified, expanded, amplified, or glorified it,” and that similarities between the two ceremonies were “so apparent and overwhelming that some dependent relationship cannot be denied.”¹ Soon afterwards Durham was censured by Church Education System administrators and issued a public apology. He has not subsequently participated in the Mormon History Association, and his presidential address was never submitted for publication.² Although

1. There are at least three versions of Durham’s article: Reed C. Durham, Jr., “Is There No Help for the Widow’s Son?” *Mormon Miscellaneous* 1 (Oct. 1975): 11-16; (Nauvoo, IL: Martin Publishing Company, 1980), 15-33; and (Salt Lake City: Research Lodge of Utah F. & A.M., 16 Sept. 1974).

2. Reed C. Durham “To Whom It May Concern,” n.d., in Patricia Lyn Scott, James E. Crooks, and Sharon G. Pugsley, “A Kinship of Interest: The Mormon History Association’s Membership,” *Journal of Mormon History* 18 (Spring 1992): 153, 156.

unauthorized versions of his speech have been published, Durham has publicly refused further comment on the subject.

Reaction to Durham's speech, and other works on the same topic,³ demonstrates that discussion of the rituals of Freemasonry and Mormonism is problematic at best.⁴ Those who deny any relationship, or argue that similarities between the two are superficial, are concerned that Joseph Smith's use of Masonic rites is inconsistent with his prophetic claims. Others concentrate on similarities to buttress claims that Smith borrowed heavily from Freemasonry without the benefit of inspiration. This "all-or-nothing" approach combines with the secrecy associated with the rituals to create a reluctance to discuss the subject in any meaningful detail.

Even non-Mormons have noted this void in LDS history. Social historian Mark C. Carnes has observed: "The best history of the Mormon church, written by Mormons, skirts this issue. The authors refer to Smith's 'purported use of the Masonic ceremony in Mormon temple ordinances' and note that Mormons recognized that there were 'similarities as well as differences' in the rituals; there is no further elaboration."⁵ He also writes, "Whether Smith stole the temple rites from Freemasonry, as the Masons claim, or received them as revelation from God is ultimately a question of faith," but it "cannot be disputed . . . that quasi-Masonic ritual figured prominently in the lives of most Mormon men."⁶ Likewise, Paul J. Rich, a British social historian, has commented, "Historians cannot afford to overlook the Masonic ingredient, which manifests itself in surprising ways" including the "pertinent case . . . of the world-wide Mormon movement"

3. See, for example, Mervin B. Hogan, "Freemasonry and Mormon Ritual," 1991, privately circulated; Don J. McDermott, "Joseph Smith and the Treasure of Hiram Abiff," *The Cryptic Scholar*, Winter/Spring 1991, 40-50; Robin L. Carr, *Freemasonry in Nauvoo* (Bloomington, IL: Masonic Book Club and Illinois Lodge Research, 1989); David John Buerger, "The Development of the Mormon Temple Endowment Ceremony," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Winter 1987): 33-76; and Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Joseph Smith and the Masons," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 64 (Spring 1971): 79-90; as well as Kent L. Walgren, "James Adams: Early Springfield Mormon and Freemason," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 75 (Summer 1982): 121-36; Kent L. Walgren, "Fast and Loose Freemasonry," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Fall 1985): 172-76; and Robert N. Hullinger, *Joseph Smith's Response to Skepticism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 99-120.

4. See Clara V. Dobay, "Intellect and Faith: The Controversy over Revisionist Mormon History," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Spring 1994): 92, 96; Roger D. Launius, "The 'New Social History' and the 'New Mormon History': Reflections on Recent Trends," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Spring 1994): 109, 123-24.

5. Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 173n22.

6. *Ibid.*, 6-7.

which "has an enormous debt to Freemasonry."⁷ The failure to address this subject has led prominent British Masonic writers to claim that "Mormonism perpetuates and practices anti-Masonry—perhaps the only body to do so for reasons of self-preservation."⁸

Such thinking by non-Mormons should not be distressing to believers. Mormon sociologist Armand L. Mauss has observed that although the "most emotional and controversial aspect" of the temple endowment "involves possible borrowings from Masonry,"

this should [not] be such a big issue, except to those with a fairly limited understanding of how a prophet gets ideas. Since prophets and religions always arise and are nurtured within a given cultural context, itself evolving, it should not be difficult to understand why even the most original revelations have to be expressed in the idioms of the culture and biography of the revelator.⁹

To those who believe in continuing revelation, the divine origin of the LDS temple endowment does not depend on proving there is no relationship between it and Masonic rites or that Joseph Smith received the endowment before his initiation into Freemasonry. In what follows I do not address the divine origin of the temple ceremony. It seems reasonable to believe, and for my purposes to assume, that Joseph Smith was inspired in introducing the endowment. While there is room for belief, there is also room to accept the candor of Smith and others that there was a close connection between Freemasonry and Mormonism. Within this context, I discuss and analyze the thesis that the rituals of Freemasonry had some impact on the origin and development of the LDS temple endowment, and hopefully demonstrate that this is not only factually tenable but that early LDS leaders recognized this connection and did not consider it too sacred or controversial to discuss. In fact, Nauvoo Masons who took part in both rituals were much more comfortable discussing the relationship between the two than twentieth-century Mormons who are not familiar with the Craft.

7. Paul J. Rich, *Chains of Empire, English Public Schools, Masonic Cabalism, Historical Causality, and Imperial Clubdom* (London: Regency Press, Ltd., 1991), 137.

8. John Hamill and R. A. Gilbert, *World Freemasonry, An Illustrated History* (London: Aquarian Press, 1991), 201. See also Henry W. Coil, *Conversations on Freemasonry* (Richmond, VA: Macoy Publishing and Masonic Supply Co., Inc., n.d.), 237-38.

9. Armand L. Mauss, "Culture, Charisma and Change: Reflections on Mormon Temple Worship," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Winter 1987): 79-80.

THE ORIGINS OF FREEMASONRY

Any discussion of the relationship between Freemasonry and Mormonism becomes even more complex by inquiry into the origins of Freemasonry. One historian has concluded, "The origin of Freemasonry is one of the most debated, and debatable, subjects in the whole realm of historical inquiry."¹⁰ Another prominent Masonic commentator has concluded that the origin and development of Emblematic Freemasonry is "a great Dramatic Mystery with its origin in the clouds."¹¹ To understand the origins of the Craft, one must "distinguish between the legendary history of Freemasonry and the problem of when it actually began as an organized institution."¹² Most Freemasons in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and other Mormon leaders, believed that "Operative" Masonry, or the craft of building through architecture and geometry, was as old as the world. This myth was institutionalized by James Anderson, a Presbyterian minister, who was authorized by London's Grand Masonic Lodge to write *Constitutions of Freemasons* in 1723¹³ in which he traced Masonry from Adam to the building of Solomon's temple. Anderson's book gave historical legitimacy and social respectability to the Craft and perpetuated this historical myth for more than 150 years. Anderson's thesis was revalidated by William Preston, arguably "the most important thinker in eighteenth century English Freemasonry,"¹⁴ in his *Lectures* used in giving the degrees of Freemasonry beginning in 1772,¹⁵ and by William Hutchinson in *The Spirit of Masonry* in 1775 which also received the imprimatur of the Grand Lodge.¹⁶ Those thus initiated into Freemasonry believed they represented Adam in his "sincere desire to make advances in knowledge and virtue."¹⁷

The first Freemasons also believed that Masonic lodges were eventually organized in which teachings and rituals associated with Solo-

10. Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), 209.

11. Arthur Edward Waite, *A New Encyclopaedia of Freemasonry*, 2 vols. (London: William Rider and Son Limited, 1921), 1:351-52.

12. *Ibid.*

13. James Anderson, *The Constitutions of Freemasons* (London, 1723).

14. Carnes, 48; Roy A. Wells, *Understanding Freemasonry* (London: Lewis Masonic, 1991), 8-9.

15. Colin Dyer, *William Preston and His Work* (London: Lewis Masonic, 1987), 236.

16. William Hutchinson, *The Spirit of Masonry*, intro. Trevor Stewart (Wellingborough, Eng.: Aquarian Press, 1987), xx, xxii, 9, 169.

17. Carnes, 49; Salem Town, *A System of Speculative Masonry*, 2d ed. (Salem, NY, 1822), 22-3, 67, 71-2; John G. Stearns, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Tendency of Speculative Free-Masonry*, 2d. ed. (Westfield: H. Newcomb, 1828), 168. The endowment has been linked to the Masonic ritual on this basis. See Coil, 237.

mon's temple were practiced. Preston taught that this new form of "Speculative" Masonry began with Solomon.¹⁸ Freemasonry institutionalized this belief by teaching that the ritual, with special tokens, signs, and words identifying Masons from non-Masons, was first used in connection with the building of that structure.¹⁹ Brigham Young and other early LDS leaders similarly taught that Solomon's temple was built "for the purpose of giving endowments" but that the temple ritual was only fully restored by Joseph Smith.²⁰

Although early Freemasons believed in the antiquity of the Craft—"that the mediaeval Building Guilds were lineal descendants of the architectural fraternities of antiquity, who were initiates of the old Instituted Mysteries, and that there was hence always a speculative element in Masonry"²¹—more recent scholarship demonstrates that it is of recent origin. Nevertheless, Masonic scholars continue to debate whether ritual Freemasonry evolved out of the Operative guilds or whether the rituals were superimposed on them by outsiders.²² Those who subscribe to the direct link theory hold that "Masonry is the last development and transfiguration of some simple Mystery current among the old Building Guilds."²³ Under this theory the Operative lodges—which have been traced to the sixteenth century²⁴—began to accept non-stonemasons in the 1600s (hence the term "accepted masons") who eventually "transformed them into speculative lodges."²⁵ Others, who reject the direct link theory, argue that outsiders took control of the lodges, in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, to advance their own esoteric or philosophical system "of building a better man in a better world" by adopting the tools and function of the building trade as symbols and allegory.²⁶ These outsiders have been identified variously as Knights Templar (assuming they still existed in the sixteenth century, which most historians doubt), Rosicru-

18. Dyer, 236. See also Hutchinson, 139.

19. Richard Carlile, *Manual of Freemasonry* (London: Wm. Reeves, n.d.), 49-50; David Bernard, *Light on Masonry* (Utica, NY: William Williams, 1829), 94-95; Hutchinson, 139; Wellins Calcott, *Calcott's Masonry, with Considerate Additions and Improvements* (Philadelphia: Robert DeSilver, 1817), 123-24.

20. See *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool, Eng.: Latter-day Saints' Bookseller's Depot, 1854-86), 18:303 (hereafter *Journal of Discourses*).

21. Waite, 1:284.

22. *Ibid.*, 351; Hamill and Gilbert, 9-17.

23. Waite, 1:284.

24. Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones, *The Genesis of Freemasonry: An Account of the Rise and Development of Freemasonry in Its Operative, Accepted and Early Speculative Phases* (Manchester, Eng.: University of Manchester, 1947), 41-46.

25. Hamill and Gilbert, 9-11.

26. *Ibid.*, 15.

cians, and other esoteric thinkers who had knowledge of Ancient Mysteries and Hermeticism. David Stevenson maintains that there were non-Operative Masons in Scotland as early as 1599²⁷; Frances Yates believes that Robert Moray of Edinburgh—a member of the Royal Society with alchemical interests—was initiated in 1641²⁸ and that Speculative Freemasonry existed by 1646, when Elias Ashmole—founding member of the Royal Society, collector of antiquarian books, and a man with an extensive knowledge of Rosicrucianism—was initiated in England.²⁹ Some of the earliest citations to Freemasonry also link it to Jewish mystical (Kabbalistic) traditions associated with Solomon’s temple.³⁰ Some modern scholars, relying in part on such evidences, have concluded that the development of Speculative Freemasonry was influenced more by the esoteric thinking of Hermeticism and Rosicrucianism than by Operative Masonic craft guilds.³¹ Of course, Masonic commentators who reject these specific theories of intervention also recognize that a combination of evolution and intervention could have taken place³² and that the “mystical” form of Speculative Masonry was also, in part, “a reaction to Protestantism by providing a substitute for banished rituals.”³³

While the origins of Speculative Freemasonry remain shrouded in mystery it is known that various Masonic lodges (although the name was not officially used until the eighteenth century) were organized before the turn of the eighteenth century, but it was not until 1717 that the Grand Lodge of London was organized (later called the Grand Lodge of England). At least seventeen Masonic documents have been located—seven of which were published “from motives of curiosity, profit, or spite,” and ten of which were prepared by Masons for personal use and to serve as *aides-mémoires*—which demonstrate that a Speculative Masonic ritual existed as

27. David Stevenson, *The First Freemasons, Scotland’s Early Lodges and Their Members* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), 8-9.

28. Yates, 210-11.

29. See *ibid.*, 209-19; Fred L. Pick and G. Norman Knight, *The Pocket History of Freemasonry* (London: Hutchinson, 1991), 39.

30. Robert Kirk, *The Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns and Fairies* (Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1933), 107-10. Kirk’s manuscript was written in 1691 and first published in 1815. Waite noted a “Kabalistic element in the Traditional History of the Craft.” Waite, 1:424-25.

31. See Yates, 206-19. For an earlier version of the same argument, see Thomas De Quincey, “Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin of the Rosicrucians and the Freemasons,” *London Magazine* (1824), reprinted in *Collected Works*, ed. David Masson (Edinburgh, 1890), 13:384-448, which relied heavily on a book by J. G. Buhle published in German in 1804. For Masonic responses, see Waite, 1:77, 181; Arthur Edward Waite, *The Real History of the Rosicrucians* (London: George Redway, 1887), 403-4; and Hamill and Gilbert, 28-35.

32. Waite, 1:79-80.

33. *Ibid.*, 10; Rich, 135; Stevenson, 156-57; Waite, 1:80-81.

early as the mid-seventeenth century.³⁴ However, this ritual did not include all three degrees of Craft Masonry—Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason—or the Hiram legend until 1723 or 1725, and it was not until 1730 that the first widely-circulated Masonic exposure, which purported to reveal “the full ceremonies and catechisms for the three Craft degrees,”³⁵ was published by Samuel Prichard. Prichard’s book, *Masonry Dissected*,³⁶ went through numerous printings during its first few weeks,³⁷ and thereafter many other editions appeared. The three-degree system was then officially recognized in the 1738 edition of Anderson’s *Constitutions*.

Prichard’s book caused some Masonic lodges to revise their now-public ritual, and in 1751 a rival Grand Lodge of “antients” was organized in London, in part because of changes in the ritual instituted after Prichard’s disclosures and because some lodges began feuding over the membership of non-Christians and the perception that the “moderns” were not strictly adhering to Masonic customs and practices.³⁸

Following the appearance of Prichard was a gap of thirty years (for English language exposés³⁹) before a series of new exposures was published in the 1760s—which purported to be word-for-word representations of the entire (then three-degree) Masonic ritual—some of which proved to be popular for more than half a century. *A Master-key to Freemasonry*⁴⁰ appeared in 1760; *The Three Distinct Knocks*⁴¹ appeared the same year; *Jachin and Boaz*⁴² in 1762; *Hiram: the Grand Master-key to the Door of Both Ancient and Modern Free-masonry*⁴³ in 1764; *Shibboleth*⁴⁴ in 1765; *Mystery of Freemasonry Explained*⁴⁵ in 1765; *Mahabone*⁴⁶ in 1766; and in the same year an exposé

34. Harry Carr, *An Analysis and Commentary of Samuel Prichard’s Masonry Dissected 1730* (Bloomington, IL: Masonic Book Club, 1977), 20-26.

35. John Hamill, *The Craft, A History of English Freemasonry* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1986), 45.

36. Samuel Prichard, *Masonry Dissected* (London, 1730).

37. See Carr, 43. I am indebted to Kent L. Walgren for sharing a portion of his considerable knowledge of Masonic bibliography.

38. Pick and Knight, 88.

39. During this thirty-year period a number of French exposures were published. See Harry Carr, *Three Distinct Knocks and Jachin and Boaz* (Bloomington, IL: Masonic Book Club, 1981), 28-60; Harry Carr, ed., *The Early French Exposures* (London: Quatuor Coronati Lodge, 1971); and A. C. F. Jackson, *English Masonic Exposures 1730-1760* (London: A. Lewis, 1986).

40. J. Burd, *A Master-key to Freemasonry* (London: n.p., 1760).

41. W-O-V-n, *The Three Distinct Knocks* (London: n.p., 1760).

42. Anonymous, *Jachin and Boaz* (London: n.p., 1762).

43. Anonymous, *Hiram: The Grand Master-key to the Door of Both Ancient and Modern Free-masonry* (London, 1764).

44. Anonymous, *Shibboleth* (London, 1765).

45. W. Gordon, *Mystery of Freemasonry Explained* (London, 1777).

46. J. G. Tupographos, *Mahabone* (Liverpool, 1766).

entitled *Solomon in All his Glory*.⁴⁷ Finally, Charles Warren published *The Freemason Stripped Naked*⁴⁸ in 1769. The most influential of these works were *Three Distinct Knocks* and *Jachin and Boaz*⁴⁹ in Great Britain; by this time exposés were also circulating in France, Germany, Italy, and Spain.

During this second wave of Masonic exposés published in England in the 1760s William Preston, a printer, was initiated into the Craft. The next decade he developed a system of lectures to modify and standardize the lectures being given with the widely-divergent rituals being practiced in the various lodges in England.⁵⁰ His book, *Illustrations of Masonry*, published in 1772 and in many subsequent editions, was patterned after his oral lectures.⁵¹ Other Masonic authors published books during this period which emphasized the philosophy and symbolism of Freemasonry including Calcott's *Candid Disquisition* in 1769, Hutchinson's *Spirit of Masonry* in 1775, and Smith's *The Uses and Abuses of Freemasonry* in 1783.

Although Preston was unsuccessful in his efforts to standardize the rituals—one Masonic writer has listed forty-eight separate rites or ceremonies designed to convey "Masonic ideals" developed in England and the continent during the century after the organization of the Grand Lodge,⁵² and in 1861 a French Masonic writer identified "seventy-five kinds of 'Masonry', fifty-two Rites, and thirty-four quasi-Masonic Orders"⁵³—he was widely read by both "antients" and "moderns," and the Grand Masters of both Grand Lodges after years of discussion eventually signed Articles of Union in 1813.⁵⁴ These articles included creation of a Lodge of Reconciliation, recommended ceremonies and practices, and creation of the United Grand Lodge of England.⁵⁵ Lodges of Instruction, including the Emulation Lodge of Improvement, also began to flourish after a ritual was agreed to by the Union, which attempted to unify the rituals of the various lodges. Even so, Masonic ritual never became completely uniform in either England or the United States.⁵⁶

47. Thomas Wilson, *Solomon in All his Glory* (London, 1766).

48. Charles Warren, *The Freemason Stripped Naked* (London, 1769).

49. Carr, *Three Distinct Knocks* and *Jachin and Boaz*, 1-2.

50. Coil, 91.

51. Roy A. Wells, *The Rise and Development of Organized Freemasonry* (London: Lewis Masonic, 1986), 207; Dyer, 116; Coil, 90.

52. Robert Macoy, *General History, Cyclopaedia and Dictionary of Freemasonry* (New York: Masonic Publishing Co., 1872), reprinted as *A Dictionary of Freemasonry* (New York: Bell Publishing, 1989), 326-29.

53. Hamill and Gilbert, 58.

54. Pick and Knight, 106.

55. *Ibid.*

56. *Ibid.*, 112.

FREEMASONRY IN AMERICA

Shortly after formation of the Grand Lodge of London in 1717 English Freemasonry was introduced to North America. If the British ritual lacked uniformity, "the situation in America was even more chaotic."⁵⁷ In 1730 Daniel Coxe was appointed Provincial Grand Master for New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and three years later Henry Price was appointed Provincial Grand Master for New England.⁵⁸ Although there was apparently a lodge in Philadelphia as early as 1731,⁵⁹ where Benjamin Franklin joined the Craft and published the first American edition of *Anderson's Constitutions*,⁶⁰ it was not until 1734 that the first lodge in America was engraved on the list of English lodges (Boston Lodge No. 126)⁶¹ followed by the second in 1736 (Savannah/Province of Georgia Lodge No. 139).⁶²

After 1751 the competing Grand Lodge of the Antients warranted Provincial Grand Lodges in the colonies, most of which were not registered with the Grand Lodge of London. By the time the American colonies achieved independence from Great Britain, lodges were spread throughout the eastern seaboard—the Grand Lodge of London had appointed twenty-three Provincial Grand Masters and the Antients Provincial Grand Lodge in Pennsylvania had authorized over fifty lodges in North America and the Caribbean.⁶³ Beginning in the 1780s lodges in the United States were independent of competing Grand Lodges in the United Kingdom. The Grand Lodge of New York was formed in 1781, and by 1800 Freemasonry claimed eleven Grand Lodges, 347 subordinate lodges, and 16,000 members in the United States.⁶⁴ By 1826 there were as many as twenty-six Grand Lodges, 3,000 constituent lodges, and between 100,000 and 150,000 members.⁶⁵ In New York State alone, which had the largest Masonic member-

57. Carnes, 23.

58. Hamill, 88. See also Coil, 99; Allen E. Roberts, *Freemasonry in American History* (Richmond, VA: Macey Publishing and Masonic Supply Co., Inc., 1985), 12-13. According to a respected Masonic historian, two Masons immigrated to the province of "East Jersey" in 1682: one returned a year later, and one served as deputy-governor of the province from 1685-90. There is no evidence that either formed a lodge. See Robert F. Gould, *Gould's History of Freemasonry Throughout the World*, 6 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), 6:1-2.

59. Roberts, *Freemasonry in American History*, 18.

60. *Ibid.*, 19-21.

61. *Ibid.*, 23.

62. *Ibid.*, 30.

63. Hamill, 88.

64. Ronald P. Formisano with Kathleen Smith Kutolowski, "Antimasonry and Masonry: The Genesis of Protest, 1826-1827," *American Quarterly* 29 (Summer 1977): 139, 143.

65. See *ibid.*, 143n18; Paul Goodman, *Towards a Christian Republic. Antimasonry and the*

ship in the country, there were as many as 500 lodges and 20,000 members.⁶⁶

As the various lodges were organized in the United States, the forms of ritual, which passed informally from mouth to ear, also proliferated.⁶⁷ Although William Preston was not completely successful in standardizing British ritual, and it is difficult to ascertain how widely his book was read after its publication in the United States in 1804,⁶⁸ his system of lectures was adopted and truncated by Thomas Smith Webb, an American Freemason, who published *The Freemason's Monitor* in 1797. Like Preston, Webb attempted to standardize the ritual of American lodges and freely acknowledged his debt to Preston in the preface to his book.⁶⁹ His *Monitor* became a "standard textbook" used by lecturers in the lodges, thereby spreading Preston's method to America.⁷⁰ Ironically, the rituals in America better reflected Preston's vision than the rituals in England.⁷¹ In 1798 a General Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons (in which Webb became the Deputy General Grand High Priest in 1816) was organized to help unify and systematize the rituals of the Royal Arch⁷² which extended beyond the three degrees of Craft Masonry and had previously been performed in a Master Masons Lodge. Webb's work was published in various editions until it was supplemented by works written by other lecturers and officers associated with Royal Arch Masonry, including Salem Town's *A System of Speculative Masonry*⁷³ in 1817 (with the approval of Dewitt Clinton who was General Grand High Priest when Webb was Deputy⁷⁴); and in 1820 by Jeremy L. Cross, author of *The True Masonic Chart, or Hieroglyphic Monitor*⁷⁵ (who later became Grand Lecturer of the General Grand Chapter of the

Great Transition in New England, 1826-1836 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 3; *The Freemason's Library* (Baltimore, 1828), cited by Henry Dana Ward in *Freemasonry* (New York, 1828).

66. See *A Report on the Abduction of William Morgan* (New York, 14 Feb. 1829). This number may be inflated since the *Freemason's Library* of approximately the same time listed 157 Masonic lodges in New York State. See also Henry Leonard Stillson, ed., *History of the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, and Concordant Orders* (Boston: Fraternity Publishing Co., 1910), 261; James C. Odierno, *Opinions on Speculative Masonry* (Boston, 1830), 198; and Formisano, 143.

67. Coil, 99-100.

68. Dyer, 125, 128-29.

69. [Thomas Smith Webb], *The Freemason's Monitor; or Illustrations of Masonry* (Albany: Spencer and Webb, 1797), A2; Coil, 100; Dyer, 154.

70. Coil, 99; Dyer, 154.

71. Coil, 100.

72. Roberts, 222; Carnes, 48.

73. Carnes, 49.

74. Roberts, 222.

75. Jeremy L. Cross, *The True Masonic Chart, or Hieroglyphic Monitor* (New Haven: John C. Gray, 1820).

Royal Arch). Cross produced for the first time a series of Masonic emblems in pictorial form, several of which accompany this essay (see Illustrations 1, 2, and 6).⁷⁶

Despite the contributions of these books, great disparity continued to exist in the ritual. In 1810 DeWitt Clinton, governor of New York and Grand Master of New York, observed that most lodges worked their own version of the Masonic ritual and he organized a committee to attempt to standardize it. These efforts failed. "If a venerable and ancient Masonic tradition existed, no one could determine what it was."⁷⁷ As a result, "American ritualists invented their own Masonic rituals or variants . . . American Freemasonry took many forms, the legitimacy of each determined by the persuasiveness of its innovator."⁷⁸

Given the success and growth of Freemasonry in the United States and its association with the British Craft, it is not surprising that the American Craft had its detractors and that the first Masonic exposés published in the United States were British transplants. Benjamin Franklin (before he became a Mason) reprinted *The Mystery of Free-Masonry*, which originally appeared in the London *Daily Journal* (August 15, 1730), in *The Pennsylvania Gazette* in December 1730.⁷⁹ This was followed by American editions of Prichard⁸⁰ (1749), *Hiram*⁸¹ (1768), and most significantly *Jachin and Boaz*⁸² which was published in twenty editions from 1794 to 1828. The first serious attack on the Craft in America occurred after the French Revolution, when a series of books, originally published in Europe, began to appear charging that a group of Bavarian Freemasons, known as the Illuminati, were prepared to take control of world government and that they had taken their first step by plotting the fall of the French Monarchy.⁸³ These were soon

76. Waite, 1:159.

77. Carnes, 23.

78. *Ibid.*, 23-24.

79. *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (issued "From Thursday, December 3. To Tuesday December 8. 1730.") This information was obtained from Allen E. Roberts, *Freemasonry in American History* (Richmond, VA: Macoy Publishing & Masonic Co., Inc., 1985), 10-11; Pick and Knight, 280-81; and from information kindly supplied by Art deHoyos, a knowledgeable student of Masonry and Mormonism.

80. Samuel Prichard, *Masonry Dissected* (n.p. 1749).

81. Anonymous, *Hiram: on the Grand Master-Key to the Door of Both Ancient and Modern Free-Masonry* (New York: John Holt, 1768).

82. Anonymous, *Jachin and Boaz* (Boston: J. Bumstead for E. Larkin, 1794).

83. The Protestant case was made by John Robison, *Proofs of a conspiracy against all the religions and governments of Europe carried on in the secret meetings of Freemasons, Illuminati, and reading societies*, 4th ed. (New York: G. Forman, 1798); The Catholic case was made by Abbé Augustin Barruel, *The Anti-Christian and Anti-Social Conspiracy* (Lancaster, PA: Joseph Ehrenfried, 1812). (Barruel's 1813 Lancaster edition is but a partial translation of a four-volume work published in French in 1797.) Preston responded to these works in the

followed by books of authors claiming the existence of American “secret conspiracies” and attacking the motives of the Craft in America.⁸⁴

The next wave of anti-Masonic propaganda in the United States—including books, conventions, newspapers, mock ceremonies depicting Masonic rites, and even a political party—occurred during the 1820s. Prior to 1826 *Jachin and Boaz* was the most frequently consulted exposé in America, but there were others. In 1825 Richard Carlile’s *Manual of Freemasonry* was first published in weekly issues of *The Republican* in London; portions were eventually published in book form in 1831; and the full version appeared in 1843.⁸⁵ Carlile’s work included the first exposé of some of the higher degrees of Freemasonry, and perhaps for that reason the author claimed that his “exposure of Freemasonry in 1825 led to its exposure in the United States.” In 1826 John G. Stearns published *An Inquiry into the Nature and Tendency of Speculative Free-Masonry*⁸⁶ not as an exposé, but in an attempt to expose the “evils” of the Craft to be used by anti-Masons.

Although it is unclear what impact these books had on William Morgan, they must have been of some interest. Morgan, a disgruntled Mason, may not have been regularly initiated, passed, and raised to the sublime degree of a Master Mason.⁸⁷ Still it seems he had been exalted,

10th edition of his book published in 1801. Some Masonic writers maintain that the Bavarian Illuminati were “not primarily Masonic, and evidently not founded by Masonic authority, though it pirated or paraphrased Masonic rituals and at one time or another had a number of prominent Freemasons in the group” (see Henry W. Coil, *Encyclopedia*, 545). Others have reached opposite conclusions. See Christopher McIntosh, *The Rose Cross and the Age of Reason* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992); Jan Rachold, ed., *Quellen und Texte zur Aufklärungsideologie des Illuminatenorden (1776-1785)* (Berlin: Akademie, 1984). Waite writes that “it is a matter of history” that “Illuminism sought to turn Masonry in the direction of its own intent” but that it is “a matter of history also that the attempt failed” (Waite, 1:66).

84. John Cosens Ogden, *A View of the New England Illuminati: who are indefatigably engaged in destroying the religion and government of the United States; under a feigned regard for their safety—and under an impious abuse of true religion* (Philadelphia: T. Carey, 1799); Seth Payson, *Proofs of the real existence, and dangerous tendency of Illuminism, containing an abstract of the most interesting parts of what Dr. Robison and the Abbe Barruel have published on this subject; with a collateral proofs and general observations* (Charlestown, MA: Samuel Etheridge, 1802).

85. Richard Carlile, *Manual of Masonry, with an Introductory Key-stone to the Royal Arch* (London, 1843). A later edition of Carlile: Richard Carlile, *Manual of Freemasonry, in three parts, with an Explanatory Introduction to the Science, and a free translation of some of the Sacred Scripture names* (London, 1853). Art deHoyos pointed out to me that Carlile claimed some credit for Morgan’s exposé and that the first exposé of so-called *haut grade* Masonry in America, by Mary Hanlon, *Revelations of Masonry, Made by a Late Member of the Craft, in Four Parts* (New York: Printed for the Author, 1827), was a plagiarism, at least in part, of Carlile.

86. John G. Stearns, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Tendency of Speculative Free-Masonry* (Utica, NY, 1826).

87. Many members of the Craft, including Art deHoyos, do not believe that Morgan

perhaps by misrepresenting himself as a Mason, into Royal Arch Masonry (which had four regular degrees and one honorary degree which were normally received after obtaining the first three degrees of "Craft" Masonry) in LeRoy, New York, on May 23, 1825. He became bitter when he was refused membership in a newly-formed Royal Arch chapter in his hometown of Batavia. During the summer of 1826 Morgan (a stone mason by trade) and David Miller, editor of the *Batavia Republican Advocate*, prepared an exposé of the first three degrees of the Craft (which some Masons claimed was copied from exposés previously published in England⁸⁸), including its signs, tokens, obligations, and penalties.

Incensed by Morgan's blatant disregard of Masonic oaths never to reveal the rituals of the Craft (which he may not have taken if he had misrepresented himself as a Master Mason to the Royal Arch Chapter), local Masons first attempted to seize the manuscript and may have started a fire in Miller's office, although some Masonic observers have claimed the fire was initiated by Miller himself. When efforts failed to recover the manuscript, some Masons took it upon themselves to abduct Morgan on September 12, 1826, prior to the book's publication. Although Morgan's wife, Lucinda, later attempted to trade Morgan's manuscript for his freedom,⁸⁹ Morgan was never heard from again and his book, *Illustrations of Masonry*,⁹⁰ the same title as Preston's pro-Masonic work, was published by Miller in November.⁹¹ Morgan's abduction and the publication of his exposé pro-

was a regular Mason. Although no record of his initiation has been located, it is not impossible that such records were destroyed after his disappearance. For a discussion of William Morgan, see Keith Muir, "The Morgan Affair and Its Effect on Freemasonry," *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 105 (1992): 217-34; Stanley Upton Mock, *The Morgan Episode in American Free Masonry* (East Aurora, NY: The Roycrofters, 1930); John C. Palmer, *The Morgan Affair and Anti-Masonry* (Washington, D.C.: The Masonic Service Association of the United States, 1924); Rob Morris, *William Morgan: Or Political Anti-Masonry, Its Rise, Growth and Decadence* (New York: Robert McCoy, 1883); William L. Stone, *Letters on Masonry and Anti-Masonry addressed to the Hon. John Quincy Adams* (New York: O. Halsted, 1832), 123-297; and Clarence O. Lewis, *The Morgan Affair*, 1966 typescript, Niagara County Historical Society and Lockport Public Library, Lockport, New York. See also John E. Thompson, *The Masons, the Mormons and the Morgan Incident* (Ames, IA: Iowa Research Lodge, n.d.).

88. Mock, 28-29.

89. See deposition of Mrs. Lucinda Morgan, in *A Narrative of the Facts and Circumstances Relating to the Kidnapping and Murder of William Morgan* (Batavia: D. C. Miller, 1827).

90. [William Morgan], *Illustrations of Masonry* (Batavia, NY: Printed for the Author, 1826).

91. *Wayne Sentinel*, 17 Nov. 1826. For an anti-Masonic perspective of the Morgan episode, see *Proceedings of United States Anti-Masonic Convention, held at Philadelphia, September 11, 1830* (New York: Skinner and Dewey, 1830); and David Bernard, *Light on Masonry: A Collection of the Most Important Documents on the Subject of Speculative Free Masonry* (Utica, NY: W. Williams, 1829). For a Masonic perspective, see Rob Morris, *William Morgan: Or Political Anti-Masonry, Its Rise, Growth and Decadence* (New York: Robert McCoy,

vided the catalyst for an anti-Masonic fever that swept the nation, including creation of an anti-Masonic party which was a force in national politics. Morgan's *Illustrations* was the first American-born exposé and appeared in at least twenty editions between 1826 to 1830, the height of anti-Masonic fervor in the United States.

Since Morgan's exposé was limited to the first three degrees of Freemasonry, a convention of seceding Masons appointed the Lewiston Committee to write and publish the first exposé of the higher degrees in the United States. The preface to this work claims that in order to learn the secrets of the Royal Arch degree "a companion was despatched [sic] to reside in the vicinity of that [General Grand] Lecturer [of the United States] (Jeremy L. Cross), who attended his Lectures until the entire degree was accurately written out."⁹² Cross denied this and declared that he never allowed notes to be taken by any of his pupils.⁹³

Morgan's *Illustrations* and the Lewiston Committee's *Revelation* were followed by David Bernard's *Light on Masonry*⁹⁴ in 1829 and Avery Allyn's *A Ritual of Freemasonry* in 1831.⁹⁵ Bernard, like many prominent anti-Masons, was a seceding Mason and a minister. Many clergy in the first half of the nineteenth century resented the growing influence of Freemasons as their disestablished churches were losing theirs.⁹⁶ Bernard served as Recording Secretary for the first anti-Masonic convention and claimed to be the first seceding Mason after the Morgan affair. He used Morgan's exposé, unpublished manuscripts of the Mark Master, Past Master, and Most Excellent Master degrees, obtained from Morgan's widow,⁹⁷ other higher degrees published by the Lewiston Committee in its *Revelation*, and further expanded Morgan's research to include over forty degrees. His book also contains Bernard's rationale for violating his Masonic oaths (which later

1883). See also William Preston Vaughn, *The Anti-Masonic Party in the United States 1826-1843* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983).

92. The Lewiston Committee, LeRoy Convention, *A Revelation of Freemasonry as Published to the World by a Convention of Seceding Masons* (Rochester, NY: Weed and Heron, 1828). I am indebted to Kent L. Walgren for pointing out this bridge between Morgan and Bernard.

93. William O. Cummings, *A Bibliography of Freemasonry* (New York: Press of Henry Emmerson, 1963), 47.

94. David Bernard, *Light on Masonry* (Utica, NY: William Williams, 1829).

95. Avery Allyn, *A Ritual of Freemasonry, Illustrated by Numerous Engravings. To Which is Added a Key to the Phi Beta Kappa, the Orange, and Odd Fellows Societies* (Philadelphia: John Clarke, 1831). Art deHoyos pointed out to me that Allyn's exposé contains degrees not included in Bernard.

96. Carnes, 24. See also Stone, 388-97.

97. The Lewiston Committee, LeRoy Convention, *A Revelation of Freemasonry as published to the World by a Convention of Seceding Masons* (Rochester, NY: Weed and Heron, 1828).

became a staple in Mormon temple exposés).⁹⁸ Bernard's book was published in six variant states in 1829. Allyn's book included several important degrees not contained in *Light on Masonry* which made it essential reading for anti-Masons. Morgan and Bernard accurately exposed the Masonic ritual as worked in upstate New York in the late 1820s.

These exposés, and other works published against the Craft, also ridiculed the claimed antiquity of Freemasonry,⁹⁹ the legend of Hiram Abiff,¹⁰⁰ the legitimacy of Freemasonry's desire to provide light and knowledge to permit its members to enter a celestial lodge,¹⁰¹ and attacked Rosicrucian and Kabbalistic elements borrowed by the Craft.¹⁰² Yet it was these very teachings of Freemasonry which attracted some key young men who would later become followers of Joseph Smith, including claims to antiquity, the tradition of a temple, international brotherhood, a lodge to bring like-minded men together, and a ritual to journey from this life to the next.

Prior to the Morgan affair, a man named Joseph Smith was initiated, passed, and raised in Ontario Lodge No. 23, Canandaigua, New York, between December 26, 1817, and May 17, 1818.¹⁰³ It is doubtful that this man was the father of the Mormon prophet since the Smith family never lived in Canandaigua—according to the 1820 census nine "Joseph Smiths" and one "Joseph Smith, Jr." lived in Ontario County—and the Masonic lodge in Palmyra (Mount Moriah Lodge No. 112) was much closer to the Smith home in 1818. But it is certain that thirteen years later, Joseph Sr. visited Eli Bruce, a prominent Freemason and sheriff of Niagara County, New York, at the time of Morgan's disappearance. On November 5, 1830, during Bruce's nearly twenty-eight-month imprisonment in the Canandaigua Jail in connection with the abduction of William Morgan, Smith and Bruce had a "long talk" concerning Smith's commission "by God to baptize and preach this new doctrine" and the coming forth of the Book of Mormon.¹⁰⁴ Although Joseph Jr. did not become a Freemason until 1842, many

98. See Mock, 119-20, 125-26, 128-29.

99. See, for example, Henry Dana Ward, *Free Masonry* (New York, 1828), 1-5.

100. Morgan, 69-70; Bernard, 58-9. Morgan admits that Hiram Abiff was an Old Testament figure (2 Chr. 2:13), although the name Abiff is not used.

101. Bernard, 62: "Masonry professes to bring men to heaven, and yet it denies its blessings to a large majority of the human family. All the *fair* part of creation, together with the old, young and poor, are exempted. How unlike the glorious gospel of the Son of God! In *this* there is no restriction of persons; the high and low, rich and poor, bond and free, male and female, are all one in Christ Jesus."

102. See D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), 164.

103. *Records of the Grand Lodge of New York*.

104. Rob Morris, *The Masonic Martyr. The Biography of Eli Bruce* (Louisville, KY: Morris

others who eventually embraced Mormonism, joined Freemasonry during the 1820s, including Hyrum Smith (Mount Moriah Lodge No. 112, Palmyra, Ontario County, New York), Heber C. Kimball (Victor Lodge No. 303, Victor, Ontario County, New York), Newell K. Whitney (Meridian Orb Lodge No. 10, Painesville, Lake County, Ohio), and George Miller (Widow's Son Lodge No. 60, Albemarle, Milton County, Virginia).

Masonic publications, including Masonic newspapers, transplanted English- or American-born commentaries,¹⁰⁵ and exposés by those opposing the Craft, enabled initiates and students of Freemasonry to become familiar with the philosophy of Freemasonry and to discover a number of legends concerning temple building, ancient records, and key words preserved since the time of Adam which were intended to allow initiates access to the true knowledge of God. At least two members of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, Heber C. Kimball and Wilford Woodruff,¹⁰⁶ had access to Masonic exposés. Although they were probably used in connection with both men's membership in Nauvoo Masonry, either as *aides-memoires* or as texts for advanced degrees, they may also have reinforced previous observations made by Joseph Smith concerning similarities between Masonry and the Mormon temple endowment. Masonic rites have evolved during the last 250 years and quasi-official Masonic publishers now republish editions of British and American exposés to enable those interested to study the evolution of Masonic rites.¹⁰⁷

These books discussed in detail the degrees and legends of the Craft, including the Craft's claim that it could trace its origins from Adam, Enoch, Moses, and Solomon; that its organization, teachings, and ritual were preserved through the building of temples; and that it taught a philosophy

& Konsarrat, 1861), 266-67. For a note on this visit, see John E. Thompson, "The Patriarch and the Martyr: Joseph Smith, Senior and Eli Bruce in the Canandaigua (NY) Jail," *Restoration* 5 (Oct. 1986): 22.

105. Thaddeus Mason Harris, *Discourses Delivered on Public Occasions; Illustrating the Principles, Displaying the Tendency and Vindicating the Design of Free Masonry* (Charlestown, 1801); Joshua Bradley, *Some of the Beauties of Free-Masonry; Being Extracts from Publications, Which have Received the Approbation of the Wise and Virtuous of the Fraternity: With Introductory Remarks, Designed to Remove the Various Objections Made Against the Order*, 2d ed., (Albany: G. J. Loomis & Co., 1821).

106. See Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 9 vols. (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1983-85), 2:545 (9 May 1845): "I spent the day at Clithore at Sister Duckworth copying a work from an account of the 5 first degrees upon Masonry"; and Helen Mar Whitney, *Women's Exponent* 11 (15 July 1882): 26: "I remember once when but a young girl, of getting a glimpse of the outside of the Morgan's book, *Exposing Masonry*, but which my father (Heber C. Kimball) always kept locked up."

107. Examples are Harry Carr, *An Analysis and Commentary of Samuel Prichard's Masonry Dissected 1730* (Bloomington, IL: The Masonic Book Club, 1977); and Harry Carr, *Three Distinct Knocks and Jachin and Boaz* (Bloomington, IL: The Masonic Book Club, 1981).

of life through a presentation of the world and a spiritual journey into the "Celestial Lodge above through language and symbolism."¹⁰⁸ In short, Freemasonry was, according to its exponents, the only institution which had "withstood the wreck of time. All others have sunk into oblivion."¹⁰⁹ It was "the most moral institution that ever subsisted,"¹¹⁰ the one "founded on the Rock of Ages"¹¹¹ which provided "eternal and invariable principles of natural religion" by which men could pattern their conduct.¹¹² Several of these legends would have particular significance to Masons who later joined the Mormon church. These include the following.

The Gold Plate of Enoch. In a dream the Old Testament prophet Enoch was shown a triangular plate of gold which contained the true name of God.¹¹³ He made a triangular plate of gold similar to the one he had seen in his dream and engraved "ineffable characters," or true name of Deity, on it, placed it on a triangular pedestal, and deposited it in the deepest arch of an underground temple he had built. Only Enoch knew of this treasure. To insure that the treasure would not be lost Enoch placed a stone door over the cavern where the gold plate was hidden, built two pillars above the door, one of brass to withstand water and one of marble to withstand fire, and placed engravings on the pillars describing the treasure. He also placed a ball containing maps of the world and universe on top of the brass pillar which also served as an instrument "for improving the mind and giving it the most distinct idea of any problem or proposition."¹¹⁴ This gold plate was later discovered by King Solomon near the site where his temple was built. He thereafter deposited the gold plate in a "sacred vault" in his own temple.¹¹⁵

Hiram Abiff. During construction of Solomon's temple, the Grand Master (or widow's son) Hiram Abiff was murdered by three ruffians because he refused to reveal the "Master's word" to them.¹¹⁶ Subsequent to Abiff's

108. Morgan, 102; see also Hutchinson, 82; Stearns, 43.

109. *Masonic Mirror*, 27 Nov. 1824.

110. Webb, 52.

111. *Masonic Mirror*, 27 Nov. 1824.

112. Rev. Cheever T. Felch, *An Address Delivered before Mount Carmel Lodge at Lynn, June 1821 . . .* (Boston, n.d.), 7.

113. For an Old Testament parallel to this legend, see *Exodus* 28:36-38, which reads, in part: "And thou shalt make a plate of pure gold, and engrave upon it, like the engraving of a signet, HOLINESS TO THE LORD."

114. Webb, 83. Enoch's legend is contained in the Knights of the Ninth Arch Degree. *Ibid.*, 242-61.

115. Webb, 249-57.

116. According to some exposés, the signs, tokens, and words were used to distinguish the grades of masons and their wages. See, for example, Carlile, 49-50; Bernard, 94-95. See also Hutchinson, 139; Calcott, 123-24.

death, King Solomon gave “the grand hailing sign of distress” by which every Freemason may seek help from other Masons when truly in distress. One of the symbols of Freemasonry includes a virgin “weeping over a broken column, with a book open before her” symbolizing the “unfinished state of the temple at the time of Hiram Abiff’s murder.”¹¹⁷ Following Abiff’s death, the “Master’s word” was lost, and it became necessary to use substituted words. After completion of Solomon’s temple, certain signs, tokens, penalties, and emblems were revealed which the ritual teaches are necessary to progress to a fuller knowledge of God.¹¹⁸ One of the ruffians was eventually beheaded, and a pledge was taken to revenge the murderers of Hiram Abiff and those who betray the secrets of Freemasonry.¹¹⁹

The Restoration of the Master’s Word and Gold Plate. During reconstruction of Solomon’s temple by Zerubabel, approximately 490 years after the original construction, the Master Mason’s word, which was lost when Hiram Abiff was murdered, was rediscovered in the ruins of the temple.¹²⁰

JOSEPH SMITH AND THE BOOK OF MORMON

According to Joseph Smith’s official account, in the spring of 1820 at the age of fourteen in Palmyra, New York, he sought guidance on what church to join and received a vision of God the Father and Jesus Christ. He was told to join no church and to prepare himself to participate in the restoration of Christ’s true church. Three years later, on the evening of September 21, 1823, he received a vision from a celestial messenger named Moroni. Moroni told Joseph that he was a resurrected being who had lived many centuries earlier on the American continent and

[T]here was a book deposited, written upon gold plates, giving an account of the former inhabitants of this continent, and the sources from whence they sprang. He also said that the fullness of the everlasting Gospel was contained in it, as delivered by the Savior to the ancient inhabitants; also that there were two stones in silver bows—and these stones, fastened to a breastplate, constituted what is called the Urim and Thummim—deposited

117. Morgan, 78-103; Bernard, 61-74. The legend of Hiram Abiff is contained in the Master Masons degree. For biblical references to Hiram [Abiff], see 3 Chr. 2-3; 4:16; 1 Kgs. 7:14.

118. The emblems include the Beehive and the All-Seeing Eye. See Morgan, 78-103, and Bernard, 61-74.

119. Bernard, 196-199. The beheading of the third ruffian and the pledge to revenge his death is contained in the Elected Knights of Nine Degree. See also 1783 Francken, Ms., archives of the Supreme Council, 33°, Northern Jurisdiction, Lexington, Massachusetts.

120. Bernard, 124-44. The restoration of the Master’s Word is contained in the Royal Arch Degree.

with the plates; and the possession and use of these stones were what constituted "Seers" in ancient or former times; and that God had prepared them for the purpose of translating the book.¹²¹

Joseph received this vision three times that evening and once the next morning. Although Moroni allowed him to see the plates, sword, breast-plate, and Urim and Thummim immediately, he did not allow Joseph to remove them from the hill or to translate them at that time. Instead Joseph was instructed to return to the hill one year later and continue to do so until he was ready to receive the plates. Smith followed these instructions, and Moroni eventually allowed him to take the plates four years later on September 21, 1827. Shortly thereafter, he began to translate them through the Urim and Thummim and other "seer stones." The translation was finally published by E. B. Grandin in early 1830 under the title of the Book of Mormon.¹²²

The Book of Mormon is a history of the inhabitants of the American continent from the time of the Tower of Babel until approximately 400 A.D. It describes the voyages of the ancestors of the native Americans from the Old World to the New; the division which occurred between the sons of Lehi (the Nephites and Lamanites) who became enemies; as well as their wars, ministries, and cultures. During the history chronicled in the Book of Mormon, two civilizations perished in large part because of the growth of "secret societies" which used secret signs and secret words (see, for example, Hel. 2:5-11; 6:21-24; Ether 10:33; 11:15, 22; 13:18; 14:8-10). Recalling this history, one of the last prophets in the Book of Mormon warns future generations against "secret combinations" and their works of destruction (Ether 8:22-26).

The Book of Mormon went on sale in Palmyra on March 26, 1830, and on April 6 Joseph Smith, Jr., and others, organized the Church of Christ. As part of his prophetic calling, Smith received and recorded revelations, which were eventually published in the Doctrine and Covenants, including the restoration of truth, ritual, ordinances, and scripture which had been lost or defiled since the creation of the world. This restoration eventually included the retranslation of portions of the Bible, new scripture, either through revelation or ancient texts, and the introduction of patriarchal priesthood, plural marriage, the Kingdom of God, and temple rituals.

121. Joseph Smith, Jr., et al., *The History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B.H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1978), 1:12.

122. *Ibid.*, 9-17.

THE WILLIAM MORGAN EPISODE AND THE MORMON CONNECTION

Some observers believe that Mormonism was an "Anti-Masonic religion" because of passages in the Book of Mormon which describe secret societies and secret combinations. This claim was first made in the *Painesville Telegraph* and the *Ohio Star* in 1831¹²³ and later by Ebenezer Robinson—a Mormon convert who was a Mason in Nauvoo before leaving to become a counselor to Sidney Rigdon following Joseph's death.¹²⁴ Robinson wrote in his memoirs that initially Mormons were "strenuously opposed secret societies" but that "a great change in sentiment seemed to take place."¹²⁵ One prominent Masonic writer even claims that William Morgan knew Joseph Smith, Jr., and that Morgan was "a halfway convert" to Mormonism (which is impossible since Morgan disappeared in 1826 and the Mormon church was not organized until 1830) and "had learned from him to see visions and dreams." There is no documentation for this claim and is most likely based on the author's attempt to further blacken Morgan's reputation by associating him with the Mormon prophet.¹²⁶ More recently, it has been claimed that Joseph Smith, Sr., signed a petition in the "rabidly anti-Masonic newspaper, *The Seneca Farmer and Waterloo Advertiser*" for the purpose of soliciting "Christian humanitarian concern" and "assistance to Morgan's unfortunate wife."¹²⁷ Although Joseph Sr. may have signed the petition, it is curious that an anti-Mason would have been welcomed into the jail cell of a prominent Mason, Eli Bruce, particularly for the purpose of converting him to Mormonism.

While it is unknown if Joseph Smith, Jr., knew Morgan, or if Smith's father was a Mason or anti-Mason, Mormonism did count among its ranks several prominent renouncing Masons and others who were anti-Masons, who may have been attracted in part by the Book of Mormon's warning against secret societies. These anti-Masons included Martin Harris, one of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon, who participated in an anti-

123. See *The Telegraph* (Painesville, OH) 2d Series II (22 Mar. 1831): 40; *Ohio Star*, as quoted in Max H. Parkin, *Conflict at Kirtland* (Salt Lake City, 1966), 23.

124. Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History*, 3d ed. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 119.

125. Ebenezer Robinson, "Items of Personal History of the Editor," *The Return* 1-3 (1888-90): 90.

126. Morris, *William Morgan*, 196.

127. Mervin B. Hogan, "The Two Joseph Smith's Masonic Experiences," 17 Jan. 1987, 13. Hogan assumes that Joseph Smith, Sr., was a Mason and that he became an anti-Mason. Although this may prove true, there is no corroborating evidence that the Joseph Smith who joined Ontario Lodge No. 23 and signed a petition published in *The Seneca Farmer and Waterloo Advertiser* was the prophet's father. The New York 1820 census demonstrates that there were other Joseph Smiths in the vicinity.

Masonic vigilance committee in Palmyra, New York, in 1827¹²⁸; William Wines Phelps, who edited two anti-Masonic newspapers in New York before becoming publisher of the first Mormon newspaper and a member of the Zion Stake presidency¹²⁹; and George Washington Harris, who was associated with William Morgan in Batavia, New York, and who appeared at an inquest with Lucinda Morgan and identified a body which had been washed up on the shore of Lake Ontario as Morgan's remains (although it was later determined that he and Lucinda were mistaken) before becoming a member of the Nauvoo High Council.¹³⁰ Martin Harris joined the LDS

128. Harris was quoted in 1831 as stating that The Book of Mormon is "the Anti-Masonick Bible" (*Geauga Gazette*, 15 Mar. 1831). He also participated in an anti-masonic committee in Palmyra in 1827. See *Wayne Sentinel*, 5 Oct. 1827, and Richard Lloyd Anderson, "Martin Harris, the Honorable New York Farmer," *Improvement Era* 72 (Feb. 1969): 20.

129. See Bernard, 413-17; 452-59; Milton W. Hamilton, *Anti-Masonic Newspapers, 1826-1834* (Portland, ME: Southworth-Authoosen Press, 1939), 82. (Phelps and R. M. Blumer established the *Ontario Phoenix* on April 28, 1829, in Canandaigua, New York.) See also Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Joseph Smith and the Masons," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 64 (Spring 1971): 79-90. (W. W. Phelps was the "[a]uthor of at least two anti-Masonic newspapers, one in Trumansburg, New York, called the *Lake Light*, and another in Canandaigua, New York, named *The Ontario Phoenix* . . .") See also *The Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, NY) 5 (7 Mar. 1828). (After renouncing Masonry in 1828 Phelps announced his intention of publishing the various Masonic degrees.) Phelps received a copy of the Book of Mormon on April 9, 1830, three days after the church was organized, and continued as editor until May 18, 1831, when he traveled to Kirtland, Ohio, and was baptized. See D&C 55. Soon thereafter he arrived in Jackson County where he was called to be a printer for the church. See D&C 57:11. In June 1832 he began publishing *The Evening and Morning Star* in which extracts from the Book of Mormon appeared which warned against "secret combinations." See *The Evening and Morning Star* 1 (June 1832): 8; 1 (Jan. 1833): 2. Phelps later became a member of the presidency of the Stake of Zion on July 3, 1834. He also was instrumental in the publication of the Book of Commandments, the Doctrine and Covenants, and *A Selection of Hymns*. Although he was excommunicated on March 17, 1839, he was reinstated in 1841 and became a member of the Nauvoo City Council. While in Nauvoo, Phelps became a temple ordinance worker where he frequently played the part of the devil who had Masonic symbols on his apron. He continued to play this role in Utah, where he was also a member of the territorial legislature and published the *Deseret Almanac* from 1851-65. See Andrew Jensen, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jensen Historical Co., 1901-36), 3:692-97.

130. William Morgan and his wife resided above Harris's Silversmith shop in Batavia. See deposition of George W. Harris in *A Narrative of the Facts and Circumstances Relating to the Kidnapping and Murder of William Morgan* (Batavia: D. C. Miller, 1827). See also Morris, *William Morgan*, 258-59. Harris was expelled from Batavia Lodge No. 433 on August 15, 1826, "for the enormous depravity of his masonic conduct." A notice of his expulsion was published by the Lodge at the same time as a "Notice and Caution" that William Morgan was a "swindler and a dangerous man." See *Masonic Mirror and Mechanic's Intelligencer* 2 (2 Sept. 1826): 290. Kent L. Walgren pointed out this notice to me. Although both Harris and Lucinda claimed that a body found on the shore of Lake Ontario was Morgan's, see *Supplementary Report of the Committee Appointed to Ascertain the Fate of Captain William*

church in 1830, Phelps in 1831, and George W. Harris in 1834. Martin acted as a scribe to Smith when he dictated his translation from the gold plates, helped finance publication of the Book of Mormon, was one of the three witnesses who testified that he saw the gold plates from which the book was translated and the angel who entrusted them to Smith, and stated in 1831 that the Book of Mormon was "the Anti-masonick [sic] Bible."¹³¹ Both Phelps and George Washington Harris attended a convention of seceding Masons held in LeRoy, New York, on February 19-20, 1828, and subsequent conventions in the same village on March 6-7 and July 4-5 of the same year. Among other things, these conventions confirmed that Morgan's *Illustrations of Masonry* was accurate and appointed a committee to prepare a new exposé of the higher degrees (published as *A Revelation of Freemasonry* in 1828¹³² and incorporated into Bernard's *Light on Masonry*), appointed another committee to draft an invitation to attend another meeting in LeRoy on July 4, and listened as orators attacked the secrecy of Freemasonry as a "great danger to our republican institutions."¹³³ During the July 4 meeting Phelps and Harris joined David Bernard, John G. Stearns, David C. Miller, and other prominent anti-Masons¹³⁴ who signed a "Declaration of Independence." This "Declaration of Independence" sought "to abolish the order of Free Masonry, and destroy its influence in our government."¹³⁵ After signing this document, and listening to a public reading of it at the Presbyterian church, selected participants gave dinner toasts. Phelps's toast was the only one given in honor of Morgan, whom he hailed as "the morning star of more light."¹³⁶

Non-seceding Masons who authored anti-Mormon accounts include Pomeroy Tucker¹³⁷ and Abner Cole (pseudonym "Obediah Dogberry"),¹³⁸ both of whom were members of Mount Moriah Lodge No. 112

Morgan (Rochester: Printed for the Committee by Edwin Scranton, 1827), it turned out to be a Canadian named Timothy Munro. See Morris, *William Morgan*, 258-59.

131. *Geauga Gazette*, 15 Mar. 1831. Another anti-Mason whose name has become associated with the Book of Mormon was Ethan Smith, author of *View of the Hebrews; or The Tribes of Israel in America*. See *Brief Report of the Debates in the Anti-Masonic State Convention of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts* (Boston: John Marsh, 1830).

132. *A Revelation of Freemasonry* . . . (Rochester: Weed & Heron, 1828).

133. *A Narrative of the Facts and Circumstances Relating to the Kidnapping and Murder of William Morgan* (Batavia: D. C. Miller, 1827); Bernard, 460-78.

134. Mock, 137ff.

135. Bernard, 452.

136. *Republican Monitor* (Kazenovia, NY), 15 July 1828, 3. Of course, Phelps later published the first Mormon periodical entitled *The Evening and the Morning Star*.

137. Pomeroy Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1867).

138. Art deHoyos, who provided the information concerning Cole's Masonic

with Hyrum Smith, and Orsamus Turner,¹³⁹ who knew the Smith family in New York and (like Eli Bruce) was one of the Masons incarcerated in connection with Morgan's abduction. It is interesting, however, that these authors did not comment on those passages in the Book of Mormon which referred to secret societies—which others had concluded were anti-Masonic—or charge that Mormonism was an anti-Masonic religion. Although these facts demonstrate that there were anti-Masonic Mormons in the early 1830s and that some Masons who knew the Smith family in New York were anti-Mormons, they do not support the conclusion that Mormonism was anti-Masonic. Most of the Masons who became Mormons in the early 1830s, including Hyrum Smith, Heber C. Kimball, Newell K. Whitney and George Miller, did not renounce the Craft after the Morgan affair even though some were persecuted for being Masons. Kimball was driven from his home five times by mobs because he was a Mason¹⁴⁰ and was prevented from being exalted into Royal Arch Masonry because the Masonic Hall was burned down by anti-Masons.¹⁴¹ More significantly, even if passages in the Book of Mormon, Book of Moses, and Doctrine and Covenants, as well as statements by Joseph Smith,¹⁴² occasionally betrayed an element of anti-Masonic rhetoric, there is no evidence that Martin Harris, W. W. Phelps, or George Washington Harris continued their anti-Masonic activities after joining the Mormon church or that Joseph Smith either advocated or adopted anti-Masonic tenets or practices.¹⁴³ Even Eber D. Howe, who eventually argued that there were anti-Masonic passages in the Book of Mormon, initially con-

membership, obtained it from Kathleen M. Haley, assistant librarian, Grand Lodge of State of New York (Haley to deHoyos, 21 Oct. 1992). Cole published the first extracts from and commentary about the Book of Mormon in *The Reflector*, published in Palmyra on January 2, 1830. In an earlier issue the newspaper had reported: "We understand that the Anti-Masons have declared war against the Gold Bible.—Oh! How impious" (*The Reflector* 1 [23 Sept. 1829]: 14). Cole was raised a Master Mason in Mount Moriah Lodge No. 112 on June 24, 1815.

139. Orsamus Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase* (Rochester, NY: William Alling, 1851); Morris, *William Morgan*, 191-92, 206, 209, 224, 228.

140. Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wallis, 1945), 11-12.

141. *Millennial Star* 26 (23 July 1864): 471-72.

142. Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1984), 380, 405-406; "Proclamation, To the Citizens of Nauvoo," *Times and Seasons* 4 (1 May 1843): 184.

143. Even though there were sporadic references to "secret combinations" in the Doctrine and Covenants (see 42:64; 123:13; and also 38:28; 117:11), these were not directed specifically at Masonry. But see the Book of Moses 5, and the reference to "Master Mahan" in a revelation given in December 1830. Dan Vogel speculates that Smith's views concerning Freemasonry changed shortly after publication of the Book of Mormon. See Vogel, 27-29.

tradicted the claim that Mormonism was an anti-Masonic religion by noting that the Book of Mormon was published by a "masonic printing office" and that its tenets were comparable to those of Masonry.¹⁴⁴

Nevertheless, the Morgan affair, which preceded the most serious anti-Masonic campaign in American history, does have an important connection in Mormon history. In 1830 Morgan's wife, Lucinda, married George Washington Harris,¹⁴⁵ even though Morgan's body was never found and he would not have been legally dead until seven years after his disappearance.¹⁴⁶ The Masonic fraternity was relieved, writing that "Anti-Masonry is no more!" and "This celebrated woman who, like Niobe, was all tears and affliction, whose hand was ever held forth to receive contributions from the sympathetic Anti-Masons, who vowed eternal widowhood, pains and penance, is married! Is married, and, tell it not in Gath, is married to a Mason!"¹⁴⁷ But Harris was no longer a Mason, and in 1834 both he and Lucinda converted to Mormonism.¹⁴⁸ In 1836 the couple moved to Far West, Missouri, where they lived with Joseph Smith and his family for at least three months.¹⁴⁹ They eventually followed the Saints to Nauvoo and lived across the street from Joseph and Emma.¹⁵⁰ In the City of Joseph, Harris was called to serve on the Nauvoo High Council (D&C 124:131-32). Sometime during these years, either in Missouri or Illinois, Lucinda became Joseph's plural wife while she was still married to Harris.¹⁵¹ Although one writer has recently speculated that, assuming Morgan was still alive, "Lucinda may have had three living husbands in the early 1840s, something almost unheard of in nineteenth-century America,"¹⁵² Joseph, unlike Morgan and Harris, was never her legal or even acknowledged husband.

144. Joseph Smith consulted Thurlow Weed, editor of the *Rochester Telegraph*, an anti-Masonic newspaper, after initially being turned down by E. B. Grandin of Palmyra, New York. He was eventually able to convince Grandin to publish the book. Thurlow Weed, *Life of Thurlow Weed*, ed. Harriet A. Weed (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1883), 358-59.

145. Morris, *William Morgan*, 276-77.

146. *Ibid.*, 277-78.

147. *Ibid.*, 277.

148. Susan Easton Black, *Membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 50 vols. (Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1986), 21:40.

149. Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1977), 227.

150. Brodie, 436-37.

151. See Wilhelm Wyl, *Mormon Portraits, Joseph Smith the Prophet, his Family and his Friends* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Publishing Co., 1886), 60, cited in Brodie, 336-37. See also Danel W. Bachman, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith," M.A. thesis, Purdue University, 1975, 112-13.

152. Martha Taysom, "Is There No Help for the Widow? The Strange Life of Lucinda Pendleton Morgan Harris," 5, paper presented at the Mormon History Association, Lamoni, Iowa, May 1993.

Following the prophet's death Lucinda was observed weeping over his body holding an open copy of Stearn's anti-Masonic treatise,¹⁵³ and shortly thereafter she was officially sealed to him as a plural wife, while Harris acted as proxy for the prophet.¹⁵⁴ Within a decade she abandoned Harris, who sued her for divorce in Pottawatomie County, Iowa, in 1856,¹⁵⁵ and eventually joined the Catholic Sisters of Charity rather than marry a fourth husband.¹⁵⁶

THE MORMON TEMPLE ENDOWMENT IN KIRTLAND, OHIO

In January 1833 Joseph Smith was commanded in a revelation to build a temple to the Most High in Kirtland, Ohio (D&C 88:119). According to Brigham Young, this

was the next House of the Lord we hear of on the earth, since the days of Solomon's Temple. Joseph not only received revelation and commandment to build a Temple, but he received a *pattern* also, as did Moses for the Tabernacle, and Solomon for his Temple; for without a pattern, he could not know what was wanting, having never seen one, and not having experienced its use.¹⁵⁷

Six months later Smith was rebuked for failing to commence construction of the temple where God would "endow those whom I have chosen with power from on high" (D&C 95:8). According to Heber C. Kimball, Smith met with a council of High Priests on June 23, 1834, to choose those who would be "the first elders to receive their endowment."¹⁵⁸ On February 15, 1835, Joseph read a revelation to the newly-called Quorum of Twelve Apostles to "[t]arry at Kirtland until you are endowed with power from on high."¹⁵⁹ The following October Joseph told his apostles of an awaited endowment¹⁶⁰; the next month informed them that "in order to make the

153. *Deseret News*, 22 Nov. 1875.

154. Andrew Jensen, *The Historical Record*, Dec. 1899; Benjamin F. Johnson, *My Life's Review* (Independence, MO: Zion's Printing and Publishing Co., 1947), 61; *Lee County Democrat*, 1 Oct. 1842; Helen Mar Whitney, "Scenes and Incidents in Nauvoo," *Women's Exponent* 10 (n.d.): 20.

155. Morris, *William Morgan*, 278-79.

156. *Ibid.*

157. *Journal of Discourses* 2:31.

158. *Times and Seasons* 6 (15 Feb. 1845): 804-805. Kimball recounted this same experience after arriving in Utah. See *Journal of Discourses* 10:76-77. See also *History of the Church*, 2:112-13.

159. *History of the Church*, 2:197.

160. *Ibid.*, 287; Jesse, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 61.

foundation of this Church complete and permanent" it would be necessary to restore "the ordinance of washing of feet"¹⁶¹; and on January 21, 1836, he introduced ritual washings and anointings, sealing and washing of the feet.¹⁶²

Joseph introduced this endowment to a chosen few—members of the Twelve and others—before the temple was completed (as he would later do in Nauvoo) in the attic of the printing office.¹⁶³ Further anointings were performed on January 28 and 30.¹⁶⁴ Those anointed had their blessings sealed on February 6¹⁶⁵ and at the dedication of the temple on March 27, and in the days that followed the general priesthood and male members also received their ordinances. Following completion of these ceremonies the Mormon prophet announced that he "had now completed the organization of the Church, and we had passed through all the necessary ceremonies."¹⁶⁶

After this announcement, Joseph received a new revelation in which Elijah gave him the sealing power of the Melchizedek priesthood (D&C 110), which he did not reveal or use in Kirtland.¹⁶⁷ Brigham Young taught that because of "mobocracy" no one received anything beyond a portion of his first endowments in the Kirtland temple, "or we might say more clearly, some of the first, or introductory, or initiatory ordinances, preparatory to an endowment,"¹⁶⁸ and that the preparatory ordinances administered in the Kirtland temple "were but a faint similitude of the ordinances of the House of the Lord in their fullness."¹⁶⁹

FREEMASONRY IN NAUVOO, ILLINOIS

Following the Morgan episode, many Masonic lodges in the United States disbanded—from 1826 to 1828 the number of lodges in New York decreased from 500 to less than 100—including the Grand Lodge of Illinois, which was organized in 1805. Shortly after the arrival of Joseph Smith and the Mormons in Commerce (later Nauvoo), Hancock County, Illinois, in

161. *History of the Church*, 2:308.

162. *Ibid.*, 379-82, 391-2; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 145, 156.

163. *History of the Church*, 2:379-82.

164. *Ibid.*, 386-88.

165. *Ibid.*, 391-92.

166. *Ibid.*, 410-33. Additional washing, anointing, and washing of feet was performed on April 3, 4, 5, and 6, 1837. See *ibid.*, 475-77.

167. See David John Buerger, "'The Fullness of the Priesthood': The Second Anointing in Latter-day Saint Theology and Practice," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Spring 1983): 15-16.

168. *Journal of Discourses* 2:31.

169. *Ibid.*, 31.

May 1839, the chartered lodges in the state organized a new Grand Lodge. On April 6, 1840, Abraham Jonas was elected Grand Master and James Adams was elected Deputy Grand Master.¹⁷⁰

At the time the Grand Lodge of Illinois was reorganized there were only about 2,000 Freemasons in the United States and little more than 100 in Illinois. Adams was a Mormon who had been baptized on December 4, 1836, and was acquainted with Joseph Smith.¹⁷¹ Shortly after the organization of the Grand Lodge, John C. Bennett, a former Campbellite minister who had known Sidney Rigdon and other early converts in Ohio,¹⁷² and a Mason who was initiated in Belmont Lodge No. 16, St. Clairsville, Belmont County, Ohio, in 1826, wrote at least three letters to Joseph Smith and Rigdon expressing his interest in joining the Saints and tendering his services to the church. At the time Bennett was Quarter Master General of Illinois and resided in Fairfield.¹⁷³ In August 1840 Smith responded to Bennett's first two letters by informing him that he was welcome to relocate in Nauvoo. Within days Bennett wrote that he would soon leave Fairfield for Nauvoo. On September 1, 1840, Bennett arrived in Nauvoo and one month later spoke "at some length" during church general conference.¹⁷⁴

Bennett soon became a prominent member of Nauvoo society. He was appointed by Smith to help secure a city charter, which he successfully accomplished in December 1840, and in January he was publicly cited as one of the "principal men in Illinois, who have listened to the doctrines we promulgate, have become obedient to the faith, and are rejoicing in the same."¹⁷⁵ Smith then received a revelation to build a temple and Bennett was specifically enlisted to "help [Smith] in your labor in sending my word to the kings and people of the earth, and stand by . . . Joseph Smith, in the hour of affliction, and its reward shall not fail, if he receive counsel."¹⁷⁶ Shortly afterward Bennett was elected mayor of Nauvoo, chancellor of the University of the City of Nauvoo, Major-General of the Nauvoo Legion, and in April 1841 became assistant president in the First Presidency.¹⁷⁷

On June 28, 1841, at the height of his influence, and while most of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles were in England serving missions, Bennett

170. *The Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Illinois, from its Organization in 1840-1850 Inclusive* (Freeport, IL: Journal Reprint, 1892), 1-5.

171. Mervin B. Hogan, "Mormonism and Freemasonry: The Illinois Episode," *The Little Masonic Library* 2 (1977): 311.

172. Van Wagoner, 27, 39n2.

173. *History of the Church*, 4:168-70, 172.

174. *Ibid.*, 177-79.

175. *Ibid.*, 270.

176. *Ibid.*, 275-76.

177. *Ibid.*, 287, 293, 295-96, 341.

addressed a communication to Bodley Lodge No. 1, Quincy, Illinois, perhaps at the urging of James Adams,¹⁷⁸ asking that it recommend that a Masonic lodge be established in Nauvoo. His request was denied because Mormons were “unknown to this lodge as Masons.”¹⁷⁹ If Joseph Smith, Sr., was an anti-Mason, his son had prudently waited until after his death in 1840 to authorize Bennett to seek a charter. W. W. Phelps had been excommunicated in 1838, and although he was reinstated in 1840, his influence on the issue of Freemasonry was apparently negligible.¹⁸⁰ On October 15, 1841, without Quincy Lodge’s recommendation, Grand Master Jonas, perhaps to obtain Mormon votes in the next election and further his own political ambitions, issued a dispensation authorizing the organization of a lodge in Nauvoo. When he issued this dispensation, Jonas apparently waived the requirement that an existing lodge make a recommendation and chose instead to do it on his own.¹⁸¹ When this dispensation was issued there were more than 100 members in the constituent lodges of Illinois.¹⁸² During the next two years, dispensations were authorized for four additional lodges made up almost exclusively of Mormons: Helm and Nye lodges in Nauvoo; Eagle Lodge in Keokuk, Iowa; and Rising Sun Lodge in Montrose, Iowa.

On December 29, 1841, eighteen Mormon Masons met in the office of Hyrum Smith to organize the Nauvoo Lodge. George D. Miller was elected Grand Master; John D. Parker, Grand Warden; and Lucius Scovill, Junior Warden. The following day Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon petitioned for membership in the Lodge. Their petition was reported favorably by an investigative committee of the Grand Lodge on February 3, 1842.¹⁸³ On March 15, 1842, the Nauvoo Lodge was installed by Grand Master Jonas at a grove near the temple grounds and Miller, Parker and Scovill were installed as its officers. That evening Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon were initiated as Entered Apprentices in Smith’s business office in the Red Brick Store.¹⁸⁴ The following day Smith and Rigdon were passed as Fellow Craft and raised as Master Masons. Within five months the Nauvoo Lodge had initiated 256 candidates and raised 243 others, which “was six times as

178. Godfrey, 83, citing James J. Tyler, *John Cook Bennett* (n.p., n.d.).

179. John C. Reynolds, *History of the M.W. Grand Lodge of Illinois . . .* (Springfield, IL: H.G. Reynolds, Jr., 1869), 154; *Records of Bodley Lodge, No. 1, Quincy, Illinois*.

180. *History of the Church*, 4:164.

181. Reynolds, 184.

182. Sam H. Goodwin, *Mormonism and Masonry: A Utah Point of View* (Salt Lake City: Sugarhouse Press, 1921), 4.

183. Mervin B. Hogan, ed., *Founding Minutes of the Nauvoo Lodge, U.D.* (Des Moines, IA: Research Lodge No. 2, 1971), 8, 10.

184. *History of the Church*, 4:550, 566.

many initiations and elevations as all the other lodges in the state combined."¹⁸⁵ Neither Phelps nor George Washington Harris, who both lived in Nauvoo, petitioned for membership.

Two days after the installation of Nauvoo Lodge Smith helped to organize the Female Relief Society in the "Lodge Room" at the Red Brick Store. The prophet gave instructions concerning "the Elect Lady"—who is discussed in John 2, was the name of a degree in a French Adoptive Rite which admitted women and was recognized by the Grand Orient in 1774,¹⁸⁶ and would be used as the name of the fifth degree in the adoptive ritual of Eastern Star in 1868¹⁸⁷—and told the women that revelations concerning the title were fulfilled with the appointment of his wife Emma as society president.¹⁸⁸ In subsequent Relief Society meetings additional Masonic terms were used, including references to the society as an "Institution" on March 24,¹⁸⁹ statements by the prophet on March 30 that "the Society go into close examination of every candidate—that they were going too fast—that the Society should grow up by degrees"; that "the Society should move according to the ancient Priesthood . . . said he was going to make this Society a kingdom of priests as in Enoch's day—as in Pauls' day"; and his exhortation that the sisters be "sufficiently skill'd in Masonry as to keep a secret" and to be "good masons."¹⁹⁰

Shortly after organization of the Nauvoo Lodge and the Female Relief Society, John C. Bennett withdrew from the church and resigned as mayor of Nauvoo.¹⁹¹ After falling into disfavor, Bennett asked to meet with Hyrum Smith, as representative of the Masonic fraternity, and with Joseph Smith, as church representative, to seek forgiveness. During the meeting Bennett reportedly acknowledged that Joseph had never taught "fornication and adultery—or polygamy."¹⁹² When Mormons later discovered that Bennett had been discharged from a Masonic lodge in Ohio,¹⁹³ he was expelled from

185. Godfrey, 79.

186. See Henry Wilson Coil, *Coil's Masonic Encyclopedia* (New York: Macoy Publishing & Masonic Supply Co., 1961), 9.

187. See Macoy, 123, 130. See also *Order of the Eastern Star. An Instructive Manual on the Organization and Government of Chapters of the Order with Ceremonies and Ritual*, arrang. F. A. Bell (Chicago: Ezra A. Cook Publications, Ltd., 1948), 20-22, 88-93.

188. *History of the Church*, 4:552-53.

189. Minutes of the Relief Society, 24 Mar. 1842, archives, historical department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS archives).

190. *Ibid.*, 8 Sept. 1842 (recording an epistle read on March 30).

191. John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints* (Boston: Leland & Whiting, 1842), 40-41; *History of the Church*, 5:12, 71.

192. *History of the Church*, 5:71-73.

193. Mervin B. Hogan, "The Confrontation of Grand Master Abraham Jonas and John

Nauvoo Lodge, and because of his ongoing dispute with Joseph and Hyrum he was disfellowshipped and later excommunicated from the church.¹⁹⁴

Following expulsion from the church, Bennett published a series of articles in the *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield, Illinois) in which he attacked the church and its doctrines and accused it of creating a ritual similar to the rites of Freemasonry. A book, *History of the Saints*, which incorporated many of these articles, was published shortly thereafter in Boston. Joseph Smith printed a statement of "Important Facts Relative to the Conduct and Character of John C. Bennett . . . That the Honorable Part of the Community May be Aware of his Proceedings . . . as an Imposter and Base Adulterer."¹⁹⁵

At the same time Bodley Lodge No. 1, citing alleged irregularities, asked Grand Master Jonas to suspend the dispensation of Nauvoo Lodge until the next annual communication of the Grand Lodge in October.¹⁹⁶ The Lodge also requested that the Grand Lodge investigate the "manner the officers of the Nauvoo Lodge, U.D. were installed" and by what authority the Grand Masters purported to initiate, pass, and raise Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon "at one and the same time."¹⁹⁷ (It is unlikely that there is a connection between Bodley Lodge's request and Bennett's allegations concerning a new Mormon ritual.) On August 11, 1842, the Nauvoo Lodge was suspended by the Grand Lodge of Illinois until the annual communication with the Grand Lodge because of alleged irregularities. At the time of its suspension, the Nauvoo Lodge had initiated 286 candidates, 256 of whom had been raised as Master Masons.¹⁹⁸ The following October the Grand Lodge voted to investigate irregularities by the Nauvoo Lodge and report its findings to the Grand Master.¹⁹⁹ During the same meeting it was reported that there were 480 Masons in twelve lodges in Illinois. Of that number, the Nauvoo Lodge accounted for 253.²⁰⁰

Following receipt of this investigation, Grand Master Helm lifted the suspension and allowed the Nauvoo Lodge to resume labor. The committee of investigation found that although irregularities had occurred—"the practice of balloting for more than one applicant at one and the same time" and "an applicant of at least doubtful character was received on a promise

C. Bennett in Nauvoo" (Privately printed, 1976), 8-9.

194. *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Illinois*, 78; Dean Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1989-92), 2:387.

195. *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 July 1842): 839-43.

196. Reynolds, 174-75.

197. *Ibid.*, 175.

198. Goodwin, 1921, 13.

199. *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Illinois*, 59-60.

200. Reynolds, 174.

of reformation and restitution"—work should be allowed to commence after the lodge is reminded of these irregularities and admonished not to continue them.²⁰¹ No mention was made of Bennett's allegations of a clandestine ritual.

After the renewal of Nauvoo Lodge's dispensation other dispensations were granted by the Grand Master for Helm Lodge and Nye Lodge (both in Nauvoo) and Eagle Lodge (in Keokuk),²⁰² all of which were made up almost entirely of Mormons. In addition, Worshipful Master Hyrum Smith²⁰³ laid the cornerstone for a Masonic temple in Nauvoo. The Grand Lodge also granted a charter to Rising Sun Lodge in Montrose.²⁰⁴ The Grand Lodge reported that Rising Sun Lodge had forty-five members, out of a total of 439 among all lodges. Significantly, all of this occurred after Joseph Smith introduced the temple endowment to the "Holy Order." Regardless of the relationship between Masonry and Mormonism, Smith kept the activities of the Lodge and the Holy Order separate.

In October 1843 the Grand Lodge cited additional irregularities—"gathering members without regard to character," advancing members too rapidly, and the failure of Nauvoo Lodge to bring their records before the Committee on Returns and Work of Lodges—when it revoked the dispensations of Nauvoo, Nye, Helm, and Eagle lodges and suspended the charter of Rising Sun Lodge.²⁰⁵ Given the number of initiations, it is not unrealistic to assume that the motivating factor for refusing to charter and suspending the dispensations was, according to one prominent Masonic historian, a "well-founded fear that within a short time the Mormon Lodges, if allowed to continue, would become more numerous than all others in the jurisdiction, and thus be able to control the Grand Lodge."²⁰⁶

Despite suspension of these dispensations, which apparently had nothing to do with Joseph Smith's introduction of the temple endowment, the lodges in Nauvoo continued to do work, claiming that they had not received proper notice of the withdrawal of their dispensations. In short the Mormon lodges refused to acknowledge the legitimacy, if not the authority, of the Grand Lodge to decertify them. Significantly, a Masonic Hall which, under the direction of Lucius Scoville,²⁰⁷ took less than one year

201. *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Illinois*, 71-72; Reynolds, 172-73.

202. Reynolds, 226; *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Illinois*, 120-21.

203. *History of the Church*, 5:446.

204. Reynolds, 192-93.

205. *Ibid.*, 199-200; *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Illinois*, 96-97.

206. Joseph E. Morcombe, "Masonry and Mormonism," *Masonic Standard* 11 (1 Sept. 1906): 6.

207. *History of the Church*, 6:285.

to construct,²⁰⁸ was completed and dedicated on April 5, 1844.²⁰⁹ Joseph Smith attended and spoke at the dedication, which was presided over by Worshipful Master Hyrum Smith, and the Masonic address was delivered by Erastus Snow. As many as 550 Masons attended the ceremony,²¹⁰ and at least one lodge in Illinois investigated members who attended because of their association with “clandestine Masons of Nauvoo.”²¹¹ During the ceremony “the subject of the oppression and ill treatment of the Grand Lodge was spoken of.”²¹² This referred to the revocation of dispensations and suspension of a charter for the five Mormon lodges and perhaps to the failed efforts of George Watt and Horace Eldredge, who were both in attendance at the dedication, to obtain new dispensations. Thus Mormons had a beautiful temple but no recognized lodges.²¹³ Less than three months after dedication of the Masonic Hall, Joseph and Hyrum Smith were assassinated by a mob in Carthage, Illinois, which included a number of Freemasons. Shortly after his death it was reported that Joseph had given the Masonic distress call before falling through the jail window.²¹⁴

In October 1844 the Grand Lodge of Illinois severed all relations with Nauvoo, Helm, and Nye lodges because they refused to surrender their dispensations to Grand Lodge representatives. The Grand Lodge also voted to declare the work of these lodges clandestine, suspended their members from the privileges of Masonry,²¹⁵ and appointed a committee to determine if the dispensation of Eagle Lodge should be renewed.²¹⁶ One year later the Grand Lodge failed to renew the dispensation of Eagle Lodge.²¹⁷

Despite Mormon suspicions that their Masonic brethren had helped plan and participated in the murders of Hyrum and Joseph, and the withdrawal of recognition by the Grand Lodge, Nauvoo Lodge continued

208. Hogan notes that the “first recorded intimation of possibly building its own Masonic Temple is dated Thursday, February 16, 1843, at the regular meeting of Nauvoo Lodge.” Hyrum Smith laid the cornerstone on June 24, 1843, during a ceremony attended by eight officers and 107 members of Nauvoo Lodge and forty-three visiting Masons. John Taylor delivered an oration. See Hogan, “The Erection and Dedication of the Nauvoo Masonic Temple” (Salt Lake City, 27 Dec. 1976), 3-6. See also *History of the Church*, 5:446.

209. Reynolds, 244.

210. *History of the Church*, 6:287. See also Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 2:373. According to Hogan, the lodge minutes indicate that there were ten officers, 318 members of Nauvoo Lodge, and fifty-one masonic visitors in attendance. See Hogan, “Erection and Dedication,” 13.

211. Reynolds, 254-57.

212. Hogan, “Erection and Dedication,” 13.

213. Diary of Horace Eldredge, 6 Apr. 1844, LDS archives.

214. *Times and Seasons* 5 (15 July 1844): 585.

215. Reynolds, 232.

216. *Ibid.*, 228.

217. *Ibid.*, 261.

to initiate new members. At the time of Joseph's assassination there were approximately 700 Master Masons listed in the minute book of the lodge. By the end of 1845 there were over 1,000 Master Masons listed by lodge which indicates that lodge work continued at nearly the same pace during the one and one-half years after the Smiths' deaths as it did during the previous two and one half years.²¹⁸ Reed C. Durham counted a total of 1,366 Master Masons in the five Mormon lodges.²¹⁹ Not until the Nauvoo temple opened in the midst of the chaos associated with the evacuation of the city did lodge work cease.

THE MORMON TEMPLE ENDOWMENT IN NAUVOO, ILLINOIS

Although Mormon Masons continued to do lodge work after their lodges were disorganized in Nauvoo, their primary goal was to complete the temple they had been commanded to build (D&C 124:37). During the general church conference which began the day after dedication of the Masonic temple, both Hyrum Smith, who had presided over the dedication, and Brigham Young urged church members to "build up the Temple" where they would "get your washings, anointings, and endowments."²²⁰ Hyrum even said, "I cannot make a comparison between the House of God and anything now in existence. Great things are to grow out of that house. There is a great and mighty power to grow out of it. There is an endowment. Knowledge is power. We want knowledge."²²¹ He also informed the sisters that they "shall have a seat in that house" and that "We are designated by the All-seeing Eye to do good, not to stoop to anything low."²²²

Within this temple the full endowment—which would be compared to the degrees of Freemasonry and provide Mormonism with a ritual in an otherwise ritual-less church—would be performed. This new ceremony was so important that Joseph Smith revealed it to a select few (just as he had done with the Kirtland endowment) before the temple was completed. On May 3, 1842, Smith asked Lucius Scoville (who also directed construction of the Masonic Hall) and several others "to work and fit up" the upper rooms of Smith's red brick store—where Smith and Rigdon had been initiated as Entered Apprentices, passed as Fellow Crafts, and raised as Master Masons six weeks earlier—"preparatory to

218. See Nauvoo Masonic Lodge Minute Book, LDS archives. See also Mervin B. Hogan, *The Official Minutes of Nauvoo Lodge U.D.* (Des Moines, IA, 4 Apr. 1974), 49-81.

219. Durham, 17.

220. *History of the Church*, 6:321-22. For Hyrum Smith's address, see *ibid.*, 298-301.

221. *Ibid.*, 298-99.

222. *Ibid.*, 299.

giving endowments to a few Elders."²²³ The next day Smith initiated and "endowed" nine men—Hyrum Smith, church patriarch and first counselor; William Law, second counselor; apostles Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards; as well as Newell K. Whitney (Ward Bishop), George Miller (Master of Nauvoo Lodge), William Marks (Nauvoo Stake President), and James Adams (Deputy Grand Master of Grand Lodge of Illinois), all of whom were Masons—into a "Quorum of the Anointed" or "Holy Order."²²⁴ These nine men were anointed as kings and priests²²⁵ and were given keys pertaining to the Aaronic priesthood and the highest order of the Melchizedek priesthood and the fullness of blessings prepared for the Church of the First Born.²²⁶ On May 5 Joseph received his endowment.²²⁷ The giving of endowments was repeated on May 26 and 28.²²⁸

It may not be coincidental that the Holy Order consisted of nine men.²²⁹ A Royal Arch Chapter, also known as the Holy Order of the Royal Arch,²³⁰ consists of at least nine Master Masons,²³¹ and was the next logical step in Freemasonry for those who had advanced to the third degree. If a Master Mason wished to progress further, he would petition for membership in a Royal Arch Chapter, which, after the organization of the General Grand Chapter in January 1798, was independent from a Master Mason's lodge. Although a comparatively small proportion of Masons in Joseph Smith's

223. "The Higher Ordinances," *Deseret News Semi-Weekly*, 15 Feb. 1884, 2.

224. B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1930), 2:135-36 (hereafter *Comprehensive History*); *Complainants Abstract of Pleading in Evidence in the Circuit Court of the United States, Western District of Missouri, Western Division at Kansas City, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints, Complainant, vs. The Church of Christ at Independence, Missouri* (Lamoni, IA: Herald House, 1893), 299.

225. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 2:270-72 (6 Aug. 1843); *Times and Seasons* 5 (1 June 1845): 920.

226. *History of the Church*, 5:1-2.

227. *Ibid.*, 2-3; "Manuscript History of Brigham Young," 116, LDS archives.

228. "Manuscript History of Brigham Young," 129.

229. I realize there were actually ten men present if one counts Joseph Smith, as Heber C. Kimball did when he wrote that he was endowed "in company with nine others" (Kimball Journal, 1845, under "Strange Events," 114). It is also true, however, that Joseph was not initiated the same day as the rest of the quorum. See "Manuscript History of Brigham Young," 116; *History of the Church*, 5:2-3. I am indebted to Richard S. Van Wagoner who first mentioned to me the possibility of a connection between Royal Arch Masonry and the endowment.

230. Waite, 2:375-78.

231. John Sheville and James L. Gould, *Guide to the Royal Arch Chapter: A Complete Monitor for Royal Arch Masonry, etc. To which are added monitorial instructions in the Holy Order of High Priesthood in Royal Arch Masonry, with the Ceremonies of the Order*, by James L. Gould (New York: Masonic Publishing and Manufacturing Co., 1868), 50-51, 132-34.

time advanced beyond the third degree, the Royal Arch degree was the logical sequence in the Hiram legend²³² set forth in the Third or Master Mason degree because it complimented the "loss" theme (loss of the Master Masons or Ineffable Word) and provided a link between construction of the first temple (of Solomon) and the second (by Zerubabel).²³³

When the Craft adopted the Hiram legend (between 1723-25) it sowed the seeds for expanding the ritual to provide for the recovery of the Master's word, which is accomplished in the Royal Arch Degree. The Master's word is lost in the third degree after the death of Hiram Abiff, "until time or circumstances shall restore the genuine."²³⁴ A Royal Arch Chapter "represents the Tabernacle erected . . . near the ruins of King Solomon's Temple" after the Jewish return from captivity when a second temple is constructed on the site of the first.²³⁵ During construction of a new temple more than four hundred years later, the Master's word is restored,²³⁶ replacing the substituted words given in the third degree. Because the Royal Arch degree—the seventh degree of Freemasonry and the "principal of the four degrees conferred by a [Royal Arch] chapter, as the third degree is the chiefest in the lodge of master Masons"²³⁷—restores lost secrets, it has been described as "indescribably more august, sublime, and important than all which precede it, and is the summit and perfection of ancient Masonry."²³⁸

The original Royal Arch degree was developed in the mid-eighteenth century, and its rituals were performed in unrecognized separate chapters until the Antients accepted it as a fourth degree. Although the competing Grand Lodge of the moderns did not initially recognize it, Royal Arch was vindicated in 1813 when the United Grand Lodge—which united the antients and moderns—defined "Pure Antient Masonry" as Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason, including the Order of the Holy Royal Arch.²³⁹ Most Masons during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries believed that "ancient Masonry closes with the degree of royal arch" and that all subsequent degrees were of modern origin "and of little

232. Roy A. Wells, *The Rise and Development of Organized Freemasonry* (London: Lewis Masonic, 1986), 151.

233. Roy A. Wells, *Understanding Freemasonry* (London: Lewis Masonic, 1991), 8.

234. *Ibid.*, 204.

235. Robert Macoy, *General History, Cyclopaedia and Dictionary of Freemasonry* (New York: Masonic Publishing Co., 1869), 335, 368. This book includes a reprint of George Oliver's *A Dictionary of Symbolic Masonry*, 397-700.

236. *Ibid.*, 11.

237. Stone, 43.

238. Macoy, 332, 502-503; Sheville, 131-32.

239. Christopher Haffner, *Regularity of Origin* (Hong Kong: Paul Chater Lodge, 1986),

importance."²⁴⁰ At the time Joseph Smith was initiated into Freemasonry, the first Royal Arch Chapter in Illinois (Springfield Chapter No. 1) had been granted a dispensation (July 20, 1841) and a charter (September 17, 1841).²⁴¹ The degrees of the Holy Royal Arch were generally known to interested Masons through exposés published by the Lewiston Committee and by Bernard; it is also likely that James Adams, a Mormon and a Mason (Past Master of Springfield Lodge No. 4 [1839] and Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Illinois [1840-41]) was familiar with the ritual since he lived in Springfield—which had the only Royal Arch Chapter in Illinois—until his death on August 8, 1843.²⁴² Members of a Royal Arch Chapter could receive four degrees—Mark Master, Past Master, Most Excellent Master, and Royal Arch Mason—and one honorary degree—Anointed Order of High Priesthood.²⁴³ According to William Morgan, who was indisputably a Royal Arch Mason, it was “not an uncommon thing, by any means, for a chapter to confer all four degrees in one night.”²⁴⁴

A Royal Arch Chapter has nine officers. The presiding officers, or Grand Council, consist of a High Priest, King, and Scribe (or Prophet) (see Illustration 1).²⁴⁵ The High Priest is the first officer of a Chapter and wears clothing similar to those of a Hebrew priest,²⁴⁶ including a miter, upon which is inscribed “HOLINESS TO THE LORD,” the motto of Royal Arch Masonry to “be engraven upon all our thoughts, words and actions.”²⁴⁷ He also wears a shirt or tunic reaching to his feet, a robe, an ephod, and a breastplate. In ancient times a Urim and Thummim was placed in a High Priest’s breastplate to facilitate the giving of oracular answers.²⁴⁸ The High Priest, whose honorary title is Most Excellent,²⁴⁹ officiates in the “Taberna-

240. Stone, 54.

241. See *Memorial Volume of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the State of Illinois* (Springfield, IL: Phillips Bros., 1924), 10-14.

242. Unfortunately it is impossible to determine whether Adams was a member of Springfield Chapter No. 1 R.A.M. since chapter records prior to 1850 were destroyed in a fire. See *Illinois Masonic Directory* (Springfield, 1953), 6.

243. Although this ritual has never been exposed, it is mentioned by Thomas Smith Webb, who created the degree, in the second edition (1802) of his *Monitor* and by Cross in 1820. See Thomas Smith Webb, *The Freemason’s Monitor; or, Illustrations of Masonry* (New York: Southwick and Crooker, 1802), 197-200; Cross, 129-166. See also George W. Warvelle, *Observations on Order of High Priesthood*, 2d. ed. (Chicago: J. C. Burmeister, 1915); Sheville, 209-229; Albert G. Mackey, *An Encyclopaedia of Freemasonry and its Kindred Sciences*, New and Revised Edition, (Philadelphia: L.H. Everts & Co., 1887), 338 *et. seq.*

244. Morgan, 94; Bernard, 85-86.

245. Sheville, 132; Macoy, 458.

246. Macoy, 303; Mackey, 319.

247. Macoy, 250, 303; Mackey, 338.

248. Macoy, 390.

249. *Ibid.*, 256.



Illustration 1. The three principal officers of a Royal Arch Chapter: King (Senior Warden), High Priest (Master), and Scribe (Junior Warden). The High Priest, who is the presiding officer, is decorated with a mitre and breastplate. Only those who have been elected to preside as High Priest in a Royal Arch Chapter may be received into the Order of High Priesthood. (Cross, 38.)

cle" with four veils through which an initiate must pass before being admitted into the Holy of Holies.²⁵⁰

The fifth and honorary degree of a Royal Arch Chapter, the Anointed Order of the High Priesthood, is also known as the Holy Order of High Priesthood. It is only conferred upon past High Priests who have ruled over a Royal Arch Chapter.²⁵¹ It was created by Thomas Smith Webb in 1798²⁵² (who incorporated pre-existing rituals including those of the Knight Templars) and was adopted by the General Grand Chapter on January 10, 1799.²⁵³ In this degree the jewel of a past High Priest is a plate of gold in a triple triangle.²⁵⁴ The ritual, when "performed in ample form," requires the "assistance of at least nine High Priests, who have received it"²⁵⁵ and is dedicated to and includes a history of the Old Testament patriarch Melchizedek.²⁵⁶ It also includes a consecration and anointing,²⁵⁷ and candidates are said to be "anointed into the Holy Order of the High-Priesthood."²⁵⁸

Just as Masonic ritual was undergoing growth, expansion, and revision during the century which preceded the organization of the LDS church, early Mormon leaders taught that Joseph Smith expanded, revised, and restored the rituals of Freemasonry, which most church leaders believed had originated in Solomon's temple but had been corrupted during the Great Apostasy. At the dedication of the St. George temple in 1877 Brigham Young taught that although "Solomon built a Temple for the purpose of giving endowments" few if any were given because "one of the high priests was murdered by wicked and corrupt men . . . because he would not reveal those things appertaining to the Priesthood that were forbidden him to reveal until he came to the proper place."²⁵⁹ With the death of this "high priest" an important part of the ritual was lost. Although the Royal Arch degree is similar to the first three degrees—it includes signs, tokens, penalties, and key words—it is also distinct since the Master Mason's word is

250. *Ibid.*, 390-91; Sheville, 131-208.

251. Sheville, 209; Macoy, 168; Pick and Knight, 292.

252. Henry Leonard Stillson, ed., *History of the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons* (Boston: Fraternity Publishing Co., 1910), 640-41; Mackey's *Encyclopaedia* (1878), 339-340.

253. Mackey, 388.

254. Macoy, 283.

255. Mackey, 338.

256. *Ibid.*, 247; Sheville, 212.

257. George W. Warvelle, *Observations on the Order of High Priesthood*, 2d ed. (Chicago: J. C. Burmeister, 1915); Fred L. Pick and G. Norman Knight, *The Freemason's Pocket Reference Book*, 7th ed. (London: Frederick Muller, Ltd., 1983), 144.

258. Sheville, 212.

259. *Journal of Discourses* 18:303.

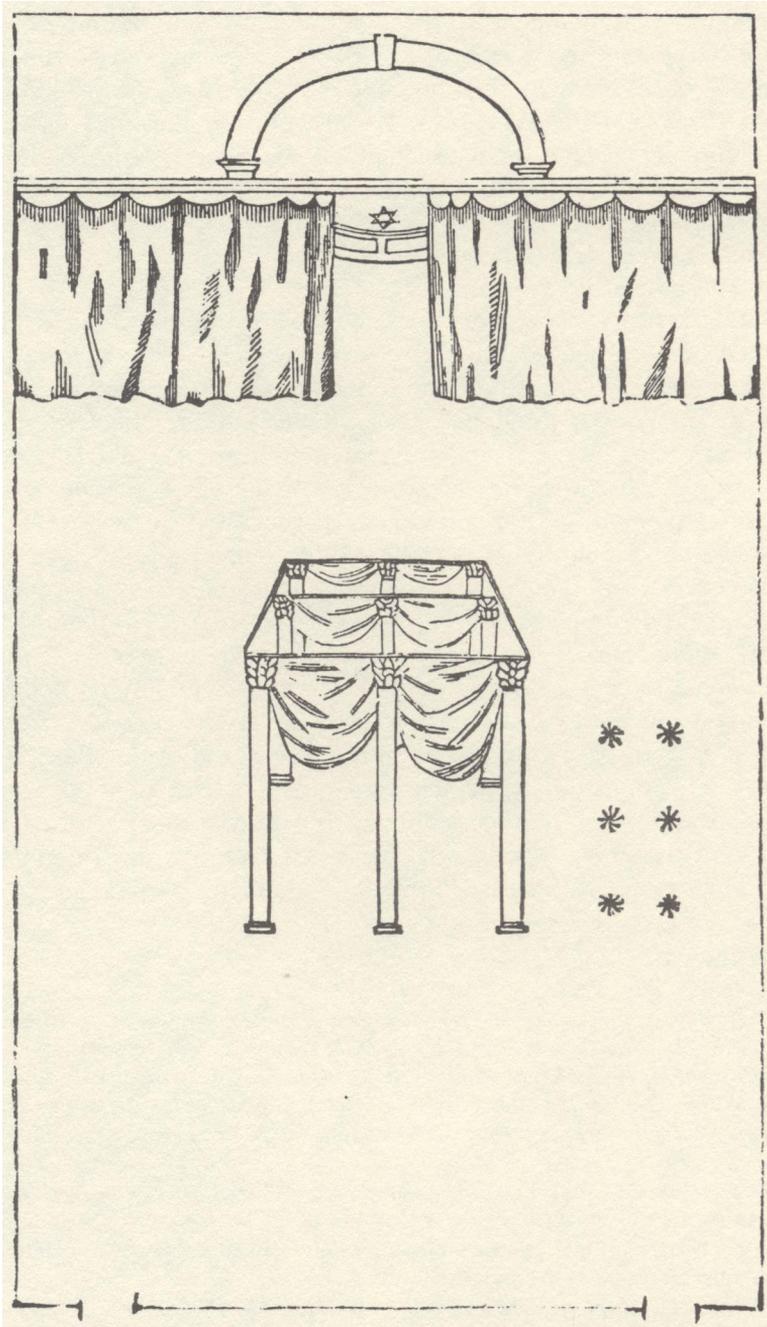


Illustration 2. The veils in the Royal Arch degree. (Cross, 37.)

restored and a candidate passes through four veils to be “admitted within the veil of God’s presence, where they will become kings and priests before the throne of his glory for ever and ever.”²⁶⁰ (See Illustration 2.) Furthermore, a Royal Arch Mason is “exalted” and a crown is placed on his head.²⁶¹ Those who have been exalted are eligible to be consecrated and anointed in the Holy Order of the High Priesthood. The Mormon endowment, like the Royal Arch, restored the “key word” and temple ritual during construction of the next temple (Nauvoo) and enabled initiates to pass through a veil and become exalted as kings.²⁶²

But if the rituals of Masonry were the starting point, and the Red Brick Store became the Tabernacle before completion of the Temple, Joseph was also instrumental in effecting important changes. On September 28, 1843, wives of men who had previously been initiated into the Holy Order began to be endowed, anointed,²⁶³ and sealed to their husbands in the “New and Everlasting Covenant” of eternal marriage.²⁶⁴ This was a startling development since women had not previously participated in the Holy Order (although the Female Relief Society was organized within days of the Nauvoo Lodge) and female participation in the rituals of regular Freemasonry was (and is) prohibited. Nevertheless, some American and British Masons favored female participation and French Masonry officially recognized female Lodges of Adoption in 1774.²⁶⁵ Like the French Lodges of Adoption—which are called “Institutions”; whose lodge rooms are called “Eden”²⁶⁶; and whose “companion” ritual is organized around the “Garden of Eden” legend, including the temptation of Eve with an apple plucked and presented²⁶⁷—women were initiated into the Masonic-like ritual of the Holy Order and, like a Royal Arch Chapter—whose members are referred to as “companions” rather than “brother”—Joseph (or his wife Emma) was

260. Town, 76.

261. Ibid.

262. Some early participants in the endowment believed that the veil was “in imitation of the one in Solomon’s Temple” (see *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 28 Sept. 1879, 4), and that the temple garment represented the “white stone” or new name given to each candidate (see Thomas White, *The Mormon Mysteries; Being and Exposition of the Ceremonies of “The Endowment” and of the Seven Degrees of the Temple* [New York: Edmund K. Knowlton, 1851], 7).

263. D. Michael Quinn, “Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles,” *Brigham Young University Studies* 19 (Fall 1978): 86; in Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal*, 2:313 (28 Sept. 1843), Woodruff only recorded that: “President Joseph Smith received his second Anointing this day.” No reference is made to Emma Smith.

264. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal*, 2:340-41, 344, 346, 354.

265. Mackey, 27-28.

266. Ibid., 29, 31.

267. Ibid., 30.

referred to as "companion."²⁶⁸ The inclusion of women in these sacred ordinances, previously reserved for men, may have had as much to do with ritually teaching both men and women the virtue of silence regarding the still-secret practice of plural marriage (which was introduced to a small circle of Joseph's most trusted friends as early as 1841) as it did with ritually securing patriarchal authority and obedience over female participants.²⁶⁹

In 1843 Joseph also introduced a final ritual, the "highest and holiest order of the priesthood," or "second anointing."²⁷⁰ Although recipients of the endowment and second anointing were gradually expanded to include about 100 people prior to Joseph's death, it was not until September 10, 1845, after the Nauvoo temple was sufficiently complete to accommodate large audiences, that all worthy Latter-day Saints were invited to participate in the endowment.²⁷¹ Temple work was also done vicariously for the dead, including baptisms, washings, anointings, and sealings.²⁷² The one hundred persons who received their endowments prior to September 1845²⁷³ increased to more than 1,000 by the end of that year²⁷⁴; and by May 1846, when the temple was dedicated and then abandoned, more than 5,634 had received their endowments.²⁷⁵ Al-

268. Scott H. Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1987), 416: "Beurach Ale [Joseph Smith] was by common consent & unanimous voice chosen President of the quorum & anointed & ord to the highest and holiest order of the priesthood (& companion)." Quinn's transcription of this entry ends "(& companion—d[itt]o." Faulring intimates and Quinn specifically states that the word "companion" refers to Joseph's companion, Emma, who was ordained as a queen and priestess (Quinn, 85). While Quinn is probably correct, it is interesting that Emma is not named as being in attendance in Faulring's or Quinn's transcription or in the account contained in *History of the Church*, 6:39, or in *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 2:313 (even though later entries do list wives as being present). Nevertheless, it is well established that Emma was a member of the Holy Order, and there is apparently no other reference to her initiation. See "Manuscript History of Brigham Young," 154-59 (22 Oct. 1843-28 Jan. 1844). See also Faulring, 418, 425, 426, 440, 441-42, 444, 445.

269. Launius, 123-24.

270. Faulring, 416 (28 Sept. 1843); George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1991), 202n5; Buerger, "'The Fulness of the Priesthood,'" 16-22.

271. Quinn, 93.

272. Gordon I. Irving, "The Law of Adoption: One Phase of the Development of the Mormon Concept of Salvation, 1830-1900," *Brigham Young University Studies* 14 (Spring 1974): 291-314; Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 2:340-41.

273. Andrew F. Ehat, ed., "'They Might Have Known That He Was Not a Fallen Prophet': The Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," *Brigham Young University Studies* 19 (Winter 1979): 97-98.

274. *History of the Church*, 7:556.

275. Buerger, 25n48; John K. Edmonds, *Through Temple Doors* (Salt Lake City:

though the term "Holy Order" still occasionally referred to endowments after construction of the Endowment House in Salt Lake City,²⁷⁶ its status as an "order" or "quorum" declined at the same time as its exclusivity.

OFFICIAL DESCRIPTIONS OF THE TEMPLE ENDOWMENT

Since the introduction of the endowment in 1842, no official text of the ceremony has been released by the LDS church. This has given more credibility to unauthorized exposés than would otherwise be the case. The uninitiated, however, have not relied exclusively on exposés by ex-Mormons for information about the endowment. There are contemporary accounts of the ceremony recorded in private journals,²⁷⁷ and from time to time church leaders have commented on its content and meaning.²⁷⁸ These statements provide a general outline of the endowment ceremony and some idea of changes which have been introduced from 1842 to the present.

Although church leaders teach that Joseph Smith "himself organized every endowment in our church and revealed the same to the Church,"²⁷⁹ most observers agree that significant changes have been introduced during the past 150 years.²⁸⁰ Like the rites of Freemasonry, the Mormon temple endowment ceremony has undergone modifications and revisions. Joseph Smith instructed Brigham Young to develop the ceremony after its initial introduction in the Red Brick Store.²⁸¹ John Hyde wrote that the ceremony in early territorial Utah was "being constantly amended and corrected," and that Heber C. Kimball would say, "We will get it perfect by-and-by."²⁸² Wilford Woodruff recorded in 1877 that Brigham Young asked that he and Brigham Young, Jr., "write out the ceremony of the endowments from Beginning to End,"²⁸³ and

Bookcraft, 1978), 72.

276. See *Journal of Discourses* 24:63 (18 Mar. 1883).

277. See, for example, Heber C. Kimball Diary, 15-21 Dec. 1845, LDS archives.

278. See James E. Talmage, *The House of the Lord* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1912), 99-100; Edmunds, *Through the Temple Doors*; and Boyd K. Packer, *The Holy Temple* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980).

279. *Journal of Discourses* 23:131-32; see also 362-63.

280. While it has occasionally been claimed that the ceremony has remained unchanged (see Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage* [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1905], 87), church authorities have revealed that this is not the case (see, e.g., Packer, 191-206).

281. L. John Nuttall Journal, 7 Feb. 1877, Special Collections, Lee Library.

282. Hyde, 100.

283. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff Journal*, 7:322.

that at the conclusion of this process "President Young has been laboring all winter to get up a perfect form of endowments as far as possible."²⁸⁴ Sixteen years later Woodruff met with the Quorum of Twelve and the four temple presidents to "harmonize" the various ceremonies.²⁸⁵ In the twentieth century other changes have been reported.²⁸⁶ However, these have not significantly altered official descriptions of the endowment by church authorities.

Latter-day prophets teach that the endowment provides "knowledge of all that affects our salvation and exaltation in His kingdom"²⁸⁷ and consists of a "step-by-step ascent into the eternal Presence"²⁸⁸ during which "certain special, spiritual blessings [are] given [to] worthy and faithful saints" who "are endowed with power from on high"²⁸⁹ and are thereby "enabled to secure the fullness of those blessings which have been prepared for the Church of the Firstborn"²⁹⁰ in the celestial kingdom.²⁹¹ The structure of the endowment consists of washings and anointings (initiatory or preparatory ordinances first given in the Kirtland Temple), obtaining a garment, receiving a new name or key-word, and a creation drama wherein one receives instruction, signs, tokens, obligations, and (prior to April 1990) penalties.²⁹²

Washings and Anointings

Joseph Smith told the Quorum of Twelve Apostles of an awaited endowment in October 1835.²⁹³ These initiatory rites—ritual washings and

284. *Ibid.*, 322-23, 325-27, 337, 340-41.

285. *Ibid.*, 9:267.

286. See *Salt Lake Tribune*, 4 June 1923; *Los Angeles Times*, 5 May 1990.

287. *Journal of Discourses* 4:160-61.

288. David O. McKay, quoted by Truman G. Madsen in a Brigham Young University Ten-State Fireside Address, 5 May 1972.

289. Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1958), 209.

290. Joseph Fielding Smith, comp. *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1938), 237. See also *History of the Church*, 4:24.

291. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, comp. Bruce R. McConkie (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1956), 3:225; McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 704.

292. See *History of the Church*, 5:2 ("I spent the day . . . instructing 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"); and John A. Widtsoe, "Temple Worship," *The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 12 (Apr. 1921): 58 ("The endowment and temple work as revealed by the Lord to the Prophet Joseph Smith . . . fall clearly into four distinct parts: the preparatory ordinances; the giving of instructions by lectures and representations; covenants; and, finally, tests of knowledge").

293. *History of the Church*, 2:287; Jesse, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 61.

anointings—were introduced in the Kirtland temple on January 21, 1836.²⁹⁴ One month later, after the introduction of the ordinance of washing the feet,²⁹⁵ Smith announced that he “had now completed the organization of the Church, and we had passed through all the necessary ceremonies.”²⁹⁶ Seventeen years later Brigham Young taught that “Those first Elders . . . received a portion of their first endowments, or we might say more clearly, some of the first, or introductory, or initiatory ordinances, preparatory to an endowment.”²⁹⁷ He also stated that many of those who received these initiatory ordinances eventually apostatized because they thought that they had received all necessary ordinances but that more came in Nauvoo.

After being forced to abandon Kirtland and settlements in Missouri, Joseph Smith received a revelation on January 19, 1841, about “the Temple ritual to the world as fully as it has ever been described to the public”²⁹⁸: “Therefore, verily I say unto you, that your anointings, and your washings . . . and endowment of all her municipals, are ordained by the ordinance of my holy house which my people are always commanded to build unto my holy name” (D&C 124:39).²⁹⁹

The Garment

According to Elder Boyd K. Packer,³⁰⁰ of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, “The ordinances of washing and anointing are referred to often in the temple as initiatory ordinances. . . . In connection with these ordinances, in the temple, you will be officially clothed in the garment and promised marvelous blessings in connection with it.”³⁰¹

The New Name or Key-word

On April 2, 1843, Joseph Smith gave the following instructions concerning a “white stone” mentioned in Revelation 2:17: “And a white stone is given to each of those who come into the celestial kingdom, whereon is a

294. *History of the Church*, 2:379-82, 391-92; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 145-46.

295. *History of the Church*, 2:410-28, 429-30; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 145, 182.

296. *History of the Church*, 2:430-33; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 183-84.

297. *Journal of Discourses* 2:31.

298. E. Cecil McGavin, *Mormonism and Masonry* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1935), 39.

299. This “holy anointing” and endowment were bestowed only on a chosen few prior to completion of the temple. See *Journal of Discourses* 13:49.

300. Packer, *The Holy Temple*.

301. *Ibid.*, 154-55.

new name written, which no man knoweth save that he receiveth it. The new name is the key-word" (D&C 130:11).³⁰² Charles C. Rich, of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, publicly explained in February 1878 that "Joseph tells us that this new name is a key-word, which can only be obtained through the endowments. This is one of the keys and blessings that will be bestowed upon the Saints in these last days, for which we should be very thankful."³⁰³

Creation Drama

Heber C. Kimball, in an address on June 27, 1863, spoke about "Father Adam" and the Garden of Eden: "I might say much more upon this subject, but I will ask, has it not been imitated before you in your holy endowments so that you might understand how things were in the beginning of creation and cultivation of this earth?" This instruction was explained in greater detail by James E. Talmage in a work approved for publication by the church authorities in 1912:

The Temple Endowment, as administered in modern temples, comprises instruction relating to the significance and sequence of past dispensations, and the importance of the present as the greatest and grandest era in human history. This course of instruction includes a recital of the most prominent events of the creative period, the condition of our first parents in the Garden of Eden, their disobedience and consequent expulsion from that blissful abode, their condition in the lone and dreary world when doomed to live by labor and sweat, the plan of redemption by which the great transgression may be atoned, the period of the great apostasy, the restoration of the Gospel with all its ancient powers and privileges, the absolute and indispensable condition of personal purity and devotion to the right in present life, and a strict compliance with Gospel requirements.

As will be shown, the temples erected by the Latter-day Saints provide for the giving of these instructions in separate rooms, each devoted to a particular part of the course; and by this provision it is possible to have several classes under instruction at one time.³⁰⁴

Bruce R. McConkie added that this "education relative to the Lord's purposes and plans in the creation and peopling of the earth" relates to "the things that must be done by man in order to gain exaltation in the world to come."³⁰⁵

302. See also *History of the Church*, 5:323-25.

303. *Journal of Discourses* 19:250.

304. Talmage, *House of the Lord*, 99-100.

305. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 209.

Signs and Tokens

On May 1, 1842, Joseph Smith preached a sermon in which he taught that there are “certain signs and words by which false spirits and personages may be detected from true, which cannot be revealed to the Elders till the Temple is completed . . . The Elders must know them all to be endowed with power . . . No one can truly say he knows God until he has handled something, and this can only be in the Holiest of Holies.”³⁰⁶ In an 1853 public discourse Brigham Young explained the significance of the signs and tokens received in the endowment:

Let me give you the definition [of the endowment] in brief. Your *endowment*, is to receive all those ordinances in the House of the Lord, which are necessary for you, after you have departed this life, to enable you to walk back to the presence of the Father, passing the angels who stand as sentinels, being enabled to give the key words, the signs and tokens, pertaining to the Holy Priesthood, and gain your eternal exaltation in spite of earth and hell.³⁰⁷

Obligations and Penalties

James Talmage also described the portion of the endowment involving obligations:

The ordinances of the endowment embody certain obligations on the part of the individual, such as covenant and promise to observe the law of strict virtue and chastity, to be charitable, benevolent, tolerant and pure; to devote both talent and material means to the spread of truth and the uplifting of the race; to maintain devotion to the cause of truth; and to seek in every way to contribute to the great preparation that the earth may be made ready to receive her King,—the Lord Jesus Christ. With the taking of each covenant and the assuming of each obligation a promised blessing is pronounced, contingent upon the faithful observance of the conditions.³⁰⁸

In 1856 Brigham Young explained the penalties associated with these obligations (but which were dropped from the ceremony in 1990):

A great many of you have had your endowments, and you know what a vote with uplifted hands means. It is a sign which you make in token of your covenant with God and with one another, and it is for you to perform your vows. When you raise your hands to heaven and let them fall and then

306. Faulring, 245.

307. *Journal of Discourses* 2:31; see also 2:315, 12:163; 10:172; 6:63; and D&C 129.

308. Talmage, 100-101.

pass on with your covenants unfulfilled, you will be cursed.³⁰⁹

Sealing

Elder Packer noted that in addition to the endowment, marriage sealings are performed in the temple which bind together for eternity whole families.³¹⁰ The text of this ceremony was published by Elder Orson Pratt, of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, in *The Seer* in 1853.³¹¹ Pratt was subsequently censured by Brigham Young for doing so.³¹²

EXPOSÉS OF THE TEMPLE ENDOWMENT

Shortly after the initiation of the "Holy Order" in 1842, John C. Bennett published his *History of the Saints*³¹³ in which he claimed to reveal the endowment which he called Order Lodge. Since Bennett was not initiated into the Holy Order—he had previously fallen into disfavor with the Mormon hierarchy³¹⁴—his exposé is not a first-hand account of the ceremony introduced by Joseph Smith on May 4. Bennett's activities suggest that he was prone to exaggeration and misrepresentation, and there is reason to doubt the accuracy of his account of the endowment ceremonies.³¹⁵ His exposé includes a description of the initiatory rites which is not consistent with later accounts written after the endowment was given in the Nauvoo temple beginning in December 1845. Subsequent exposés do not accord with his description of candidates being "blindfolded" and "stripped naked" which is more descriptive of Ma-

309. *Journal of Discourses* 3:332.

310. Packer, *The Holy Temple*, 81-87, 155.

311. Orson Pratt, "Celestial Message," *The Seer* 1 (Feb. 1853): 31-32; see also *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 15:214.

312. "Minutes of Meeting at Historians Office," 4 Apr. 1860, Brigham Young Collection, LDS archives.

313. Bennett, *History of the Saints*, 272-78.

314. Although B. H. Roberts claimed Bennett did not fall into disfavor until May 7, 1842, his exclusion from the Holy Order demonstrates that he was no longer in the inner circle by May 4. See *Comprehensive History*, 2:140-47; *History of the Church*, 5:4. After Bennett's fall some of the brethren (Hyrum Smith, William Law, and George Miller—all members of the "Holy Order") admitted that they had distrusted Bennett for more than a year prior to his disaffection. See *Affidavits and Certificates, Disproving the Statements and Affidavits Contained in John C. Bennett's Letters* (Nauvoo, IL, 31 Aug. 1842), reprinted in part in *History of the Church*, 5:67-88; see also *Times and Seasons* 2 (1 June 1841): 431-32; 3 (1 July 1842): 839-42. This distrust did not prevent Joseph from appointing Bennett to important positions, including assistant church president. See Van Wagoner, 29-30.

315. See Andrew F. Smith, "John Cook Bennett's Pre-Nauvoo Life," presented to the Mormon History Association, Lamoni, Iowa, 22 May 1993.

sonic rituals. His account is, however, consistent with many subsequent references to oaths, covenants, and penalties, including the claim that an oath existed to “overturn the Constitution of the United States,” and that there were special Priesthood garments. Although he hinted about other portions of the ritual not included in his exposé, he failed to provide details.

Bennett’s exposé also suggests a Masonic connection: he claims that Joseph Smith “pretends that God has revealed to him the *real Master’s word* which is here given to the candidate,” and that “Order Lodge” was part of Joseph’s “mission for the ‘restoration of the ancient order of things.’” A plate in the book (see Illustration 3)—which portrays the presiding officers of the Lodge, Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith and George Miller, wearing miters; acacia, a Masonic symbol of immortality, hanging on the walls; and lodge furniture located where it would be in a Masonic lodge—more accurately depicts a Master Masons’ lodge or Royal Arch Chapter and is similar to illustrations published in Masonic exposés³¹⁶ portraying candidates (who are blindfolded but only stripped to the waist) taking the oaths of an Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason.³¹⁷

Bennett may have been superficially familiar with aspects of the new ceremony, either because of his membership in Nauvoo Lodge, his relationship with Joseph Smith when the endowment was revealed, or from rumors.³¹⁸ After leaving Nauvoo, he claimed that in April 1841 Smith had commissioned him to establish a Masonic-like “Order of the Illuminati” in the event of Smith’s death.³¹⁹ Bennett organized the Illuminati in 1846 after

316. Bennett, 273.

317. For examples of these illustrations, see Edward Giddins, *The New England Anti-Masonic Almanac, for the Year of Our Lord 1829* (Boston: Anti-Masonic Free Press, 1829); Edward Giddins, *The Anti-Masonic Almanac, for the year of the Christian Era 1829* (Rochester: E. Scranton, 1829); *The New England Anti-Masonic Almanac for the year of Our Lord 1831* (Boston: John Marsh & Co., 1831). The caption to the illustration in the 1831 Almanac reads as follows: “A ‘Poor Blind Candidate’ receiving his obligation; or the true form of initiating a member to the secret arts and mysteries of Freemasonry.” For subsequently published illustrations, see Malcolm C. Duncan, *Masonic Ritual and Monitor; or, Guide to the Three Degrees of the Ancient York Rite and to the Degrees of Mark Master, Past Master, Most Excellent Master, and the Royal Master* (New York: L. Fitzgerald, 1866), 33, 64, 94.

318. Such rumors were prevalent by 1843. See Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo, Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 271.

319. Klaus T. Hansen, *Quest for Empire, The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967), 54-55. Joseph Smith’s revelation of April 7, 1842, in which he was commanded to form “The Kingdom of God and His Laws with the keys and powers thereof and judgment in the hands of his servants,” which became the Council of Fifty, may be the germ from which Bennett later established his commission to establish the “Order of the Illuminati” in Voree. See Minutes of the Council of Fifty, 1880, in Hansen, 60-61.

ORDER LODGE.



1. Joe Smith.

2. Hyrum Smith.

3. George Miller.

4. Willard Richards.

Illustration 3. An illustration of Order Lodge which appeared in John C. Bennett's History of the Saints in 1842. It depicts a naked candidate (with no blindfold or cable tow) kneeling before the presiding officer (Joseph Smith), who, like the other two officers of the lodge (Hyrum Smith and George Müller), is wearing robes and a mitre. The lodge room is arranged like a Master Mason's lodge, including the presence of accacia on the walls, which, in Masonry, represents eternal life. (Bennett, 273.)

joining Mormon dissident James Strang in Voree, Wisconsin. Strang became the Imperial Primate and Bennett the General-in-Chief.³²⁰ Bennett was probably familiar with Robison's *Proofs of a Conspiracy* and other anti-Masonic sources which claimed, incorrectly, that the "Illuminati" was a secret circle which controlled Freemasonry and influenced international politics. Although the Illuminati—a group of German Masons—did have some influence in eighteenth-century German politics, they did not exist in England or the United States.³²¹

Bennett's exposé also included a description of a "Mormon Seraglio," which he claimed was connected with the female Relief Society. Although Joseph Smith may have been flirting with the idea of establishing a "female lodge" when he organized the Relief Society—a claim that Bennett first made in the *Louisville Journal* in July 1842—it strains credibility to believe that an elaborate ceremony with three degrees ("The Cyprian Saints," "The Chambered Sisters of Charity," and "The Consecrates of the Cloister, or Cloistered Saints") with a marriage ceremony to legitimize "secret, spiritual wives" was connected to a society ruled by the "Elect Lady."³²²

Not until December 1845, when knowledge of the endowment expanded beyond a tightly-knit circle of trusted church authorities and their wives to include most worthy members of the general church population, were additional exposés published. Scores of exposés of the "endowment" have since been published.³²³ In contrast very little information concerning

320. Milo M. Quaiffe, *The Kingdom of Saint James: A Narrative of the Mormons* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1930), 49-50; Roger Van Noord, *King of Beaver Island: The Life and Assassination of James Jesse Strang* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 60-65.

321. The most comprehensive history and analysis of the German "Order of the Illuminati" is in René Le Forestier, *Les Illuminés de Bavière et la Franc-maçonnerie allemande* (Paris: Hachette, 1915), and republished (Geneva: Slatkine-Megariotis Reprints, 1974).

322. Bennett, 217-25. Bennett also compared this "secret lodge of women" to a female ritual practiced in New York by "Matthias." See *New York Herald*, 26 July 1842, 2, col. 4 (Morning Edition). ("The initiatory proceedings at Joe's Order Lodge resemble those practiced by Matthias at Pearson's home; only his members were females, and they danced round a store, while Matthias annointed them. But perhaps, after all, Joe Smith has a secret lodge of women. We shall see" [quoted with some variation in Bennett, 217].) Matthias visited Joseph Smith in Kirtland in November 1835. During his visit Joseph told him "that his doctrine was of the devil, that he was in reality in possession of a wicked and depraved spirit" and that "his god was the devil" (*History of the Church*, 2:307). Contemporary accounts of Matthias, a self-proclaimed prophet, are contained in W. E. Drake, *Robert Matthews, Defendant, The Prophet! A Full and Accurate Report of the Judicial Proceedings* (1834); William L. Stone, *Matthias and His Impostures* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835); G. Vale, *Fanaticism: Its Sources and Influence* (New York, 1835); and S. B. Emmons, *Philosophy of Popular Superstitions* (Boston, 1853).

323. See David John Buerger, "Chronological Annotated Bibliography of Publications Giving the Mormon Temple Ceremony in Full or in Part," 1987, Marriott Library, University

the second anointing is available since it has never been extended to general church membership.³²⁴

Because exposés written by endowed men and women were sometimes inconsistent and contradictory, one wonders if the authors purposely distorted them to slander the church, if their memories were bad (they were usually based on a single experience in the temple), or if the ceremonies were still being developed. Regardless of the accuracy of these exposés, the endowment was one of the aspects of Mormonism which troubled those who had withdrawn from the church. Even the publishers of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, which included William Law, a charter member of the Holy Order, complained in 1844 that they considered "all secret societies, and combinations under penal oaths and obligations, (professing to be organized for religious purposes) to be anti-Christian, hypocritical and corrupt." Although it is unclear whether this complaint was directed specifically at the endowment, the publishers made no attempt to expose its contents.³²⁵

The first exposé of the endowment introduced in the Nauvoo temple on December 10, 1845, appeared four months later in the April 15, 1846, issue of *The Warsaw Signal*. A woman who signed her name "Emeline" wrote to the newspaper in response to an article which had been published on February 18 which charged that participants in the endowment were "in a state of nudity throughout the ceremony,"³²⁶ a claim which Bennett had made four years earlier. Although Emeline admitted that she was breaking oaths and covenants she had made in the temple by revealing the contents of the ritual, she felt justified because she believed church authorities were "the most debased wretches" and that the endowment was "nothing less than fearful blasphemy." Nevertheless, she denied that the ceremony took place in a state of nudity, except for an initial robing ceremony during which only women were present and stated that no indecency took place between men and women since they were admitted separately. Although she admitted that she did not remember many of the details of the ceremony, she described the rooms and some of the characters, as well as the fact that there were oaths, obligations, and penalties.³²⁷

Two additional exposés, more detailed than Emeline's, were published during the next two years by persons who had also received their endow-

of Utah.

324. For a brief exposé of the second endowment see Stenhouse, 1874, 514-18. For further discussion concerning the second anointing, see Buerger, "The Fullness of the Priesthood"; and Levi Peterson, "My Mother's House," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 44 (Fall 1991): 79-88.

325. *Nauvoo Expositor*, 7 June 1844, 2.

326. *Warsaw Signal*, 18 Feb. 1846, 2.

327. "Mormon endowments," *Warsaw Signal*, 15 Apr. 1846, 2.

ments in the Nauvoo temple. The first of these was written by Increase McGee Van Dusen in 1847.³²⁸ Van Dusen and his wife Marie were endowed on January 29, 1846, as a reward for working on the Nauvoo temple for several years.³²⁹ By the time their exposé was written, Increase and Marie, who appeared as co-authors in all but the first edition, had left Nauvoo and joined James J. Strang in Voree, Wisconsin. Like other followers of Strang—who, in addition to Bennett, included two original members of the Holy Order, William Marks and George Miller, and two former apostles, William Smith and John Page—the Van Dusens claimed to believe that Joseph Smith was a prophet and included an account of Smith's first vision in various editions of their exposé, but (not knowing what Marks and Miller knew) they asserted that the endowment had been introduced by the "Imposter B. Young."³³⁰ Writing in the first person, they described the rooms and substance of the endowment, which they said had seven degrees (the number of degrees in Craft and Royal Arch Masonry were described publicly as the seven degrees of Freemasonry³³¹), as well as some of the oaths, tokens, signs, and penalties. Eventually twenty-two editions of their exposé were published from 1847 to 1864, each of which became increasingly detailed and lurid.³³² It was quoted in many subsequent anti-Mormon writings, including an early tract published in London in 1848.³³³ It was also used as a prototype for fraudulent exposés, including one by Thomas White in 1849 who replicated the claim that there were seven degrees in the endowment and added that the author witnessed Joseph Smith participating in the endowment performed in the Nauvoo temple. White also included "an account of the frauds practiced by Matthias the Prophet."³³⁴

328. Increase McGee and Marie Van Dusen, *The Mormon Endowment: A Secret Drama, or Conspiracy, in the Nauvoo-Temple in 1846* (Syracuse: N.M.D. Lathrop, 1847).

329. See Craig L. Foster, "From Temple Mormon to Anti-Mormon: The Ambivalent Odyssey of Increase Van Dusen," in this issue of *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*.

330. Increase Van Dusen to James J. Strang, 18 June 1849, James J. Strang Papers, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, as quoted in Foster.

331. *Duncan's Masonic Ritual and Monitor* exposed the seven degrees of Freemasonry in 1866, and *Freemasonry Illustrated*, which was sold by Ezra A. Cook beginning in the 1880s, also purports to discuss the seven degrees of Freemasonry.

332. Foster refers to a pamphlet written by John Benjamin Franklin, *The Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (London: C. Elliott, 1858), who apparently borrowed and embellished the Van Dusen exposé.

333. John Thomas, *Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Dispersion of the Mormons* (London: Arthur Hall & Co., 1848). Other early references to the Van Dusen pamphlets published in London and cited by Foster include: John Bowes, *Mormonism Exposed* (London: E. Ward, n.d. [ca. 1850]); and T. W. P. Taylder, *Twenty Reasons for Rejecting Mormonism* (London: Partridge & Co., 1857).

334. [Thomas White], *Authentic History of Remarkable Persons, who have attracted public attention in various parts of the world; including a full exposure of the iniquities of the pretended*

One year after the first publication of the Van Dusen exposé, a single woman, Catherine Lewis, wrote a slightly more detailed description of the ceremony,³³⁵ but it was published in only two editions and was not as widely distributed as the Van Dusen account. Since Lewis wrote from the perspective of an unmarried woman, her narrative reflects more clearly the link between the practice of "plurality of wives" and the endowment. According to Lewis, she was approached several times before going to the temple by Heber C. Kimball and his wife about being polygamously married to the apostle in the temple. She also noted that men and women went through the ceremony as companions and that one was not considered to have received the "full endowment" unless a woman was sealed to a man as her husband and families were sealed to apostles as children. Ironically, Lewis relied on Bennett, whom she seems to regard as an innocent victim like herself, for the portion of the endowment she did not complete.

The Bennett, "Emeline," Van Dusen, and Lewis accounts are apparently the only exposés of the Nauvoo endowment published by persons who did not emigrate to Utah, even though 5,669 persons were endowed in Nauvoo.³³⁶

With one exception, there is no evidence that the endowment ceremony was performed after Mormons left Nauvoo until 1852³³⁷ when such rites were occasionally given in the old Council House. Three years later the Mormons constructed an Endowment House in Salt Lake City to be wed until a new temple could be completed.³³⁸ Before this, Brigham Young taught that "many received a small portion of their endowment [in Nauvoo] . . . we know of no one who received it in its fullness."³³⁹ Even after the completion of the Endowment House, certain ordinances—sealing children to parents and endowment work for the dead—could not be performed until the completion of the temple.³⁴⁰ But endowments for the living recommenced; 54,170 persons

prophet Joe Smith, and the seven degrees of the Mormon Temple, and an account of the frauds practiced by Matthias the Prophet, and other religious imposters (New York: Wilson and Company, 1849); Thomas White, *The Mormon Mysteries; Being an Exposition of the Ceremonies of "The Endowment" and the Seven Degrees of the Temple* (New York: Edmund K. Knowlton, 1851).

335. Catherine Lewis, *Narrative of Some of the Proceedings of the Mormons, etc.* (Lynn, MA: the Author, 1848).

336. *History of the Church*, 7:25.

337. An endowment ceremony was apparently performed in 1849 on Ensign Peak. See *Comprehensive History*, 3:386.

338. *Journal of Discourses* 3:159 (6 May 1855).

339. *Ibid.* 2:32.

340. *Ibid.* 16:185-87. See also *ibid.* 10:165, 254; 14:124-25.

were endowed between 1852-84.³⁴¹

Prior to completion of the Endowment House, Brigham Young complained that many Mormons asked for their endowment only "To go to California, and reveal everything he can, and stir up wickedness, and prepare himself for hell."³⁴² Only a few of those endowed in Utah did as Brigham had predicted. Some of the most widely published exposés were written by disgruntled Mormons who left the church and published books about their experiences in Utah, including descriptions of the endowment ceremony. Since the endowment was not yet performed for the dead most, if not all, of these exposés were based on a single experience in the Endowment House. One of the first of these accounts was published in 1857 by a British convert, John Hyde, Jr., who received his endowment in February 1854.³⁴³ Although Hyde's exposé contains less detail than either Van Dusen or Lewis, and was only published in two editions, it was read and used by a number of European travelers who visited Utah and published accounts of their observations. Hyde's exposé was translated into French by Jules Remy in his 1860 book recounting his visit to Utah in 1855.³⁴⁴ One year later an English translation of Remy's book, including Hyde's exposé, was published in London.³⁴⁵ Perhaps because of its previous appearance in French, Hyde's exposé was also grafted into the French edition of Richard Burton's *City of the Saints* in 1862³⁴⁶ and in the Italian edition (translated from French) in 1875.³⁴⁷ Ironically, Burton had criticized Hyde's exposé in his book published in London in 1861 (this criticism did not appear in the Italian and French editions) as a "circumstantial description" which could be doubted because of inconsistencies between it and another account written by Mary Ettie V. Smith.³⁴⁸

In both the French and Italian editions of Burton's book the word "endowment" was mistranslated as "admission to the sect" which was confused with a type of baptism or confirmation. This mistranslation may

341. *Comprehensive History*, 4:13-15.

342. *Journal of Discourses* 2:144.

343. John Hyde, Jr., *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs* (New York: W.P. Fetridge and Company, 1857), 83-99.

344. Jules Remy, *Voyage au Pays des Mormons*, 2 tomes (Paris: E. Dentu, 1860), 2:56-66.

345. Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City*, 2 vols. (London: W. Jeffs, 1861), 2:65-76.

346. Richard Burton, "Voyage à la Cité des Saints Capitale du Pays des Mormons," *Le Tour du Monde* 2 (1862): 353-400. This was later published in book form as Richard Burton, *Voyages du Capitaine Burton a la Mecque Aux Grands Lacs d'Afrique et chez les Mormons* . . . (Paris, 1870).

347. Richard Burton, *I Mormoni e la Città dei Santi* (Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1875).

348. Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861), 255.

have occurred because Remy originally referred to the endowment as "a species of ordination or initiation for both sexes."³⁴⁹ Accompanying Hyde's exposé in Burton were engravings patterned after plates in Bennett's book, including one depicting "Order Lodge." That plate was inspired in part by engravings which had appeared in anti-Masonic almanacs depicting a candidate "receiving his obligation; or the true form of initiating a member to the secret arts and mysteries of Freemasonry."³⁵⁰ (See Illustration 4.) Because the word "endowment" was mistranslated as "admission to the sect," the engraving patterned after Bennett's plate of "Order Lodge" was captioned "The Baptism of Mormons." The same engraving—but not Hyde's exposé—also appeared in the 1879 Italian translation of Baron von Hubner's travel account with the same misleading caption.³⁵¹ (See Illustration 5.) Other foreign travelers who described the endowment also relied exclusively on Hyde and others.³⁵² Although both Remy and J. H. Beadle included exposés in their books which relied on Hyde, and foreign editions of Burton contained the Hyde exposé, each criticized Hyde for different reasons: Burton believed he lacked credibility, Beadle was amused that he had become a convert of Swedenborg, and both Beadle and Remy wrote that Hyde had rationalized when he broke his oath to not reveal the endowment.³⁵³

Beginning in 1858, the year following publication of Hyde's exposé, a number of women whose main complaint about Mormonism was polygamy published books containing a description of the endowment. These authors include Mary Ettie V. Smith (1858),³⁵⁴ who claimed her husband was a "member of fourth 'Quorum of Seventies'"; Fanny Stenhouse (1874), wife of T. B. H. Stenhouse, a prominent elder and publisher³⁵⁵; and Ann Eliza Young (1875), the estranged wife of Brigham Young.³⁵⁶ Smith's account—authored by Nelson Winch Green under the title *Fifteen Years Among the Mormons*—described the endowment she received in Nauvoo. Her narrative is chatty and passionate but lacks the substantive detail found

349. Remy, 2:65.

350. See *The New England Anti-Masonic Almanac for the Year of our Lord 1831* (Boston: John Marsh & Co., 1831), 1.

351. Alexander Graff von Hubner, *Passeggiata intorno al Mondo* (Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1879), 108-109.

352. See, for example, Amblard Marie Raymond Noailles, *Souvenirs d'Amérique et d'Orient* (Paris: Editions Française de la Nouvelle Revue National, 1920), 81.

353. See Burton, 255-56; Remy and Brenchley, 2:74-5; Beadle, 499-500.

354. Nelson Winch Green, *Fifteen Years Among the Mormons* (New York: H. Dayton, 1859).

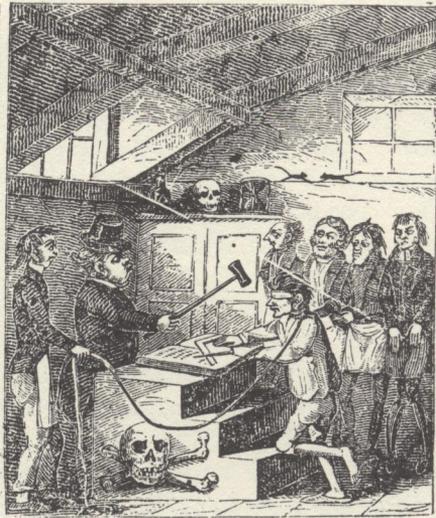
355. Mrs. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *"Tell it All": The Story of a Life's Experience in Mormonism* (Hartford, CT: A. D. Worthington & Co., 1874).

356. Ann Eliza Young, *Wife No. 19* (Hartford, CT: Dustin, Gilman & Co., 1875).

THE
 NEW ENGLAND
 ANTI-MASONIC ALMANAC
 FOR THE YEAR OF OUR LORD
 1831.

OR THE TRUE FORM OF INITIATING A MEMBER

A "POOR-BLIND CANDIDATE" RECEIVING HIS OBLIGATION;



TO THE SECRET ARTS AND MYSTERIES OF FREEMASONRY.

"To all of which I do most solemnly and sincerely promise and swear, without the least equivocation, mental reservation, or self evasion of mind in me whatever; binding myself under no less penalty, than to have my throat cut across, my tongue torn out by the roots, and my body buried in the rough sands of the sea at low water mark, where the tide ebb and flows twice in twenty four hours; so help me God, and keep me steadfast in the due performance of the same."

BOSTON:

Published and sold by JOHN MARSH & Co. Proprietors of
 the Copy Right, No. 96 & 98 State St.

And S. W. Tobey, No. 20, S. 4th St. Philadelphia.

[Price \$7 50 per Gross, 75 cts. per doz., 12 1-2 cts. single.]

Illustration 4. An illustration from an anti-Masonic almanac published in 1831, which depicts a Mason receiving his obligations in a Master Mason's Lodge. The candidate is clothed, barefooted, has a blindfold over his eyes, and a cable tow around his neck. This same illustration appeared in the Anti-Masonic Almanac of 1829 and the New England Anti-Masonic Almanac of 1829. Similar illustrations appeared in Duncan in 1860 which depicted a candidate receiving his obligations for the degrees of Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason.



Battesimo presso i Mormoui.

*Illustration 5. This illustration, which appeared in the 1875 Italian abridgement of Richard Burton's *City of the Saints*, originally appeared in the French abridgement in 1862 and was inspired by the "Order Lodge" illustration in John C. Bennett's *History of the Saints*. Its misleading caption, "Baptism among the Mormons," is probably based on Jules Remy's inaccurate understanding of the Mormon endowment. Unlike the illustration in Bennett's book, this engraving depicts a naked initiate wearing a blindfold, which is similar to illustrations published in anti-Masonic almanacs beginning in 1829. (Burton, *I Mormoni*, 37.)*

in other accounts. In fact, she admitted that many portions of the ceremony would remain “forever sealed within my own breast by a solemn obligation of secrecy, and must so remain until I can see how their disclosure can contribute the public good.”³⁵⁷ Even so, she repeated a rumor that the second anointing is “administered without clothing of any kind,”³⁵⁸ argues that the purpose of the endowment is to “unsex the sexes,”³⁵⁹ and complained that women are “prostituted under such a system.”³⁶⁰ Richard Burton believed that Smith “leans to the erotic,” whereas Hyde “dwells upon the treasonous and mutinous tendency of the ceremony.”³⁶¹ Smith’s account was printed at least six times under various titles from 1858 to 1876.

Fanny Stenhouse’s book was one of the most popular accounts by an ex-Mormon published in the nineteenth century. It was published under various titles in at least seventeen printings from 1872 to 1890. In her first book, *A Lady’s Life Among the Mormons*, published in 1872, she wrote that “[i]n justice to the Mormons, I feel bound to state that the accounts which I have frequently read, professing to give a description of the ‘Endowments’ given in Salt Lake City, are almost altogether exaggerated . . . I myself saw nothing indelicate; though I had been led to believe that improper things did take place there, and I was determined not to submit to any thing of the kind.”³⁶² Although she repeated this statement in an expanded version of her autobiography, *Tell it All*, published in 1874³⁶³ (which contained a preface by Harriett Beecher Stowe and an endowment exposé), she also suggested that rumors concerning the Endowment House—namely, that those revealing the secrets of the endowment may have been killed—were not entirely groundless,³⁶⁴ that she felt “ashamed and disgusted” by the endowment from the day she received it,³⁶⁵ and that she was justified in revealing it because she did not take the vow of secrecy when called upon to do so in the Endowment House.³⁶⁶

Ann Eliza Young’s account, *Wife No. 19*, published in 1876, is so similar to Stenhouse’s experiences that one is tempted to believe that she or her publisher plagiarized a portion of Fanny’s exposé. It is a first-person

357. Green, 42.

358. *Ibid.*, 49.

359. *Ibid.*, 50.

360. *Ibid.*, 51.

361. *Ibid.*, 256.

362. Mrs. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *Exposé of Polygamy in Utah. A Lady’s Life Among the Mormons* (New York: American News Co., 1872), 95.

363. Stenhouse, *Tell It All*, 356.

364. *Ibid.*, 354-55.

365. *Ibid.*, 367-68.

366. *Ibid.*, 368.

description of the endowment she received as a teenager in which she (like Stenhouse) claims that people may have been killed for revealing portions of the secret ceremony.³⁶⁷ Nevertheless, she believed that she was justified in revealing it because she did not know what she was agreeing to until after the oath had been given and because justice required removing those bonds.³⁶⁸ Between 1875 and 1908, Young's account was published in at least five variant printings, which was preceded by a lecture tour (managed by J. B. Pond, who eventually acted as literary agent for such luminaries as Mark Twain and Arthur Conan Doyle³⁶⁹) to Cheyenne, Denver, and Washington, D.C. According to Pond, her lectures were responsible in part for passage of the Poland Bill which enhanced the federal government's ability to enforce the Anti-Bigamy Act of 1862.

Beginning in the 1870s and continuing through the rest of the nineteenth century, individually-authored and -acknowledged exposés were supplemented by anonymous accounts included in books by journalists active in the anti-polygamy campaign. Endowment exposés became an integral part of efforts to encourage the federal government to crack down on the Mormon practice of plural marriage. These accounts purport to be based on eye-witnesses, published and unpublished, and in some cases emphasize the most lurid claims about the endowment. One of the earliest of this type was published by John H. Beadle, editor of the anti-Mormon newspaper, *The Salt Lake Reporter*,³⁷⁰ which began publication in 1868 after purchasing the printing press of *The Union Vedette* (the newspaper of Fort Douglas) which had ceased publication the previous spring³⁷¹ and whose main competitor was *The Daily Telegraph*, edited by T. B. H. Stenhouse. The Beadle exposé is more legalistic and less emotional than previous accounts by eye-witnesses. Although it is a synthesis of accounts by Hyde, Smith, Stenhouse, Young, and others, it is not particularly lurid; it does not even allege that candidates were stripped naked during the washing portion of the ceremonies. Beadle's book was published in thirteen separate editions from 1870 to 1904 and appeared in German and Russian, and was liberally quoted during the next two decades by various lapsed Mormons including the notorious English apostate William Jarman.³⁷²

367. Young, *Wife No. 19*, 368.

368. *Ibid.*, 371.

369. J. B. Pond, *Eccentricities of Genius* (New York: G.W. Dillingham Co., 1900), xxi-xxii.

370. J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah; or the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia: National Publishing Co., 1870).

371. J. Cecil Alter, *Early Utah Journalism* (Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society, 1938), 333.

372. William Jarman, *U.S.A. Uncle Sam's Abscess or Hell Upon Earth* (Exeter: H. Ledoc's Steam Printing Works, 1884), 67-98.

In 1878 the *Salt Lake Tribune* began publishing its own versions of the endowment. The *Tribune* was initially a Godbeite (a Spiritualist schism from Mormonism) organ but was sold to anti-Mormon/Liberal Party interests in 1872, about the same time the Masonic fraternity organized a Grand Lodge in Salt Lake City. Both the Masonic fraternity and the *Tribune* were actively involved in the anti-polygamy crusades,³⁷³ and there are hints that members of the Craft in Utah may have facilitated, or at least enjoyed, the *Tribune's* efforts to "unveil" the temple ceremony.³⁷⁴

The earliest exposé to appear in the *Tribune* was written by a self-proclaimed "Apostate" in a letter to the editor in 1878. The letter gives a general description of the various stages in the endowment but is not a detailed exposé of the signs, tokens, obligations, and oaths.³⁷⁵ A more detailed description of the endowment, which became one of the most widely-diffused exposés, was published in the *Tribune* in 1879.³⁷⁶ Although the article is signed "G.S.R.," the author was Caroline Owens Miles, who abandoned Mormonism after being sealed in the Endowment House to a man as his second wife.³⁷⁷ This account was republished (both in connection with the anti-polygamy crusade and later with efforts to unseat Utah's senator-elect Reed Smoot) at least seven times during the next thirty years: in three pamphlets distributed by the Ladies Anti-polygamy Society in 1879³⁷⁸; in the *Handbook on Mormonism* in 1882³⁷⁹; in the *Salt Lake Tribune* in 1906³⁸⁰; in a pamphlet entitled *The Oath of Vengeance*

373. The Masonic Hall was made available for meetings of "counter Mormon organizations." For example, both the Liberal Party and the Godbeites used the hall for organizational meetings during the late 1860s and early 1870s. See *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine* 3 (Oct. 1883): 51. In addition, the Masonic Hall was used in 1870 for discussions concerning the drafting of an anti-polygamy bill. See *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine* 1 (Oct. 1880): 59.

374. See Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, Co., 1893), 2:382; Robert N. Baskin, *Reminiscences of Early Utah* (Salt Lake City: R. N. Baskin, 1914), 98-99.

375. *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 8 Dec. 1878, 4.

376. Mrs. G-S-R-, "Lifting the Vail [sic]," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 28 Sept. 1879, 4.

377. Mrs. G.S.R- was identified as Mrs. Carrie Owen Mills by J. W. Buel, *Mysteries and Miseries of America's Great Cities* (San Francisco, 1883). See Chad Flake, *A Mormon Bibliography* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1980), 593. The actual name of the author was Caroline Owens Miles. See Kate Field, "Polygamy Unveiled," *Woman. A Monthly Magazine* 1 (Mar. 1888): 296-305. Baskin makes reference to Miles and her exposé in his *Reminiscences of Early Utah* (98-99).

378. *The Mormon Endowment House* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1872); *Mysteries of the Endowment House* (Salt Lake City, 1879); *Mysteries of the Endowment House* (Salt Lake City, 1879) [separate publications].

379. J. M. Coyner, ed., *Handbook on Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Handbook Publishing Co., 1882).

380. Mrs. G-S-R-, "Mysteries of the Endowment House," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 12 Feb. 1906,

issued in the aftermath of the Smoot hearings in 1906³⁸¹; and in a book of short stories about territorial Utah in 1909.³⁸² Unlike the Beadle account, the *Salt Lake Tribune* exposé was narrated in first person and, like the exposés published by Hyde, Smith, and Young, it claims that the endowment ceremony is both "disgusting and indelicate."³⁸³ It is also similar to most exposés published before that time, since it described the endowment rather than replicating the dialogue, but for the first time also included floor plans of the Endowment House and a sketch of the Devil's apron, which had various Masonic symbols which had not been adopted by Mormonism.³⁸⁴

Beginning in the 1870s the Endowment House ceremony and the practice of polygamy were linked³⁸⁵ in the legal battles to prevent immigrants, who had received their endowments, from becoming naturalized citizens; to disenfranchise Mormon voters; to prevent Utah from becoming a state; and to prevent George Q. Cannon, B. H. Roberts, and Reed Smoot from taking their seats in Congress. The Endowment House was not only the location where numerous illegal plural marriages had been performed, the endowment ceremony contained, according to some exposés, an oath to avenge the death of Joseph Smith against the U.S. government. During the disenfranchisement cases in 1889 Edward W. Tullidge republished "from the press of the *Juvenile Instructor*"³⁸⁶ portions of the Hyde and Stenhouse exposés. Although Tullidge had become disaffected from the LDS church two decades earlier during the Godbeite schism, he did not betray the same animosities of many lapsed Mormons and remained in Salt Lake City where he continued to publish newspapers, magazines, and histories of Utah and the LDS church. He also provided information to the Committee on Territories in Washington, D.C., concerning rumors about conditions in Utah. In republishing these exposés, Tullidge observed that the temple was looked upon as "the *Masonic* embodiment of that 'Polygamic Theocracy'"³⁸⁷ which was the prime target of the anti-polygamy campaign, but also criticized the motives and understanding of Hyde and

2.

381. *Mysteries of the Endowment House and Oath of Vengeance* (Salt Lake City: *Salt Lake Tribune*, 1906).

382. Gertrude Major, *The Revelation in the Mountain* (New York: Cochrane Publishing Co., 1909), 120-60.

383. *Handbook on Mormonism*, 24.

384. See also Randy Baker, "A Testimony of Jesus Christ Through Geometric Symbolism," Appen. D, Apr. 1992, privately circulated.

385. G-S-R-, 30.

386. Edward W. Tullidge, *Tullidge's Histories* (Salt Lake City: *Juvenile Instructor*, 1889), 425-65.

387. *Ibid.*, 426, emphasis in original.

Stenhouse and in particular labelled Hyde's allegation "that an oath is taken against the United States and its Government" a "direct lie."³⁸⁸ He wrote that any oath "to avenge the death of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, upon the Gentiles *who had caused his murder* . . . must, in its very nature, become obsolete."³⁸⁹

Another exposé by Henry G. McMillan, former clerk of the Third Judicial District Court, entitled *The Inside of Mormonism*,³⁹⁰ written in 1904 to document why Reed Smoot should "be denied a seat in the Senate of the United States,"³⁹¹ consisted largely of testimony from an 1889 disenfranchisement case in which the district judge denied citizenship to an endowed Mormon. Material from this pamphlet was introduced before the Smoot Senate committee and published in the proceedings.³⁹² The committee also received affidavits from people who testified that the judge in this disenfranchisement case had later allowed other Mormon immigrants to become citizens, although none stated whether those enfranchised had previously received their endowments.³⁹³

In February 1906 the *Tribune* republished the G.S.R.- exposé and a description of the endowment attributed to Walter Wolfe during the Smoot Hearings.³⁹⁴ That same year James H. Wallis, Sr., published a pamphlet entitled *The Oath of Vengeance* which combined portions of Wolfe's testimony with the G.S.R.- exposé to confirm that the ceremony had not changed for almost thirty years.³⁹⁵ Although those who wished to associate plural marriage with the purported treasonable and lurid character of the endowment ceremony used these exposés to emphasize portions of the endowment which, it was argued, rendered all temple Mormons disloyal to the Constitution and U.S. government,³⁹⁶ many of the witnesses called to testify at the Smoot hearings denied, as Tullidge had more than a decade earlier, that the endowment contained any oath or obligation directed against the United States.³⁹⁷ In 1927, as Tullidge had predicted, the oath of vengeance,

388. *Ibid.*, 447.

389. *Ibid.*, 449, emphasis in original. For a discussion of how this issue was used to deny George Q. Cannon his seat in Congress, see *ibid.*, 448.

390. Henry G. McMillan, *The Inside of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Utah Americans, 1903). Baskin also includes portions of the transcript in his *Reminiscences of Early Utah*. See Baskin, 89-98.

391. *Ibid.*, 8.

392. *Proceedings before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904-6), 4:341-61.

393. *Ibid.*, 4:362-66.

394. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 12 Feb. 1906, 4.

395. James H. Wallis, Sr., *The Oath of Vengeance* (n.p., n.d.).

396. See *Proceedings*, 2:148, 153, 161, 189, 192, 194; 4:69-71.

397. See *ibid.*, 1:436-37, 744; 2:759, 762-63, 773-76, 796, 799, 855; 3:71, 279-80, 447-78.

which had been the subject of widely differing interpretations, was eliminated from the endowment.³⁹⁸

CHARGES OF PLAGIARISM

The close timing between the establishment of the Nauvoo Masonic Lodge and the introduction of the LDS temple endowment, and similarities between the two rites in published exposés, has led some observers to refer to the endowment as a form of Masonry. Jules Remy noted that "Mormons carry out freemasonry to a very great extent"³⁹⁹; Richard Burton complained that the "Saints were at one time good Masons; unhappily they wanted to be better"⁴⁰⁰ and observed that the public connects the endowment with a Middle Ages "comedy or mystery,—possibly *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*—and connect it with the working of a Mason's Lodge"⁴⁰¹; Enrico Besana, an Italian traveler, concluded that the Mormons' "rites were taken from Masonry"⁴⁰²; Phil Robinson, an English traveler who visited the unfinished Logan temple, wrote that the "rites of the Endowments . . . [are] generally of the sacred Masonry of Mormonism"⁴⁰³; Wilhelm Wyl, in a book published by the *Salt Lake Tribune* in 1886, claimed that "Mormonism in Utah is today nothing but *Joseph's revised or restored Masonry*"⁴⁰⁴; historian Hubert H. Bancroft stated that the endowment was a "religio-masonic ceremon[y]"⁴⁰⁵; and British novelist Rudyard Kipling concluded that it consisted of "imperfectly comprehended fragments of Freemasonry."⁴⁰⁶

These non-Mormon observers, some of whom were British Masons (Burton, Robinson, and Kipling), were probably influenced by descrip-

398. George F. Richards to Edward H. Snow, 15 Feb. 1927, LDS archives.

399. Remy, 2:75.

400. Burton, 426.

401. *Ibid.*, 271. One historian recently quoted from a Masonic text written in Russia concerning "Theological Moral Institution[,] A Discussion Concerning Adam's Fall," which was inspired by Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Valentin Boss, *Milton and the Rise of Russian Satanism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 48-49.

402. Enrico Besana, "Note di viaggio di un Italiano: Le Grandi Praterie Americane e i Mormoni," *Giornale Popolare di Viaggi* 2 (1871): 63; Enrico Besana, "I Mormoni nel 1868," *La Perseveranza*, 13 Feb. 1869, 1.

403. Phil Robinson, *Sinners and Saints* (London: Sampson, Law, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1883), 139.

404. Wilhelm Wyl, *Mormon Portraits* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1886), 269.

405. Hubert H. Bancroft, *The History of Utah* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1889), 356.

406. Rudyard Kipling, *From Sea to Shining Sea*, 2 vols., (New York: Doubleday and McClure Co., 1899), 2:111.

tions of the endowment from the initiated. John C. Bennett had written in 1842 that "Joe pretends that God has revealed to him the real Master's word which is here given to the candidate"⁴⁰⁷; John Hyde had argued in 1857 that portions of the endowment were "plagiarized from masonry"⁴⁰⁸; E. L. T. Harrison, who was endowed before being excommunicated during the Godbeite schism, had opined in 1870 that "it is taught that there is a sort of divine Masonry among the angels who hold the Priesthood" but disputed the doctrine of "detecting spirits any unauthorized beings . . . by certain grips and secret words," and ridiculed the notion that "such a puny, imperfect thing as a species of Masonry [could be used] by which to keep the evil and pure apart"⁴⁰⁹; and T. B. H. Stenhouse had noted in 1873 that "Mormon leaders have always asserted that Free-Masonry was a bastard and degenerate representation of the order of the true priesthood," and that "no other statement than that of the leaders" is necessary "to form an estimate of the signs, grips, passwords, rites, and ceremonies of the Endowment House."⁴¹⁰ Another disaffected elder, Edward Tullidge, observed in 1889 that "the Logan Temple is a grand Masonic fabric reared unto the name of the God of Israel, where endowments are given,"⁴¹¹ that "Mormon apostles and elders, with a becoming repugnance and Masonic reticence quite understandable to members of every Masonic order, have shrank from a public exhibition of the sacred things of their temple,"⁴¹² and maintained that the significance of Joseph Smith's becoming a Freemason was that he "understood that the chain of Masonry is the endless chain of brotherhood and priesthood, linking all the worlds,—the heavens and the earths,—but he [Joseph Smith] believed that this earth had lost much of its purpose, its light, its keys, and its

407. Bennett, 276.

408. Hyde, 100.

409. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 8 Oct. 1870, 5; reprinted from *Salt Lake Tribune*, 3 Sept. 1870, 4. Goodwin refers to the author of this passage, Harrison, as a "vigorous church writer," implying that he was a Mormon authority (see Goodwin, *Additional Studies in Mormonism and Masonry*, 34-35). This demonstrates that Goodwin may have understood some aspects of Mormon history better than others. Although the reference to Masonry implies a belief that the "signs and tokens" were received from Masonic rites, the whole discussion can only be fully comprehended in the context of Harrison's belief in Spiritualism and that one may speak with discarnate spirits without "signs and tokens" or "tests and key-words."

410. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1873), 698. But Stenhouse also noted that "In 'The Mormon's own Book,' by T. W. P. Taylder, 139-147, a singular resemblance is pointed out between the ceremonies in the *Eleusinia*—a festival among the Cretans—and the mysteries of the Mormon Endowment, as set forth by Van Dusen."

411. Tullidge's *Histories*, 425.

412. *Ibid.*, 426.

spirit,—its chief loss being the key of revelation."⁴¹³ In discussing the Book of Abraham he also credits "that worthy Masonic order" of having "preserved among men the divine mysteries."⁴¹⁴

Ironically, other expositors of the endowment ceremony, usually women who were not permitted to join Freemasonry and were not familiar with the Craft, underplayed the Masonic connection and thought that it was part of a "blind" or Mormon public relations campaign. Mary Ettie V. Smith observed that

Mormons are anxious to have the "Gentiles" associate all they know of the beastly "Endowments," with Masonry, or as being a modified form of it, made eligible to women, as a blind to cover the real objects of this "Institution"; and I have noticed by the public prints, since my arrival in the States, that this was the opinion entertained among those "Gentiles" supposed to be best informed upon the subject. But this is but a mere blind; and the real object of these mystic forms is no way connected with, or borrowed from Masonry.⁴¹⁵

Similarly, Ann Eliza Young, perhaps plagiarizing Burton, wrote that the "Endowment rites are nothing more nor less than a drama, founded partially upon the Bible, but more upon Milton's *Paradise Lost*,"⁴¹⁶ but unlike Burton doubted the Masonic connection: "It is claimed that the mysterious rites were taken from Masonry, and that the Endowments are a direct outgrowth of the secret society . . . I am very sure all good Masons would repudiate it and its teachings."⁴¹⁷ Fanny Stenhouse was also convinced that although "[i]t has always been commonly reported, and to a great extent believed, that the mysteries of the Endowment House were only a sort of initiation—burlesque, it might be—of the rites of Masonry; but I need hardly say that this statement when examined by the light of facts, is altogether ungrounded and absurd."⁴¹⁸ Even the synthesizer, J. H. Beadle, perhaps again borrowing from Smith, Burton (through Young), and Stenhouse wrote that the endowment was "paraphrased from the Scriptures and Milton's *Paradise Lost*," "modeled upon the *Mysteries* or *Holy Dramas* of the Middle Ages," and "extracted from 'Morgan's Free-masonry Exposé,'" but he also observed that although he was uncertain "How much of Masonry proper has survived in the Endowment . . . the Mormons are

413. Edward W. Tullidge, *Life of Joseph, The Prophet* (New York: Tullidge & Crandall, 1878), 391-92.

414. Tullidge's *Histories*, 442.

415. Green, 49-50.

416. Young, *Wife No. 19*, 357.

417. *Ibid.*, 371.

418. "Tell it All," 354.

pleased to have the outside world connect the two, and convey the impression that this is 'Celestial Masonry.'"⁴¹⁹

Masonic publications in Great Britain during the 1870s also charged that the Mormon temple ceremony was a form of spurious Freemasonry.⁴²⁰ The Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Utah, Joseph M. Orr, expressed similar sentiments in 1878 when he defined the Lodge's exclusionary policy prohibiting Mormons from entering into any Masonic lodge in Utah:

We say to the priests of the Latter-day Church, you cannot enter our lodge rooms—you surrender all to an unholy priesthood. You have heretofore sacrificed the sacred obligations of our beloved Order and we believe you would do the same again. Stand aside; we want none of you. Such a wound as you gave Masonry in Nauvoo is not easily healed, and no Latter-day Saint is, or can become a member of our Order in this jurisdiction.⁴²¹

For the next decade, Utah Masons, relying largely on exposés by former Mormons, began to challenge the legitimacy of the endowment on the basis that it was borrowed from Freemasonry. Initially Mormons either ignored the charges—although privately Franklin D. Richards and others admitted that Joseph Smith had used the Masonic ceremony—or countercharged that Freemasons relied “almost wholly on the evidence of apostates” or the same type of people “who had committed moral perjury by revealing your secrets . . . as the numerous exposés of Masonry will show.”⁴²²

But the Mason/Mormon debate was not just about rituals and symbols. It was also about representation and statehood. In 1882 Senator George Edmunds wrote in *Harpers* that Mormons continued to “maintain an exclusive political domination.”⁴²³ Masons assumed a leadership role in opposing this “domination” with particular enthusiasm. The Mormon/Mason fight for political power must have appeared sinister to some observers. Masons were accused of influencing the politics of the French Revolution, the Italian Risorgimento, and the American Revolution. Now they were making their lodges available for meetings to advance a political agenda, including the anti-polygamy campaign, while at the same time claiming

419. Beadle, 498-99.

420. See Robert Wentworth Little, “Mormonism,” *The Rosicrucian: A Quarterly Record of the Society's Activities* 14 (Oct. 1871): 168-70; Kenneth R.H. MacKenzie, ed., *The Royal Masonic Cyclopaedia* (London: John Hogg, 1872), 497-98; A. Woodford Kenning, *Masonic Cyclopaedia* (London: Geo. Kenning, 1878), 626.

421. 1877 *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1877), 11-12.

422. A. T. Heist [A. T. Schroeder], “Mormon and Mason,” *Salt Lake Herald*, 6 Dec. 1891, 3.

423. In Van Wagoner, 175.

that Mormon temple rituals were clandestine. Many Mormons believed that just as Masonry was in part responsible for the death of Joseph Smith,⁴²⁴ it continued to wage war to destroy his political and doctrinal legacies. Finally in 1890 Masons were able to boast: "On the tenth day of February next the body politic, that has for forty years misruled our rich and fair Territory and stood in the way of progress will crumble down. On its ruins the body Masonic ought to erect its temple that will stand till time shall be no more. Brothers, our time has come. Let us be up and doing."⁴²⁵ Such statements by the Masons, and similar charges by Mormons about Masonry, poisoned not only the political waters, but had a lasting impact on the twentieth-century debate concerning the relationship between Freemasonry and Mormonism.

MORMON STATEMENTS CONCERNING PARALLELS BETWEEN MASONIC RITUAL AND THE TEMPLE ENDOWMENT

Mormon leadership in the nineteenth century was not particularly concerned with comparisons between Mormonism and Freemasonry. The original Holy Order consisted of four Masons (Brigham Young,⁴²⁶ William Marks, William Law, and Willard Richards) who were initiated, passed, and raised less than one month before being endowed,⁴²⁷ and five who were Masons before becoming Mormons (George Miller, Hyrum Smith, Newell K. Whitney, Heber C. Kimball and James Adams)—four of whom were charter members and officers of Nauvoo Lodge (Miller, Master; Smith, Senior Warden; Whitney, Treasurer; and Kimball, Junior Deacon) and one of whom (Adams) was Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Illinois when Nauvoo Lodge received its dispensation. Since five members of the Holy Order were long-time Masons and the remaining four were fresh recruits, Joseph Smith undoubtedly knew that comparisons would be made between Masonry and the endowment.

Furthermore, there is no evidence that Smith intended the endowment to rival Masonic rituals or that Mormon lodges would be abandoned after

424. For a summary of this struggle, see Michael W. Homer, "Masonry and Mormonism in Utah, 1847-1984," *Journal of Mormon History* 18 (Fall 1992).

425. *1890 Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Utah*, 15.

426. Although some have claimed that Young was a Freemason before joining the church (see Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Joseph Smith and the Masons," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 64 [Spring 1971]: 81-82; Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985], 89; James J. Tyler, "John Cook Bennett, Colorful Freemason of the Early Nineteenth Century," reprint from *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Ohio* [n.p., 1947], 8), Young was not a charter member of Nauvoo Lodge and was initiated, passed, and raised in April 1842. See Hogan, *The Official Minutes of Nauvoo Lodge, U.D.*

427. Hogan, *The Official Minutes of Nauvoo Lodge*.

the completion of the temple. His use of the Masonic distress call, the continuation of lodge work after he revealed the endowment, and the completion and dedication of the Masonic Hall after the Grand Lodge withdrew its recognition from the Mormon lodges demonstrate that Smith was not a lukewarm Mason, that Mormons were not using Masonry only to gain a political foothold in Illinois, that they remained dedicated Masons throughout Smith's life, and that they continued to do lodge work until they left Nauvoo in 1846. Arguably, it was only after the Saints relocated in the Great Basin that Mormonism and Masonry were completely divorced and only then did Mormon officials claim that Masonry had outlived its purpose.

In Nauvoo the relationship between Mormonism and Masonry was readily acknowledged. According to Heber C. Kimball, Smith believed there was "similarity of preast Hood [sic] in Masonary [sic]" and that Freemasonry was "taken from [the] preasthood [sic] but has become degenerated [sic]."⁴²⁸ Benjamin F. Johnson, a Nauvoo Mason, also quoted Smith teaching that "Freemasonry as at present, was the apostate endowments, as sectarian religion was the apostate religion."⁴²⁹ Smith's successor, Brigham Young, taught that King Solomon built his temple to give endowments,⁴³⁰ that Solomon founded Freemasonry,⁴³¹ but that "they gave very few if any endowments" because one of "the high priests [Hiram Abiff] was murdered by wicked and corrupt men, who had already begun to apostatize, because he would not reveal those things appertaining to the Priesthood that were forbidden him to reveal until he came to the proper place."⁴³² Young's first counselor also taught that "Masonry of today is received from the apostasy which took place in the days of Solomon and David."⁴³³

Other Mormon contemporaries of Joseph Smith noticed parallels between the endowment and Freemasonry. Because Freemasonry was "received from the apostasy," Joseph Fielding, Hyrum Smith's brother-in-law and a Nauvoo Mason, wrote in December 1843 that "Many have joined the Masonic Institution" as "a Stepping Stone or Preparation for something

428. Heber C. Kimball to Parley P. Pratt, 17 June 1842, Parley P. Pratt Papers, LDS archives.

429. Benjamin F. Johnson, *My Life's Review* (Independence, MO: Zion's Printing and Publishing Co., 1947), 96.

430. *Journal of Discourses* 18:303.

431. *Ibid.* 11:327-28.

432. *Ibid.* 18:303. Although Young was clearly referring to the Masonic tradition of Hiram Abiff, it has been suggested that he may have been referring to Zachariah (Matt. 23:35; Luke 11:51; 2 Chron. 24:20). See John A Tvedtnes, "The Temple Ceremony in Ancient Rites," 18, privately circulated.

433. Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 13 Nov. 1858.

else, the true Origin of Masonry."⁴³⁴ Oliver Olney wrote in April 1842 that "We have of late had an instruction set up by a man from a distance said to be Masonry in its best state . . . They say threw [sic] it to obtain The fullness of the Priesthood that they say they have lost because of their unlawful works."⁴³⁵ Olney went on to write that the Masonic rite "has much encouraged L.D.S. they think soon to arise to perfection As some few secrets they have obtained."⁴³⁶ James Cummings, a Nauvoo Mason, recalled that Smith seemed "to understand some of the features of the [Masonic] ceremony better than any Mason and that he made explanations that rendered the rites much more beautiful and full of meaning."⁴³⁷ Finally, Samuel C. Young, while serving an LDS mission in Illinois in 1912, wrote that Charles H. J. Charvatt, who said he knew Joseph Smith personally, told him that "There was some signs and tokens with their meaning and significance which we [the Craft] did not have. Joseph restored them and explained them to us"; and that it was "bigotry, jealousy [sic] and envy which caused Joseph to be taken away from his position in the Masonic order."⁴³⁸

These statements demonstrate that at least three members of the Holy Order were aware of similarities between the endowment and Masonic rituals, that they believed that the Masonic rites were an apostate form of priesthood which survived from Solomon's temple and been restored through the endowment. Nevertheless, these same men continued to participate in Masonry after receiving their endowments. Although Lucius Scovill was instructed by Heber C. Kimball on April 10, 1845, to stop initiating Masons,⁴³⁹ Nauvoo Lodge remained active until the exodus in

434. Ehat, 145; see also *ibid.*, 147.

435. In Oliver Olney Papers, LDS archives.

436. *Ibid.*

437. Horace Cummings, "History of Horace Cummings," in Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Causes of Mormon Non-Mormon Conflict in Hancock County, Illinois, 1839-1846," Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1967, 86. A portion of Cummings's journal was published in the *Juvenile Instructor* in August 1929. In that version Joseph Smith's explanation of the Masonic rite is rendered as follows: "One of the first incidents recorded which greatly impressed my mind and which make a useful lesson was related by my father. His parents, who had a large family, lived in Nauvoo, and were quite intimate with the Prophet Joseph. In fact, his father, being a Master Mason, officiated in conducting the Prophet through all the degrees of Masonry. In doing this the Prophet explained many things about the rite that even Masons do not pretend to understand but which he made most clear and beautiful." Horace H. Cummings, "True Stories from my Journal," *Juvenile Instructor* 64 (Aug. 1929): 441. Hogan has criticized Godfrey's citation of Cummings. See Mervin B. Hogan, *Mormonism and Freemasonry: The Illinois Episode* (Salt Lake City: Campus Graphics, 1980), 274-78.

438. Manuscript of Samuel C. Young, LDS archives.

439. Stanley B. Kimball, ed., *On the Potter's Wheel: The Diary of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1987), 103.

1846. It was not until the Saints arrived in Utah that Brigham Young refused to seek Masonic charters despite opposition from two former Masters of Nauvoo Lodge (George A. Smith and Lucius Scoville) who had expressed an interest in obtaining them⁴⁴⁰; and that Mormon converts such as Louis Bertrand, a French Mason who had never lived in Nauvoo, wrote publicly that Freemasonry had fulfilled its purpose after the endowment was revealed.⁴⁴¹

Similar statements were made to outsiders who visited the territory. John W. Gunnison, a member of the Stansbury expedition, spent several years in Utah among the Mormons (1849-50). In 1852 he published a book in which he recorded their history and counseled the government to adopt a moderate policy toward them. Gunnison wrote that the church taught "that Masonry was originally of the church, and one of its favored institutions, to advance the members to their spiritual functions. It had become perverted from its designs, and was restored to its true work by Joseph, who gave again, by angelic assistance, the key-words of the several degrees that had been lost."⁴⁴² Richard Burton came to the same understanding when he visited Salt Lake City in 1860, writing that one of Brigham Young's nephew's had told him that an "angel of the Lord brought to Mr. Joseph Smith the lost key-words of several degrees, which caused him, when he appeared amongst the brotherhood of Illinois, to 'work right-a-head' of the highest, and to show them their ignorance of the greatest truths and benefits of masonry."⁴⁴³

While Gunnison and Burton may have misunderstood the relationship between Mormonism and Masonry and their information may have come from uninformed Mormons who did not represent the hierarchy's official views on the subject (that the Masonic rite was restored to its original pristine form through divine inspiration, just as the Bible had been restored to its original form in the inspired version), their summary is nonetheless consistent with later statements made in church periodicals or by church authorities. For example, Helen Marr Whitney, daughter of Heber C. Kimball, in a pamphlet entitled *Why We Practice Plural Marriage*, published by the *Juvenile Instructor*, wrote that temple work was the "Masonry of God."⁴⁴⁴ In 1886 the *Juvenile Instructor* published an article which stated that "[a]lthough this [Masonic] institution dates its origins many centuries back,

440. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 5:482-83.

441. L. A. Bertrand, *Mémoires d'un Mormon* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1862), 171-72.

442. John W. Gunnison, *The Mormons, or Latter-day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1852), 59-60.

443. Burton, *The City of the Saints*, 426.

444. Helen Marr Whitney, *Why We Practice Plural Marriage* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor, 1884), 63.

it is only a perverted Priesthood stolen from the Temples of the Most High."⁴⁴⁵ Perhaps the clearest statement of this understanding was made by Franklin D. Richards, president of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, one of the last surviving general authorities who had been a Nauvoo Mason. In 1891 Richards wrote that "Certain mystic rites which are practiced throughout Christendom claim antiquity with Solomon's temple."⁴⁴⁶ Eight years later during a discussion of "secret societies" with his fellow apostles, Richards told his quorum that

Joseph, the Prophet, was aware that there were some things about Masonry which had come down from the beginning and he desired to know what they were, hence the lodge. The Masons admitted some keys of knowledge appertaining to Masonry were lost. Joseph enquired of the Lord concerning the matter and He revealed to the Prophet true Masonry, as we have it in our temples. Owing to the superior knowledge Joseph had received, the Masons became jealous and cut off the Mormon Lodge.⁴⁴⁷

Matthias Cowley reiterated this theme at a January 8, 1902, meeting of the Twelve when he "Spoke of Freemasonry as being a counterfeit of the true masonry of the Latter-day Saints."⁴⁴⁸

These statements demonstrate that even though the Mormon hierarchy was reluctant to discuss the Mormon/Masonic connection after the turn of the century, it was still in harmony with Brigham Young's teaching that Mormon temples were the first temples since Solomon's temple where work for the living and dead could be performed. Endowment work for the living recommenced in Kirtland and Nauvoo and endowment work for the dead recommenced in St. George. The signers of the Declaration of Independence were not only baptized on August 21, 1877, but were endowed the following day,⁴⁴⁹ and on March 19, 1894, Benjamin Franklin and George Washington received their second anointings.⁴⁵⁰ An article in the November 1901 *Improvement Era*⁴⁵¹ answered the question "Why was Joseph Smith the Prophet a Free Mason?" which, although cryptic, confirmed the pri-

445. *Juvenile Instructor* 21 (15 Mar. 1886): 91.

446. Franklin D. Richards, "The Temple of the Lord," *Juvenile Instructor* 26 (1 Dec. 1891), reprinted in *The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 11 (Oct. 1920): 147.

447. Rudger Clawson Diary, 4 Apr. 1899, Rudger Clawson Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah; reprinted in Stan Larson, ed., *A Ministry of Meetings: The Apostolic Diaries of Rudger Clawson* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1993), 42.

448. Larson, *A Ministry of Meetings*, 380.

449. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 7:367-69.

450. *Ibid.*, 9:293.

451. "Secret Societies," *Improvement Era* 4 (Nov. 1900): 58.

vately-expressed views of President Franklin D. Richards. Rather than respond to the question directly, the editors of the church periodical (Joseph F. Smith and Edward H. Anderson) referred readers to the *History of Joseph Smith* in which the prophet stated on May 1, 1842 (three days before he introduced the endowment to the Holy Order), that there were

signs and words by which false spirits and personages may be detected from true, which cannot be revealed to the Elders until the Temple is completed . . . There are signs in heaven, earth and hell, the Elders must know them all, to be endowed with power, to finish their work and prevent imposition. The devil knows many signs, but does not know the sign of the Son of Man, or Jesus.⁴⁵²

Given these statements by Mormon authorities who were also Nauvoo Masons, it is not surprising that Joseph Smith taught there was "similarity of priesthood in Masonry"⁴⁵³; that Brigham Young's estranged wife claims that he referred to the Mormon temple endowment as "celestial Masonry"⁴⁵⁴; that Brigham Young told a Mormon congregation that the St. George temple was the first temple since Solomon's temple in which ordinances for the living and dead could be performed⁴⁵⁵; that Heber C. Kimball said that "we have true Masonry"⁴⁵⁶; and that Mathias Cowley wrote in 1909 that the fraternity sought for in Freemasonry "was superseded by a more perfect fraternity found in the vows and covenants which the endowment in the House of God afforded members of the Church."⁴⁵⁷

In addition to comparing the rituals of Freemasonry to the endowment, Mormon leaders also compared the secrecy and symbols of the two rites. The temple ritual became a helpmate to the secrecy associated with the practice of plural marriage. This was consistent with William Preston's and William Hutchinson's lectures which taught that the first lesson of Masonry is the virtue of secrecy.⁴⁵⁸ This was also an aspect of Masonry attacked by the clergy,⁴⁵⁹ and which contemporary observers claimed was the target of

452. The reference given by the editors was "Gems from the History of Joseph Smith," in *Compendium of the Doctrine of the Gospel*, 274, which now appears in *History of the Church*, 4:608.

453. Heber C. Kimball to Parley P. Pratt, 17 June 1842.

454. Young, *Wife No. 19*, 371.

455. *Journal of Discourses* 19:220.

456. Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 13 Nov. 1858.

457. Mathias F. Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff: History of His Life and Labors* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909), 160.

458. See Dyer, 174-75; Hutchinson, xxvi.

459. Bernard, ix-x.

Book of Mormon references to "secret combinations."⁴⁶⁰ Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and Heber C. Kimball all taught that the purpose of Freemasonry was to "keep a secret."⁴⁶¹ During a meeting of the Relief Society on March 30, 1842, Smith warned the sisters about "iniquitous characters" who were "aspiring after power and authority." Although he did not mention names because he doubted whether everyone was "sufficiently skill'd in Masonry as to keep a secret,"⁴⁶² he asked that the matter be kept private by reminding the sisters to be "good Masons." Brigham Young later taught: "I could preach all about the endowments in public and the world know Nothing about it. I could preach all about Masonry & none but a Mason know anything about it. And the mane [sic] part of Masonry is to keep a secret."⁴⁶³ Kimball echoed these sentiments when he said: "You have received your endowments. What is it for? To learn you to hold your tongues."⁴⁶⁴ Even after the turn of the century and the abandonment of polygamy, the same comparison was made. The First Presidency stated in a message on October 15, 1911, that "[b]ecause of their Masonic characters, the ceremonies of the temple are sacred and not for the public."⁴⁶⁵

Mormon use of Masonic symbols has also been publicly acknowledged. Mormons were hardly discreet in their depictions of symbols long associated with Freemasonry (see Illustration 6), including the square, the compass, the sun, moon, and stars, the beehive, the all-seeing eye, ritualistic hand grips, two interlaced triangles forming a six-pointed star (known as the seal of Solomon), and a number of other Masonic symbols on endowment houses, temples, cooperatives, grave markers, tabernacles, church meetinghouses, newspaper mastheads, hotels, residences, money, logos, and seals.⁴⁶⁶ This caused a British observer in 1871 to encourage fellow Masons "on the other side of the Atlantic [to] rise enmasse and crush this

460. See, for example, La Roy Sunderland, *Mormonism Exposed and Refuted* (New York: Piercy & Reed, 1838), 46; and Jason Whitman, "Notices of Books, The Book of Mormon," *The Unitarian* 1 (1 Jan. 1834): 47.

461. *History of the Church*, 6:59; Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 5:418 (22 Jan. 1860); *Journal of Discourses* 5:133 (2 Aug. 1857).

462. Minutes of the Relief Society, 8 Sept. 1842 (recording an Epistle read on 30 Mar. 1842).

463. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 5:418 (22 Jan. 1860). See also *Journal of Discourses* 4:287-89 (25 Mar. 1857).

464. *Journal of Discourses* 5:133 (2 Aug. 1857).

465. Statement of the First Presidency (Joseph F. Smith, Anthon H. Lund and John Henry Smith), dated 15 Oct. 1911, appearing in *Deseret News*, 4 Nov. 1911, reprinted in James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965-75), 4:250.

466. Allen D. Roberts, "Where are the All-Seeing Eyes? The Origin, Use and Decline of Early Mormon Symbolism," *Sunstone* 4 (May-June 1979): 22-37.

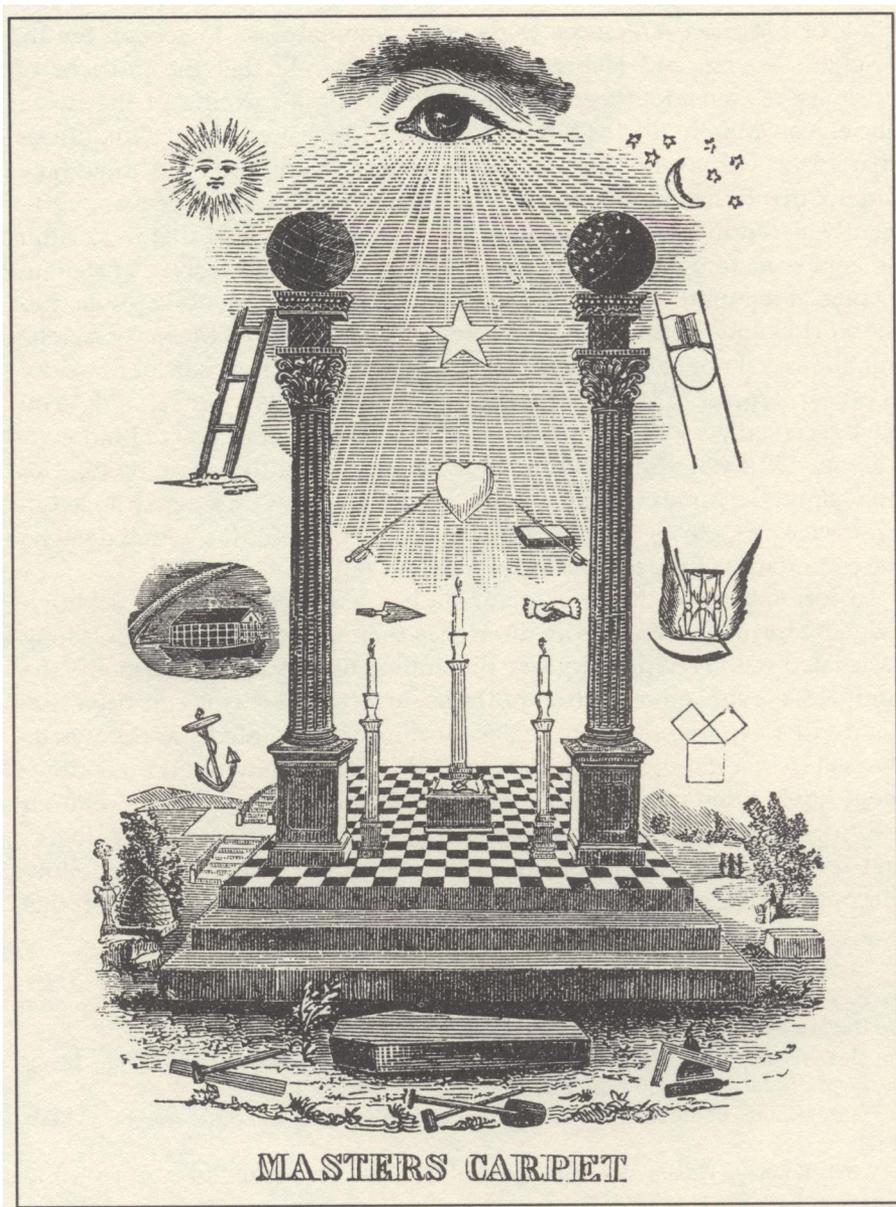


Illustration 6. The "Masters Carpet," published by Masonic writer and lecturer, Jeremy Cross, in The Masonic Monitor in 1820, includes most of the Masonic symbols subsequently adopted by Mormonism, including the square, compass, level, beehive, all-seeing eye, sun, moon, and stars. (Cross, 1.)

attempt at an unwarranted use of their symbols."⁴⁶⁷ Although church leaders did not consider the use of these symbols "unwarranted," they did gradually curtail their use. In 1886, when a controversy arose concerning the use of Masonic symbols on the Salt Lake temple, which was then under construction, church president and Nauvoo Mason John Taylor stated that Masonic considerations should not be taken into account when making architectural changes to the structure.⁴⁶⁸ Although some Masonic symbols were retained on the temple, the most common Masonic symbols, the square and compass, which appeared on endowment houses and were included by Truman Angell in 1854 on the original drawings for the Salt Lake temple, were excluded from the completed structure.⁴⁶⁹ These and other symbols used in the nineteenth century were discarded after the turn of the century, and by 1906 Joseph E. Morcombe, a Mason who was acquainted with the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, noted that it was inevitable that the church would "borrow from Masonic forms and symbols,"⁴⁷⁰ perhaps realizing that the Craft itself had borrowed most of the symbols it claimed as its own.⁴⁷¹

TWENTIETH-CENTURY CHALLENGES BY THE CRAFT AND MORMON RESPONSES

During most of the twentieth century both Masonry and Mormonism opposed dual membership: Masons in Utah prohibited Mormons from joining or visiting their lodges and Mormons counseled members to avoid joining secret societies. During a discussion of secret societies on April 12, 1900, in a meeting of the Twelve Apostles and the First Presidency some brethren wondered if "Freemasonry was in some degree excepted [from a general condemnation of secret societies], as it was thought that in some instances it might be advisable to join that body." Despite the suggestion, Lorenzo Snow, the last surviving general authority who was also a Mason (Franklin Richards had died the previous year), authorized a statement that church leaders were "opposed to secret societies," which made no exception for Freemasonry.⁴⁷² Shortly thereafter Snow addressed a large gathering in the tabernacle

467. Chalmers I. Paton, "The Mormons and Masonic Symbols," *The Freemasons* 3 (1871): 427.

468. See Roberts, "Where are the All-Seeing Eyes?," 26-27.

469. See Laurel B. Andrew, *The Early Temples of the Mormons* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1978), 119-32, 142-45.

470. Joseph E. Morcombe, "Masonry and Mormonism," *Masonic Standard* 11 (1 Sept. 1906): 6.

471. See Mackey, 57, 735; Waite, 1:21.

472. Clawson Diary, 12 Apr. 1900, reprinted in Larson, *A Ministry of Meetings*, 155.

on the subject of secret societies, in which he reiterated this policy: "Men who are identified with these secret organizations . . . have disqualified themselves and are not fit to hold these offices," and further stated "that any man who is a member of these organizations ought not to be allowed the privileges or blessings of the gospel."⁴⁷³ This was followed by a series of statements by general authorities counseling members not to join any "secret society" for any reason.⁴⁷⁴ Following the death of the Nauvoo Masons among the general authorities, the decline in the use of Masonic symbols, and increased criticism by and between Mormons and Masons, acknowledgment by church leaders of similarities between the rites of Freemasonry and the endowment became increasingly rare.

Shortly thereafter Utah Masons began to search for a new rationale to exclude Mormons from their lodges. Even though Masons may have facilitated the publication of the "G.S.R." exposé, its primary purpose was to aid the anti-polygamy campaign and not emphasize links between the two rituals. Similarly, they withheld Masonic membership from Mormons because of polygamy and not because of charges that the endowment was plagiarized from Masonic rites.⁴⁷⁵ Apparently stung by the Mormon hierarchy's statements concerning "secret societies," Masons in Utah refused to change their policy to allow Mormons into their lodges after the abandonment of polygamy and instead published statements and articles of their own criticizing the Mormon church.⁴⁷⁶ During the Smoot hearings wide-ranging testimony surfaced regarding not only the content of the endowment but the Mormon connection with Freemasonry. This spawned a number of articles in national Masonic journals which were republished in Utah.

In 1905, for example, the Grand Lodge of Utah reprinted an article by a past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Illinois which discussed the connection between Mormonism and Freemasonry in Nauvoo. Although

473. *Provo Daily Enquirer*, 12 Nov. 1900.

474. The earliest articles in the *Improvement Era* appeared in the section entitled "Editor's Table": *Improvement Era* 1 (Mar. 1898): 373-76; 4 (Nov. 1900): 59; 6 (Dec. 1902): 149-52; 6 (Feb. 1903): 305, 308; 12 (Feb. 1909): 313. In addition, various speakers at general conference also touched on the subject. See *Conference Reports* (Apr. 1900), 30-31 (Marriner W. Merrill); (Apr. 1901), 73 (Joseph F. Smith); (Apr. 1903), 20-21 (C. Kelly). For later treatments of the same subject, see *Conference Reports* (Oct. 1922) (Charles W. Nibley). John A. Widtsoe, "Why it is Undesirable to Join Secret Societies," *Improvement Era* 42 (May 1939): 289.

475. See, generally, Homer, "Masonry and Mormonism."

476. "Report on Correspondence," *1899 Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Utah*, Appen., 18, 60; "Report on Correspondence," *1904 Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Utah* (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1904), 103-104.

he did not mention the connection between the endowment and Masonic rituals he did claim that "there is no truth in the statement that Morgan's widow was ever a resident of Nauvoo," apparently based on a dinner conversation with Emma Bidamon in 1860.⁴⁷⁷ The following year Theodore Schroeder, a former resident of Utah who was instrumental in maneuverings to deny B. H. Roberts his seat in congress, a prolific writer of anti-Mormon literature, and a Mason, published an article in *The Masonic Standard* in which he relied on Burton, Gunnison, Mary Ettie V. Smith, and others to support his claim that "Masonry furnished suggestions for the groundwork for the secret endowment ceremony of the Latter-day Saints."⁴⁷⁸ Schroeder's article was republished in the *Salt Lake Tribune* the following year.⁴⁷⁹ Five months later Joseph Morcombe responded to Schroeder in the *Masonic Standard* and challenged Schroeder's premise that Joseph Smith pilfered the Masonic rite. Morcombe noted that the endowment did not replace Masonry in Nauvoo—both rituals were performed until the Mormons left Nauvoo—even after the Grand Lodge revoked the dispensations and refused to charter the Mormon lodges. He also argued that Mormonism's adoption of Masonic "forms and symbols" did not prove that Joseph Smith intended the endowment to rival Freemasonry.⁴⁸⁰

In 1908 another article concerning "Mormonism and Masonry in Illinois" appeared in the *Masonic Voice-Review*.⁴⁸¹ The author reviewed the history of Mormon lodges in Illinois and concluded that after "the church was removed to Salt Lake City its ceremonies were modeled after those of

477. John Corson Smith, "Mormonism and its Connection with Freemasonry 1842-3-4 Nauvoo, Illinois," *The American Tyler* 19 (1 Feb. 1905): 323-26, reprinted in *1905 Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Utah* (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1905), 113-20.

478. Theodore Schroeder, "Mormonism and Masonry," *Masonic Standard* 11 (7 Apr. 1906): 2, republished in *Salt Lake Tribune*, 24 June 1907, 4. In the *Tribune* version the quotation is: "Masonry furnished the suggestion or groundwork for the secret endowment ceremony of the Latter-day Saints." In the *Masonic Standard*, Mary Ettie V. Smith's quotation concerning the Mormon anxiety "to have the Gentiles associate all they know of the beastly 'endowments' with Masonry . . . as a blind to cover the real objects of this 'Institution'" is attributed to "An apostle" which is corrected in the *Tribune* version to "An apostate."

479. Ironically, Schroeder was initially sympathetic toward the Mormons after arriving in Salt Lake City following graduation from the University of Wisconsin Law School. In one of his earliest articles entitled "Mormon and Mason" written under the pseudonym, A. T. Heist, he referred to the Masonic attitude toward Mormons as "anti-Mormon idiocy," and accused the Craft of relying "almost wholly" on "the evidence of apostates" to "convict the Mormons," a cryptic reference to early claims that Joseph Smith plagiarized the endowment. See A. T. Heist, "Mormon and Mason," *Salt Lake Herald*, 6 Dec. 1891, 3.

480. Morcombe, "Masonry and Mormonism," 6.

481. Hiram Abiff, Jr. [pseud.], "Mormonism and Masonry in Illinois," *Masonic Voice-Review* 10 (Aug. 1908): 229-30; 10 (Sept. 1908): 261-63; 10 (Oct. 1908): 294-96; 10 (Nov. 1908): 334-35; 10 (Dec. 1908): 357-59; 11 (Jan. 1909): 7-9; 11 (Feb. 1909): 39-41; 11 (Mar. 1909): 71-73; 11 (Apr. 1909): 110-11; and 11 (May 1909): 142-44.

the Masonic fraternity. The church having utilized the Masonic ritual in this manner, the Mormon lodges were no longer necessary and ceased to exist."⁴⁸² During the serialization of this article, Joseph Morcombe wrote in a letter to the *Review* that "later developments of the sect at Salt Lake City may be traced to this connection [with Freemasonry], as also some grotesque ceremonies, aped and corrupted from Masonic precedents."⁴⁸³ These articles reflect not only the tension between Mormons and Masons but also the on-going debate between Josephites and Brighamites concerning whether Joseph or Brigham had introduced the endowment as practiced in the temples of Utah.

Nevertheless important church writers continued to accept the Masonic legend that the Craft descended from Solomon. In 1912, when the church published James Talmage's *The House of the Lord*, neither Masonry nor its symbols were mentioned in the discussion of the endowment. Furthermore, in discussing Solomon's temple, Talmage only referred to the biblical account in contrast to Brigham Young who had alluded to the Masonic tradition that a high priest had been murdered in the temple after refusing to reveal signs and tokens.⁴⁸⁴ But Talmage did write that during construction of the temple "Masonry became a profession, and the graded orders therein established have endured until this day."⁴⁸⁵

Two years later, Melvin J. Ballard, president of the Northwestern States Mission, discussed the relationship between Masonry and Mormonism during a speech at semi-annual general conference in October 1913. Ballard's speech may have been a response to Masonic claims (for example, Schroeder, Morcombe, and *The Masonic Voice-Review*) that Mormon temples adapted forms of Masonic ritual. While acknowledging that Freemasonry was "a fragment of the old truth coming down perhaps from Solomon's Temple of ancient days," Ballard asserted that "Joseph Smith never knew the first thing of Masonry until years after he received the visit of Elijah, and had delivered to men the keys of holy priesthood and the ceremonies and ordinances had by us in the sacred temples, and had given the endowments to men long before he knew the first thing pertaining to the ordinances and the ceremonies of Masonry."⁴⁸⁶ Six years later, after being ordained an apostle, he readdressed this same subject. In December 1919 he told an audience in the tabernacle that "Modern Masonry is a

482. *Ibid.* 11 (May 1909): 144.

483. "An Editor's Opinion," *Masonic Voice-Review* 11 (Mar. 1909): 87.

484. Talmage, *The House of the Lord*, 30-43, 99-101.

485. *Ibid.*, 7. See also James E. Talmage, "The House of the Lord, Temples, Ancient and Modern," *Improvement Era* 15 (Feb. 1912): 298.

486. 1913 *Conference Reports*, 126.

fragmentary presentation of the ancient order established by King Solomon from whom it is said to be handed down through the centuries"; and that "the temple plan revealed to Joseph Smith . . . was the perfect Solomonic plan, under which no man was permitted to obtain the secrets of Masonry unless he also held the holy priesthood." Ballard also claimed that even though the endowment restored the divine plan inaugurated by Solomon "plans for the ordinances to be observed in the Temple built at Nauvoo . . . were revealed to Joseph Smith . . . more than a year prior to the time the founder of the Mormon Church became a member of the Masonic Order."⁴⁸⁷

Following Ballard's denial of Masonic claims that the Mormon temple ceremony was an unauthorized adaptation of Masonic ritual, Sam H. Goodwin, Grand Secretary and Past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Utah, assumed the lead in articulating a shift in the official rationale excluding Mormons from Utah Masonry. Goodwin was an ordained Congregational pastor who had served in various church functions in Utah since 1898 and recognized that the polygamy rationale was no longer valid. In February and March 1921 he wrote a two-part article in *The Builder*, a Masonic monthly, in which he attempted to explain why "Latter-day Saints are not received into Masonic lodges in Utah, either as visitors or members."⁴⁸⁸ The same year he published an expanded version of these articles in a pamphlet entitled *Mormonism and Masonry*⁴⁸⁹ in which he reviewed the formation of Masonic lodges in Nauvoo, the symbols and language of the Mormon temple ceremony, and responded to public statements by the Mormon hierarchy concerning the origins of the Mormon temple ceremony.

Writing for a Masonic audience, Goodwin claimed that he would not attempt "to give a categorical answer" to the question "Does the Mormon Church make use of Masonic ceremonies in its Temple ritual?"; that he would not "point out or label any 'resemblances' that may be discovered in the course of this study"; but that the "reader must draw his own conclusions."⁴⁹⁰ In his discussion Goodwin enumerated various Masonic symbols and emblems which appear on the Salt Lake temple and other LDS structures (square, compass, beehive, all-seeing eye, etc.),⁴⁹¹ and published portions of the endowment from three exposés (Van Dusen, G.S.R-, and

487. *Salt Lake Herald*, 29 Dec. 1919, 5.

488. Sam H. Goodwin, "A Study of Mormonism and its Connection with Masonry in the Early Forties," *The Builder* 7 (Feb. 1921): 36-42, and 7 (Mar. 1921): 64-70.

489. Sam H. Goodwin, *Mormonism and Masonry: A Utah Point of View* (Salt Lake City: Sugarhouse Press, 1921).

490. *Ibid.*, 20.

491. *Ibid.*, 20-21.

Walter M. Wolfe).⁴⁹² Although Goodwin claimed not to answer the question himself, he quoted from Ballard's 1919 speech to emphasize the Mormon position that Masonic rite dated from Solomon's temple; that Mormons recognized similarities between Masonry and Mormonism; but that they denied that Joseph Smith obtained the endowment from Masonry or that he was a Mason when the endowment was introduced to him.⁴⁹³ Although Goodwin made no direct comparisons between the temple ceremony and Masonic rites, one of the nine reasons he gave for excluding Mormons from Masonry was: "Clandestinitism: Temple ceremonies and the use of language and symbols."⁴⁹⁴

In 1927 Goodwin published a second pamphlet entitled *Additional Studies in Mormonism and Masonry*.⁴⁹⁵ An article in the pamphlet entitled "Why Was Joseph Smith a Mason? Unanswered Questions" included official statements by the LDS church concerning "secret societies"⁴⁹⁶ and attempted to demonstrate that prior to the turn of the century "Church leaders" taught that Joseph Smith had used portions of Masonic rite in the endowment,⁴⁹⁷ in contrast to later teachings that the endowment was revealed to Joseph Smith prior to his membership in Masonry.

Just as the Masons changed their rationale for keeping Mormons out of their lodges after the abandonment of polygamy, Mormon authorities who outlived the Nauvoo Masons and were unfamiliar with the Craft had already rethought their response to those who noted similarities between Masonic rite and the temple ceremony. This rethinking, which began with Ballard's speeches in 1913 and 1919, was in part inconsistent with statements by Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Franklin D. Richards, and other nineteenth-century Mormon authorities and ironically closer in some respects to arguments by anti-Mormons during the same period. It also demonstrates the Mormon hierarchy's sensitivity to charges that Smith plagiarized Masonic rites. Surprisingly, with few exceptions apologists of this new Mormon response failed to argue that continuing revelation does not exclude the possibility of adopting and adapting symbols and rites.

After the appearance of Goodwin's articles, Mormon authorities

492. *Ibid.*, 22-24.

493. *Ibid.*, 25-26.

494. *Ibid.*, 38.

495. S. H. Goodwin, *Additional Studies in Mormonism and Masonry* (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1927). This pamphlet was primarily a collection of articles previously published in *The Builder* in November and December 1924 and January 1927.

496. *Ibid.*, 29-32.

497. *Ibid.*, 33-38.

and other church representatives responded with arguments which followed for the most part the path blazed by Ballard. They argued that Joseph Smith received the endowment before he became a Mason; that the rituals of Freemasonry and the endowment are both descended from Solomon's temple (Masonic ritual is a corrupted version, while the endowment is a completely restored version); and distinguished between the purposes of the Mormon temple ceremony (saving ordinances for eternal life) and rituals of Masonry (a fraternal organization with a ritual as a metaphor for a spiritual journey). Two months after the publication of Goodwin's first article, *The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* published a lecture delivered by John A. Widtsoe in October 1920 which referred to "apostates [who] have tried to reveal the ordinances of the House of the Lord. Some of their accounts form a fairly complete and correct story of the outward forms of the temple service; but they are pitiful failures in making clear the eternal meaning of temple worship and the exaltation of spirit that is awakened by the understanding of that meaning."⁴⁹⁸ Widtsoe, who would be called an apostle on March 17, 1921, added that "[s]uch attempted improper revelations of temple worship have led in all ages to corruptions of temple worship"; that "such corruptions of ordinances and ceremonies have always existed is a strong evidence of the continuity of temple worship, under the Priesthood, from the days of Adam"⁴⁹⁹; and that "corruption of [temple ordinances] have been handed down the ages."⁵⁰⁰ He also argued that the "endowment which was given by revelation can best be understood by revelation,"⁵⁰¹ and that the symbols of the endowment were only a superficial representation of more basic truths: "No man or woman can come out of the temple endowed as he should be unless he has seen, beyond the symbol, the mighty realities for which the symbols stand."⁵⁰² Several months later *The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* published extracts from speeches by Brigham Young and others concerning the origins of the endowment ceremony, including Young's famous April 1854 discourse.⁵⁰³

A different rationale was published in an August 1921 article by Brigham H. Roberts in the *Improvement Era*, in which the Mormon general

498. John A. Widtsoe, "Temple Worship," *The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 12 (Apr. 1921): 49-66.

499. *Ibid.*, 62.

500. *Ibid.*, 53-54.

501. *Ibid.*, 63.

502. *Ibid.*, 62.

503. See "Temple and Temple Building," *The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 12 (July 1921): 113-22.

authority responded to questions about “the Prophet’s connection with Masonry and its connection with temple ceremonies, and the endowment rites having been copied from Masonry.”⁵⁰⁴ The substance of the article was taken from a March 1921 letter to a member of an Idaho stake presidency who had apparently read Goodwin’s articles.⁵⁰⁵ Roberts responded that “the evidence, to my mind, is very clear that [Joseph Smith’s] knowledge of the endowment ceremonies preceded his contact with Masonry,” that revelations concerning the endowment began in 1835 when the prophet obtained possession of the “Egyptian papyrus manuscript,” and that the temple ceremony “resulted from the revelations of God to Joseph Smith, and not from the Prophet’s incidental and brief connection with Masonry.”⁵⁰⁶ Five months later Ballard spoke about Masonry again and said that Smith had joined the fraternity in 1842 because “he needed good friends.”⁵⁰⁷

Most subsequent LDS responses followed Ballard and Roberts in maintaining that the endowment was revealed before the organization of the Nauvoo Lodge even if both rituals arose from a common source. James H. Anderson, in an article published in the *Improvement Era* in 1929, wrote that “the Masonic Order has rites based on ceremonies in Solomon’s Temple”; that Masonry is a fraternal organization rather than a religious one; and concluded:

If it happens to have one, two, or three of the religious symbols of Solomon’s Temple ceremonies, then, so far as accurate, those must be part of the true religious ritual . . . if it has borrowed some of its symbols from the rites of a religious temple ceremony, it has no right to complain of the use of that religious ceremony as determined by the religious order which is previously a rightful occupant and participator.⁵⁰⁸

In 1935 E. Cecil McGavin, an instructor and author in the Church Education System, devoted a considerable portion of a book on the sub-

504. B. H. Roberts, “Masonry and ‘Mormonism,’” *Improvement Era* 24 (Aug. 1921): 938.

505. Correspondence of B. H. Roberts, 21 Mar. 1921, LDS archives.

506. Roberts, “Masonry and ‘Mormonism,’” 937-39.

507. Extracts from address of Elder Melvin J. Ballard, Special Collections, Lee Library, quoted in McGavin, 12. On September 26, 1901, Lorenzo Snow told the Twelve that he allowed his daughter “to act as queen of the Elks Carnival” to enable the church “to get influence with a large organization of influential men in the nation” and compared it to “Joseph the Prophet and others of the brethren joining the Freemasons in order to obtain influence for furtherance of the purposes of the Lord” (see Larson, *A Ministry of Meetings*, 316).

508. James H. Anderson, “Temple Ceremonies,” *Improvement Era* 32 (Oct. 1929): 971. At the time Anderson was a member of the general board of the Young Men’s Mutual Improvement Association.

ject⁵⁰⁹ to explain similarities between the endowment and Masonic rites. He argued that Masonic rites descended from Solomon⁵¹⁰; that Joseph Smith restored the secrets of Solomon's temple⁵¹¹; that the prophet joined Freemasonry to "fraternize with the prominent leaders in the political and religious world"⁵¹²; and that Smith "had a complete knowledge of the Temple ceremony before he became affiliated with the Masons."⁵¹³ McGavin also believed that the text of the Book of Abraham (particularly Facs. 2),⁵¹⁴ the revelation received by Joseph Smith on January 19, 1841, and published as Doctrine and Covenants 124,⁵¹⁵ as well as statements by Smith and others concerning experiences in the Kirtland temple, and the reasons for building the Nauvoo temple⁵¹⁶ all support this conclusion. Ultimately, McGavin believed that all similarities between Masonic rite and the endowment resulted from their common genesis at Solomon's temple and that Joseph Smith had obtained the endowment at least a year before becoming a Freemason.

One Mormon writer who did not completely adopt the reasoning of Ballard and Roberts was Anthony W. Ivins, a counselor in the LDS First Presidency. Ivins wrote *The Relationship of "Mormonism" and Freemasonry*⁵¹⁷ in 1934 which was distributed free to all Mormon stake presidents, ward bishops, mission presidents, and faculty members at LDS Institutes. Ivins, who died before the book was published, admitted in his introduction that it was "addressed primarily to the Masonic fraternity" in response to Goodwin's *Mormonism and Masonry*⁵¹⁸ (which he asserted was in its fifth printing and had appeared in Masonic magazines in the United States, Australia, and South Africa) and *Additional Studies in Mormonism and Masonry*.⁵¹⁹ Among objections Ivins had to Goodwin's work was the latter's attempt "to prove that the ordinances administered in Mormon temples are copied from the ceremonies of Masonry."⁵²⁰ With respect to Goodwin's

509. E. Cecil McGavin, *"Mormonism" and Masonry* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1935).

510. *Ibid.*, 48-71.

511. *Ibid.*, 70, 85-86.

512. *Ibid.*, 20; see also 12.

513. *Ibid.*, 33.

514. *Ibid.*, 33-36.

515. McGavin, 39.

516. *Ibid.*, 44.

517. Anthony W. Ivins, *The Relationship of "Mormonism" and Freemasonry* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1934).

518. Both Ivins and McGavin mistakenly believed that Goodwin's pamphlet was first published in 1925. See Ivins, 7, and McGavin, 6.

519. Ivins, 7.

520. *Ibid.*, 10.

claim that Mormon buildings display Masonic emblems and symbols, Ivins observed that the symbols referred to had their own independent meaning to Latter-day Saints, were not in general use, had become "long since obsolete," and "are not seen nor are they referred to in any temple ritual or ordinance."⁵²¹

Regarding Goodwin's suggestion that the temple ceremony was borrowed from Masonry, Ivins criticized him for quoting from exposés of renouncing Mormons when Goodwin claimed that renouncing Masons were "the most bitter enemies and opponents of Masonry."⁵²² Ivins also admitted that he did not know if there were resemblances between Masonic rite and the Mormon temple ceremony⁵²³; stated that Joseph Smith became a Mason to find "friendship and protection"⁵²⁴; and advocated a more detailed comparison between rituals before he was prepared to admit similarities. He wrote that while Goodwin

pretends to give a truthful and detailed account of the ordinances performed in the temples of the Church, he fails to indicate the resemblance to the rites of Masonry, and consequently leaves the reader entirely without proof of the resemblances which he states exist. The writer reaffirms that to judge of the similarity of two things, both must be submitted for inspection.⁵²⁵

Nor did Ivins follow Ballard's and Roberts's lead that the endowment was revealed to Joseph Smith prior to his association in Freemasonry, although his rationale for Joseph's affiliation with the Craft is a strong suggestion that he believed the two were not connected. While he did discuss the various theories concerning the origin of Masonry, including the Masonic dogma that it began with Solomon, Ivins did not suggest that this theory provided a rationale for comparing the two rites.⁵²⁶ Thus, although Ivins did not argue that the endowment preceded Smith's association with Freemasonry, he failed to explain similarities between the two rites. Instead, he devoted most of his book to explaining Mormon doctrines and teachings.

Ivins recognized that Goodwin's pamphlets would be basic source material for the position that the Mormon temple ceremony plagiarized Masonic rite. Fawn Brodie referred to it in her 1945 biography on Joseph

521. *Ibid.*, 90-93.

522. *Ibid.*, 88-89.

523. *Ibid.*, 89.

524. *Ibid.*, 179.

525. *Ibid.*, 251.

526. *Ibid.*, 11-20.

Smith, writing that "[i]t may seem surprising that Joseph Smith should have incorporated so much Masonry into the endowment ceremony in the very weeks when all his leading men were being inducted into the Masonic lodge. They would have been blind indeed not to see the parallelism between the costuming, grips, passwords, keys and oaths."⁵²⁷ Brodie, like Goodwin, presupposed that the Mormon doctrine of continuing revelation was fraudulent and that similarities were evidence of plagiarism, and therefore failed to give any credence to Joseph Smith's explanation to the Holy Order concerning similarities between the endowment and Masonry. Subsequent exposés followed Goodwin's lead in comparing the endowment with Masonic rites and in asserting that similarities prove that Smith borrowed the rites without the benefit of revelation.⁵²⁸

Following Brodie's entry into the controversy, several Mormon writers addressed the issue of the endowment's origin. They emphasized the superficiality of similarities between the two rituals and differences between the goals and aspirations of Mormonism and Freemasonry. But they failed to evaluate Freemasonry from the perspective of an early nineteenth-century initiate who still believed in the Craft's claim of antiquity and that it preserved "eternal and invariable principles of natural religion." Hugh Nibley, a professor of ancient history at Brigham Young University, responded to Brodie that the Holy Order "would have been blind indeed not to see the parallelism" between Masonic rite and the endowment and that there were anachronistic references to Masonry in the Book of Mormon by observing: "'Bald parallels with Masonic rites' the lady finds particularly crude. How did he dare it? Why didn't he disguise it? The answer is that to those who know both, the resemblance is not striking at all . . ."⁵²⁹

Elder John Widtsoe re-entered the fray in the 1950s when he wrote two articles in the *Improvement Era* concerning the origin of the endowment⁵³⁰ and reasons Joseph Smith became a Mason.⁵³¹ In the first article Widtsoe did not mention Freemasonry by name (he used the term "secret

527. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 281.

528. See, for example, William J. Whalen, *The Latter-day Saints in the Modern Day World*, rev. ed. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967), 158-206; Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *Mormonism: Shadow or Reality*, 5th ed. (Salt Lake City: Lighthouse Ministry, 1987), 462-73.

529. Hugh Nibley, *No, Ma'am, That's Not History* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1945), 17.

530. John A. Widtsoe, "Whence Came the Temple Endowments," *Improvement Era* 53 (Feb. 1950): 94.

531. John A. Widtsoe, "Why did Joseph Smith Become a Mason?" *Improvement Era* 53 (Sept. 1950): 694. Both articles were eventually included in John A. Widtsoe, *Evidences and Reconciliations* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1960), 111-13, 357-59.

organizations" and "man-made secret societies"), but relied on circumstantial evidence (initiatory rites in Kirtland and the revelation on temple work in January 1841) to conclude that the temple ritual was not "merely adapted" from other rituals, he received it "by revelation from God." This rationale was not significantly different from his April 1921 article when he wrote that since the endowment "was given by revelation" it could "best be understood by revelation."⁵³² The Mormon apostle also reasoned that although "it may be true" that similarities exist with other rituals, "similarities . . . do not deal with basic matters but rather with the mechanism of the ritual," that similar features are not "peculiar to any fraternity," and that "Joseph Smith had the right to employ such commonly used methods and symbols without being charged with plagiarizing from any particular group." Again this was consistent with his article, written almost thirty years earlier, that those who "come out of the temple" should see "beyond the symbol, the mighty realities for which the symbols stood."⁵³³

Significantly, Widstoe did not mention links between the endowment and Solomon, nor did he claim that the full endowment was revealed to Smith before he joined Freemasonry. He did, however, quote a "former member" of a secret society who said that such societies "have nothing to teach Latter-day Saints," and opined himself that "any thoughtful person" could not accept that "the Mormon endowment was built upon secret fraternal ritual." He also differentiated between the objectives and practices of the endowment (participation by women, promise of eternal growth, sacred nature of the rite) with other rituals (only males allowed, system of morality, secret rites), and discussed reasons Smith joined Masonry, repeating the conclusions of Ballard, Ivins, and McGavin that the prophet needed friends, that he was never an active Mason, and that his affiliation with the Craft did not prevent further persecution.

Widstoe's thesis—that similarities between Mormonism and Masonry "do not deal with basic matters" and that Mormonism and Masonry have different objectives and practices—was given some credence by Masons in Utah. In 1954 Mervin B. Hogan, a Utah-born Master Mason and a Mormon, began publishing articles on Mormonism and Masonry. He was one of the only Mormons to penetrate the barrier against admission of Mormons into Utah Masonry which existed until 1984 perhaps because he was a nominal member of the LDS church at the time he joined Wasatch Lodge No. 1 in 1941. In his earliest articles (Hogan eventually wrote scores of articles on the relationship between Mormonism and Freemasonry⁵³⁴) he was cryptic,

532. Widstoe, "Temple Worship," 63.

533. *Ibid.*, 62.

534. See Mervin B. Hogan, *Masonic, Mormon Bibliography* (n.p., 1 Sept. 1993).

criticized neither Masonry nor Mormonism, but hinted that the barrier between the two organizations was artificial. In a 1956 presentation during the annual communication of the Grand Lodge of Utah, Hogan, then Grand Orator, surveyed the various charges that Masonic rites were part of the Mormon temple ceremony and concluded that the endowment "cannot be referred to as a 'Masonic' ceremony in the sense that the word is used by Masons," and that whatever the historical connection numerous alterations had rendered the endowment unlike the Masonic ritual.⁵³⁵ In subsequent articles Hogan criticized the Utah policy which prevented Mormons from joining Masonry, argued that the Mormon temple endowment "evidently has no relationship whatsoever to the Masonic Ritual context-wise,"⁵³⁶ and that "Freemasonry has no incompatibilities as to principles or philosophy with Mormonism."⁵³⁷ However, recently Hogan re-examined the two rituals and concluded that there is "little room for doubt . . . in the mind of an informed, objective analyst that the Mormon temple endowment and the rituals of ancient Craft Masonry are seemingly intimately and definitely involved."⁵³⁸

Contemporaries of Hogan, who have also examined the rituals of Masonry and Mormonism, not only agree that there are similarities between the two, but like Franklin D. Richards at the turn of the century, attempt to explain why Joseph Smith's use of Masonry was consistent with his prophetic claims. In 1971 Kenneth W. Godfrey, an LDS seminary and Institute coordinator, wrote an article that recognized similarities between the two rituals, that Joseph Smith believed that "Masonry was merely a corruption of the original endowment," and that the "essential parts of the endowment had been revealed to him by God."⁵³⁹ This theme was amplified by Reed C. Durham in 1974 when he explained that Smith

accepted Masonry because he genuinely felt he recognized true Ancient Mysteries contained therein. And, that in light of two fundamental concepts, already established within the theological framework of Mormonism—the Restoration of the Gospel and the Dispensation of the Fullness of Times—Joseph was under the strong compulsion to embrace Masonry. The Prophet believed that his mission was to restore all truth, and then to unify

Contributions by other Mormon Masons include Kenneth Leroy Guyer, Jr., "Freemasonry in America," Brigham Young University Closure Project, Aug. 1977.

535. Mervin B. Hogan, "Time and Change," *1956 Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Utah* (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1956).

536. Hogan, *Mormonism and Freemasonry*, 318.

537. Mervin B. Hogan, *The Origin and Growth of Utah Masonry and Its Conflict with Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Campus Graphics, 1978), 46.

538. Hogan, "Freemasonry and Mormon Ritual."

539. Godfrey, "Joseph Smith and the Masons," 80, 86.

and weld it all together into one. This truth was referred to as "the Mysteries," and these Mysteries were inseparably connected with the Priesthood.⁵⁴⁰

Allen D. Roberts, in a careful analysis of the Mormon use of Masonic symbols, also concluded that "Joseph's Masonry was not a conventional one. He attempted to restore it in much the same way the gospel was restored. That is, he saw Masonry, like Christendom, as possessing some important truths which could be beneficially extracted from what was otherwise an apostate institution."⁵⁴¹

Other Mormons doubt that Freemasonry provided the real pattern for the endowment and argue that more ancient rituals, such as the ancient mysteries or Egyptian endowments, provide more meaningful parallels. This perspective has been skillfully developed by professors at Brigham Young University. Hugh Nibley, who criticized Brodie in 1945 for suggesting that there are striking parallels between anti-Masonic rhetoric and Book of Mormon passages, has written about more meaningful parallels. In 1976 he observed that "temple ordinances are as old as the human race and represent a primordial religion that has passed through alternate phases of apostasy and restoration which have left the world littered with the scattered fragments of the original structure, some more and some less recognizable, but all badly damaged and out of proper context."⁵⁴² He commented that the "Mormon endowment, like the Egyptian, is frankly a model, a representation in figurative terms"⁵⁴³; that "What the Egyptians were looking for was not unlike what the Mormons call an 'endowment'"⁵⁴⁴; but left it up to his readers to decide whether the Egyptian endowment resembles the Mormon endowment.⁵⁴⁵ More recently D. Michael Quinn, while a professor of history at Brigham Young University, elaborated John Widstoe's thesis when he wrote that similarities between the Mormon endowment and Masonic rituals are "superficial."⁵⁴⁶ He concluded that "the ancient occult mysteries and the Mormon endowment manifest both philosophical and structural kinship."⁵⁴⁷ Quinn also compared the purposes

540. Durham, 10 (Hogan version).

541. Roberts, "Where are the All-Seeing Eyes," 22-37.

542. Hugh Nibley, *The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri: An Egyptian Endowment* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976), xii.

543. *Ibid.*, xiii.

544. *Ibid.*, 14.

545. *Ibid.*

546. Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, 184-90.

547. *Ibid.*, 190. In addition to Nibley and Quinn, the following authors have advanced this thesis: S. Kent Brown and C. Wilfred Griggs, "The Messiah and the Manuscripts: What

of the occult mysteries, the Mormon endowment, and Masonic rite and concluded that the ultimate goal of exaltation is common only to Mormonism and the occult mysteries.

In 1987 David John Buerger responded to the notion that the endowment has more meaningful parallels with ancient mystery rites than Freemasonry by noting that Masonic rituals were "a source much closer to Joseph Smith."⁵⁴⁸ He explained:

This pattern of resemblances provides strong indications that Joseph Smith drew on the Masonic rites in shaping the temple endowment, and specifically borrowed the tokens, signs and penalties. The creation and fall narrative, the content of the major covenants, and the washing and anointings have no parallel in Masonry. Thus, the temple ceremony cannot be explained as wholesale borrowing from Masonry; neither can it be explained as completely unrelated to Freemasonry.⁵⁴⁹

Buerger did not analyze all Masonic rites and organizations before concluding that parallels were limited to signs, tokens, and penalties. Masonic rituals recognized by regular Freemasonry have undergone substantial change since the eighteenth century, and there are also many versions of irregular Masonic rituals. Among these rituals are Masonic parallels for the Creation and Fall narratives, the covenants, and the washings and anointings.

PARALLELS BETWEEN MASONRY AND MORMONISM

The Book of Mormon

The Gold Plates. There are several elements in the legends of Freemasonry and the early history of Mormonism which provide interesting parallels. Joseph Smith was identified with the Old Testament prophet Enoch in various revelations contained in the Doctrine and Covenants (secs. 78, 92, 96, 104). By Smith's own account, he was the same age when he organized the Church of Christ in 1830 as Enoch was when he received the Melchizedek priesthood (see D&C 107). Furthermore, Joseph and Enoch had similar experiences: Enoch saw in vision a triangular plate of

do Recently Discovered Documents Tell us About Jesus?" *Ensign* 14 (Sept. 1974): 68-73; S. Kent Brown and C. Wilfred Griggs, "The 40-Day Ministry," *Ensign* 15 (Aug. 1975): 6-11; and Robert J. Matthews, "Were the Blessings of the Temple Available to the Saints in Jesus' Time or Did they Become Available after his Death?" *Ensign* 14 (Sept. 1974): 50-51.

548. Buerger, "The Development of the Mormon Temple Endowment Ceremony," 33-76.

549. *Ibid.*, 45.

gold in Mount Moriah and later made and deposited a plate in the same hill for future generations. Joseph was visited by an angel who told him there were gold plates in the Hill Cumorah, he was given the plates which he translated, and he relinquished the plates to the angel. This parallel between the triangular gold plate and Moroni's gold plates was first noted in 1887 by Jonathan Blanchard, president of Wheaton College and author of an exposé of an irregular ritual (Henry C. Atwood's Supreme Council of the Sovereign and Independent State of New York) patterned after the Scottish Rite.⁵⁵⁰ The instruments and plates which Joseph found in the Hill Cumorah and translated into the Book of Mormon were brought to the New World from the same location where Enoch had buried his treasure in the Old World (see Ether 2, 3, 15).

Secret Combinations. Shortly after publication of the Book of Mormon in early 1830 some observers claimed that passages referring to "secret societies" and "secret combinations" were thinly veiled references to nineteenth-century Masonry. Martin Harris, who acted as scribe for Joseph Smith and was one of the witnesses to the Book of Mormon, observed in 1831 that the Book of Mormon was "the Anti-masonick [sic] Bible."⁵⁵¹ Non-Mormon, and in some cases anti-Mormon, writers made similar observations. In 1831 Alexander Campbell noted that: "He [Joseph Smith] decides all the great controversies . . . and even the question of free Masonry [sic]"⁵⁵²; Jason Whitman observed in 1834 that "finally, it is well known that, in many minds, there is a strong feeling of opposition to the institution of Masonry. All such find something in the Book of Mormon to meet their views . . . Thus there are, in the book itself, artful adaptations to the known prejudices of the community."⁵⁵³ E. D. Howe wrote that same year:

Freemasonry is here introduced and is said to have originated with a band of highwaymen. This institution is spoken of in very reproachful terms, in consequence of the members having bound themselves by secret oaths to protect each other in all things from the justice of the law. The Nephites are represented as being Anti-masons and Christians, which carries with it some evidence that the writer foresaw the politics of New York in 1828-29, or that work was revised at or about that time.⁵⁵⁴

550. Jonathan Blanchard, *Scotch Rite Masonry Illustrated*, 2 vols. (Chicago: Ezra A. Cook, 1925), 1:288-90. See Art deHoyos, *The Cloud of Prejudice: A Study of Anti-Masonry* (Kila, MT: Kessinger Publishing Co., 1992), for this insight and that Blanchard exposed an irregular ritual.

551. *Geauga Gazette*, 15 Mar. 1831.

552. Alexander Campbell, "Delusions," *Millennial Harbinger* 2 (7 Feb. 1831): 93.

553. Whitman, 47-48.

554. E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* (Painesville, OH, 1834), 81.

Edward Strut Aaby wrote in the famous account of his visit to the United States in 1835, that "one passage in this curious Koran clearly points to the place of its concoction, and the prepossessions of its author" since "[i]t alludes, most unequivocally, to the free-masons."⁵⁵⁵ Finally, La Roy Sunderland wrote in 1838 that "the reader will find frequent allusions [sic] in [the Book of Mormon] to Freemasonry . . . under the names of 'secret societies', 'dreadful oaths' and 'secret combination.'"⁵⁵⁶ Modern historians and other writers continue to debate the existence and meaning of these "anti-Masonic" passages.⁵⁵⁷

Additional parallels between Mormonism and Freemasonry have been noted in other Mormon scriptures, including a Book of Moses passage in chapter 5 containing a revelation to Joseph Smith in December 1830, in which Cain is referred to as "Master Mahan," and other passages in the Doctrine and Covenants (38:12-13, 28-29, 32; 42:64; 45:63-64; 84: 117-19).⁵⁵⁸

555. E. S. Aaby, *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States of America, from April, 1833 to October, 1834*, 3 vols. (London: John Murray, 1835), 3:55-56.

556. Sunderland, 46.

557. A recent article which advances the anti-Masonic theory is Dan Vogel, "'Mormonism's Anti-Masonic Bible,'" *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 9 (1989): 17-30. An article articulating the opposite view is Daniel C. Peterson, "Notes on 'Gadianton Freemasonry,'" in *Warfare and the Book of Mormon*, eds. Steven D. Ricks and William J. Hamblin (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co.; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1990), 174-224. See also Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 128-31; Blake T. Ostler, "The Book of Mormon as a Modern Expansion of An Ancient Source," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Spring 1987): 73-76; Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, 160-65. See also Kevin Christensen, "Review of Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1990), 2:222n18; and Matthew Roper, "Review of Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *Mormonism: Shadow or Reality*," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1992), 4:184-85. More recent attempts to interpret the meaning of these "secret combinations" point to prophecies of contemporary satanic ritual abuse. See Massimo Introvigne, "A Rumor of Devils," delivered at 1994 Mormon History Association, Park City, Utah.

558. In addition to these parallels, other passages in the Book of Mormon have been compared to Freemasonry. These include the "Brother of Jared," a Book of Mormon personage who lived at the time of the Tower of Babel and was led to a place called "Moriancumer." While there he went to a mountain, received a vision of the future, and was commanded to record the vision, seal up the record to prevent it from being read, and deposit the writing, with "two stones," to facilitate its future translation. Joseph Smith taught that the "Brother of Jared" was given the Urim and Thummim and breastplate on the mountain, that he brought these items with him to America which he buried in the Hill Cumorah, and that they were given to Joseph to translate the gold plates. The Book of Mormon account is similar to an account of ancient records in the Enoch legend of Freemasonry, and may have convinced some early converts to Mormonism, who were familiar with Freemasonry, that the records of Enoch were brought to the United States and

The Endowment

Comparing the endowment ceremony with Masonic ritual, one observes parallels which probably piqued the interest of Mormon Masons. The same no doubt facilitated the conclusions of outside observers who were familiar with the rituals of the Craft and who wrote that the endowment was a form of Masonry. This does not mean that the parallels which are herein elencated are the only similarities which exist between the endowment and Freemasonry or that there are not also significant parallels in the rituals of non-Masonic groups, such as the ancient mysteries, the Egyptians, or even of the Catholic church.

In the nineteenth century most Masons claimed that their rituals "derived from the Almighty Creator to Adam, its principles ever since have been and still are most sacredly preserved and inviolably concealed"; and "foreseeing the great abuses which their exalted mysteries might sustain, if generally made known, determined to confine the knowledge of them only to the select Brethren."⁵⁵⁹ Despite the decay and corruption (read "apostasy") of the world, the basic truths of Masonry were preserved from generation to generation.⁵⁶⁰ Masonic rites, like the endowment, were dedicated at least in the nineteenth century "to the glory of God, and to secure to them [Freemasons] temporal blessings here, and eternal life hereafter,"⁵⁶¹ and by advancing in the degrees of the ritual a Freemason "is raised by regular courses to such a degree of perfection, as to be replete with happiness himself, and extensively beneficial to others."⁵⁶²

Beyond these "philosophical" parallels there are also similarities between portions of the rituals that have been referred to as "superficial." These more obvious parallels include signs, tokens, obligations, penalties, temple robes and aprons, symbols, prayer circle, veil, and other portions of the ritual.⁵⁶³ In addition, one is struck with similarities in language: the

translated by Joseph Smith.

Other parallels include similarities between the Liahona—a ball used by Lehi and his family to guide them to the new world which was also discovered by Joseph Smith in the Hill Cumorah—and the mystical hollow sphere which stood atop Enoch's brass pillar which was carved with maps of the world and universe; and an episode in the Book of Mormon in which Nephi kills Laban with his own sword—because Laban would not release the brass plates which contained a history of Nephi's ancestors—and the beheading of one of the ruffians who attempted to obtain the Master's Word from Hiram Abiff. For a discussion of these parallels, see Jack Adamson, "The Treasure of the Widow's Son," in *Joseph Smith and Masonry* (Nauvoo, IL: Martin Publishing Company, 1980).

559. Calcott, 111.

560. *Ibid.*, 111, 116.

561. *Ibid.*, 123.

562. *Ibid.*, 164.

563. For references to signs, tokens, obligations, penalties, prayer circle, veil, and

Holy Order of High Priesthood in Royal Arch Masonry⁵⁶⁴ is similar to the "Holy Order" endowed by Joseph Smith, and William Hutchinson makes several references to the "endowments" of Masonry in his famous treatise.⁵⁶⁵ Other seldom recognized parallels include the following.

Washings and Anointings, Garments, and the New Name. There are several possible parallels in Freemasonry including: (1) the Order of Anointed High Priest, "Order of High Priests," or "Holy Order of High Priesthood," which includes consecration and anointing after the Order of Melchizedek in a chapter of Royal Arch Masons with assistance in "ample form" of not less than nine⁵⁶⁶; (2) the "Knight Priest" degree in the rite of the Fratres Lucis (ca. 1780) which includes anointing a priest after the Order of Melchizedek with Holy Oil⁵⁶⁷; and (3) the ritual of the Knight Templar, as worked in the Baldwin Encampment (ca. 1780), which reportedly includes a ritual anointing of body parts followed by the giving of a new name. The candidate is also presented with a shield "in defense and protection of Virtue and Innocence and in distress, and of the Noble cause" and ceremonial robes which the candidate is instructed "never to be forgotten or laid aside."⁵⁶⁸ It has been suggested that Thomas Smith Webb used the Templar ritual when he originated the Order of High Priesthood.⁵⁶⁹

apron, see generally Bernard. For specific references to the veil, see Bernard, 124-43; Cross, 30, 35. The reference to an apron as a fig leaf in the Bible has been used as a justification for the Masonic apron. See Colin Dyer, *Symbolism in Craft Freemasonry* (London: Lewis Masonic, 1983), 47-49; George Oliver, *Signs and Symbols Illustrated and Explained, in a course of Twelve Lectures on Freemasonry* (London: Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper, 1837), 205. The first aprons used in the temple endowment consisted of "sheep skin made to the order and by the direction of Joseph Smith" on which fig leaves were painted. See Oliver B. Huntington Journal, 51, LDS archives. The Marquis de Lafayette, who became involved in American Freemasonry during the Revolutionary War, had an apron with leaves (Hamill and Gilbert, 102), and Stephen A. Douglas is also pictured wearing an apron with leaves in an 1840s in a painting which hangs in the Masonic Temple in Springfield, Illinois. See Wayne C. Temple, *Stephen A. Douglas, Freemason* (Bloomington, IL: Masonic Book Club and Illinois Lodge of Research, 1982). Later aprons used in the Mormon endowment consisted of green silk with nine fig leaves in brown sewing silk. See *Salt Lake Tribune*, 28 Sept. 1879, 4. For a reference to the prayer circle, see Bernard, 125-26.

564. See Sheville, 209-12.

565. Hutchinson, 6, 177.

566. See George W. Warvelle, *Observations on the Order of High Priesthood* (Chicago: J.C. Burmeister, 1915); Webb, 197-200; Mackey, 72. Fred L. Pick and G. Norman Knight, *The Freemason's Pocket Reference Book*, 7th ed. (London: Frederick Muller, Ltd., 1983), 144.

567. Fratres Lucis, *Collectanea* 1 (1937), reprinted (1978), 142-43.

568. For parallels between the ritual of the Knight Templar, Baldwin Encampment, and the temple endowment, I am relying on information set forth in correspondence from Art deHoyos dated 22 November 1993. For a cryptic reference to this same parallel, see Salem Town, 76.

569. Stillson, 641; Mackey, 339.

Creation Drama. William Preston's lectures, as set forth in the *Syllabus Books*, included a description of the "periods of Creation"⁵⁷⁰ similar to the Creation drama described by Heber C. Kimball and James E. Talmage. After the organization of the Lodge of Reconciliation in 1813, the United Grand Lodge of England developed a new ritual, adopted in 1816, which perpetuated these lectures and references to the Creation.⁵⁷¹ Similar lectures were given in the United States during Joseph Smith's lifetime.⁵⁷²

Garden of Eden. Initiates into Freemasonry represent Adam "in his sincere desire to make advances in knowledge and virtue,"⁵⁷³ and his fall "which was the fruit of his disobedience, is affectingly brought to view by the most lively Masonic representations."⁵⁷⁴ In the French system of "Adoptive Masonry" a representation is given of the temptation in the Garden of Eden in its second ritual entitled "Companion,"⁵⁷⁵ which is the same name Royal Arch Masons call each other rather than brother.⁵⁷⁶ It has already been mentioned that French Adoptive Rites were recognized as early as 1774. In addition, Father Adam and some angels also participate in the 23rd degree of the Rite of Perfection (Knight of the Sun) which became the 28th degree of the Scottish Rite.⁵⁷⁷

Female Freemasonry. Joseph Smith's inclusion of women in the endowment ceremony, beginning in September 1843, has some Masonic precedent. Although regular Freemasonry only admits men, arguments were made, well before Joseph Smith's initiation into the Craft, that women should also be admitted.⁵⁷⁸ French adoptive rites were recognized in the eighteenth-century. In addition some irregular groups now admit only

570. Dyer, 242-43.

571. See "Emulation" Working. *The Lectures of the Three Degrees in Craft Masonry* (London: A. Lewis, 1899), 70-74; and *The Lectures of the Three Degrees in Craft Masonry* (London: Lewis Masonic, 1983), 108-12.

572. See Town, 22-23, 62-63.

573. See Carnes, 49; Town, 22-23, 67, 72-72; Stearns, 168.

574. Town, 67.

575. See Janet Mackay Burke, "Sociability, Friendship and the Enlightenment among Women Freemasons in Eighteenth-Century France," Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University, 1986, 232-33, 245-47, 272-74. For examples of French androgynous rites which included references to the Creation, see *La Maçonnerie des Femmes* (London: n.p., 1774); *L'adoption ou la Maçonnerie des femmes en trois grades* (n.c.: n.p., 1775); [Louis Guillemain de Saint Victor], *La vraie Maçonnerie d'Adoption* (London: Guillemain de Saint Victor, 1779); and "Rite of Adoption," *Collectanea* 1 (1937), reprinted (1978), 169-76. See also the discussion regarding Masonic groups which admitted women and took portions of their ritual from Genesis and the Adam and Eve story, in Hammill and Gilbert, 123-24, 168-87.

576. Mackey, 181.

577. See Bernard, 253-72.

578. See, e.g., George Smith, *The Use and Abuse of Free-Masonry* (London, 1783), 361, 365.

women ("Female Freemasonry") or both men and women ("Androgynous Freemasonry") such as the French Le Droit Humain and its offshoot, Co-Masonry. As a result of these and other influences, regular Freemasonry now promotes female organizations for wives and daughters of members. Under "adoptive Freemasonry" females do not become Masons but are "adopted" into the Craft. The largest adoptive body, the Order of the Eastern Star, includes millions of members. The Eastern Star adopted a ritual in 1868 dedicated to the "Elect Lady" of John's Second Epistle.

Joseph Smith

Joseph Smith's death in June 1844 has Masonic parallels. Like Hiram Abiff, Smith was a widow's son, since his father, Joseph Sr., died shortly after arriving in Nauvoo. Smith taught his followers that the key word of Freemasonry, originally lost when Hiram Abiff was murdered, was restored through the endowment.⁵⁷⁹ After its restoration, Smith was arrested, incarcerated in Carthage Jail, and murdered by a mob, which included fellow Freemasons. While attempting to escape from the jail prior to his death, Joseph gave the Masonic distress call,⁵⁸⁰ which went unanswered. Like Hiram Abiff he suffered death at the hands of those he called "brother" and was mourned by his followers.

The mythology associated with the martyrdom also has Masonic undertones. One of the symbols of Freemasonry, a virgin "weeping over a broken column with a book open before her" denoting the "unfinished state of the Temple," is similar to a report by Dr. B. W. Richard, a guest in Nauvoo in 1844, who wrote that Lucinda Morgan Harris (not a virgin) held a copy of *Stearns on Masonry* in her hands while weeping over the prophet's body.⁵⁸¹ Just as Solomon's temple remained unfinished at the death of Hiram Abiff, the Nauvoo temple was not completed at the time of Joseph Smith's death. William Daniels⁵⁸² claims that the prophet, after falling from

579. The key word is rediscovered by the Craft in the Royal Arch Degree. Morgan, 102.

580. *Times and Seasons* 5 (15 July 1844): 585. See also *Women's Exponent* 7 (1 Dec. 1878), 98 (press conference of Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs) for evidence that Joseph Smith's family continued to connect him to Freemasonry and repeat that he gave the Masonic sign of distress more than thirty years after his death.

581. See *Deseret News*, 27 Nov. 1875, reprinting an article from the *Chicago Times*. John G. Stearns first published *An Inquiry into the Nature and Tendency of Speculative Free-Masonry* (Utica, NY, 1826) prior to Morgan's exposé. The book was published in an enlarged fifth edition in 1829 and in various subsequent editions. See John G. Stearns, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Tendency of Speculative Free-Masonry*, 5th ed. (Utica, New York: Northway & Porter, 1829).

582. William Daniels, *Correct Account of the Murder of Generals Joseph and Hyrum Smith at Carthage on the 27th day of June, 1844* (Nauvoo, IL: J. Taylor, 1845). Art deHoyos pointed out these parallels between Hiram Abiff and Joseph Smith (as described in Nels Lundwall's

the second story window of Carthage jail, was dragged against the curb by a member of the militia. When he began to stir, four members of the militia fired on him and the man who dragged him to the well drew his bowie knife to cut off the prophet's head. But before he could complete his downstroke, a pillar of light thrust down from heaven between Joseph and the militia causing the prophet's assassins to become powerless and flee. More reliable witnesses observed that Joseph attempted to give the Masonic distress signal and that he was wearing a Jupiter talisman, which for years was thought to have Masonic significance.⁵⁸³

These images are similar to portions in the legend of Hiram Abiff, in which his blood was traced to a well north of Solomon's temple. Those who discovered the blood "concluded that H. A. had been killed there and perhaps flung in the well," and noted "the appearance of a Lumnious light or meteor standing over the well."⁵⁸⁴ When the well was dry, Hiram's jewel was discovered, which he cast into the well when attacked by the ruffians (in some rituals the jewel is found on Hiram's body) and, according to some rituals, the jewel was a talisman with the name of God in Hebrew inscribed within two interlaced triangles forming a six-pointed star, which is a Masonic symbol for the perfect Godhead.⁵⁸⁵ Joseph Smith's talisman was also inscribed with the name of God.⁵⁸⁶

ANALYSIS

It is ironic, especially given claims by some early observers that Mormonism in the 1830s was anti-Masonic, that Nauvoo Masons such as Joseph Smith, Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball were more comfortable acknowledging the relationship between the two rites than twentieth-century Mormons who were not familiar with the Craft. Twentieth-century

Fate of the Persecutors of the Prophet Joseph Smith), including the pillar of light, the well, and the possession of talismans.

583. Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, 64-77. In an affidavit written in 1938 Charles Bidamon, stepson of Emma Smith, testified: "I have many times heard her [Emma Smith] say, when being interviewed, and showing the piece, that it was in the Prophet's pocket when he was martyred at Carthage, Illinois" (*ibid.*, 66). The statement is hearsay. Even if Emma said it she could have been mistaken or misrepresenting the facts as she did concerning Joseph's polygamy.

584. Perfect Master Degree, 1783 Franken Ms.

585. Art deHoyas first observed this parallel and pointed out the following references. Eugene E. Hinman, Ray V. Denslow, and Charles C. Hunt, *A History of the Cryptic Rite*, 2 vols. (Cedar Rapids, IA, 1931), 1:177 (the signet referred to in this book is apparently from George Oliver's *Rite de Bouillon* which, according to Hamill, is a fraud [see Hamill, 21-22]); and [Albert Pike], *The Book of the Lodge* (New York, 1872), 313.

586. Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, 66.

Mormon authors have attempted to distance the endowment from Freemasonry—a view closer to nineteenth-century anti-Mormons having no familiarity with the Craft—rather than study the historical background of the Nauvoo lodge and statements by nineteenth-century church leaders concerning the relationship between Masonry and Mormonism. There are various possible explanations for this.

The Death of Nauvoo Masons

Most of the Mormon hierarchy were Master Masons when the Saints arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847. Nevertheless, Brigham Young decided in 1860 not to petition for a Masonic lodge in Utah because he believed Masons were responsible for the death of Joseph Smith and that they continued to work to destroy Mormonism.⁵⁸⁷ While he and other church leaders believed that the purposes of Freemasonry had been superseded by Mormon temple ordinances, it also appears that most Mormon Masons, although inactive, remained loyal to the Craft. George A. Smith wanted to establish a lodge in Utah in 1860⁵⁸⁸; a year later Heber C. Kimball told a church congregation that he had "been true to my country, to my Masonic brethren, and also to my brethren in this Church."⁵⁸⁹ John Taylor opined in 1863 that "Freemasonry is one of the strongest binding contracts that exists between man and man."⁵⁹⁰ And in 1867 Young himself complained that Freemasons in Utah "have refused our brethren membership in their lodge, because they were polygamists" and then mocked this policy by pointing out that Solomon was the founder of Freemasonry and a polygamist.⁵⁹¹

Although each of these Nauvoo Masons was prevented from attending lodge meetings in Utah and believed that Mormonism had superseded Freemasonry, they were familiar with both Masonic ritual and the endowment and recognized the similarities. Thus it is not surprising that some ex-Mormons warned readers not to trust Mormon claims that the endowment was similar to Masonic rites, since by that time Masonry had regained stature and acceptance and the most lurid characterizations of the endowment had no apparent Masonic counterpart. After the death of the last of the Nauvoo Masons, a new generation of Mormon writers, who had no

587. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 5:482.

588. *Ibid.*

589. *Journal of Discourses* 9:182.

590. *Ibid.* 10:125-26.

591. *Ibid.* 11:327-28. Other references to Masonry by Mormons were made by Newell K. Whitney, "Register to the Newell K. Whitney Papers," Lee Library; Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs, *Woman's Exponent* 7 (1 Dec. 1878): 98; Benjamin Franklin Cummings Journal, Lee Library; and Erastus Snow Journal, Lee Library.

personal knowledge of Freemasonry, found it easy to make the same claim as nineteenth-century anti-Mormons who had no knowledge of Freemasonry: that there was no connection between the endowment and Masonic rites. The Nauvoo endowment had been introduced years earlier, had become totally institutionalized, and personal knowledge of Joseph Smith's explanation of the endowment and familiarity with Masonic ceremonies were replaced by reliance on historical accounts of the endowment.

Due to the secret nature of the endowments, much of the knowledge concerning its introduction was recorded in private correspondence or diaries or not recorded at all. Some of these recollections were apparently unknown to Ballard, Roberts, Ivins, McGavin, and Widtsoe. While these, and other writers who responded to Goodwin's articles, admitted they had little or no knowledge of similarities between the two rites,⁵⁹² most also argued that any parallels existed only because the rituals share a common ancestor⁵⁹³ and relied on circumstantial evidence that Joseph Smith received the endowment before his association with Freemasonry.

The Kirtland Endowment

Church writers such as Melvin J. Ballard, B. H. Roberts, and Cecil McGavin believed that there was sufficient evidence to conclude that Joseph Smith had received the entire endowment ceremony prior to his association with Freemasonry. Roberts believed that the prophet received the endowment when he translated the Egyptian papyri. On July 3, 1835, Michael H. Chandler arrived in Kirtland, Ohio, to display some papyri⁵⁹⁴ and shortly thereafter Joseph reported that the papyri was a record of Abraham and that he would translate it for publication.⁵⁹⁵

Following the Saints' relocation in Nauvoo, Smith recorded a revelation to build another temple where "ordinances" would be performed which had been "kept hid from before the foundation of the world" (D&C 124:39).⁵⁹⁶ Less than three months later, on April 6, 1841, Joseph laid the cornerstone for this new temple. The following year he completed his translation of the Book of Abraham and published it in the *Times and Seasons*.⁵⁹⁷ Ironically, Facsimile Number 2 from the Book of Abraham was published on March 15, 1842, the same day Smith was initiated into Freemasonry. Facsimile No. 2 refers to "the grand Key-words of the Holy

592. Ivins, 89.

593. McGavin, 70, 85-86.

594. *History of the Church*, 2:235.

595. *Ibid.*, 238.

596. *Ibid.*, 4:274.

597. *Ibid.*, 523; 5:11.

Priesthood, as revealed to Adam in the Garden of Eden as also to Seth, Noah, Moses, Abraham, and all to whom the priesthood was revealed"; "the grand Key, or, in other words, the governing power"; "the grand Key-words of the Priesthood"; and "writings that cannot be revealed unto the world; but is to be had in the Holy Temple of God." Ballard, Roberts, and McGavin believed that Smith became aware of the "Key-word" while translating the Book of Abraham prior to his initiation into Freemasonry. Although the complete endowment was not practiced in Kirtland, the "initiatory ordinances" were and Joseph also recorded a revelation regarding the sealing power of the Melchizedek priesthood.

Those who believe that the prophet received the entire temple endowment before he was initiated into Freemasonry rely on these passages from the Book of Abraham, the Kirtland endowment, and other revelations recorded by Joseph prior to his initiation into Freemasonry (D&C 110 and 124). There is no direct evidence that the prophet discussed or revealed the endowment to anyone before the Holy Order was initiated on May 4, 1842. Brigham Young's later comments that Smith "received a pattern . . . as did Moses for the Tabernacle, and Solomon for his Temple," while in Kirtland,⁵⁹⁸ do not support the circumstantial thesis. During the same speech Young stated that:

At Nauvoo, Joseph dedicated another Temple, the third on record. He knew what was wanting, for he had previously given most of the prominent individuals then before him their endowment. He needed no revelation, then, of a thing he had long experienced, any more than those now do, who have experienced the same things. It is only where experience fails, that revelation is needed.⁵⁹⁹

Since Joseph was not alive when the Nauvoo temple was dedicated, Young was referring to the laying of the temple's cornerstone on April 6, 1841, a year prior to Smith's initiation into Freemasonry. One difficulty with inferring from this quotation that Young believed that the endowment was revealed to Smith prior to his initiation into Freemasonry is that no endowments were given in Nauvoo until May 1842, unless by "endowment" Young meant the initiatory rites practiced in Kirtland. Young admitted that these ordinances were "introductory, or initiatory ordinances, preparatory to an endowment," and a "faint similitude of the ordinances of the House of the Lord in their fullness."⁶⁰⁰ The notion that Smith was familiar with the complete endowment before he was initiated into Freemasonry is premised

598. *Journal of Discourses* 2:31.

599. *Ibid.*, 32.

600. *Ibid.*, 31.

on faith, not facts, since the "endowment" in Kirtland was only a small portion of the "endowment" revealed in Nauvoo, and there is no evidence that Elijah's revelation, the 1841 temple revelation, or Smith's translation of the Book of Abraham contained a full transcript of either endowment.

Furthermore, early church leaders not only knew that the endowment was introduced less than two months after Smith was initiated into Freemasonry, but also that there were similarities between Masonry and Mormonism. They also believed that Masonic rites were a degenerated version of the endowment passed down from Solomon and adapted the symbols of Freemasonry and referred to them as such.

Given the secret nature of both rites, it is not surprising that the evidence upon which some Mormon writers have concluded that Smith's knowledge of the endowment preceded his association with Freemasonry is circumstantial and inconclusive. Even if there were evidence that Joseph was prepared to reveal the complete endowment prior to March 15, 1842, he could have become familiar with the rites and degrees of Freemasonry before he was initiated into the Craft⁶⁰¹ either from Morgan's and Bernard's exposés or from discussions with other Masons such as his brother Hyrum or with anti-Masons such as Phelps or Harris. Apparently, such possibilities did not weaken the faith of those who knew both the prophet and the rituals of Freemasonry. They believed that Joseph had received the endowment by revelation but did not deny that Masonic rites were the starting point.

Secret Societies

By 1892 a wide range of lodges and "secret societies" had been established in Salt Lake City.⁶⁰² Although church authorities discussed the possibility of excepting Freemasonry from a directive which prohibited church members from joining secret societies, the First Presidency and Quorum of Twelve approved a statement that the church was "opposed to secret societies" with no mention of Freemasonry. In Utah the point was moot since Freemasons would not allow Mormons into their lodges anyway. A flurry of statements, speeches, and articles thereafter appeared advancing this church policy⁶⁰³ and giving various reasons for it: competing organizations induce members to decrease church activity, forego

601. See Godfrey, 76n9.

602. Thomas G. Alexander and James B. Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City* (Boulder, CO: Pruett Publishing Co., 1984), 116.

603. All of the articles in the *Improvement Era* appear in the section entitled "Editor's Table": *Improvement Era* 1 (Mar. 1898): 373-76; 4 (Nov. 1900): 59; 6 (Dec. 1902): 149-52; 6 (Feb. 1903): 305, 308; 12 (Feb. 1909): 313. In addition, various speakers at general conference also touched on the subject. See *Conference Reports* (Apr. 1900), 30-31 (Marriner W. Merrill); (Apr. 1901), 73 (Joseph F. Smith); (Apr. 1903), 20-21 (C. Kelly).

missions, and cease to pay tithing⁶⁰⁴; "secret societies are institutions of the evil one"⁶⁰⁵; and the Book of Mormon condemns such societies.⁶⁰⁶ At the same time Mormonism and Masonry continued to be compared by some religious zealots, such as a notorious Leo Taxil, who claimed that both groups were organized and controlled by the Devil (see Illustration 7).⁶⁰⁷ Nevertheless, it is not surprising that for most of the twentieth century Masonry and Mormonism were on a collision course and that accusations were made by Masonic writers that anti-Masonic passages could be detected in the Book of Mormon and that the endowment was similar to Masonic rituals. These passages and reported similarities were offered as proof that the Book of Mormon was written in the aftermath of the William Morgan affair and that the endowment had been plagiarized from Freemasonry. It was probably also inevitable that both charges would be met by denials.

By the second decade of the twentieth century the LDS hierarchy's position on Freemasonry had evolved from the belief that it was an "apostate" but benign organization which could be joined for fraternal reasons to one that it was an organization that ensnared its victims and alienated them from the kingdom of God.⁶⁰⁸ By that time Mormonism had embarked on its own course to establish credibility, and relying on comparisons with Freemasonry—which had become a national institution even while no longer claiming that its rituals originated in antiquity—was no longer necessary to legitimize the temple ceremony. If the successors of Solomon could maintain credibility after acknowledging the absence of any direct link with the polygamous patriarch, why couldn't Mormonism do the same after abandoning the practice of plural marriage and disavowing any relationship with Masonry?

This shift was important because Mormon leaders taught that all churches possessed some truth, but that only Mormonism had all the truth. As long as Masonic rites were recognized as an apostate form of the temple

604. *Improvement Era* 1 (Mar. 1898): 373-76.

605. *Ibid.* 4 (Nov. 1900): 59.

606. *Ibid.* 1 (Mar. 1898): 373-76; 4 (Nov. 1900): 59.

607. See David Brion Davis, "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion: An analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 47 (Sept. 1960): 205-24; Massimo Intovigne, "The Devil Makers: Contemporary Evangelical Fundamentalist Anti-Mormonism," *Dialogue* 27 (Spring 1994), 158-9n14. For examples of authors who have linked Mormonism and Masonry in this way see Dr. Bataille [pseud. Charles Hacks], *Le Diable au XIXe siecle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Delhomme et Briguet, 1892-1894); John Ankerberg and John Weldon, *Cult Watch* (Eugene, OR: Harvest House Publishers, 1991), 9-54, 93-130; and Ed Decker and Dave Hunt, *The God Makers* (Eugene, OR: Harvest House Publishers, 1984), 116-31.

608. *Conference Reports* (Apr. 1901).



*Illustration 7. Phileas Walder presents his teenage daughter Sophie for initiation in a Satanic Masonic lodge in an illustration which appeared in *Le Diable au XIXe siecle*, 2 tomes (Paris: Delhomme et Briguet, 1892, 1895). *Le Diable*, authored by Charles Hacks, a medical doctor, under the pseudonym of "Dr. Bataille," was part of an elaborate anti-Masonic hoax organized by the French journalist Léo Taxil (pseud. Gabriel Jogand, 1854-1907). In *Le Diable* Hacks maintained that Mormonism and Masonry were both part of a larger conspiracy organized by the Devil. The Walders (who were figments of Hacks's imagination) were among the leaders of this conspiracy and, as Mormons, provided the "connection between Mormonism and Masonry." Phileas Walder is also described as "the real power" behind John Taylor (*Le Diable*, 1:39), who is depicted as both a Mason and a Satanist. This nineteenth-century hoax has apparently provided inspiration for twentieth-century anti-Mormons. (*Le Diable*, 1:353.)*

ceremonies, it was logical that Joseph Smith had produced an inspired version of it and that the resulting ceremony, although containing some vestiges of the Masonic rite, contained new elements which had previously been lost. But while similarities were still explained this way by McGavin, Ballard, and others, none would admit that the endowment was revealed to the prophet until after he was initiated into the Craft. This dichotomy may have been brought on by the "Authentic" school of Masonic history.

Authentic School of Masonic History

Prior to 1860 most Masonic writers accepted the legends of Freemasonry which claimed that it originated in antiquity.⁶⁰⁹ Although these claims were challenged by most anti-Masonic writers in the United States, particularly after the Morgan affair, most Masonic writers refused to discount these claims until "a school of English investigators" began to evaluate lodge minutes, ancient rituals, and municipal records. Eventually this movement, known as the Authentic School of Masonic History and culminating in the publication of Robert Freke Gould's *History of Freemasonry* in 1885,⁶¹⁰ debunked the notion that the rituals practiced in Speculative Freemasonry originated before the sixteenth century. Gould and others argued that the best evidence indicated that Operative Freemasonry originated with trade guilds in the Middle Ages and that the development of Speculative Freemasonry, with ceremonies and rituals similar to those practiced today, began in the seventeenth century. But even Gould admitted that the symbolism associated with Freemasonry probably had a much earlier genesis.⁶¹¹ Subsequent historians of Freemasonry have written that the ritual of the Blue Lodge—the first three degrees—was probably not developed until 1723 or 1725.⁶¹²

The Authentic School also recognized that the rituals of Freemasonry have never been static, but have evolved both in time and place. For example, only post-1760 rituals included separate obligations for degrees in conjunction with signs, penalties, tokens, and words, the form found in most subsequent rituals and the same format followed in the Mormon

609. Coil, 19.

610. Robert Freke Gould, *The History of Freemasonry*, 4 vols. (New York: John C. Yorston & Co., 1885-89). Another important work originally published in Germany in 1861 which advanced a similar thesis, and which Waite wrote superseded the "dream period," was J. G. Findel, *History of Freemasonry, From its Origin Down to the Present Day*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1869). Within thirty years it was superseded by Gould.

611. Gould, 1:55.

612. Knoop and Jones, *The Genesis of Freemasonry*, 274-75, 321-22. For a more recent treatment of this subject, see David Stevenson, *The Origins of Freemasonry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

temple endowment.⁶¹³ The United Grand Lodge of England recently eliminated "all references to physical penalties . . . from the obligations taken by candidates in the three degrees."⁶¹⁴ Ironically, penalties in the Mormon endowment, which have been compared to those in Freemasonry, have also been recently removed.⁶¹⁵

Although Goodwin was undoubtedly aware of this scholarship, he did not attack the Mormon rationale for similarities between the two rituals—that both were related to the same ancient rituals practiced in Solomon's temple⁶¹⁶—since to do so could have upset a portion of his own Masonic readership which still believed in the ancient origins of the Craft.⁶¹⁷ In addition, Goodwin's claim that Mormonism had "borrowed" Masonic symbols was less compelling in light of Masonry's own borrowing of symbols from alchemy, the Kabbalah, Egyptian rites, astrology, and the Bible.⁶¹⁸ John A. Widstoe's retort that Joseph Smith had the right to use similar (read "the same") symbols as Masonry without being charged with plagiarism and that Smith received the endowment by revelation regardless of similarities with Masonic rites is more convincing than the arguments of Roberts and Ballard that denied any relationship with Freemasonry but then also argued that similarities were possible since both traced their origins to Solomon.

The Egyptian Connection

Both Hugh Nibley and Michael Quinn have downplayed similarities between the temple endowment and Freemasonry and instead have emphasized parallels with ancient Egyptian rites and occult mysteries. This perspective is consistent with Roberts's and Ballard's belief that the endowment was revealed to Joseph Smith while he was translating the Book of Abraham. It is also consistent with the nineteenth-century Masonic dogma that Masonry was practiced by ancient Egyptians and other occult tradi-

613. I am indebted to Art deHoyos for this observation.

614. Pick and Knight, 134, 145-46; *Emulation Ritual*, 9th ed. (London: Lewis Masonic, 1991), 8-11; *Deseret News*, 18 Feb. 1987.

615. See "Mormon temple rite gets major revision," *Arizona Republic*, 28 Apr. 1990, A-1, A-14; "LDS Leaders Revise Temple Endowment," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 29 Apr. 1990, 2B; "Mormons Drop Rites Opposed by Women," *New York Times*, 3 May 1990, A1, A17; "Women's Rites, The Mormons moderate a supersecret ceremony," *Time*, 14 May 1990, 67.

616. A summary of his rationale for excluding Mormons from Masonry is set forth in Goodwin, *Mormonism and Masonry*, 38.

617. When Goodwin wrote *Mormonism and Masonry: A Utah Point of View*, the "current, approved and popular explanation as to the origin of Masonry" was that "speculative Freemasonry is the last transfiguration of some antique show belonging to the Building Guilds." Waite, 1:286.

618. See Joseph Casla, *Masonic Symbols and their Roots* (London: Freestone Press, 1994).

tions,⁶¹⁹ and with Nibley's own findings that elements in the Mormon ritual were contained in rituals which predated Freemasonry.⁶²⁰ Still it does not satisfactorily account for the striking similarities between Freemasonry and the endowment.

While twentieth-century Masonry continues to be fascinated by ancient Egyptian religion and rites, modern scholarship does not support the legend that Masonic rituals are the direct descendants of Egyptian rites. Masonry's association with Egypt began when Speculative Freemasonry introduced Egyptian elements into the rituals in the wake of enthusiasm for Egypt by eighteenth-century Enlightenment thinkers. Napoleon's Egyptian campaign was a catalyst for modern Egyptian archeology and helped promote "Egyptian mania" which began several decades earlier in some European lodges. Ironically, the Egyptian mummies which contained the famous papyri translated by Joseph Smith in Kirtland and Nauvoo and published as the Book of Abraham—which Roberts and Ballard believed contained elements of the endowment ritual and provided a catalyst for the revelation of the complete endowment—were discovered in Egypt by an employee⁶²¹ of Bernardino Drovetti,⁶²² a former French Consul-General under Napoleon and a member of a group of French and Italian Egyptologists who have been associated with members of a secret Masonic "Egyptian" society. Although Egyptian elements were introduced into Masonic rituals before 1800, and some prominent Freemasons secretly converted to what they believed was the genuine Egyptian religion before that time,⁶²³ modern scholars have found no evidence of Egyptian elements in Freemasonry prior to the eighteenth century. Even though an Egyptian theme emerged in European esotericism in the sixteenth century, speculative esotericists did not interfere with Masonic guilds before the mid-seventeenth century. When the legends of the Craft did emerge, it was of Roman Catholic rather than Egyptian origin.

This Catholic/Egyptian connection is as controversial as the Mormon/Masonic relationship. In 1992 an influential German Roman Catholic priest and theologian, Eugen Drewermann, was suspended from his priestly functions and deprived of his chair at a Roman Catholic institution because he was charged, among other things, with teaching that Roman

619. Calcott, 113; Preston, 55-56.

620. See Hugh Nibley, "The Early Christian Prayer Circle," *Brigham Young University Studies* 19 (Fall 1978): 41-78.

621. H. Donl Peterson, *The Pearl of Great Price: A History and Commentary* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1987), 38-39, and Nibley, *The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri*, 4-5.

622. Luigi Arnaldi (ed.), *Carte segrete e atti ufficiali della polizia austriaca in Italia*, vol. 1 (Capolago: Tipografia Helvetica, 1851), 117-21.

623. Vincenzo Ferrone, *I profeti dell'Illuminismo* (Bari-Roma: Laterza, 1989).

Catholic rituals, including the Mass, were borrowed from the Egyptians by early Christians rather than being of divine origin.⁶²⁴ Although Drewermann is a best-selling author, professional Egyptologists have objected that there is not a single "Egyptian religion" and that not enough is known about Egyptian rituals to make meaningful comparisons.⁶²⁵ The same objections apply when one tries to find "genuine" Egyptian elements in Mormon or Masonic rituals.

Although the Book of Abraham and other revelations of Joseph Smith may provide independent connections between the Mormon endowment and an Egyptian endowment or other ancient occult mysteries they cannot explain away Masonic parallels. Although Michael Quinn recognizes that "Masonic rites also shared some similarities with the ancient mysteries"—Masonic commentators have long recognized that certain elements of the Ancient Mysteries were adopted by or grafted onto Freemasonry, particularly the Master Mason's degree, during the eighteenth century⁶²⁶—he does not specifically discuss what similarities exist between Freemasonry and Mormonism except to conclude that they must "be regarded as superficial." The litmus test Quinn applies to distinguish between "superficial" and "fundamental" similarities is whether such similarities are "structural" or "philosophical." Presumably Quinn would consider similarities in washing and anointing, Creation drama, Garden of Eden, signs, tokens, obligations, penalties, veil, apron, prayer circle, symbols, and secrecy as "structural" similarities. Nineteenth-century Freemasons would not disagree. Many of these things were superficial to them as well.⁶²⁷ But superficial or not they demonstrate that Joseph's starting point was the rituals of Freemasonry and that he adopted and adapted some of its "superficial" elements.

Quinn also argues that there is no philosophical similarity because "no Mason at Joseph Smith's time or thereafter defined the central purpose of Masonic rites to be an ascent into heaven."⁶²⁸ Although it is true that there are significant differences between the endowment and Masonic ritual—no Mason would claim that Masonic rituals are necessary for exaltation in the hereafter—Quinn's distinction fails to give any credence to the nineteenth-century belief shared by most Masons, including Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and others, that Masonic

624. Eugen Drewermann, *De la naissance des dieux à la naissance du Christ* (Paris: Seuil, 1992).

625. Michel Quesnel, "Des mythes sans histoire," *L'Actualité religieuse dans le monde*, hors-série n. 1 (mars 1993): 40-42.

626. Waite, 1:426-27.

627. Macoy, 667, 686.

628. Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, 85.

ritual originated in Solomon's temple, which was built "for the purpose of giving endowments,"⁶²⁹ that the system of Masonry was "drawn from revelation,"⁶³⁰ and that "ancient Masonry, since the time of Solomon, has been handed down, in all essential points, in perfect conformity to the rights and ceremonies then established."⁶³¹ It also fails to account for the early Mormon belief that these rituals provided the catalyst for the restoration of what Franklin D. Richards called "true Masonry, as we have it in our temples."⁶³² The Craft at the time of Joseph Smith did provide a system to enable members "ascent into heaven." Both Masons and anti-Masons of the period wrote about it. Masons believed their temple, the lodge, was the allegory for the "celestial lodge," and that when they built their lodge, through the Craft degrees, they were preparing themselves for entry into the celestial lodge.⁶³³ The lodge consisted of "practical allusions to instruct the craftsmen . . . tending to the glory of God, and to secure to them temporal blessings here, and eternal life hereafter."⁶³⁴ Thus Masonry taught that by advancing through the Masonic degrees an initiate "discovers his election to, and his glorified station in, the Kingdom of his Father"⁶³⁵; and that he should pray to go "from this earthly tabernacle to the heavenly temple above; there, among thy jewels, may we appear in thy glory for ever and ever."⁶³⁶ Even anti-Masons recognized that "masonry pretends to save men, to conduct them to heaven, and bestow on them the rewards of a blessed immortality."⁶³⁷

The fact that Freemasonry did not, and does not, teach that its signs and tokens, unlike the signs and tokens of Mormonism,⁶³⁸ are literally keys which must be given to "angels who stand as sentinels" to "walk back to the presence of the Father" does not negate that a central purpose of Freemasonry is to facilitate the ascent of man into heaven. The Master Mason's degree teaches the immortality of the soul and that after death "the Son of Righteousness shall descend, and send forth his angels to collect our ransomed dust; then if we are found worthy, by his pass-word, we shall enter into the celestial lodge above where the Supreme Architect of the

629. *Journal of Discourses* 18:303.

630. Bradley, xii.

631. Town, 165.

632. See *Journal of Discourses* 11:327-28; 18:303.

633. Calcott, 123.

634. *Ibid.*, 123.

635. Town, 74.

636. Bradley, 168.

637. Stearns, 43.

638. *Journal of Discourses* 2:315.

Universe presides, where we shall see the King in the beauty of holiness, and with him enter into an endless eternity."⁶³⁹ Just as Joseph Smith adopted and adapted some of the superficial elements of Freemasonry he also transformed Freemasonry to "true Masonry" and in the process the signs and tokens of Freemasonry—which in the nineteenth century were designed to "distinguish one another with ease and certainty from the rest of the world," for the "preservation of the society from the inroads of imposters,"⁶⁴⁰ and in the process "became an universal language"⁶⁴¹—became literal keys for the endowed to give to "angels who stand as sentinels" to enter into the Kingdom of God.

The Kabbalistic Connection

An alternative theory which has not been widely discussed by Mormon scholars is that elements of the temple endowment can be traced to Jewish mysticism transmitted through the Kabbalah. It has been claimed that the Kabbalah, in an imperfect form, preserved ancient mysteries known to the Israelites. Similarities between the endowment and Masonic rituals could theoretically be explained by the fact that the esoteric wing of eighteenth-century Freemasonry was influenced by and incorporated elements of Jewish mysticism and the Kabbalah into its rituals.⁶⁴² Nevertheless, the thesis has also been advanced that information on the Kabbalah and mystic Judaism was available to Joseph Smith independent of his association with Freemasonry.⁶⁴³

Freemasonry adopted portions of the Kabbalah into its third degree, the Royal Arch, and into some of the higher grades.⁶⁴⁴ In the higher grades the theme of Adam and the Fall is of particular interest. Adam—prominent in the Mormon endowment ceremony—is also the "President" of the ceremony of the present 28th degree—Knight of the Sun—of Scottish Rite

639. Morgan, 93; Bernard, 84. For a Masonic oration making reference to this same imagery, see Thomas Cary, *An Oration Pronounced Before the Right Worshipful Master and Brethren of St. Peter's at the Episcopal Church in Newburyport, on the Festival of St. John the Baptist, Celebrated June 24th, 5801* (n.p.: From the Press of Brother Angier March, n.d.): "[W]hen this frail fabric shall be dissolved, and the SUPREME ARCHITECT shall summon his laborers to receive their reward, to the condescending Saviour we will listen for the pass word, which shall admit us to his father's temple, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

640. Macoy, 501.

641. Harris, 180.

642. Waite, 1:416-27.

643. A significant contribution in this area has been made by Lance Owens, "Joseph Smith and Kabbalah: The Occult Connection," in this issue of *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*.

644. Waite, 1:426-27.

Freemasonry, an important degree also called "the Key to the Freemasonry."⁶⁴⁵ In this ritual Eve does not appear, but a number of angels (whose names come from the Kabbalah) make references to the Fall. The present version of the Knight of the Sun degree was drafted by Albert Pike well after the death of Joseph Smith. However the main features of the grade—including Adam and the Kabbalistic angels—predate Pike. The Scottish Rite is an evolution of an eighteenth-century French Masonic rite called Rite de Perfection⁶⁴⁶ in which the 23rd degree corresponds to the 28th degree of the Scottish Rite and was also called Knight of the Sun. The Rite de Perfection dates to about 1760 and was translated into English by Henry Andrew Francken as early as 1771. All of the key elements of the Francken version are preserved in the Pike version.⁶⁴⁷ The first extant rituals of the Knight of the Sun degree date from 1763 and 1765.⁶⁴⁸

The nineteenth-century versions of the Knight of the Sun degree were clearly influenced by the Jewish Kabbalah.⁶⁴⁹ Students of Kabbalah were members of the occult-masonic underworld of the time and through a magical Masonic group called the Order of the Elus Cohens, founded by Jacques Martinez de Pasqually (1727-74), which included the well-known French mystical-esoteric author Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin (1743-1803). Martinez's system and rituals richly developed the theme of Adam, Eve, and the Fall, and his influence on the degree of Knight of the Sun is evident, although Eve disappears in the latter ritual. Following his death in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, where he had emigrated from France in 1774, Martinez's influence spread from the Caribbean to the United States, where esoteric students of Kabbalah were active well before Joseph Smith joined Freemasonry. Further research needs to be done on the Kabbalistic connection, but it appears to be at least as important as the Egyptian connection since its influence was most profound in rituals and degrees which are most fre-

645. Blanchard, 2:208.

646. See Claude Guérillot, *La Genèse du Rite Écossais Ancien et Accepté* (Paris: Guy Trédaniel, 1993). See also Bernard, 253-72; Etienne Morin introduced the *haut gardes* of ecossais Masonry to America in 1761 which were brought to Albany. His deputy, Henry Andrew Francken, made at least three copies of this 25-degree rite (which was an expansion of the 14-degree Rite of Perfection). See *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 89:208-210 [Transactions of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076, hereafter cited as AQC]; AQC 97:200-202; A. C. F. Jackson, *Rose Croix* (London: A. Lewis, 1987), 46-47. These degrees served as the foundation of the Scottish Rite introduced by Mitchell, Dalco, and others. I am indebted to Massimo Introvigne and Art deHoyos for this information.

647. See Claude Guérillot, *La Rite de Perfection. Restitution des rituels traduits en anglais et copiés en 1783 par Henry Andrew Francken accompagnée de la traduction des textes statutaires* (Paris: Guy Trédaniel, 1993), 350-53.

648. *Ibid.*, 352.

649. *Ibid.*, 352-53.

quently compared with the endowment.

DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES ON THE PROCESS OF REVELATION

Those who believe that the revelations of Joseph Smith were received by a mechanical process—word for word from the mouth of God—and that they required no inquiry or thought on his part must address the observations by scholars who note grammatical errors, anachronisms, and familiar phrases, including biblical verses, in the Book of Mormon, as well as evidence that revelations in the Doctrine and Covenants contain responses to contemporary concerns. Although it may be difficult to explain similarities, graphic or superficial, between Masonic rites and the endowment if one believes in the mechanical process of revelation or translation, such similarities are consistent with a process in which a prophet begins with a text and seeks inspiration to restore it to its “original” meaning, or to give it new meaning, using his own words and the words of the cultural context in which he is situated. Given this perspective, it is not surprising that church officials—not anti-Mormons—who were personally acquainted with Joseph Smith first noted the relationship between Masonry and Mormonism. Anti-Mormons were reluctant to compare a mainstream institution like Masonry with the controversial practices of Mormonism.

At the turn of the twentieth century, church writers responded to criticisms of the Book of Mormon, the Book of Abraham, and other revelations of Joseph Smith by advancing the thesis that revelations and translations are not merely the product of a “mechanical process”; that Joseph Smith studied the Egyptian language while translating the Book of Abraham; that his translations were expressed in the language he could command; that at times he adopted language from the Bible in translating the Book of Mormon when “the Nephite record clearly paralleled passages in the Bible”; and that the prophet retranslated and restored lost scripture.⁶⁵⁰ More recently, Hugh Nibley has stated that the method employed by Smith to translate or receive revelation, or whether he used the Urim and Thummim, is

650. See B. H. Roberts, *Defense of the Faith and the Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1907), 255-370; B. H. Roberts, *New Witnesses for God*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909), 2:106-21; B. H. Roberts, *The Seventies Course in Theology* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1907), 139-42. The first serious attack on the Book of Abraham appeared in Remy and Brenchley, 2:536-46. A spirited response was written by George Reynolds, *The Book of Abraham* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Printing and Publishing Establishment, 1879). The next wave was initiated by F. S. Spalding in *Joseph Smith, Jr. as a Translator* (Salt Lake City, 1912). Spalding’s pamphlet produced many responses. See *Improvement Era*, vol. 16, issues 4-8, 11, and vol. 17, issues 4 and 6.

totally irrelevant to establishing the bona fides of the Prophet. They do not even make sense as expressions of normal human curiosity, since Joseph Smith made it perfectly clear that the vital ingredient in every transmission of ancient or heavenly knowledge is always the Spirit which places his experiences beyond the comprehension and analysis of ordinary mortals If it matterth not by what imponderable method Joseph Smith produced his translations, as long as he came up with the right answers, it matters even less from what particular edition of what particular text he was translating. It is enough at present to know that the Prophet was translating from real books of Abraham, Moses, Enoch, Mosiah and Zenos, whose teachings now reach us in a huge and growing corpus of newly discovered writings.⁶⁵¹

Other Mormon authors go further and consider the plates, papyri, and texts as tangible support for spiritual experiences which may have been influenced by but were not dependent upon these material elements.⁶⁵²

Unlike the Book of Mormon, Book of Abraham and other revelations, in which context has been recognized and acknowledged, most church writers in the twentieth century have characterized the process by which the endowment was received as a revelation totally independent of Smith's association with Freemasonry or his knowledge of Masonic rites. It is ironic that B. H. Roberts was one of the first church authorities to deny any connection between Masonry and Mormonism since Joseph Smith's use of Masonic rituals, as a source of inspiration for the endowment, is consistent with his thesis of how revelation occurs. Although Anthony W. Ivins's book and John A. Widtsoe's articles departed from the strategy mapped out by Ballard and Roberts—they did not claim that Smith received the endowment before becoming a Mason—they also failed to acknowledge, as earlier church leaders had, that the prophet benefited from his association with Freemasonry. Although Widtsoe acknowledged similarities between the endowment and other rituals, stated that the prophet had the right to employ similar symbols and methods without being charged with plagia-

651. Hugh Nibley, *The Joseph Smith Papyri*, 54. For additional perspectives concerning the process of revelation, see Edward H. Ashment, "The Facsimiles of the *Book of Abraham*," *Sunstone* 4 (Dec. 1979): 33; Blake T. Ostler, "The Book of Mormon as a Modern Expansion of an Ancient Source," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Spring 1987): 66-123; Steven Robinson, "The 'Expanded' *Book of Mormon*?" in Montie S. Nyman and Charles D. Tate, Jr., eds., *The Book of Mormon: Second Nephi, the Doctrinal Structure* (Provo: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1979), 391-414. This remains a controversial area. See *Salt Lake Tribune*, 9 Apr. 1994, B2, which outlines the current debate.

652. See, for example, Anthony A. Hutchinson, "The Joseph Smith Revision and the Synoptic Problem: An Alternative View," *The John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 5 (1985): 47-53; and Kevin L. Barney, "The Joseph Smith Translation and Ancient Texts of the Bible," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19 (Spring 1986): 85-102.

rism, and concluded that Smith received the temple endowment and its ritual "by revelation from God," he refused to acknowledge what his predecessors knew: the rituals of Freemasonry provided a starting point for the Mormon prophet's revelation of "true Masonry." Such an acknowledgement would not only be supported by statements made by early church leaders but also consistent with Roberts's thesis of how revelation occurs.

Dilemmas in church history are more easily understood if one acknowledges that Joseph Smith used his own imperfect thought processes, that the language he used represented the cultural context in which he was situated, and that he adapted recognizable texts and documents through creative inspiration. Whether the rituals of Freemasonry originated in antiquity, as Joseph and Brigham believed, or whether they are of recent origin, as most historians now believe, is "irrelevant" if one believes that recent texts—such as papyri or rituals—can provide a catalyst for a spiritual experience and that the resulting text or ritual constitutes revelation of heavenly images through allegory and symbolism. This does not mean that Joseph's experiences should be "reduced" or "explained away" through references to such contemporary contexts. But it does mean that context is relevant in any study of revelation, and that few scholars accept the legitimacy of immediate and non-contextual "dictation" (or "translation") even for the New Testament.⁶⁵³ Failure to recognize this may account for the different perspectives of nineteenth-century and twentieth-century Mormons.

CONCLUSION

In 1984 the Grand Lodge of Utah reversed its policy of prohibiting Mormons from joining Masonic lodges. Since then increasing numbers of Mormons have been initiated, despite church discouragement. The strongest church statements were made before World War II, although as recently as 1983 the *General Handbook of Instructions*, under the heading "Secret Organizations," warned "members strongly not to join any organization that . . . is secret and oath-bound," and further advised that "local leaders decide whether Church members who belong to secret oath-bound organizations may be ordained or advanced in the priesthood or may receive a

653. See, for example, Robert J. Matthews, "A Plainer Translation": *Joseph Smith's Translation of the Bible: A History and Commentary*, 2d ed. (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1985); Hutchinson, 47-53. For a comprehensive discussion of this subject, see Massimo Introvigne, "Il 'canone aperto': rivelazione e nuove rivelazioni nella teologia e nella storia dei Mormoni," in *Le Nuove Rivelazioni* (Leumann [Torino]: Elle Di Ci, 1991), 27-86.

temple recommend."⁶⁵⁴ This policy was removed from the 1989 edition of the *Handbook*, but subsequent church statements have relied on the language of the 1983 *Handbook*.⁶⁵⁵ Nevertheless, no church discipline has been taken against members who have joined the Craft since 1984.⁶⁵⁶

Hopefully, these changes will not only improve relations between Masons and Mormons⁶⁵⁷ but will also discourage the "all-or-nothing" approach that has characterized the debate over the relationship between their rituals. Ultimately, the efficacy of the Mormon temple ceremony does not depend on whether Joseph Smith adopted or adapted portions of the Masonic ritual when he instituted the endowment or whether the rituals of Freemasonry originated in Solomon's temple. Arthur E. Waite, a prominent Masonic scholar, recognizing the relatively recent origins of Masonic ritual, noted that "antiquity *per se* is not a test of value. I can imagine a Rite created at this day which would be much greater and more eloquent in symbolism than anything that we work and love under the name of Masonry."⁶⁵⁸ Similarly, the legitimacy of the endowment rests on the faith of members who believe that it was heaven sent and find it meaningful and life-giving.

654. *General Handbook of Instructions* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1983), 77.

655. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 17 Feb. 1992, D-1, D-2.

656. The 1989 *General Handbook of Instructions* prohibits only affiliation with "apostate cults," which it defines as "those that advocate plural marriage." *General Handbook of Instructions* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989), 10-3.

657. Glen L. Pace, "A Thousand Times," *Ensign* 20 (Nov. 1990): 8-10; Derin Head Rodriguez, "Reaching Out," *Ensign* 22 (Jan. 1992): 66-71.

658. Waite, 1:427.

In a Far Land

M. Shayne Bell

So many women on their knees
that if I knew how to tell them
they could find hope here,
or that there the men
would be kind and when the sun rose,
their hopes could rise with it,
but especially if they would resolve
to walk away from all
who once hurt them, to some far land
where they could live day by day
remake their lives
in the image of their hearts
I would tell them—
no, I would walk there with them,
so that in the stillness
of that hot noon, and later,
in the blush of dusk,
I could take their hands
and never need to whisper peace.

Listening to Mozart's *Requiem* while Crossing the San Rafael

M. Shayne Bell

The *Requiem* matched
the smell of death
on the leather of my coat,
and the fear in the music
lingered
in the sudden
stillness
after canyon echoes
above the overlook:
Mozart is dead.
Mozart is dead.

The fear in his music
could still grip my heart
if I would let it—
if I could stop looking
at the eagle on that rock,
waiting to eat carrion,
and watching us
drive past: watching us,
as we listen to the music
of Mozart, who is dead.
Mozart is dead.

Mozart is long dead,
and his fear could not
stop death. His music
might stop the fear
if it were not
for the stillness after echoes,
if it were not
for the finality of carrion,
if it were not
that Mozart is dead, after all.
Mozart is dead.

I wonder this:
How did it go for him?
How did he feel his death,
and did his music
echo in his head then
and match the fear in his heart,
and did the fear linger
with any part of him
waiting to hear the others say:
Mozart is dead.
Mozart is dead.

Joseph Smith and Kabbalah: The Occult Connection

Lance S. Owens

IN 1973 RLDS HISTORIAN PAUL M. EDWARDS identified a fundamental deficiency of Mormon historical studies: “We have not allowed,” says Edwards speaking of Mormon historians, “the revolutionary nature of the movement from which we have sprung to make us revolutionaries.” He continued:

The one thing about which we might all agree concerning Joseph Smith is that he was not the usual sort of person. He did not approach life itself—or his religious commitment—in a usual way. Yet the character of our historical investigation of Joseph Smith and his times has been primarily traditional, unimaginative, and lacking in any effort to find or create an epistemological methodology revolutionary enough to deal with the paradox of our movement. The irony of our position is that many of our methods and interpretations have become so traditional that they can only reinforce the fears of yesterday rather than nurture the seeds of tomorrow’s dreams.¹

More than two decades have passed since those words were penned, years marked by a veritable explosion in Mormon studies, and yet Edwards’s challenge “to find or create an epistemological methodology revolutionary enough to deal with the paradox” of Joseph Smith remains a summons largely unanswered. Revolutions are painful processes, in measure both destructive and creative. The imaginative revisioning of Joseph Smith’s “unusual approach” to life and religion demands a careful—though perhaps still difficult and destructive—hewing away of a

1. Paul M. Edwards, “The Irony of Mormon History,” in George D. Smith, ed., *Faithful History: Essays on Writing Mormon History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 26.

hundred years of encrusting vilifications and thick layerings of iconographic pigments, masks ultimately false to his lively cast. Smith eschewed orthodoxy, and so eventually must his historians. To that end, there is considerable value in turning full attention to the revolutionary view of Joseph Smith provided by Harold Bloom in his critique of *The American Religion*.

Broadly informed as a critic of the creative imagination and its Kabbalistic, Gnostic undertones in Western culture—and perhaps one of the most prominent literary figures in America—Bloom has intuitively recognized within Joseph Smith a familiar spirit, a genius wed in nature to both the millennia-old visions of Gnosticism in its many guises and the imaginative flux of poesy. Individuals less informed in the history and nature of Kabbalism—or of Hermetic, alchemical, and Rosicrucian mysticism, traditions influenced by a creative interaction with Kabbalah—may have difficulty apprehending the basis of his insight. Indisputably, the aegis of “orthodox” Mormon historiography is violently breached by Bloom’s intuition linking the prophet’s visionary bent with the occult aspirations of Jewish Kabbalah, the great mystical and prophetic tradition of Israel.

Bloom is, of course, not a historian but a critic and interpreter of creative visions, and his reading of Smith depends perhaps less on historical detail than on his intuition for the poetic imagination. The affinity of Smith for these traditions is, nonetheless, evident to an educated eye.

What is clear is that Smith and his apostles restated what Moshe Idel, our great living scholar of Kabbalah, persuades me was the archaic or original Jewish religion. . . . My observation certainly does find enormous validity in Smith’s imaginative recapture of crucial elements, elements evaded by normative Judaism and by the Church after it. The God of Joseph Smith is a daring revival of the God of some of the Kabbalists and Gnostics, prophetic sages who, like Smith himself, asserted that they had returned to the true religion. . . . Either there was a more direct Kabbalistic influence upon Smith than we know, or, far more likely, his genius reinvented Kabbalah in the effort necessary to restore archaic Judaism.²

While I would not diminish the inventive genius of Joseph Smith, careful reevaluation of historical data suggests there is both a poetic and an unsuspected factual substance to Bloom’s thesis. Though yet little understood, from Joseph’s adolescent years forward he had repeated, sometimes intimate and arguably influential associations with distant legacies of

2. Harold Bloom, *The American Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation* (New York: Simon & Shuster, 1992), 99, 105.

Gnosticism conveyed by Kabbalah and Hermeticism—traditions intertwined in the Renaissance and nurtured through the reformatory religious aspirations of three subsequent centuries. Though any sympathy Joseph held for old heresy was perhaps intrinsic to his nature rather than bred by association, the associations did exist. And they hold a rich context of meanings. Of course, the relative import of these interactions in Joseph Smith's history will remain problematic for historians; efforts to revision the prophet in their light—or to reevaluate our methodology of understanding his history—may evoke a violent response from traditionalists. Nonetheless, there is substantial documentary evidence, material unexplored by Bloom or Mormon historians generally, supporting much more direct Kabbalistic and Hermetic influences upon Smith and his doctrine of God than has previously been considered possible.

Through his associations with ceremonial magic as a young treasure seer, Smith contacted symbols and lore taken directly from Kabbalah. In his prophetic translation of sacred writ, his hermeneutic method was in nature Kabbalistic. With his initiation into Masonry, he entered a tradition born of the Hermetic-Kabbalistic tradition. These associations culminated in Nauvoo, the period of his most important doctrinal and ritual innovations. During these last years, he enjoyed friendship with a European Jew well-versed in the standard Kabbalistic works and possibly possessing in Nauvoo an unusual collection of Kabbalistic books and manuscripts. By 1844 Smith not only was cognizant of Kabbalah, but enlisted theosophic concepts taken directly from its principal text in his most important doctrinal sermon, the "King Follett Discourse."

Smith's concepts of God's plurality, his vision of God as *anthropos*, and his possession by the issue of sacred marriage, all might have been cross-fertilized by this intercourse with Kabbalistic theosophy—an occult relationship climaxing in Nauvoo. This is a complex thesis; its understanding requires exploration of an occult religious tradition spanning more than a millennium of Western history, an investigation that begins naturally with Kabbalah.

THE NATURE OF KABBALAH

The Hebrew word *kabbalah* means "tradition." In the medieval Jewish culture of southern France and northern Spain, however, the term acquired a fuller connotation: it came to identify the mystical, esoteric tradition of Judaism. Between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, this increasingly refined spiritual heritage was an important force in European and Mediterranean Judaism, competing with and often antagonistic to more rationalistic and Rabbinical trends. By the sixteenth century, Kabbalah had infused not only Judaism, but Renaissance Christian culture as well. Start-

ing first with the Florentine court of Lorenzo de Medici at the end of the fifteenth century, Kabbalah became a potent force inseminating the Renaissance world view. Ultimately this movement engendered during the late Renaissance a separate heterodox tradition of Christian Kabbalah. From this period on, Kabbalah has been a major creative force in Western religious and poetic imagination, touching such diverse individuals as Jacob Boehme, John Milton, Emanuel Swedenborg, William Blake, and perhaps Joseph Smith.

An understanding of Kabbalah starts with an understanding of "tradition." Contrary to the word's common connotation, the tradition of Kabbalah was not a static historical legacy of dogma, but a dynamic phenomenon: the mutable tradition of the Divine mystery as it unfolds itself to human cognition. Kabbalah conveyed as part of its tradition a complex theosophic vision of God but simultaneously asserted that this image was alive and open to further revelation. Thus the Kabbalist maintained a creative, visionary interaction with a living system of symbols and lore, and—most importantly—new prophetic vision was intrinsically part of the Kabbalists' understanding of their heritage.³

How long and in what form Kabbalah existed before blossoming in twelfth-century Spain is uncertain. Kabbalists themselves made extraordinary claims that require our understanding before being discarded: Kabbalah was—said adepts—the tradition of the original knowledge Adam received from God. Not only was Kabbalah guardian of this original knowledge, but it preserved the tradition of prophecy which allowed a return to such primal vision: "Kabbalah advanced what was at once a claim and an hypothesis, namely, that its function was to hand down to its own disciples the secret of God's revelation to Adam."⁴

In keeping with its own mythic claims, Kabbalah has been accorded fairly early origins in Judaic culture. Some modern authorities—Moshe Idel is a notable representative—identify roots of Kabbalah in Jewish mythic motifs predating the Christian era and suggest that the tradition emanated from archaic aspirations of Judaism.⁵ In a more conservative posture the eminent authority Gershom Scholem dates first threads of Kabbalah to the initial centuries of the Christian era. With origins cryptically entwined in Gnostic traditions and Jewish myths coursing through that early epoch, Kabbalah became in its mature form what Scholem describes as the em-

3. Moshe Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), 260.

4. Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1974), 21.

5. For a discussion of the antiquity of Kabbalah and Kabbalistic myth, also see Yehuda Liebes, *Studies in Jewish Myth and Jewish Messianism* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1993), 65-92.

bodiment of a "Jewish gnosticism."⁶

In recent years, this identification of Kabbalah with Gnosticism has been a source of controversy.⁷ Noted Swiss psychologist C. G. Jung commented, "We find in Gnosticism what was lacking in the centuries that followed: a belief in the efficacy of individual revelation and individual knowledge. This belief was rooted in the proud feeling of man's affinity with the gods."⁸ While classical Christian Gnosticism vanished from the Western world by the fourth or fifth century, this Gnostic world view was not so easily extinguished. Historicity here, however, becomes a vexing problem. Under what circumstances should anything occurring after the disappearance of classical Gnosticism be called Gnostic? Was the Gnostic world view transmitted to later ages through historically discernible influences and communications or, instead, was something similar continually and independently recreated, reborn time after time? What now are the proper bounds for using the term "Gnostic"?

Questions like these animate modern Gnostic and Kabbalistic studies, and the types of answers offered often reach beyond history into human psychology. The proper historical definition of Gnosticism has generated wide variances of opinion during the last several decades, and yet remains a fluid area. In the second century, Gnosticism clearly produced an historically manifest movement: it had specific myths, rituals, schools, teachers, and enemies. Some scholars have felt it most expedient to artfully delimit all discussions of Gnosticism with taxonomic dissections rooted exclusively in these ancient manifestations and, having so done, declare the old heresy long dead in its grave. But while this kind of a strictly delimiting approach was not uncommon three decades ago, other and much more insightful thrusts have recently developed in Gnostic studies.⁹ As Dan

6. G. Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1965), 97; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 75.

7. For example, see David J. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision* (Tübingen: J. C. Mohr, 1988); Peter Schafer, *Gershom Scholem Reconsidered: The Aim and Purpose of Early Jewish Mysticism, the Twelfth Sacks Lecture Delivered on 29th May 1985* (Oxford, Eng.: Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies, 1986), 3; David Flusser, "Scholem's Recent Book on Merkabah Literature," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 11 (1960): 65; and Ithamar Gruenwald, "Jewish Merkavah Mysticism and Gnosticism," in *Studies in Jewish Mysticism*, eds. Joseph Dan and Frank Talmage (Cambridge, MA: Association for Jewish Studies, 1982), 41-55. Dan Merkur reviews these objections in *Gnosis: An Esoteric Tradition of Mystical Visions and Unions* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1993), 155-80.

8. C. G. Jung, *Psychological Types* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971), 242.

9. For a recent summary of these approaches, see Merkur's chapter "Defining Gnosis," 111-16. Couliano provides a variant but equally insightful view, emphasizing the theory of independent reoccurrence in Ioan Couliano, *The Tree of Gnosis: Gnostic Mythology from Early Christianity to Modern Nihilism* (San Francisco: Harper, 1990), 23-63; also see Stephan Hoeller, "What is a Gnostic?" *Gnosis: A Journal of Western Inner Traditions* 23 (Spring 1992):

Merkur summarizes,

The Gnostic inventory should not be defined too rigidly. . . for it was not fixed and immutable, as scientific and metaphysical categories may be. Gnosis was and is a historical phenomenon that has undergone change over the centuries. A detailed definition for the gnosis of the second century will not fit the gnosis of the eighteenth, but the process of change can be traced. Gnosticism appears to have made its way from late antiquity to modern times, in a manner and by a route that compares with the transmissions of both Aristotelianism and the practice of science.¹⁰

To be sure, Gnosticism was always at core an independent product of primary, creative vision; by definition, devoid of this experiential ingredient there was no Gnosis. And perhaps it could be argued that whenever this primary Gnostic vision is found, it is in essence new creation. If such a view of Gnosis is granted, the precise part played by historical individuals, rituals, myths, or texts as conveyors of tradition must remain problematic. Nonetheless, as Merkur suggests, there is substantial evidence to argue that a Gnostic world view was transmitted by historically identifiable sources coursing from antiquity into more recent times, and that Kabbalah was one of the principal agents of this transmission.¹¹

In the thirteenth century, the oral legacy of this Jewish gnosis increasingly took written form and several Kabbalistic manuscripts began to circulate, first in Spain and southern France and then throughout Europe and the Mediterranean. By far the most important text emerging in this period was the *Zohar*, or "Book of Splendor." This massive work first appeared in Spain just before the year 1300. Internally it presented itself as an ancient work, a lost record of the occult and mystical oral teachings given by one Simeon ben Yochai, a notable second-century Rabbi, as he wandered about Palestine with his son and disciples, explaining the hidden mysteries of the Torah. The *Zohar's* significance in the evolution of Kabbalah cannot be overstated; it played a preeminent role in the development of Kabbalistic theosophy, and soon took on both canonical rank and unquestioned sacred authority—a status it retained for nearly five centuries. Thousands of manuscripts would eventually be added to the corpus of written Kabbalah, but none rivaled the *Zohar* in dissemination or veneration.

24-27.

10. Merkur, 116.

11. Three traditions historically linked to the Gnostic milieu of antiquity are often listed as agents of this transmission: Kabbalah, Hermetism, and alchemy.

The *Zohar* was, however, what a modern student might call a forgery: it was a pseudoepigraphic work—a work written in the name of an ancient author by a contemporary figure. This was a literary device popular with Kabbalists, as it had been with Gnostic writers in earlier centuries. Though probably based on oral tradition, Scholem argues that the majority of the *Zohar* is the work of a single thirteenth-century Spanish Kabbalist, Moses de Leon. To understand how a pseudoepigraphic work—a “forged book”—could remain at the center of a religious tradition for centuries requires consideration of the Kabbalistic experience.

Kabbalah used the term “tradition” in a radically deconstructed sense. The tradition it guarded was not a dogmatic or theosophical legacy, but a pathway to prophetic consciousness. The teachings of Kabbalah were not dogmatic assertions, but maps intended to lead a dedicated and worthy student to experiential cognition.¹² Unlike the rabbinical tradition which placed the prophets in a past age and closed the canon of revelation, Kabbalah asserted that the only valid interpretation of scripture came when the individual passed beyond words and returned to the original vision. Though such a visionary experience was shared in full measure only by a vital elite among Kabbalists, it nonetheless was the sustaining heart of Kabbalah. In the inner sanctum of his contemplation the adept Kabbalist found—so he claimed—no less than the vision granted the ancient prophets; with them he became one. To speak pseudoepigraphically with their voice was a natural expression of the experience.

Kabbalah thus arose from oral traditions extant in medieval Judaism—and possibly of even earlier origin—which proclaimed both special knowledge of the Divine and possession of ecstatic or mystical gifts similar to those enjoyed by the ancient prophets, gifts which allowed men (in measures varying with their own natures) to achieve knowledge of God or even union with God.¹³ In this affirmation, it shared some bond to earlier Gnostic traditions. Now the majority of Kabbalists were not full-fledged mystics or prophets, and a great deal of Kabbalistic teachings was purely intellectual theosophic speculation. At the heart of the tradition, there nonetheless was a prophetic aspiration, and several Kabbalists left intimate records—material preserved in manuscript and often held in restricted circulation—of visions, angelic visitations, ecstatic transport, and divine anointings.¹⁴ These individuals saw themselves, and were sometimes seen by others, in

12. Underpinning this declaration is an assertion that men can have experiences—call them intuitions or visions—that carry revelatory power and the savor of divine origin. It was the topography of this experience that the Kabbalist sought to explore, and perhaps to map. See Idel, *Kabbalah*, 29.

13. Idel, *Kabbalah*, 59-73.

14. Moshe Idel, ed., *Studies in Ecstatic Kabbalah* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1988), 1-31.

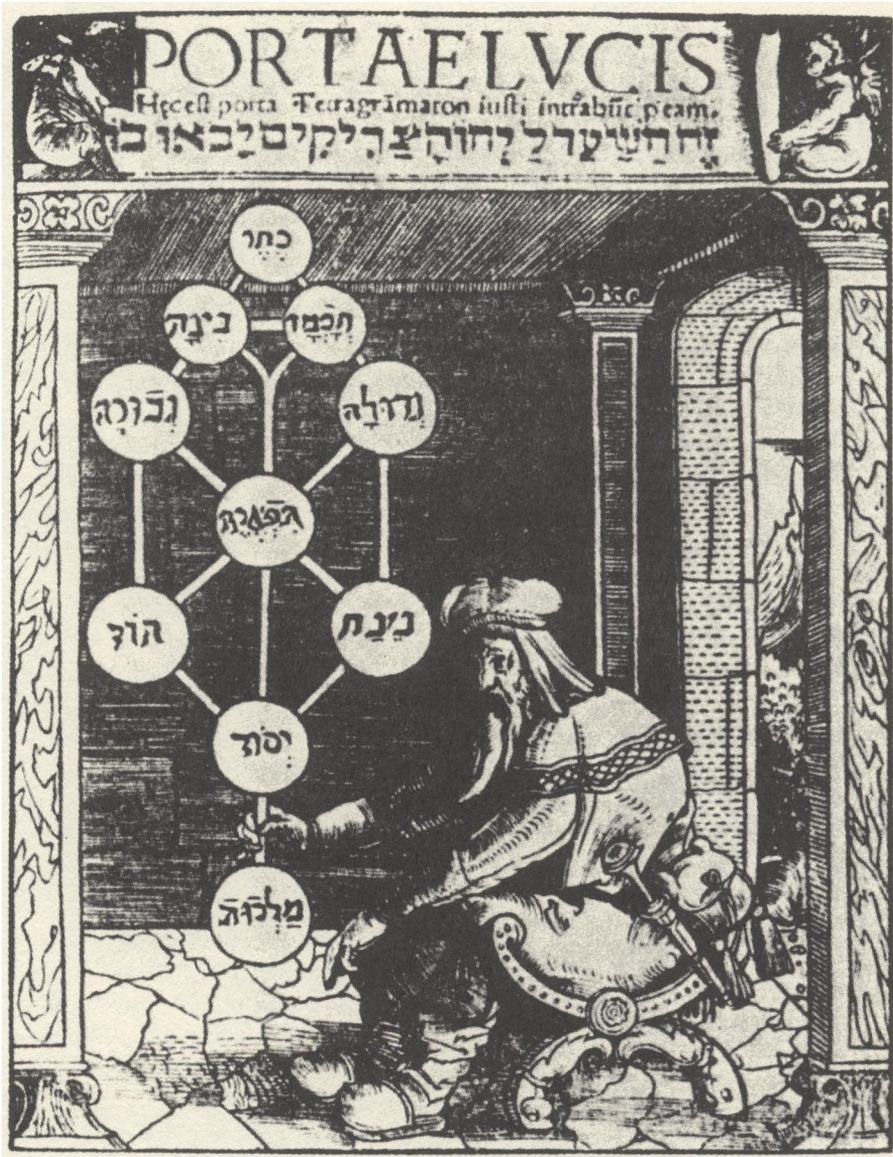


Figure 1. A Kabbalist contemplates the “tree” of the ten Sefirot, the Kabbalistic Tree of Life. One of the first printed illustrations of the Sefirot in this form, it appeared on the title page from a Latin translation of a Kabbalistic work by J. Gikatilla. Paulus Riccius, *Portae Lucis* (Augsburg, 1516).

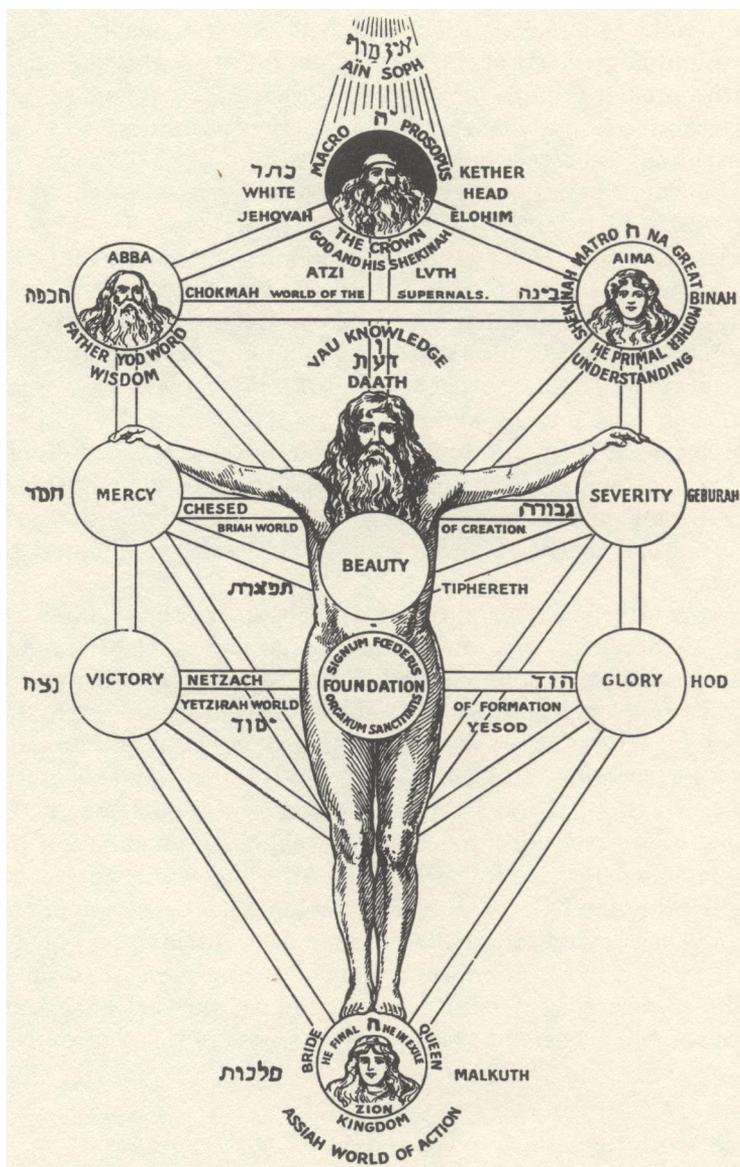


Figure 2. The sacred "Tree of Sefirot" superimposed on the Adam Kadmon (as drawn by the early twentieth-century student of occultism A. E. Waite in *The Holy Kabbalah*). At the top of the tree is Kether, "the Crown," the first form of God. Below are Hokhmah and Binah, the supernal Masculine and Feminine images of the the Divine. From these potencies emanated the other Sefirah, the vessels of Divine manifestation.

the same mold as Israel's ancient prophets. A rationalistic approach to history might judge such phenomena as aberrant, even pathological. But within the scholarly study of Kabbalah, these phenomena are so well witnessed and so central to the tradition, that they require acceptance at the very least as empirical psychological realities.

Kabbalistic experience engendered several perceptions about the Divine, many of which departed from the orthodox view. The most central tenet of Israel's faith had been the proclamation that "our God is One." But Kabbalah asserted that while God exists in highest form as a totally ineffable unity—called by Kabbalah *Ein Sof*, the infinite—this unknowable singularity had necessarily emanated into a great number of Divine forms: a plurality of Gods. These the Kabbalist called *Sefiroth*, the vessels or faces of God (see Figures 1 and 2). The manner by which God descended from incomprehensible unity into plurality was a mystery to which Kabbalists devoted a great deal of meditation and speculation. Obviously, this multifaceted God image admits to accusations of being polytheistic, a charge which was vehemently, if never entirely successfully, rebutted by the Kabbalists.¹⁵

Not only was the Divine plural in Kabbalistic theosophy, but in its first subtle emanation from unknowable unity God had taken on a dual form as Male and Female; a supernal Father and Mother, *Hokhmah* and *Binah*, were God's first emanated forms. Kabbalists used frankly sexual metaphors to explain how the creative intercourse of *Hokhmah* and *Binah* generated further creation. Indeed, sexual motifs and imagery permeate Kabbalistic theosophy, and the Divine mystery of sexual conjunction—a *hierosgamos* or sacred wedding—captured Kabbalistic imagination. Marital sexual intercourse became for the Kabbalist the highest mystery of human action mirroring the Divine: an ecstatic sacramental evocation of creative union, an image of God's masculine and feminine duality brought again to unity. Of interest to Mormonism, among several groups of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Kabbalists, polygamous and variant sexual relationships sometimes served as social expressions of these sacral mysteries.¹⁶

15. Scholem, *On the Kabbalah*, 94; see also Scholem, *Major Trends*, 225.

16. See Scholem, *On the Kabbalah*, 155. Moshe Idel discusses the sexual polarity of divine qualities in Jewish mystical tradition. Most striking of such evidence is the image of the cherubim that adorned the Arc of the Covenant in the Holy of Holies in the Temple of Solomon. In talmudic tradition the cherubim were male and female and were sometimes found in sexual embrace (see G. Scholem, *Kabbalah* [New York: Dorset Press, 1987], 130). The Talmud states, "When the Israelites came up on the pilgrim Festivals the curtain would be removed for them and the cherubim shown to them, their bodies interlocked with one another, and they would say to them, 'Look, you are beloved of God as the love between man and woman'" (Yoma 54a, Bababatra 99a). For a detailed discussion of the symbolic

The complex Divine image composed of the multiple vessels of Divine manifestation was also visualized by Kabbalah as having a unitary, anthropomorphic form. God was, by one Kabbalistic recension, *Adam Kadmon*: the first primordial or archetypal Man. Man shared with God both an intrinsic, uncreated divine spark and a complex, organic form. This strange equation of Adam as God was supported by a Kabbalistic cipher: the numerical value in Hebrew of the names Adam and Jehovah (the Tetragrammaton, *Yod he vav he*) was both 45. Thus in Kabbalistic exegesis Jehovah equaled Adam: Adam was God.¹⁷ With this affirmation went the assertion that all humankind in highest realization was like God: the two realities shadowed each other.

The Kabbalist saw himself intimately involved in a story told by God—he heard the divine voice and followed. He saw that in the redemption and knowledge of creation, God depended on man, just as man turned his eye to God. History came from two realms: man's burden was to wed this mysterious dual story in his own flesh.

THE RENAISSANCE AND CHRISTIAN KABBALAH

Kabbalah was a growing force in Judaism throughout the late medieval period and by the beginning of the Renaissance had gained general acceptance as the true Jewish theology, a standing it maintained (particularly in the Christian view) into the eighteenth century.¹⁸ Only in the last several decades of the twentieth century, however, have historians begun to recognize the importance of Kabbalah in both the history of religion and in the specific framework of Renaissance thought. Frances Yates, one of this century's preeminent historians of the period, emphasized "the tremendous ramifications of this subject, how little it has been explored, and how fundamental it is for any deep understanding of the Renaissance." She continued,

Cabala reaches up into religious spheres and cannot be avoided in approaches to the history of religion. The enthusiasm for Cabala and for its revelations of new spiritual depths in the Scriptures was one of the factors

history of the cherubim and this sexual image, see Raphael Patai, *The Hebrew Goddess*, 3d ed. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990), 67-95.

17. Scholem, *On the Kabbalah*, 103-104. Each Hebrew letter has a numerical value; words carry the value of the sum of their letters. These numerical sums are used in Kabbalah to extract various relationships and occult meanings from biblical texts, a practice called *gematria*. The numerical value of the Tetragrammaton (the name of God composed of the four letters, *Yod he vav he*, and read as Yahweh or Jehovah) is 45, exactly the same value carried by the name Adam; thus "Jehovah" = "Adam."

18. Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 190.

leading towards Reformation. . . . The Cabalist influence on Renaissance Neoplatonism . . . tended to affect the movement in a more intensively religious direction, and more particularly in the direction of the idea of religious reform.¹⁹

Yates has delineated how understanding Kabbalah and its penetration into Christian culture is essential not only for comprehending Renaissance thought but also for studies of the Elizabethan age, Reformation religious ideals, the seventeenth-century Rosicrucian Enlightenment, and much that followed, including the emergence of occult Masonic societies in mid-seventeenth-century England.

From its early medieval development in Spain, Jewish Kabbalah existed in close proximity to the Christian world and inevitably aroused notice among gentile observers.²⁰ During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Kabbalists increasingly established a presence in several areas of Europe outside Spain, the most consequential of these perhaps being Italy, where Kabbalah soon touched the vanguard of Renaissance life. Then in 1492 came one of the great tragedies in Jewish history: the violent expulsion of Jews from newly unified Christian Spain. Forcibly expelled from their homeland, they fled to Italy, France, Germany, to the England of Henry the VII, and to Turkey, Palestine, and North Africa. With them went Kabbalah.

European culture in the fifteenth century had been animated by explorations, sciences, and bold visions reborn. Man stepped out from the shadow of the Creator and discovered himself: the jewel of creation, the measure of all things. Perhaps no place was ablaze in this creative fire more than the Florentine courts of Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici. Cosimo had assiduously collected the rediscovered legacies of Greek and Alexandrian

19. Frances A. Yates, *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), 3-4.

20. Though Kabbalah entered into the Christian consciousness mostly by passive transmission and assimilation, this was not always so. Abraham Abulafia, a seminal thirteenth-century Kabbalist, considered himself a prophet sent to Jew and gentile. This belief led him—despite warnings he would be burned at the stake—to Rome in 1280 on an ill-fated quest for audience with Pope Nicholas III, an adventure from which he escaped alive only by the good fortune of the Pope's sudden death (Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia*, 3). From the end of the thirteenth century, a number of Jewish converts to Christianity also brought with them into the gentile fold a knowledge of Kabbalah and christological speculations on Kabbalistic texts (Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 197). The works of Catalan philosopher and Christian mystic Raymond Lull (1232-ca. 1316) witness that elements of Kabbalah began penetrating Christian thought as early as 1300. Lull exhibits the influence of several Kabbalistic concepts on his quest to develop a universal system of science and religion—a philosophy he hoped would reconcile religious conflicts among Jews, Moslems, and Christians (Yates, *The Occult Philosophy*, 17-22).

antiquity (an effort facilitated by the exodus west after the Turkish conquest of the Byzantine Empire in 1453). But most important, in 1460 he acquired and had brought to Florence the *Corpus Hermeticum*, a collection of fourteen ancient religious treatises on God and man. Authoritatively mentioned in the early Christian patristic writings of St. Augustine and Lactantius, these "lost" texts were thought to have been authored in antiquity by one Hermes Trismegistos ("Thrice Great Hermes"), an ancient Egyptian prophet older than Moses, a knower of God's ancient but forgotten truths, and a seer who foretold the coming of Christ.²¹ Though eventually dated to the Gnostic milieu of the second century C.E., sixteenth-century scholars believed that Hermes Trismegistos and the *Hermetica* were an occult source that nurtured true religion and philosophy from Moses to the Greek philosophers of late antiquity.²²

The influence of the *Corpus Hermeticum* was remarkable, its diffusion among intellectuals immense; it epitomized the Renaissance world view, a reborn *prisca theologia*, "the pristine font of ancient and Divine illumination." In a variety of ways, Renaissance thought was radically transformed by the Hermetic doctrine that man was infused with God's light and divinity: "You are light and life, like God the Father of whom Man was born. If therefore you learn to know yourself . . . you will return to life."²³ Man was a divine, creative, immortal essence in union with a body, and man reborn "will be god, the son of God, all in all, composed of all Powers."²⁴

Kabbalah made a dramatic entry on the Renaissance stage at almost precisely the same time the rediscovered Hermetic writings were gaining wide dissemination in the elite circles of Europe. The initial impetus for study of Kabbalah as a Christian science and for its integration with Hermeticism came from Florentine prodigy Pico della Mirandola (1463-94). Pico's philosophical education was initiated under the Hermetic and Platonic influence of the Medici Academy and court, of which he became an

21. Walter Scott, ed., *Hermetica* (Boston: Shambhala, 1993), 31-2. Through patristic sources the name Hermes Trismegistos was well known in the Middle Ages; Roger Bacon called him "Father of Philosophers." The meaning of "Thrice-Great" was variously explained. Marcilio Ficino suggests it refers to his triple capacity of priest, philosopher, and king, a divine triad that recurs in various manifestations throughout the Hermetic-Kabbalistic tradition (including perhaps the 1844 coronation of Joseph Smith). See Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 48-49.

22. In 1614 Isaac Casaubon correctly dated the works to the early Christian centuries. This, however, did not entirely or quickly penetrate into the more devoted Hermetic circles. See Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, 16, 398-431.

23. *Corpus Hermeticum I*, Poimandres, 21 (this translation in Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, 25).

24. *Corpus Hermeticum XIII* (Yates, 29).

intellectual luminary. About age twenty he began his studies of Kabbalah, a pursuit furthered by Jewish Kabbalists who assisted him in translating a considerable portion of Kabbalistic literature into Latin and then aided his understanding of their occult interpretations.²⁵ In 1486 Pico penned the "Oration on the Dignity of Man"—one of the seminal documents of the Renaissance—as an introduction to the famous 900 theses which he intended to debate publicly in Rome that year. More than a hundred of these 900 theses came from Kabbalah or Pico's own Kabbalistic research.²⁶ "The marrying together of Hermetism and Cabalism, of which Pico was the instigator and founder," notes Yates, "was to have momentous results, and the subsequent Hermetic-Cabalist tradition, ultimately stemming from him, was of most far-reaching importance."²⁷

Hermeticism found a perfect companion in Kabbalah. Sympathies that can be drawn between the two occult sciences, both supposed ancient and divine, are remarkable, and it is easy to see how they would have impressed themselves upon sixteenth-century philosophers: Kabbalah originated with God's word to Adam and the ancient Jewish prophets after him; Hermeticism was the sacred knowledge of the ancient Egyptian Gnosis, the legacy of a thrice-great prophet, transmitted to the greatest pagan philosophers, and foretelling the coming of the divine Word (Logos). Both placed considerable interest in a mystical reinterpretation of the Creation; the Hermetic text *Pimander*, often called "the Egyptian Genesis," complimented the new vision gained from a Kabbalistic revisioning of the Hebrew Genesis.²⁸ Each taught the great "Art" of Divine knowledge based on the tenet that man is able to discover the Divine, which he reflects within himself through direct perceptive experience. And both offered paths to God's hidden throne, the divine intellect, where humankind might find revealed the secrets of heaven and earth. Element after element of Renaissance thought and culture is linked to the force of a new religious philosophy born of these two Gnostic traditions intermingling in the cauldron of Western culture's rebirth. Indeed, Yates suggests that the true origins of the Renaissance genius may be dated from two events: the arrival of the *Corpus Hermeticum* in Florence and the infusion of Kabbalism into Christian Europe by the Spanish expulsion of the Jews.²⁹

Christian Kabbalah advanced an innovative reinterpretation of the

25. Yates, *The Occult Philosophy*, 17-22. Yates provides an earlier and more tentative evaluation, but with great detail, in *Giordano Bruno*, 84-129. Scholem gives a summary, from the view of Jewish Kabbalah, in *Kabbalah*, 196-203.

26. Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 197.

27. Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, 86.

28. See *ibid.*, 85.

29. Yates, *Occult Philosophy*, 14.

Jewish tradition. For Pico and many influential Christian Kabbalists after him this ancient Gnostic tradition not only was compatible with Christianity but offered proofs of its truth. Many early Christian Kabbalists were, like Pico, not only scholars but Christian priests investigating remnants of a holy and ancient priesthood, rife with power and wisdom endowed by God. Their cooptation of the tradition was of course disavowed by most Jewish Kabbalists—though some aided and encouraged the development and a few converted to Christianity. But to the Christian scholars and divines who embraced it, Kabbalah was

a Hebrew-Christian source of ancient wisdom which corroborated not only Christianity, but the Gentile ancient wisdoms which [they] admired, particularly the writings of "Hermes Trismegistus." Thus Christian Cabala is really a key-stone in the edifice of Renaissance thought on its "occult" side through which it has most important connections with the history of religion in the period.³⁰

This was not just a speculative philosophy, but a new (though cautious and often occult) religious movement which radically reinterpreted normative Christianity. In some fashion it touched every important creative figure of the Renaissance. To an age seeking reformation and renewal, there had come forgotten books by prophets of old—pagan and Hebrew—who foresaw the coming of the Divine creative Logos, who knew the secret mysteries given to Adam, who taught that man might not only know God, but in so knowing, discover a startling truth about himself. These ideas reverberated in the creative religious imagination of the Western world for several centuries, perhaps even touching—though illusively and attenuated by time—the American religious frontier of the 1820s.

THE HERMETIC-KABBALISTIC WORLD VIEW

Christian Kabbalah was not a recapitulation of the Jewish tradition, but its creative remolding, a metamorphosis engendered by newly aroused religion-making vision. Though it would be too bold to judge Gnosticism a legitimate historical parent, this movement was arguably encouraged and fostered by distant transmissions and legacies of the old heresy. In the broad creative confluence of Kabbalah, Hermeticism, and alchemy were numerous eddies and counter-currents. Like early Christian Gnosticism, the tradition reborn had a dynamism which bred creative reinterpretation, and the important and subtle distinctions among its various redactions form the subject of specialized study. Nonetheless, there are a few themes

30. *Ibid.*, 19.

echoed so often by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century proponents of this alternative, reformatory philosophic and religious vision (which I hereafter refer to simply as Hermeticism) that they may serve almost as its hallmarks.

The first of these essential elements was mentioned above: humankind is the bearer of an uncreated, divine, immortal spark. This theme was mirrored in the next keynote, developed in both Kabbalistic and Hermetic sources: there is a duality in creation. Says the *Zohar*: "The process of creation has taken place on two planes, one above and one below The lower occurrence corresponds to the higher." This dictum appeared in almost identical wording in the earliest Hermetic works. The revered text of the *Tabula smaragdina*—considered the summation of Hermetic wisdom and attributed to Hermes Trismegistos—echoes this cryptic formula as its central mystical truth: "That which is below is above, that above is also below."³¹ The exegetical possibilities of this simple text plied the imagination of new Hermetic philosophers. There are, they suggested, two realms of reality—call them heaven and earth, spirit and matter, God and man—in relation to each other, shadowing each other. What happens in one realm echoes in the other, the Divine life reflects itself in the life of women and men, and they by their intentions and actions affect the Divine.

This idea infused Kabbalah, one example being the image of God as archetypal Man, the *Adam Kadmon*: Man below reflected the Divine form above. The influential seventeenth-century Hermetic philosopher Robert Fludd interpreted this idea to imply a spiritual creation which preceded the physical. God's first creation, stated Fludd, was "an archetype whose substance is incorporeal, invisible, intellectual and sempiternal; after whose model and divine image the beauty and form of the real world are constructed."³² The terms macrocosmos and microcosmos—the outer form and the inner form—also reflected this duality. The outer formed creation of the universe—the macrocosmos—reflected (and was a reflection of) the microcosmos—the inner mystery of creation and seed of God in man. To this view, both microcosmos and macrocosmos ultimately were dual mirrors of the Divine. These concepts resonate in Joseph Smith's theosophy.³³

31. The *Tabula smaragdina* or "Emerald Tablet" was supposedly engraved by Trismegistos himself with the essence of all truth. Its content was known to medieval scholars, and this, its central dictum, is often repeated in Hermetic writings from the Renaissance on. As with other Hermetic texts, the *Tabula smaragdina* probably dates to the first or second century C.E.

32. Robert Fludd, *Utriusque Cosmi Maioris . . .* (Oppenheim: Johann Theodore de Bry, 1617), sec. a, 145, translation in Joscelyn Godwin, *Robert Fludd: Hermetic Philosopher and Surveyor of Two Worlds* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), 14.

33. In Joseph Smith's translation of the Book of Genesis, begun in 1831, one finds a clear parallel. Smith gives this new reading for Genesis 2:5-9: "For I the Lord God, created all things of which I have spoken, spiritually, before they were naturally upon the face of

The correspondence of above and below molded the foundations of two influential disciplines flourishing in the creative society of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: natural science and magic. In the Hermetic world view, each was in part a scientific and a spiritual study. Science meant "knowledge," and knowledge led to Intelligence, the Divine glory uniting all truth into the wholeness of God's consciousness.³⁴ Whether the Hermetic-Kabbalistic magus ventured to explore the divine hierarchies by magical invocations or the structures of matter by natural science, he found mirrored the same light-dark face of God.³⁵ Magic and science each offered methodologies for investigating heaven and earth, the mind of God and the structure of nature, *microcosmos* and *macrocosmos*. As Pico della Mirandola explained, "Magic is the practical part of natural sciences."³⁶

The Hermetic scientist-philosopher-magus reasoned, given the correspondence between the two realms, creative manipulation of the one affected the other. Theurgic actions influencing the divine hierarchy were mirrored outwardly in nature; transformations effected in nature, or in the nature of man, were reflected in the supernal sphere: spirit and matter were coupled, even interdependent. To several leading figures of the age, this vision was a high spiritual calling; it evoked the desire to reach upwards, to join in the eternal intelligence, the knowing vision of God's All-Seeing Eye.³⁷ By piously pursuing occult knowledge of the archetypal structure of

the earth . . . for in heaven created I them, and there was not yet flesh upon the earth . . . all things were before created, but spiritually were they created and made, according to my word."

In Genesis 6:66 he continues the idea, "And behold, all things have their likeness . . . both things which are temporal and things which are spiritual; things which are in the heavens above, and things which are on the earth . . . both above and beneath, all things bear record of me" (*Joseph Smith's "New Translation" of the Bible* [Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1970], 30). Brigham Young developed the idea: "We cannot talk about spiritual things without connecting with them temporal things, neither can we talk about temporal things without connecting spiritual things with them. They are inseparably connected." Leonard Arrington emphasized the importance of this concept for an understanding of early Mormonism's evolution: "Joseph Smith and other early Mormon leaders seem to have seen every part of life, and every problem put to them, as part of an integrated universe in which materialities and immaterialities were of equal standing, or indistinguishable, in God's kingdom. Religion was relevant to economics, politics, art, and science" (Leonard Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: Economic History of the Latter-Day Saints* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958; rpt. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press], 5-6). It is a view closely paralleled by the Hermetic tradition.

34. The Latin terms used were *scientia*, *intellectus*, and *mens*.

35. See Peter French, *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus* (New York: Dorset Press, 1972), 19.

36. Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, 88.

37. See Moshe Idel, "Jewish Magic from the Renaissance Period to Early Hasidism,"

creation, the adept could find reflected the innermost secrets of nature. Of course, for individuals of less lofty aspiration, the concept of correspondences devolved to particular concerns—the common magic rejected and ridiculed in subsequent and more rationalistic times.³⁸

This was an occult philosophy reborn into an age longing for spiritual regeneration, and its effects were far-reaching. Quite naturally, men and women sharing this vision sought techniques of communicating with the divine hierarchies; Kabbalah provided both a framework for seeking such intercourse and an image of the divine order awaiting encounter. The wedding of Kabbalah with the Hermetic image of man gave birth (among many offspring) to the magical traditions contrived in this period, represented by Cornelius Agrippa's immensely influential work, *De occulta philosophia*, first published in 1533. "Agrippa's occult philosophy," notes Yates, is "in fact . . . really a religion, claiming access to higher powers, and Christian since it accepts the name of Jesus as the chief wonder-working name."³⁹ Three centuries later these ideas and this text would order the magical rituals and ceremonial implements possessed by members of the Joseph Smith family on the religious frontier of early nineteenth-century America.

ALCHEMY

Essential to understanding the themes animating the Kabbalistic-Hermetic world view is a discussion of alchemy. In popular misconception, alchemy is an immature, empirical, and speculative precursor of chemistry having as its primary concern the transmutation of base metals into gold.⁴⁰ This simplification touches at only the most superficial veneer of alchemy; in stark contrast, current historical and psychological readings of the alchemical tradition suggest it had complex roots delving into the religious or philosophical subsoils of Western culture and aspirations far more subtle than the production of gold. Indeed, the dictum of medieval alchemists themselves avows this fact: *Aurum nostrum no est aurum vulgi* ("Our gold is not vulgar gold").

The historical foundations of alchemy rest in the same early Christian

in Jacob Neusner, ed., *Religion, Science and Magic in Concert and in Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 83.

38. The legacy of this strange vision, itself transmuted, was a foundation of the science leading our own age to summon from a metamorphosis of mathematical symbols the dread dream of nuclear fire.

39. Yates, *Occult Philosophy*, 46.

40. Stanislas Klossowski de Rola, *Alchemy: The Secret Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973), 7.

epoch and Gnostic cultural milieu that generated the texts of the *Corpus Hermeticum* and nurtured the early mystical roots of Kabbalah.⁴¹ As with Gnosticism and Hermeticism, after the emergence of Christian orthodoxy, alchemy submerged into the darker subsoil of Western culture until the Middle Ages. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries renewed contacts with Arabic and Greek alchemical materials, together with a reawakening interest in heterodox classical knowledge, inaugurated a new study of this ancient "Art." And to this study was eventually add-mixed Kabbalah. No less a figure than Albertus Magnus (1193-1280) became an adept of alchemy and authored numerous alchemical works. To Thomas Aquinas, the great student of Albertus and the signal theologian of the age, alchemical texts are also attributed—a fact suggesting the philosophical and religious tenor of alchemical thought.⁴² For the next four hundred years, alchemy ran like Ariadne's thread in a labyrinth of creative vision. As the Age of Reason dawned, Isaac Newton, Robert Boyle, and John Locke would secretly correspond on alchemy's occult mysteries; Newton is now well known to have penned more than a million words on the great Art.⁴³ A century and a half later its mystery would command Goethe's masterwork, *Faust*, considered by C. G. Jung "the final summit" of alchemical philosophy in its last creative extensions.⁴⁴

Central to alchemy was the declaration of the *Tabula smaragdina*: That

41. Although a few authors (the most notable being C. G. Jung) have seen alchemy as a direct offspring of classical Gnosticism, this is problematic. For a critique of this view and a summary of Gnostic elements in alchemy, see Merkur, 37-110.

42. The works of Albertus Magnus remained important to seventeenth-century alchemical scholars, as evidenced by the inclusion of two of his works in the influential compendium *Theatrum Chemicum*, vol. 2 (Usel, 1602), xxii, and vol. 4 (Strasbourg, 1613), xxxvii; another of his alchemical works was published as late as 1650: Albertus Magnus, *Philosophia naturalis* (Basel, 1650). (See Figure 9.) Several alchemical treatises were attributed to Aquinas. Though probably all pseudoepigraphic, the *Aurora Consurgens* does date to a time close to his death in 1274 and could have been by his hand (as von Franz believes) or from the school surrounding him. Marie-Louise von Franz, *Aurora Consurgens: A Document Attributed to Thomas Aquinas on the Problem of Opposites in Alchemy* (New York: Princeton University Press, Bollingen Series LXXVII, 1966).

43. Richard S. Westfall, *The Life of Isaac Newton*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 141-6. Frank E. Manuel, *A Portrait of Isaac Newton* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 160-90. A summary, with references, on the alchemical studies of Locke and Newton appears in Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 10. Yates suggests, "Behind the great esoteric movement typified by Newton's achievements in the fields of mathematics and physics, there was also an esoteric movement, connected with the exoteric movement through the importance which it attached to number, but developing this through another approach to nature, the approach through alchemy" (*Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 204).

44. Edward F. Edinger, *Goethe's Faust: Notes for a Jungian Commentary* (Toronto: Inner City Books, 1990), 9.

which is below is above, that above is also below. In the alchemical view, matter, the substance below, was the compliment and reflection of the divine realm above. This perception was sometimes daringly extended in the face of Christian dogma to assert that matter was eternal and uncreated, a complement and mirror to the equally divine and uncreated spirit. As Jung observed, "Matter in alchemy is material and spiritual, and spirit spiritual and material."⁴⁵ Within matter resided a light, the *lumen naturae*, which was both a reflection and eternal compliment of heaven's celestial glory, the *lumen dei*. This strange perception was amplified in an array of alchemical metaphors; the core image was a *complexio oppositorum*—expressed by dualities such as "light and dark," "material and spiritual," "wet and dry," "sun and moon," "manifest and occult," "feminine and masculine"—seeking transformative, salvific, and ultimately creative union. This mending of divisions, above and below, required a work in proxy to be performed by living men and women. Unaided by the alchemist—and his mystical sister and feminine companion—it could not be accomplished. (See Figure 3.)

The treasure sought by the alchemist was often termed the "philosopher's stone" (the antecedent of Joseph Smith's "seer's stone"): the pearl of great price, the stone rejected by the builder, the *filius philosophorum*.⁴⁶ Though the alchemical transformation was often described as a transmutation of base metal into gold—and though early alchemists had experimental laboratories and engaged in empirical exploration—the late alchemical literature reveals that ultimately it was the alchemist's own human baseness which sought transmutation into

45. C. G. Jung, *Alchemical Studies* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), 140. The concept of matter as uncreated caused considerable tension during the early Christian centuries, the period of alchemy's earliest evolution. Augustine attributed the idea to the Manichaeans (*De Actis cum Felice*, 1:18) and specifically attacked the concept of co-eternal matter and spirit expressed by Simon (*Contra Faustum*, XXI, 1, in Willis Barnstone, ed., *The Other Bible: Jewish Pseudepigrapha, Christian Apocrypha, Gnostic Scripture* [San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987], 680). That a figure named "Faust" would subsequently emerge as the archetypal literary image of the alchemist is a complex and interesting historical side note to Augustine's comments. Hippolytus attacked this same heresy expressed by the Gnostic Hermogenes (a name meaning "born of Hermes"): "God created all things from coexistent and ungenerated matter" (*Refutation of All Heresies*, 7:10, 10:24). The concept of the increatum as the mother of all created things is fully developed in later alchemy, particularly in the work of Paracelsus; for a discussion, see C. G. Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, 2d ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), 320-23.

46. That the stone was the "pearl of great price" is evidenced by the early sixteenth-century Aldine edition of a treatise by Giano Luciano, *The New Pearl of Great Price: A Treatise Concerning the Treasure and Most Precious Stone of the Philosophers . . .*, trans. A. E. Waite (London, 1894). I know of no association between this metaphor and the Mormon *Pearl of Great Price*, first published in London in 1852.

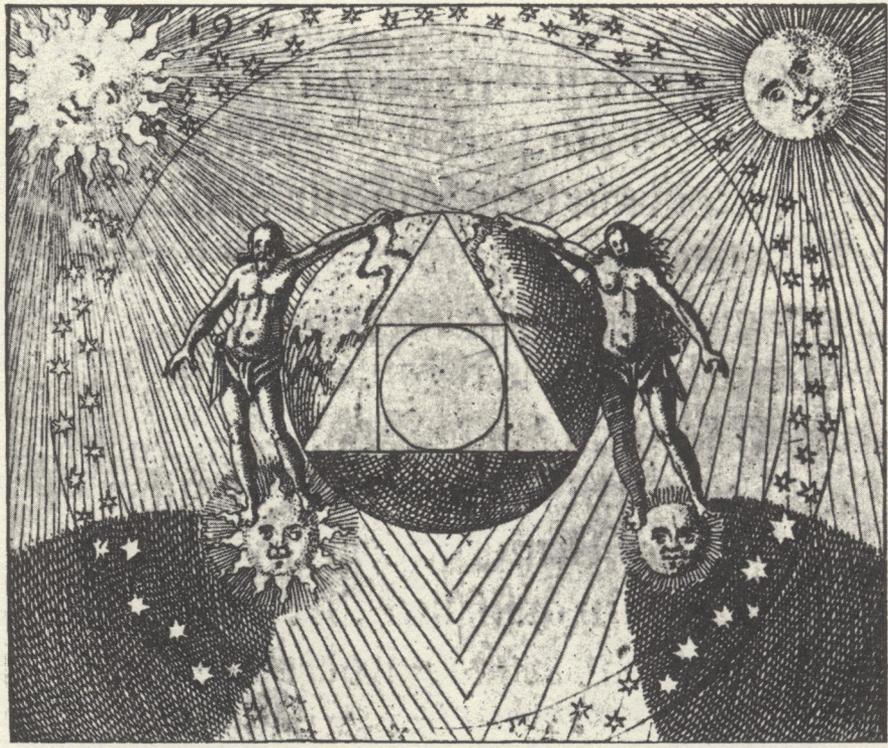


Figure 3. The world within the complexio oppositorum, a creative embrace of masculine and feminine natures, here accompanied by their symbolic counterparts, the Sun and the Moon. These symbols combined on the façade of the Nauvoo temple to embody in sacred architecture a vision of Divinity unique to Hermetism, Rosicrucianism, and alchemy. From a seventeenth-century alchemical work. Herbrandt Jamsthaler, Viatorium spagyricum (Frankfurt, 1625).

something divine. Thus the alchemist was a necessary agent of creative transmutation: a priest in a hallowed, ancient priesthood; a son of the Widow; a knower of creation's ancient secret; a digger after hidden treasure.⁴⁷ The heart of this tradition was embodied in its ultimate mysteries: the *hierosgamos*, or "sacred wedding," and the *mysterium coniunctionis*, a mysterious union of opposites that eternally wed male to female, matter to spirit, above to below, *microcosmos* to *macrocosmos*, humankind to divinity.

A LEGACY OF OCCULT SOCIETIES: ROSICRUCIANS AND MASONS

By the seventeenth century, the creative mix of Kabbalistic, Hermetic, and alchemical religious philosophies had nurtured among important sectors of Europe's intellectual elite broad aspirations for a more general religious reformation, even a restoration of the ancient and true religion. Insightful individuals at the creative edge of the culture judged their times and urgently sought an alternative to the vehement Reformation and Counter-Reformation madness which would soon bathe Europe in blood. One might easily comprehend how this anxious age would be excited by the mysterious announcement of a noble, secret, and ancient brotherhood calling itself the fraternity of the Rose Cross, summoning the elite of Europe to join in a new reformation.⁴⁸ Thus began the Rosicrucian enlightenment.

In 1614 the first of the enigmatic documents that would become known as the "Rosicrucian manifestos" was published at Cassel, Germany. Titled the *Fama Fraternitatis, or a Discovery of the Fraternity of the Most Noble Order of the Rosy Cross*, this strange work was a

trumpet call which was to echo throughout Germany, reverberating thence through Europe. God has revealed to us in the latter days a more perfect knowledge, both of his Son, Jesus Christ, and of Nature. He has raised men endowed with great wisdom who might renew all arts and reduce them all to perfection, so that man might understand his own nobleness, and why

47. In alchemy, the stone was the "orphan"; the term "son of the widow," now associated with Masonry, may be of Manichaeian origin. For an evaluation of this theme in alchemy, see Jung, *Mysterium Coniunctionis*, 17 ff.

48. The best recent scholarly summary of the Rosicrucian movement is in Francis Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972). Still useful, though dated, is Arthur Edward Waite's *The Real History of the Rosicrucians* (London: George Redway, 1887). In these comments I rely heavily on Yates and her analysis of the movement, but I emphasize that all scholarship on this realm of history—including the work of Yates—involves conjecture and interpretation.

he is called Microcosmus, and how far this knowledge extendeth into Nature.⁴⁹

The *Fama* proceeded to introduce the history of a mysterious individual called "C. R." Born in 1378, C. R. was the founding father of the Rosicrucian order, a man who had labored long, though unrecognized, towards the general reformation now declared. C. R. (or Christian Rosencreutz as he was subsequently identified) had been an "illuminated man." As a sixteen-year-old boy he had traveled to the East where "the wise received him (as he himself witnesseth) not as a stranger, but as one whom they had long expected; they called him by his name, and showed him other secrets," including an important text called only "the book M." The boy became skilled in language and translation, "so that the year following he translated the book M into good Latin, which he afterwards brought with him." (The "book M" continued to play an important part in the Rosicrucian mythos as one of its treasures; of course, a vague outline of the story told by Joseph Smith might here also be discerned.) C. R. then traveled across Africa to Spain,

hoping well (that since) he himself had so well and so profitably spent his time in his travel, that the learned in Europe would highly rejoice with him, and begin to rule and order all their studies according to those sound and sure foundations. He therefore conferred with the learned in Spain. . . . But it was to them a laughing matter, and being a new thing unto them, they feared that their great name should be lessened, if they should now again begin to learn and acknowledge their many years errors.

Rejected, Brother C. R. eventually returned to Germany and quietly established his order among those few men who "through especial revelation should be received into this Fraternity." Among these men alone were shared and transmitted the secrets of the order. After death, C. R.'s body was concealed in a tomb and eventually forgotten; but this lost vault, declared the *Fama*, had around the year 1604 been again found, opened, and entered. Within its miraculously lighted geometric confines C. R.'s followers discovered an altar, a "brass plate" upon which were engraved mysterious words and glyphs, several records of the order, and the book M. And now, the *Fama* continued,

like as our door was after so many years wonderfully discovered, also there shall be opened a door to Europe (when the wall is removed) which already doth begin to appear, and with great desire is expected of many.

49. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 42.

. . . Howbeit we know after a time there will now be a general reformation, both of divine and human things. . . . Our Philosophy also is not a new invention, but as Adam after his fall hath received it, and as Moses and Solomon used it.⁵⁰

Upon close examination the *Fama Fraternitatis* presents itself more as an allegory than as actual history, and this was probably its intent. The Rosicrucian mythos was connected closely with the mysteries of alchemy where allegorical legends of buried treasures miraculously rediscovered were particularly prevalent.⁵¹ However, the story was generally interpreted literally. And the excitement it incited grew the following year with the publication of the second Rosicrucian manifesto, the *Confessio Fraternitatis*.⁵² This second manifesto repeated the message of the first, interpreting and intensifying it, and added a powerful apocalyptic and prophetic note: a great millennial reformation was at hand, and with it, a return to an Adamic knowledge revealed by God:

We ought therefore here observe well, and make it known unto everyone, that God hath certainly and most assuredly concluded to send and grant to the world before her end, which presently thereupon shall ensue, such truth, light, life and glory, as the first man Adam had So then, the secret hid writings and characters are most necessary for all such things What before times hath been seen, heard, and smelt, now finally shall be spoken and uttered forth, when the World shall awake out of her heavy and drowsy sleep, and with an open heart, bare-headed, and bare-foot, shall merrily and joyfully meet the new arising Sun.⁵³

One year later, in 1616, a third and final Rosicrucian document appeared, *The Chemical Wedding of Christian Rosencreutz*. Cast in the form of a long allegory in alchemical symbolism, it bid the wise of Europe approach a sacred royal marriage, a *hierosgamos* of mysterious mystical intent:

This day, this day, this, this
The Royal Wedding is.

50. All quotations above from the *Fama* are from the English translation of the manifestos published by Thomas Vaughn in 1652, as corrected and presented by Yates in her appendix to *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 238-51. The texts of the original Vaughn translations, as well as the 1690 Foxcroft translation of the *Chymical Wedding*, which Yates omits, appear in Waite.

51. See Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 49.

52. *Ibid.*, 45. The full title, as given by Vaughn, is *Confessio Fraternitatis or The Confession of the Laudable Fraternity of the Most Honorable Order of the Rosy Cross, Written to All the Learned of Europe*, in Yates, 251.

53. *Confessio Fraternitatis*, in Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 256-57.

Art thou thereto by birth inclined,
 And unto joy of God design'd
 Then may'st thou to the mountain tend
 Whereon three stately Temples stand,
 And there see all from end to end.⁵⁴

The Rosicrucian manifestos caused a furor throughout Europe and England. Individuals espousing sympathy with Rosicrucian ideals published numerous works lauding the brotherhood's purposes and petitioning acceptance into the order. But to the dismay of all, the Rosicrucian brotherhood never declared itself, never accepted or acknowledged the many aspirants to its fellowship, and indeed perhaps never even really (at least outwardly) existed. While history has identified both the author of the manifestos—Johann Valentin Andreae—and a wider group of individuals sharing in "Rosicrucian" aspirations, the deeper sources and purposes of the movement remain enshrouded in layers of mystery and supposition.

Whatever their actual intent or origins, the manifestos crystallized a broad preexisting alternative, reformative inclination in European society. This was a new/old religious vision steeped in Hermetic, Kabbalistic, alchemical, and in the broader definition, Gnostic, symbolism; a mythos that had been brewing in the pregnant retort of European creativity over two prior centuries.⁵⁵ The tradition's "doctrines"—imbued as they were with an experimental, experiential, creative, and immensely personal vision—found expression in a peculiar symbolic or hieroglyphic language, an idiom alchemical in nature but ever more religious-philosophic than physical-chemical in intent. And interwoven in all was a new working of the old sacred mystery of Kabbalah. This infusion of Kabbalah was aided in the later seventeenth century by Knorr von Rosenroth's translation into Latin of several key Kabbalistic works, including large sections of the *Zohar*—an effort that was immensely influential in the literate circles devoted to these studies.⁵⁶ There followed in the mid to late

54. This text is from the first English translation, *The Hermetic Romance: or The Chymical Wedding*, trans. E. Foxcroft (London, 1690), reprinted in Waite, 101.

55. So proclaimed the *Fama*, "[F]or Europe is with child and will bring forth a strong child, who shall stand in need of a great godfather's gift."

56. Christian Knorr von Rosenroth (d. 1689) traveled widely throughout Europe. Having been greatly impressed by the writings of Jacob Boehme, he later influenced the Cambridge philosopher Henry More, the Rosicrucian mystic Franciscus Mercurius Van Helmont, and the philosopher Leibnitz. During his last two decades, his role as a senior official and close adviser to Prince Christian August in Sulzbach, Bavaria, gave him prominence in broader cultural and political circles as well. His *Kabbalah Denudata, The Kabbalah Unveiled, or The Transcendental, Metaphysical, and Theological Teachings of the Jews* was published in Sulzbach in two large volumes, 1677-84. Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 416-18. A



*Figure 4. Hermes Trismegistus (identified by his traditional priestly robes and head-dress) indicates the twin principles, allegorically represented by the Sun and the Moon, conjoined in the divine fire of the complexio oppositorum. In his right hand he holds an armillary, indicative of the celestial agencies indispensable to this mysterious, transformative, and creative union. Michael Maier, *Symbola aureae mensae* (Frankfurt, 1617).*



*Figure 5. A beehive (far right) is juxtaposed with an oven (left) within which the transmutation of matter into the "stone of the philosopher's" takes place. "False alchemists" (in the center) who misunderstand the Divine nature of this work and seek vulgar gold are compared to useless drones. From an alchemical work published at the height of the Rosicrucian enlightenment: Michael Maier, *Examien fucorum* (Frankfurt: Nicholas Hoffman for Theodor de Bry, 1617). The bee and beehive probably entered the symbolic vocabulary of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries through the rediscovery of third-century Neoplatonist Porphyry's *De Antro Nympharum* (On the Cave of the Nymphs). Porphyry associated Homer's *Cave of the Nymphs* with the cave-temples of an ancient mystery religion and discussed the symbolic meanings of bees and honeycombs. The web and beehive subsequently identified the royal patron of the Rosicrucian enlightenment, Fredrick V of Bohemia. The beehive entered Freemasonry as one of ten emblems given to a Master Mason and was associated with the motto "industry" (Richardson's *Monitor of Freemasonry*, 40). After Fredrick V, the next political kingdom to which these symbols were widely linked was Brigham Young's Kingdom of Deseret. The beehive and the motto "Industry" remain today the emblem and motto of its successor, the State of Utah.*

seventeenth century, particularly in England, an alchemical renaissance. During this period the Hermetic "religion" of alchemy was augmented by Kabbalistic imagery and fermented by a high spiritual quest for ultimate, individual knowledge of God. It was this expansive alchemical Hermetic philosophy into which Isaac Newton and his fellows in the new Royal Society delved.⁵⁷

The arcane Hermetic books produced by Christian philosophers during this period circulated widely among the elite societies and intellects of Europe. These were works composed in the idiom of symbolic language, replete with allegorical pictures hinting at humankind's noble mystery.⁵⁸ The "hieroglyphic" engravings often play at the theme of the *complexio oppositorum*, opposites seeking union, a motif conveyed by (or accompanied with) the arcane symbols of Sun and Moon (see Figure 4). In several figures trumpets herald the new dispensation, an image offered by the second Rosicrucian manifesto.⁵⁹ Emblematic of humankind having again remembered God's messengers, angels ascend and descend from heaven.⁶⁰ We repeatedly find illustrated a sacred wedding of King and Queen, their holy conjunction being often pictured as a carnal coupling which leads through hermaphroditic forms to a new and regal heavenly being. Here too we

complete English translation of this important work has yet to be accomplished, but an excerpt appeared in S. L. McGregor Mather, *The Kabbalah Unveiled* (London, 1887).

57. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 200-202.

58. This was in line with the declared Rosicrucian program: "Also we do testify that under the name of Chymia many books and pictures are set forth in Contumeliam gloriae Die. . . . And we pray all learned men to take heed of these kind of books" (*Fama Fraternitatis*, in Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 250). The *Confessio* explains further that the books are "so we verily foreknow and foresee the darkness of obscurations of the Church, and how long they shall last. From the which characters of letters we have borrowed our magic writing, and have found out, and made, a new language for ourselves, in the which withall is expressed and declared the nature of all things. . . . We speak unto you by parables, but would willingly bring you to the right, simple, easy and ingenuous exposition, understanding, declaration and knowledge of all secrets" (*Confessio Fraternitatis*, in Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 257, 259). A detailed survey of the evolution of this hieroglyphic tradition during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, along with reproductions of its principal works, appears in Stanislas Klossowski de Rola, *The Golden Game: Alchemical Engravings of the Seventeenth Century* (New York: George Braziller, 1988). A large collection of alchemical engravings and pictures, along with a complex historical and psychological critique, is found in C. G. Jung's *Psychology and Alchemy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968).

59. See *Confessio Fraternitatis*, in Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 254-55.

60. Writes Elias Ashmole, "And certainly he to whom the whole course of Nature lyes open rejoyceth not so much that he can make Gold or Silver or the Divells [devils] to become subject to him, as that hee sees the Heavens open, the Angells of God Ascending and Descending, and that his own name is fairely written in the Book of Life" ("*Prolegomenia*," in *Theatrum Chemicum Bitannicum* [London, 1652]).

encounter a symbolic beehive. The industry this beehive metaphorically bids, however, was misunderstood in latter days. In its primary context the "industry" was a secret, laborious concern of alchemical transmutation: a transformation of dark matter into a pure and vital golden elixir—an alchemical opus performed within the alembic "hive" of the soul (see Figure 5). Intimately associated and reigning over all the emblems of this occult hieroglyphic tongue was the supreme "All-Seeing Eye" of God, the sacred emblem of a perpetual divine and uncreated intelligence, human-kind's single unfailing light (see Figure 6). This time, these emblematic books, this philosophy: these are the propagating sources of the symbols finally carved in stone upon Joseph's Nauvoo temple. To this Hermetic-alchemical tradition and its unique vision alone did they pertain, from it alone came an assertion of their sacred import. Early Mormonism's affinity for and incorporation of the same symbolic motifs strongly evidences its intrinsic link with the Hermetic tradition.⁶¹ (See Figures 7 and 8.)

The import of myth and metaphor as a vehicle of the Hermetic-Kabbalistic tradition cannot be overstated. In Gnostic studies the function of myth and symbol as a conduit for the expression of primary vision is well accepted, and classical Gnosticism is now usually classified in terms of its mythic motifs. Likewise, within the Hermetic-Kabbalistic tradition the intricate interplay of "above and below" bred a unique matrix of myths: stories and symbols which conveyed by metaphor the savor of a primary and encompassing vision of God and humanity. Integrated and developed over several hundred years, this Hermetic-Kabbalistic mythos reached maturation during the seventeenth century. It is during the early and middle years of this key century that the mythos most fully flowered, enveloping the separate traditions of Kabbalah, classical Hermeticism, and alchemy.

A creative mix of symbols and stories played variations on core archetypal themes during this period. Detailed examination of these is beyond this essay. But there is one image which runs as a pervasive subtext, defining the tradition's fuller mythos: the motif of the *mysterium coniunctionis*. On earth and in heaven two paths intertwined; Man and God echoed to each other a flux of conjunctions. Matter and spirit, light and dark, masculine and feminine: all mingled in the mystery, face to face. An array of opposites was personified as vehicles for the metaphor of this conjunction. To these was linked the companion image of the *hierogamos*. It was a mystery foreshadowed by man and woman in first conjunction as Adam and Eve, proxies of creation's primary conundrum. It became the sacred

61. Upon a dwindling remnant of Utah's nineteenth-century Mormon façades these symbols still remain. See Allen D. Roberts, "Where are the All-Seeing Eyes?" *Sunstone* 4 (May-June 1979): 22-37.

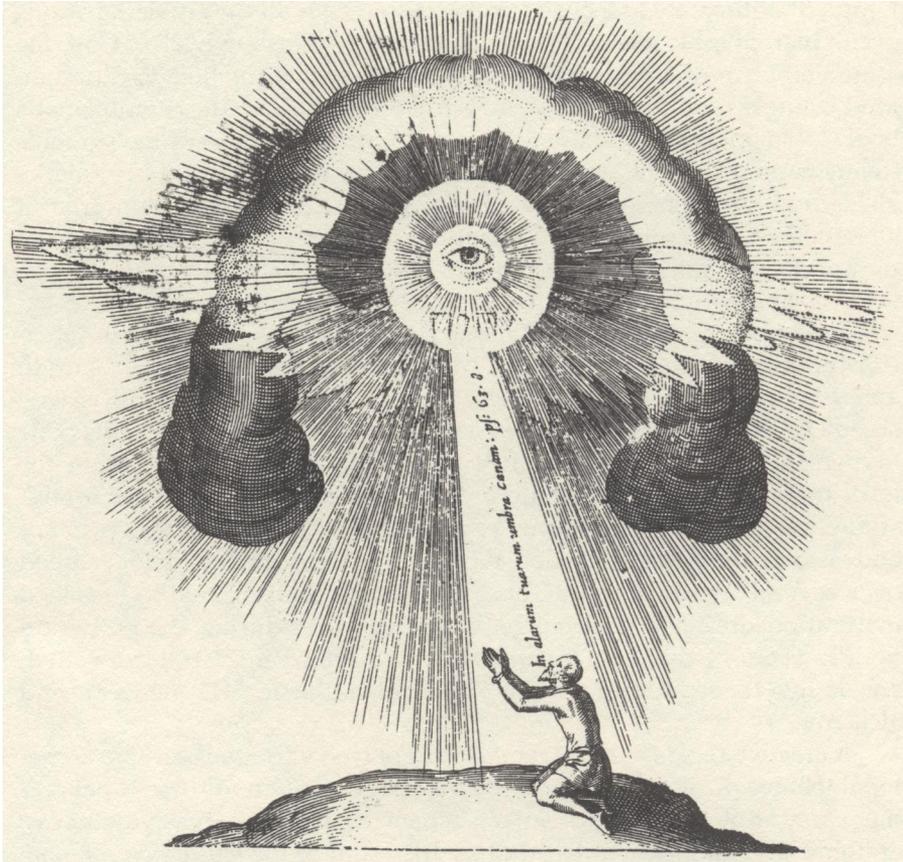


Figure 6. The All-Seeing Eye of God as it appears on the title page of Robert Fludd's 1621 treatise on theosophy and Kabbalah. The words ascending from the prophet, "In alarum tuarum umbra canam," directly refer to a theme in the Rosicrucian *Fama Fraternitatis*, "Under the shadow of thy wings will I rejoice" (Ps. 63:7). Robert Fludd, *Utriusque Cosmi Maioris . . . Tomi Secundi Tractatus Secundus* (Frankfurt: Johann Theodore de Bry, 1621).

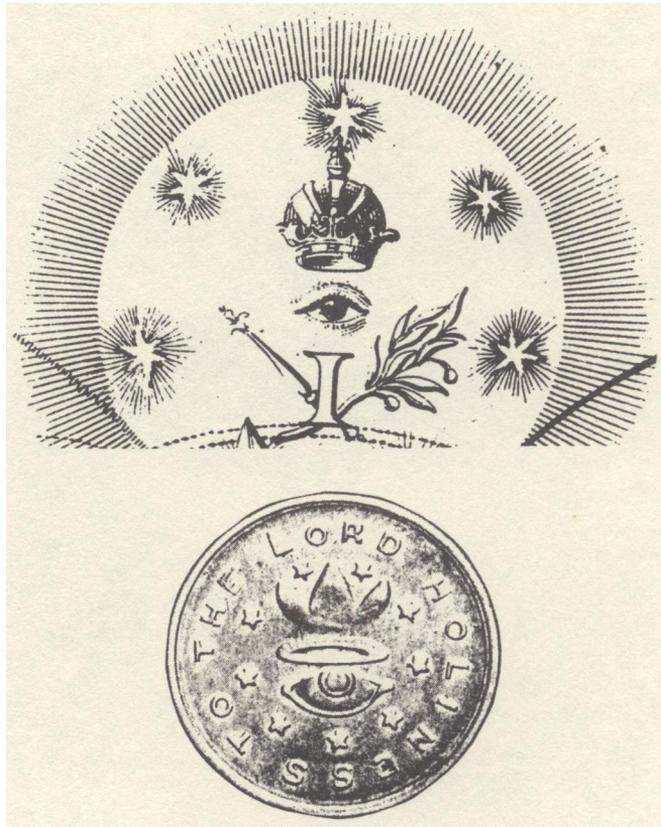


Figure 7. "The Seal of the Priesthood" consists of a phrygian cap or crown over the All-Seeing Eye of God; the private seal of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles is composed of this same emblem surrounded by sixteen letters, an abbreviation for "Private Seal of the Twelve Apostles, Priests of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, in the Last Dispensation All Over the World" (bottom). The seal was apparently first engraven in Nauvoo under the guidance of John Taylor and Brigham Young in January 1845 (see Dean C. Jesse, ed., "Nauvoo Dairy of John Taylor," Brigham Young University Studies 23 [Summer 1983]: 34). It subsequently appeared on the first gold coins minted in Utah in 1849 and 1850, as illustrated here. This same rare symbol is found in a superior position on the title page of the 1682 edition of Jacob Boehme's collected Theosophical Works published at Amsterdam, a book important to German Pietists, strongly influenced by Rosicrucianism and by Boehme's kabbalistically toned writings, who migrated to Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century (top). Jacob Böhme, *Theosophische Wercken* (Amsterdam, 1682).

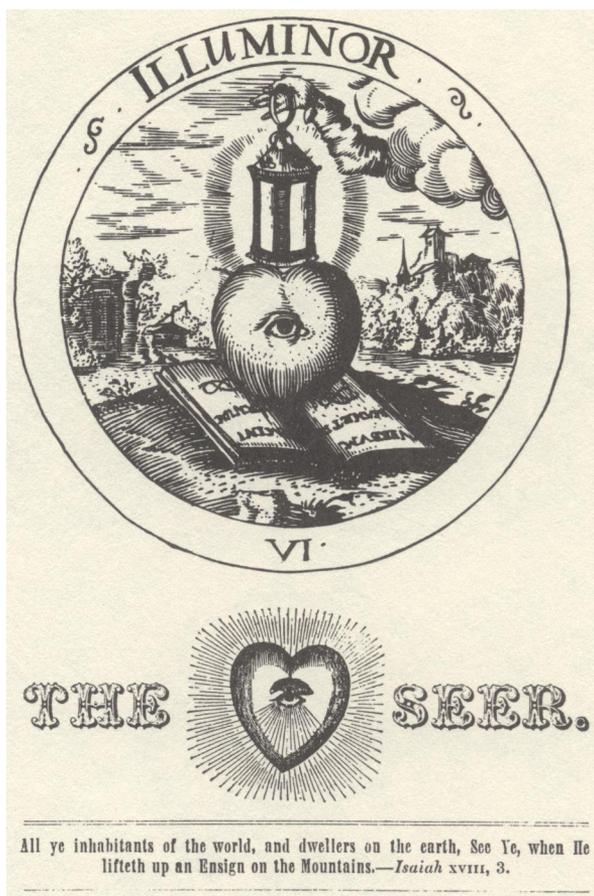


Figure 8. Mormon Apostle and theologian Orson Pratt chose this unusual emblem (an All-Seeing Eye within a heart) for the banner head of his paper, *The Seer*, published at Washington, D.C., in 1853-54 (bottom). The figure is a near-exact replication of a Rosicrucian emblem from Daniel Cramer's Latin work, *The True Society of Jesus and the Rosy Cross*, published at Frankfurt in 1617 (top). This small work contained forty allegorical engravings developing Rosicrucian themes, each associated with a scriptural verse and a motto. To this emblem was associated the verse "In thy light shall we see light" (Ps. 36:9) and the motto "I see the light in your light, let darkness be far away. He is wise who gains wisdom from the book of the Lord" (see Daniel Cramer, *Iesu et Roseæ Crucis Vera: Decades quatuor emblematum sacrorum* . . . [Frankfurt, 1617], in, *The Rosicrucian Emblems of Daniel Cramer* [Grand Rapids, MI: Phanes Press, 1991], 29). The image of the Eye within the Heart again appeared in the 1682 edition of Boehme's collected works (see frontispiece to *Von Christi Testamenten*, in Jacob Böhme, *Theosophische Wercken* [Amsterdam, 1682]).

wedding of a King and Queen, the *Rex* and *Regina* of alchemy (see Figure 9).⁶² Of course, there followed a parallel theme of the great mystery's knower, the philosopher-priest-king who was the human mediator of conjunction. And playing an important role in the specific form of several motifs (particularly those within the occult fraternities) came variations on the story of Christian Rosencreutz, the book M, the sealed text awaiting translation, the hidden tomb, and the lost buried treasure.

Perhaps in imitation of the mysterious Rose Cross brothers, and certainly in rational response to political exigencies, reformative religious aspirations increasingly inclined during the subsequent century towards the formation of occult brotherhoods and societies. Incongruent as it seems, this expansion of occult interests appeared hand-in-hand with the so-called "Age of Enlightenment." A group of highly informed Englishmen influenced by, or perhaps sharing in, Rosicrucian aspirations and symbolic language probably engendered the first secret Masonic lodges during the mid-seventeenth century.⁶³ The earliest generally accepted documentation of a Masonic initiation is found in the diary of Elias Ashmole in 1646. Ashmole (1617-92) was an influential scholar and collector of books, a founding member of the Royal Society, and a man with an unquestionably extensive knowledge of Rosicrucian materials. Among the documents preserved in his impressive library are the texts of the Rosicrucian manifestos carefully copied in his own hand; to these manuscripts Ashmole had appended a letter, also in his own hand but apparently addressed to no one, praising the Rosicrucian fraternity and petitioning admission.⁶⁴

By the late seventeenth century, several occult Hermetic brotherhoods, including Masonic and Rosicrucian societies, existed in England. The relationship these fraternities had to the first Grand Masonic Lodge organized at London in 1717 remains unclear. Although noting that "Masonry underwent gradual changes throughout a period of years stretching from well before 1717 to well after that date," modern authorities on Masonic history usually mark the beginnings of "Speculative Masonry" to the decade following organization of this first Grand Lodge.⁶⁵ Not long after this, around 1750, a specifically Rosicrucian order had been incorporated into

62. Jung gives extended discussion and documentation to each of these specific themes in *Mysterium Coniunctionis*.

63. Yates touches some of these issues in her chapter "Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry" in *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 206-19. For further discussion of the Hermetic tradition's influence on Masonry, see Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, 214, 414-16, 423, and *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 303-305.

64. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 210.

65. Douglas Knoop and G. Jones, *The Genesis of Freemasonry: An Account of the Rise and Development of Freemasonry in Its Operative, Accepted, and Early Speculative Phases* (Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press, 1949), 274.



Figure 9. The alchemical King and Queen, Rex and Regina, standing upon the dual eternal principals represented by the Sun and the Moon, join in the holy wedding, the hierogamos. The image of this eternal, transformative union was perhaps mirrored in Joseph Smith's ritual of celestial marriage. Trismosin, "Splendor solis" (ms., 1582).

French Masonry. Within the initiatory structure of the occult lodges, allegorical “mystery plays” were used to convey, through symbolic ritual, the grounding mythos of Masonry—a mythos which appears to have been fundamentally Hermetic-Kabbalistic.⁶⁶ Though several renditions of Masonic history still emphasize the role of earlier “craft guilds” as a source of Freemasonry, relatively little evidence supports this claim. Even if one grants the existence of some linkage of eighteenth-century Masonry with earlier craft guilds, this does not diminish the molding force Hermeticism, alchemy and Rosicrucianism had on the fraternity’s symbolic and philosophic development (see Figure 10). Simply put: Eighteenth-century Masonry was forcefully shaped by esoteric Hermetic-Kabbalistic traditions. While emphasizing this, I allow that several Masonic Lodges eventually evolved with less esoteric underpinnings and much simpler fraternal intentions.

Taking note of the increasing influence of Freemasonry in politics and society, German historians began attempting during the latter part of the eighteenth century to trace the historical roots of Masonry. Evidence compiled during this period suggested those roots led not to King Solomon or the craft guilds, but to Rosicrucianism. This view was in wide circulation by the early nineteenth century, and in 1824 the prominent English essayist Thomas De Quincey published a detailed restatement in *London Magazine*.⁶⁷ While A. E. Waite rejected this assertion in 1887,⁶⁸ Frances Yates recently restated a strong case for it. “The European phenomenon of Freemasonry,” she concluded in 1972, “almost certainly was connected with the Rosicrucian movement.”⁶⁹ Whatever judgment one favors, it remains clear that during the period of Joseph Smith’s life Masonry was not uncommonly believed to be associated with a Rosicrucian legacy of alchemical, Kabbalistic, and Hermetic lore and its reformative religious aspirations.⁷⁰

66. The allegorical nature of Masonic rituals is thoroughly evidenced in records of the eighteenth century. When these the rituals took form is a matter of supposition; Gould posits an origin of the Masonic rituals in the seventeenth century, but subsequent historians have suggested that the rituals as currently recognizable originated during the 1720s (see Michael W. Homer, “‘Similarity of Priesthood in Masonry’: The Relationship between Freemasonry and Mormonism,” in this issue of *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*; Robert Freke Gould, *The History of Freemasonry*, 4 vols. [New York: John C. Yorston & Co., 1885-89]; Knoep and Jones, 274-75, 321-22).

67. Material published in German by J. G. Buhle in 1804 served as the foundation for De Quincey’s work “Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origins of the Rosicrucians and the Freemasons,” reprinted in *Collected Works*, ed. David Masson (Edinburgh, 1890), 13:384-448.

68. Waite, 402-407.

69. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 218.

70. This association, though recognized, was not cast in a positive light by the wider culture. Quinn provides several examples of American anti-Masonic material from this period associating Masons, Kabbalah, and Rosicrucians in a negative context (164-65).

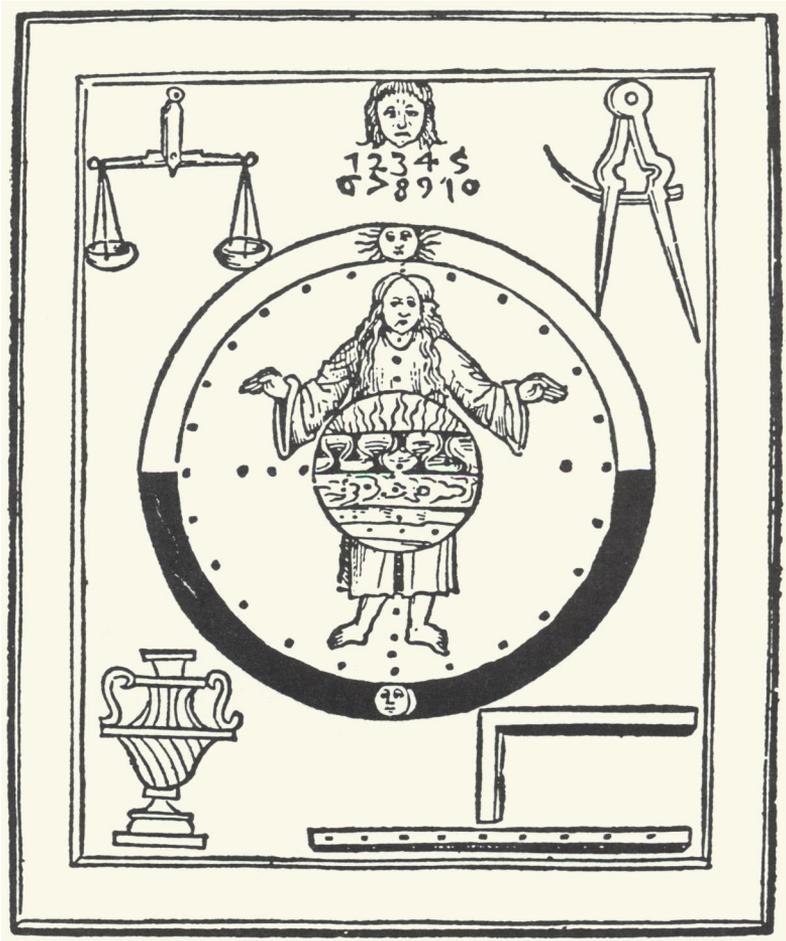


Figure 10. The 1650 edition of a thirteenth-century alchemical work by Albertus Magnus contains one of the earliest allegorical representations of key symbols later subsumed by both Masonry and Mormonism: the compass and square. Christ as Adam Kadmon appears within a sphere of light and dark, marked with the ubiquitous Sun and Moon, suggesting the *complexio oppositorum* manifest in creation. Within his body are encircled the four primal elements: fire, air, water, and earth. In the four corners are placed symbols of the divine work: the compass, the square and ruler, the scale of justice, and (perhaps) the vessel of chrism—an anointing oil of mercy balanced against the scale of justice. At the top appear the ten sacred numbers (represented also by the ten Sefiroth of Kabbalah) by which creation was mediated. Albertus Magnus, *Philosophia naturalis* (Basel, 1650).

The eighteenth century was a fertile breeding ground for occult societies, almost all of which had groundings in a Hermetic-Kabbalistic framework and upon a bedrock of Masonry and Rosicrucianism. Students unfamiliar with their history too commonly assume a consistency and cohesion in these movements, or confound them with the charitable fraternities that are their distant modern cousins. On the contrary, a creative heterogeneity and religion-making mysticism was rampant among these groups.⁷¹ Existing orders and lodges were not uncommonly transmuted by the force of strange individuals, new visions, and claims of ever more enlightened, ancient origins. Examples come easily: Adam Weishaupt who sought through his Masonic order of the Illuminati, founded in 1776, to transform German politics and society; the mysterious Comte de Saint-Germain (ca. 1710-85), a devotee of alchemy and occult arts, who widely influenced continental lodges of Masonry; Count Alessandro di Cagliostro (ca. 1743-95) who blended Egyptian and Kabbalistic symbolism into his Egyptian Masonic rite, an order which included men, women, and rumors of ritual sexual liaisons⁷²; Martinez de Pasqually (ca. 1715-79) and his Order of *Les Elus Cohen* (the Elect Priests), claiming a Kabbalistic, Masonic restoration of the ancient priesthood of Judaism, a notion echoed in other esoteric manifestations of Masonry; and Louis Claude de St. Martin (1743-1803), disciple of de Pasqually, who long remained an influence upon French occultism. To these must be added the brilliant Swedish seer Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772), founder of a religious movement that touched esoteric Masonry.⁷³ Though several visionary figures stood in this rank of illuminates, eventually the broader manifestations of the movement attracted

Much of this material probably took form from the evidence provided by Buhle and De Quincey. Links to Rosicrucians and Kabbalah were also variously affirmed in esoteric Masonic myth.

71. In his nineteenth-century encyclopedia of Freemasonry, Macoy gives a partial summary of these, listing forty-eight rites or systems of symbolical ceremonies designed to convey "Masonic ideals"; the vast majority of these originating between about 1750 and 1810 (Robert Macoy, *General History, Cyclopedic and Dictionary of Freemasonry* [New York: Masonic Publishing Co., 1872], reprinted as *A Dictionary of Freemasonry* [New York: Bell Publishing, 1989], 326-29). As Ellwood notes in his review of the movement, "There was no unity of rite or structure among groups using that title [of Mason]. The name was immensely popular, and so was adopted by any sort of society with a secret handshake and pretension to ancient lore. These ranged from the Swedenborgian rite lodges . . . to the inimitable Cagliostro" (Robert S. Ellwood, Jr., *Religious and Spiritual Groups in Modern America* [Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973], 64).

72. Massimo Introvigne, "Arcana Arcanorum: Cagliostro's Legacy in Contemporary Magical Movements," *Syzygy: Journal of Alternative Religion and Culture* 1 (Spring/Summer 1992): 117-35.

73. A review of these various movements is in Ellwood, 60-69.

more than a few opportunistic charlatans. Separating the two is no easier for historians today than it was for their contemporaries.

In summary, common threads of a specific mythos weave through these movements and societies, even if they are not of one common cloth. In the occult inclinations of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries one finds a recurrent theme of restoration: restoration of a more perfect, ancient order; of forgotten priesthood; of secret mysteries and rituals; and of lost occult words and powers. Often there mingles in the visionary fabric a practical thread: Man is intrinsically and eternally imbued with uncreated divine intelligence, an elixir by which he may alchemically transmute the dark material world—including its social and political structures—and thus restore Zion upon the earth. It was an opus reflected in allegories, glyphs, and symbols, by a canon reopened and reinterpreted, and in ancient lost books again found: buried, hidden, golden treasures all awaiting men and women who would delve. For seers of this age the tasks at hand were personal, but by nature the inner opus was reflected outwardly: *microcosmos* and *macrocosmos* were inextricably linked. This broad world view engendered laborers in an ancient craft, builders of a new temple—a mystical structure ordered above and below by living links of light and vision—and in the Holy of Holies of this sanctum they sought a sacred wedding of transformative union, a *mysterium coniunctionis*. It was in sum a Hermetic-Kabbalistic mythos, deeply admixed with alchemy, reformed by Rosicrucianism, and conjoined with a Mason's compass and square. And at its esoteric core there shone a distant Gnostic spark.

HERMETICISM AND THE MAGIC WORLD VIEW

A decade ago Mormon historians were forced to confront the subject of Joseph Smith and the occult or magic world view, a confrontation caused in part by the "discovery" of the so-called "Salamander" letter. Replete with references to seer stones, treasures, and enchantments, the letter also related that Joseph Smith obtained the Book of Mormon not from an angel, but from a magical white salamander which transfigured itself into a spirit.⁷⁴ Though the letter was subsequently proved a forgery, for two years historians labored under the assumption that the letter and several companion forgeries were genuine. In the wake of these events the prophet Joseph Smith's spiritual roots came under a careful scrutiny. Ironically, investigators soon brought to the surface a wealth of unquestionably genuine material—much of it long available but either misunderstood or ignored—substantiating that Smith and his family had a variety of interactions with

74. Linda Sillitoe and Allen Roberts, *Salamander: The Story of the Mormon Forgery Murders* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 183-360.

non-orthodox Western religious traditions generally termed “occult.” Repercussions from this difficult period in Mormon studies are still playing out.

Cast into the realm of occult history, historians tried to make sense of this “occult” Joseph Smith and early Mormonism. The general interpretation eventually adopted by many investigators structured Joseph Smith’s links to the occult within the sociological context of New England folk magic and its “magic world view.” D. Michael Quinn’s seminal study *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* was initiated during this period. In his introduction, Quinn began by exorcising the forgeries and summoning the facts:

the historical issues these forgeries raised . . . require, I believe, a careful re-evaluation of evidence long in existence regarding early Mormonism and magic. . . . Sources [whose authenticity are beyond question] provide evidence of Joseph Smith’s participation in treasure digging; the possession and use of instruments and emblems of folk magic by Smith, his family members, and other early LDS leaders; the continued use of such implements for religious purposes in the establishment and early years of Mormonism; and the sincere belief of many early Mormons in the magic world view.⁷⁵

Subsequently, Quinn moved beyond these simple data. Indeed, “comprehensive” is hardly an adequate description of his survey. Magical rituals, Kabbalah, Hermes Trismegistos, Rosicrucians, Seer’s stones, divining rods, Masonic lore, and astrology: Quinn binds them all, by evidence weak and strong, to Joseph. Less integrative than extensive, his study is a foundation work which—as any such work should—leaves far more questions unresolved than answered.

The subject broached by this effort demands further evaluation. A crucial correction, however, must be made to the methodology used in examining the data: the concept of a magic *Weltanschauung* or “world view” must be balanced with an intensive historical casting of early nineteenth-century occultism’s lineages and mythos. Particularly important is a careful examination of Hermeticism and the nature of the religious vision it encouraged.

Faced with a vast subject, Quinn constructed an arena for its study by circumscribing the concept of a “magic world view” within the culture of early America, and then summoning the various facts that drew Joseph Smith and other early Mormons into that circle. The definition of “magic” came from *Webster’s Third International Dictionary*, aug-

75. Quinn, ix-x.

mented and slightly expanded. Magic is (and not to quote the whole definition given by Quinn, I will abbreviate) the “use of means . . . that are believed to have supernatural power to cause a supernatural being to produce or prevent a particular result”; the control of natural forces “by the typically direct action of rites, objects, materials, or words considered supernaturally powerful.” Later Quinn adds that magic tends to incorporate an animistic world view and a sense of a chain of causation behind event. Though it can be supplicative, its intent is often coercive.⁷⁶ One is ill-advised to argue here with Quinn’s general approach or definition of magic and its world view; given the many constraints upon such a path-breaking investigation, both are well enough chosen. Nonetheless their static sociological and philological correctness partially obscures a more complex process at play.

Magic came in many forms, high and low. As discussed earlier, in Europe the medieval legacy of magic was transformed between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries by an influx of the highly refined Kabbalistic, Hermetic, and alchemical traditions. During that time magic became—at least for scholarly adherents like Pico della Mirandola, Giordano Bruno, and John Dee—something akin to religion.⁷⁷ In the Hermetic-Kabbalistic interpretation magic had more to do with obtaining experiential knowledge of God and the celestial hierarchies than with particularistic goals of control and coercion—the “digging for vulgar gold.” Both Jewish and Christian practitioners of the “high magical arts” would have judged Webster’s definition as applicable more to a reprehensible form of popular or folk magic than to their own pursuits.⁷⁸ By the seventeenth century this Hermetic magic had become thoroughly intertwined with a wider reformative religious vision and a coherent foundational mythos. This view asserted the human potential for divine communication, progression to ultimate knowledge, and

76. *Ibid.*, xi-xiii.

77. Yates, *Occult Philosophy*, 46.

78. See n60. “The appearance of ancient bodies of literature, Neoplatonic and hermetic, in Latin and Italian translations, together with the rendering of a significant corpus of Kabbalistic literature into Latin and Italian, precipitated the emergence of a new attitude toward magic, first in the circles of the Florentine literati, and afterward, under their influence, in a long series of European Renaissance and post-Renaissance figures all over Europe. . . . For them, magic was the lore taught by ancient masters like Hermes Trismegistus . . . a lore based on a vast knowledge of the universal order, a knowledge that culminated in actualizing the potentiality inherent in human nature. Instead of being the practice of obscure and peripheral persons, the Renaissance magician came to designate the apex of human achievement, to be cultivated by the elite in order to exercise the human qualities that testify to the fullness of human perfection. It was not so much the subjugation of the material world to which the learned magicians of the Renaissance aspired, as to the fulfillment of their spirit.” Moshe Idel, “Jewish Magic from the Renaissance Period,” 83.

even union or identity with God.

Certainly popular magic with its less refined concerns continued to exist; and in terms of pure numbers of practitioners it most likely dominated in the common culture. But British historian Keith Thomas notes the important distinction that must be developed between popular magic and the separate intellectual or elitist trends. Speaking here of developments in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Thomas notes:

It would thus be tempting to explain the practice of popular magic as the reflection of the [alchemical and Hermetic] intellectual interests of contemporary scientists and philosophers. But such a chain of reasoning would almost certainly be mistaken. By this period popular magic and intellectual magic were essentially two different activities, overlapping at certain points, but to a large extent carried on in virtual independence of each other.⁷⁹

What Thomas calls "intellectual magic" was of course the seventeenth-century mix of Hermeticism, Kabbalah, and alchemy. The point I am making is that magic could be more and less than "magic": whatever terms one may use to define the noun, from the sixteenth century into the early nineteenth century it had at least two different historical manifestations, each with different aspirations and lineages. Popular or folk magic with its magic world view was undoubtedly common in early nineteenth-century America. But there had also entered into the matrix of American religion elements of this other "intellectual" Hermetic mythos. And its world view was much more complex.

By the dawn of the nineteenth century the Hermetic tradition had developed *sub rosa* several elements characteristic of an incipient heterodox religion, including clear restorational aspirations. From this fertile bed sprang numerous occult fraternities and societies: societies Kabbalistic, alchemical, magical, and Masonic. And though they generally used a Christian vocabulary, the intentions they fostered could appear antithetical to orthodox Christianity. Most particularly, it was a view of man and God intrinsically hostile to dour Puritan presumptions.⁸⁰ Classic Protestant thought accepted no theogony (genesis or genealogy of God), and in orthodox judgment new divine revelation was, as Meric Casaubon expressed, nothing "else but imposture or melancholy and depraved phan-

79. Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 228. Thomas's study is itself dominated by an interest in the folk magical.

80. At the same time, it must be recognized that there was an important mystical and alchemical element in some sectors of seventeenth-century Puritanism. See Yates, *The Occult Philosophy*, 167.



Figure 11. The prophet being anointed by Elijah, as imaged in a 1619 work by the Rosicrucian and Christian Kabbalist, Robert Fludd. Fludd explained: "The gift of prophecy can come directly from God, or else indirectly, through the ministration of [spirits]. Examples are to be found in many biblical figures, and also in those of Antiquity, such as Mercurius [Hermes] Trismegistus. . . . Just as the Sun shines perpetually on all men, so God incessantly offers his pearls of wisdom, and those who receive them become prophets." Robert Fludd, *Utriusque Cosmi Maioris . . . Tomi Secundi Tractatus primi* (Frankfurt: Johann Theodore de Bry, 1619), 3-11.

tasie, arising from natural causes."⁸¹ By contrast, in the Hermetic tradition there emerges a coherent and radically alternative vision which, as Joscelyn Godwin explained,

combines the practical examination of nature with a spiritual view of the universe as an intelligent hierarchy of beings; which draws its wisdom from all possible sources, and which sees the proper end of man as the direct knowledge of God. This kind of belief underlies the [Rosicrucian] manifestoes; it is presupposed in [Robert] Fludd's works and in those of the alchemists; it reappears in the more esoteric aspects of Freemasonry.⁸²

By the late eighteenth century, elements usually associated with the formation of a new religion were present in this alternative tradition: an intricate and extensive mythic framework (derived from Kabbalistic, Hermetic, alchemical, and Rosicrucian materials); an extra-canonical corpus of "sacred" texts (drawn from archaic Hebrew and Hermetic sources); a new symbol system (conveying esoteric meanings); detailed initiatory and ritual formulas; a claim to lineages of ancient priesthood; an affirmation of renewed communication with the celestial realms; and a thoroughly articulated reformatory, even millennial, aspiration for a new Adamic restoration (see Figure 11).

When I speak of the Hermetic (or Hermetic-Kabbalistic) tradition in the early nineteenth century, I mean this amalgamation of elements along with their underpinning Hermetic mythos. Though any backwoods rodsman divining for buried treasures in New York in 1820 may have known about the tradition, it would be erroneous to lump him into it or to see it necessarily reflected in him. Yet here the distinction must be drawn: in this same general time and place there undoubtedly existed individuals who were deeply cognizant of Hermeticism, its lore, rituals, and aspirations. And this group probably included an occasional associate of treasure diggers. Such individuals would have learned about the Hermetic tradition in varying degrees and from various lineages (including esoteric Masonic and Rosicrucian orders), but most certainly not as a transmission of popular magic and folk lore alone.

In summary, the treasure digger's "magic world view," the supernatural method to means, must be distinguished from the more complex Hermetic vision conveyed in the mix of Kabbalah, ceremonial magic, Paracelsian medicine, Rosicrucianism, alchemical symbolism, and several

81. Meric Casaubon (1599-1671) was both the son of Issac Casaubon, the distinguished philological scholar who had dated the *Hermetica*, and a staunch Anglican critic of the Hermetic and magical movement. Quoted in French, *John Dee*, 13.

82. Godwin, *Robert Fludd*, 11.

esoteric brands of Masonry. And what a young Joseph Smith could have learned from a rodsman, ensconced only in a magic world view, is less important to his religious development than the kinds of ideas a Hermetic initiate might have stimulated.

JOSEPH SMITH, HERMETICISM, AND KABBALAH

In the period before 1827 Joseph Smith probably had some passing interaction with individuals knowledgeable of Hermeticism and Kabbalah. But to reconstruct the history of that exposure demands consideration of contexts and hypotheses tied to a thin heritage of fact: it is a type of connection that appears likely but which cannot be documented with certainty. The situation changes a bit after 1840. During those last years of Joseph's life evidences linking him to the Hermetic-Kabbalistic tradition can, when placed in context, appear substantial. In the following discussion, I will sketch some of the evidences linking Joseph to the Hermetic tradition, both early in his prophetic career and later in Nauvoo. And though the shading of fact may seem too light or dark, or in proportions skewed, this is a way of drawing Joseph Smith within his own history that I believe must be confronted by Mormon historians.⁸³

Of course a question arises that lingers as a subtext to the material that follows and must be addressed before proceeding: If Joseph Smith had significant interactions with the Hermetic-Kabbalistic mythos, did they impact his religion-making vision? While it seems to me that they probably would or did, I also acknowledge another possibility: Despite any apparent historical interactions, common patterns connecting Smith's vision to the Hermetic-Kabbalistic mythos may be entirely synchronous (or parallel) rather than causal. And if synchronous, they further could be classed as

83. As this essay was going to press I read an advance copy of a comprehensive and important new study of Mormonism's relationship to Hermeticism: John L. Brooke, *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644-1844* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994). Brooke reviews much of the same material I have presented and draws similar conclusions: "The Mormon cosmology constructed by Joseph Smith was as optimistic as Renaissance hermeticism and shared with it a startling number of common themes. . . . [Smith] reproduced the three heavens of the Cabala and hermeticism in the three Mormon heavens, the telestial, terrestrial, and celestial kingdoms. Both hermeticism and Mormonism celebrate the mutuality of spiritual and material worlds, precreated intelligences, free will, a divine Adam, a fortunate, sinless Fall, and the symbolism and religious efficacy of marriage and sexuality. And, as in hermeticism, Adam, 'the father of all, prince of all, that ancient of days,' would occupy a central position in Mormon cosmology. . . . Three centuries after the height of the Renaissance, Mormonism echoed the hermetics—and explicitly rejected Calvinism. . . . Joseph Smith gave Mormon hierarchy the same authority that the hermetic alchemist assumed: human means to immortality, indeed divinity" (13).

archetypal manifestations consistent with a recurrent type of “revelatory” experience (such as is witnessed elsewhere in the history of the tradition) or, instead, as pure happenstance.

If one is inclined to look for links, deeper levels of complexity soon intrude. The Hermetic-Kabbalistic tradition not only affirmed the existence of an archetypal structure accessible to independent, personal cognition or “revelation,” it sought through combined modalities of ritual, symbol, and myth to aid an individual’s encounter with this core reality, a reality mirrored in the celestial realm and in the seeker’s own self. Accepting that some individuals obtained these experiences, the question of causal versus synchronous links becomes circular. One can argue that contact with various Hermetic ideas, symbols, ceremonies, and myths could (at least occasionally and in the properly predisposed individual) help invoke a numinous and uniquely individual experience. The experience, though personal and self-contained, might become the substratum for creative development of further intuition and insights inherently present in the inciting mythos. Thus a tradition breeds an experience which then replicates anew the tradition. This whole issue recalls the question plaguing historical studies of Gnosticism and its various manifestations: is the tradition conveyed through historically identifiable transmissions; are various historical manifestations of “Gnostic vision” instead creations of a reborn and independent “Gnosis” imbued with similar core insights (what depth psychology calls archetypal patterns); or are both modes of transmission, inner and outer, intrinsically coupled? To these questions I can give no answers; I offer only my intuition that they lurk behind any interpretation of evidences “linking” Joseph Smith to Hermeticism.

D. Michael Quinn extensively details evidences of Joseph’s early contact with Hermeticism, though he emphasizes the folk magical aspect. He offers the Smith family’s carefully preserved magical parchments and dagger and the talisman Joseph carried on his person.⁸⁴ One recognizes the prominent use of Hebrew on both the parchments and talisman, although the reason for this has not been put in clear context by Mormon historians: the Hebrew came from Kabbalah.⁸⁵ As Quinn documents, knowledge necessary for the preparation of the Smith family magical implements could have been obtained from books of magic available in this time and region, and such materials might have been acquired specifically to aid

84. These are discussed and illustrated in Quinn, 53-111.

85. The magical square on the back of Joseph’s talisman appears, pregnant with symbolic meaning, in one of Albrecht Dürer’s most famous engravings, “Melancholia” (Horst Michael, *Albrecht Dürer: The Complete Engravings* [Artline Editions, 1987], plate 72); for a discussion, see Yates, *The Occult Philosophy*, 135 ff. See also the chapter “Cornelius Agrippa’s Survey of Renaissance Magic,” in Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, 130-56.

magical activities associated with treasure seeking. Preparation for and proper performance of a magical ritual—including production of a ceremonial dagger or parchment—was, however, a lengthy and complicated venture demanding knowledge of an arcane vocabulary. The vast host of angels and spirits addressed in different magical rituals had specific names (again drawn from Kabbalah), elaborate magical signs, and varied functions within the natural and celestial hierarchies. From this complexity, magic lore made it clear that there were definite existential dangers in getting the details wrong. It thus seems likely that in addition to information gleaned from books, family members would have augmented their knowledge by associations with individuals experienced in ceremonial magic and the occult arts. In this company Joseph Smith might have first been exposed to a person versed in the deep breadth of Hermeticism.

One individual fits this description: the “occult mentor” identified by Quinn, Dr. Luman Walter(s). Reputed to be a physician and magician (the two were sometimes closely associated in that age), Walter is known to have been in Joseph’s and his family’s circle of acquaintances prior to 1827. He was also a distant cousin of Joseph’s future wife, Emma Hale.⁸⁶ As Quinn notes, “Brigham Young described the unnamed New York magician as having traveled extensively through Europe to obtain ‘profound learning,’” and others identified Walter as “a physician who studied Mesmerism in Europe before meeting Joseph Smith.”⁸⁷ Walter family records and legend called him “clairvoyant.”⁸⁸ If these statements are generally accurate, Walter had considerable knowledge of Hermetic traditions. During this period in Europe (and to a lesser degree in America) a physician with interests in Mesmer, magic, clairvoyance, and “profound learning” moved in a milieu nurtured by the legacies of Hermeticism. By definition, such a physician stood in a tradition dominated by the medical and esoteric writings of Paracelsus, steeped in alchemy, and associated closely with Rosicrucian philosophy.⁸⁹ As an individual also interested in hidden treas-

86. Quinn, 81-97.

87. *Ibid.*, 96.

88. *Ibid.*, 83.

89. Paracelsus (ca. 1493-1541) was a seminal figure in the alchemical and medical tradition. Paracelsian alchemy was central to Rosicrucianism. His works were even among the items supposed to be in the mythic tomb of Christian Rosencreutz. During the early and mid-nineteenth century in England and Europe Mesmerism was closely linked with spiritual alchemy by occultists interested in visionary states, and as Merkur notes, “In the Gold und Rosenkreuz, a development of the alchemical tradition of Paracelsus and Boehme in late eighteenth-century German, the insignias of the ninth and highest degree, Majus, consisted of a ‘gleaming and fiery’ Urim and Thummim with a Schemhamphorash. It is at least probable that the German alchemists named their engraved brooches in allusion to their use in crystal-gazing and scrying” (55).

ures, Walter might have taken particular note of Paracelsus's admonition on Kabbalah's import:

All of you . . . who see land beyond the horizon, who read sealed, hidden missives and books, who seek for buried treasures in the earth and in walls, you who teach so much wisdom, such high arts—remember that you must take unto yourselves the teachings of the cabala if you want to accomplish all this. For the cabala builds on a true foundation. Pray and it will be given you, knock and you will be heard, the gate will be opened to you. . . . Everything you desire will flow and be granted you. You will see into the greatest depth of the earth . . . The art of the cabala is beholden to God, it is in alliance with Him, and it is founded on the words of Christ. But if you do not follow the true doctrine of the cabala, but slip into geomancy, you will be led by that spirit which tells you nothing but lies.⁹⁰

If Walter did have contact with the young Smith, he might have shared some interesting ideas about the occult reformative tradition that had for three centuries been a force working on the creative edge of the Western religious imagination, concepts which might have influenced a prophetic imagination. Here is the tentative early connection to a legacy of ancient priesthoods, lost books, sacred weddings, modern seers, co-eternal matter, golden treasures, angelic messengers, rebuilt temples, dawning dispensations, and God's glorious intelligence. Perhaps Walter might even have had something to say about the story of the sixteen-year-old Christian Rosencreutz who journeyed to the East and translated the Book M, only to be rejected by the learned of his age. This was a legacy of ideas about man and God unlike anything in the texts of revivalism and seekerism sweeping New York's "burned-over district"⁹¹ and yet so much like the religion embraced by the prophet-to-be.

In addition to early influences from a possible occult mentor such as Walter, other eddies of the Hermetic mythos swirled near the young Joseph Smith. Quinn notes, "Pennsylvania was the focal point of ceremonial magic in early America," and "several sources indicate that Joseph Jr. engaged in folk magical activities during the summers of the 1820s away from Palmyra, often in Pennsylvania."⁹² What Smith en-

90. Jolanda Jacobi, ed., *Paracelsus: Selected Writings* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), 134, emphasis added. Paracelsus also prophesied of the coming of the prophet "Elias" as part of a universal restoration, another idea possibly affecting the work of Joseph Smith (Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 93).

91. Dan Vogel offers an exception by briefly noting the influence of spiritual alchemy on the important seventeenth-century Seeker John Everard. See Dan Vogel, *Religious Seekers and the Advent of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 9n50.

92. Quinn, 80.

countered in Pennsylvania may again be better termed Hermeticism than folk magic; there is even some possibility that he had direct contact with Rosicrucian ideas. German Pietists who had immigrated to Pennsylvania in the previous century were deeply influenced by Rosicrucianism and the Kabbalistically flavored mysticism of Jacob Boehme (see Figure 7). The first American Rosicrucian group had been founded on Wissahickon Creek near Philadelphia just before 1700 by a learned band of theosophists and German Pietists headed by Johannes Kelpius. In 1720 the German mystic and Pietist Johann Conrad Beissel immigrated to Pennsylvania seeking to join that group. He subsequently associated himself with a few of the remaining Wissahickon mystics and later organized a Rosicrucian society, the Ephrata commune, near Lanchaster, Pennsylvania.⁹³ Alderfer notes in his study of the movement, "Ephrata itself, though an inheritor of many strains of mysticism, was a latter-day haven of essentially gnostic ideas and terminology."⁹⁴

The community survived into the early nineteenth century. During its peak in the mid-eighteenth century it proselytized widely, sending disciples on "pilgrimages" through the surrounding countryside and even into New England.⁹⁵ Alchemy, Kabbalah, and perhaps Freemasonry all played roles in the mystical philosophy taught at Ephrata.⁹⁶ A few tentative evidences suggesting loose association of Smith with Rosicrucianism, and perhaps even some residual of the Ephrata commune, are introduced by Quinn.⁹⁷ But specific contacts aside, one must recognize that the sophisticated Rosicrucian, Kabbalistic, and alchemical ideas represented at Ephrata

93. E. Gordon Alderfer, *The Ephrata Commune: An Early American Counter Culture* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985), 27-30.

94. *Ibid.*, 6.

95. *Ibid.*, 62, 122-23.

96. The commune apparently possessed Kabbalistic texts, including the *Zohar* (*ibid.*, 87), and may have even instituted an order associated with one of the Rosicrucian variants of Freemasonry (*ibid.*, 70; Julius Friedrich Sachse, *The German Sectarrians of Pennsylvania, 1708-1800; A Critical and Legendary History of the Ephrata Cloister and the Dunkers* [Philadelphia: Printed for the author, 1899-1900], 1:354f.). That Sachse, a late nineteenth-century Masonic historian, would perceive a variant Masonry in practice at Ephrata again indicates both the wide acceptance of Rosicrucian ties in Masonry in the nineteenth century and the wide latitude of esoteric things allowed classification as "Masonic."

97. These include the presence of a Rosicrucian cross on the Smith family "Holiness to the Lord" magical parchment; the similarity of rituals used in the Ephrata commune for conveying Melchizedik priesthood and performing proxy baptisms for the dead to forms later incorporated by Joseph Smith; the use of pseudonyms exactly like those adopted in early Mormonism ("Enoch" as a code name for Joseph Smith) within the Ephrata Rosicrucian society; and the similarity between one of Joseph Smith's 1829 revelations (recorded as D&C 7) and a Rosicrucian legend (Quinn, 133, 180-81, 169; Alderfer, 88).

had been quilted into Pennsylvania's esoteric lore for over one hundred years prior to Joseph's summer visits in the 1820s. If Smith did have contact with individuals influenced by these traditions (of which there must have been more than a few), his knowledge of things Hermetic, Kabbalistic, and alchemical, would have been augmented.

Joseph Smith's possible direct exposure to Kabbalah before 1840 deserves specific comment (I will later discuss in detail his studies in Nauvoo). The role of Kabbalah in magic was pervasive enough that even with a curtailed involvement in ceremonial magic, Smith would have heard of the subject. Paracelsus's admonition to treasure seekers (quoted above) represents the importance with which Kabbalistic knowledge was imbued by occultists; in fact, in the period's vocabulary "cabala" was often used as a synonym for "magic" and "occultism." Those Christian esotericists who knew of Kabbalah in the early nineteenth century would have known it principally through Christianized interpretations by then thoroughly amalgamated with Hermetic, alchemical, and Rosicrucian notions. While an occasional American occultist might have had some knowledge of Kabbalah in its original Jewish form, study at this basic level required some knowledge of Hebrew, access to original Hebrew Kabbalistic texts or the Latin translations in the *Kabbalah Denudata*, and (at least in traditional view) an adept Kabbalist as guide.⁹⁹ Nonetheless, within the context of prevalent transmissions, it is possible Joseph encountered and took interest in some outline of Kabbalah. The most basic form available to him would have been simple representations of the "Tree of *Sefiroth*" found in Hermetic works published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see Figure 2).¹⁰⁰ This depiction of the *Sefiroth* alone could have conveyed a wealth of ideas about an emanational structure in the divine life—ideas which perfused Hermetic ideas and symbols, and which were like those developed in Mormon theology. The power of this archetypal pattern of the *Sefiroth* to stimulate a religious imagination is witnessed by occasional later Christian "Kabbalistic" works, some of which appear to be almost entirely free associations built from meditations on this structure of the *Sefiroth* and devoid of any relation to traditional Jewish or Christian Kabbalistic commentaries.

98. As unusual as this combination would be, Joseph Smith did apparently come close to having all three in Nauvoo during the last two years of his life, as will be discussed below.

99. The "Tree of *Sefiroth*" is a diagram depicting the ten *Sefiroth* or divine emanations within the archetypal structure of the Godhead (see Fig. 1). For an example, see the illustration in Robert Fludd, "Aboris Sephirothicae," in *De Praeternaturali utrusque mundi Historia*, 2:157, part of the larger work, *Utriusque cosmi maioris . . .* (Frankfurti, 1621). This image or an image like it seems to have been copied by Orson Hyde in 1847, as discussed later.

In this vein, a work recently published by Mormon author Joe Sampson is interesting.¹⁰⁰ Sampson evaluated Joseph Smith's writings, including the Book of Mormon and Doctrine and Covenants, and noted a pattern of word and concept usage in several verses which reproduces both the common English names and the general hierarchical structure of the Kabbalistic Tree of *Sefiroth*.¹⁰¹ While Sampson carries his argument beyond what a less intuitive student might discern, several of his examples deserve consideration. And though this Kabbalistic pattern in Smith's revelatory writings may be accidental, it also could suggest some earlier exposure at least to the concept of the Tree of *Sefiroth*. Sampson extends his thesis by suggesting that Smith's translation of the Book of Abraham from the Egyptian papyrus was a Kabbalistic work in the classic sense. Though Sampson's development of this argument is itself cryptically Kabbalistic, his theme again deserves scrutiny. Kabbalah was, as he notes, the tradition of prophetic interpretation. It encouraged a creative rereading of sacred texts in the quest for a return to the primary vision which was the single source of knowledge and scripture. In nature (if not in content) Smith's translation of the Book of Mormon, his retranslation of Genesis, and his interpretation of the Book of Abraham papyri all can be seen as expressions of the primary interpretive vision Kabbalah mandated from prophetic consciousness. Whether this was a reflection of Joseph's contact with Kabbalah or just of Joseph remains an open question.¹⁰² But beyond doubt, this interpretive activity fits within the evolved Hermetic-Kabbalistic vision of a true prophet's work.

THE PROPHET AND FREEMASONRY

Whatever one concludes about the varied hints of scattered early associations with Hermeticism, Joseph Smith had well-documented connections with one of the tradition's major legacies, Masonry. The prophet's associations with the Masonic tradition are thoroughly documented and

100. Joe Sampson, *Written by the Finger of God* (Sandy, UT: Wellspring Publishing, 1993).

101. *Ibid.*, 87-104.

102. This situation also has precedence in the Hermetic-Kabbalistic tradition. The writings of the German mystic Jacob Boehme have such a strong Kabbalistic flavor that his students have long thought he must have had some direct contact with Kabbalah, even though no firm historical evidence of this has yet been developed. (Interesting in the present context is that the most likely source identified by historians from whom Boehme might have learned about Kabbalah is a "Dr. B. Walter" who had traveled widely in the East and collected esoteric knowledge of magic, alchemy, and Kabbalah.) Andrew Weeks, *Boehme: An Intellectual Biography of the Seventeenth-Century Philosopher and Mystic* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1991), 43, 147.

discussed by Michael W. Homer in this issue of *Dialogue*. It is unlikely that Smith would have so fully involved himself and his church with the Masonic tradition if he had not sensed therein some intrinsic compatibility with his own religion-making vision. As Homer demonstrates, the prophet said that Masonry was "taken from priesthood," and his followers continued quoting that observation for fifty years after.¹⁰³ It is possible that Joseph's interpretation of Masonry as a legacy of ancient priesthood was based on his own understanding of a history extending back hundreds of years, a history entwined with the Hermetic mythos and with Kabbalah, alchemy, and Rosicrucianism. The alliance of this occult legacy with Masonry was well understood by esoterically-inclined Masons; assertions of such links were bandied about by American anti-Masonic publications in the late 1820s.¹⁰⁴ As noted, Joseph's own history several times touched Hermetic-Kabbalistic traditions. One could argue that he even interacted with them in a creative, visionary sense.

Joseph's contacts with the Hermetic mythos were sufficient to generate vague assumptions about Masonry's earlier roots, and these assumptions could have been an historical subtext to his remarks about Masonry being a remnant of ancient priesthood. Interestingly, modern historical examination of the occult tradition suggests a shadow of truth in Joseph's statement: Kabbalah and Hermeticism, as representatives of an historical stream of occult knowledge (or as reservoirs of Gnosticism) did claim ancient lineages of "priesthood." Joseph had every reason to take those claims seriously, as do historians today, albeit within a narrower interpretive context. In this light, Joseph's connection to Masonry takes on several different shades of meaning.

The ubiquitous influence of Kabbalah upon the occult traditions of the nineteenth century has been stressed, but its specific import in Masonry requires repeated emphasis. Noted historian of occultism Arthur Edward Waite suggested in his 1923 encyclopedia of Freemasonry that much of the "great" and "incomprehensible" heart of Masonry came from Kabbalah,

103. In 1842 the Apostle Heber C. Kimball quoted Joseph Smith saying: "there is a similarity of preast Hood in masonary. Br Joseph ses masonry was taken from preasthood but has become degenerated. but mennny things are perfect" (Quinn, 185). In 1899 Apostle Rudger Clawson related the opinion that "Joseph . . . was aware that there were some things about masonry which had come down from the beginning and he desired to know what they were, hence the Lodge. . . . Joseph inquired of the Lord concerning the matter and he revealed to the prophet true Masonry as we have in our temples" (in Stan Larson, ed., *A Ministry of Meetings: The Apostolic Diaries of Rudger Clawson* [Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1993], 42).

104. Quinn, 164-65. This same assertion had been widely publicized by De Quincey in his *London Magazine* piece, "Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origins of the Rosicrucians and the Freemasons."

“the Secret Tradition of Israel.”¹⁰⁵ He finds such important Masonic symbols as the Lost Word, the Temple of Solomon, the pillars Jachin and Boaz, the concept of the Master-Builder, and restoration of Zion, all derived from the lore of Kabbalah. The organizer of Scottish Rite Freemasonry in America, Albert Pike, manifested a similar sentiment and indexed over seventy entries to the subject of Kabbalah in his classic nineteenth-century study, *Morals and Dogma of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry*.¹⁰⁶ Though Pike’s work was published in 1871, his views reflected lore already established in Masonry during the period of Joseph Smith’s Masonic initiations three decades earlier. Indeed, one of the earliest documentary mentions of Masonry appearing in 1691 specifically linked it with these Jewish traditions.¹⁰⁷

As Homer notes, the Scottish Rite developed by Pike was an evolution of the eighteenth-century French Masonic *Rite de Perfection*, which in several degrees was influenced by Kabbalah.¹⁰⁸ Kabbalah’s importance in Masonic lore is also witnessed by Maritnez de Pasqually and his late-eighteenth century Kabbalistic-Masonic restoration of ancient priesthood in the Order of *Les Elus Cohen*. Much of this Kabbalistic influence upon Masonry may have come from Rosicrucianism (again recalling their close association), infused as it was with alchemical and Kabbalistic symbolism. But some additional influence might be attributed to esoteric sources like the Frankist movement. (The Frankists—followers of Jacob Frank, and successors to the

105. Arthur Edward Waite, *A New Encyclopaedia of Freemasonry* (London: William Rider and Son, 1923), 1:47.

106. Albert Pike, *Morals and Dogma of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry* (Charleston, SC, 1871).

107. Robert Kirk, *The Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns and Fairies* (Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1933), 107-108. Kirk’s original manuscript is dated 1691.

108. Homer makes particular note of the 28th degree of the Scottish rite, which is based on the 23rd degree of the Rite de Perfection. This degree is known as the “Knight of the Sun,” “Prince of the Sun,” or “Key to Masonry.” As Homer suggests, the ritual of this degree has several motifs familiar to the Mormon temple ceremony: Father Adam is the presiding officer, accompanied by seven angels, including Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Auriel; and the rite is to be administered in a room painted like a vast garden, with open fields, forests, and mountains. The rite has an obviously alchemical and Hermetic flavor, leading Macoy to suggest the “28th degree of Freemasonry must have been composed by Freemasons who were also members of the Order of the Rosy Cross.” The seal of the degree (illustrated in Macoy) is emblazoned with the Hermetic motto of the *Tabula smaragdina* (“That which is above is also below”); over and under the image of God reflected in himself as dual white and black triangles interwoven in the Seal of Solomon are inscribed the terms common to Rosicrucianism and alchemy, “Macroprosopus” or macrocosm and “Microprosopus” or microcosm. In the ceremony, a five-pointed star represents man, the microcosmos, and the staff of Hermes, the caduceus, sits at the right hand of Adam. The collar donned in the rite bears the single “All-seeing Eye” of God, and the medal worn is a golden Sun similar to the Nauvoo temple sunstones. Macoy, 209-11, 331.

Kabbalistically inclined Sabbatean heresy—had become active in Central European Masonic organizations in the late eighteenth century.¹⁰⁹) Given the wide diffusion of a Christianized and Rosicrucian version of Kabbalah into Masonry, Joseph Smith probably heard something about the tradition during the course of his almost twenty-year association with Masons and Freemasonry.

It might be argued that these occult Masonic inclinations were all part of a sophisticated, esoteric form of European Masonry foreign to the world of frontier America. To the contrary—and though not yet fully investigated—there are several reasons to believe that what Joseph Smith encountered in Nauvoo was an esoteric interpretation of Masonry. As mentioned earlier, between the mid-eighteenth and the beginnings of the nineteenth centuries a multitude of occult orders arose from Masonry. Each of these tended to develop its own interrelated system of symbolic ceremonies for conveying distinct esoteric visions. The different rites also often claimed variant “authentic” Masonic origins: in ancient Egyptian mysteries; in the lineages of the medieval Knights Templar; in Kabbalistic transmissions; and in Hermetic-alchemical-Rosicrucian traditions. Robert Macoy’s 1872 encyclopedia of Freemasonry cataloged over forty-five distinct systems of Masonic rites developed during the period from 1750 to 1820.¹¹⁰ In retrospect one might suggest that during this unusual epoch a creatively elite group of individuals coming from many sectors of society encountered in the Masonic mythos a new medium for expressing their visions. Though basic York rite (or Blue Lodge) Masonry with its three degrees was a common grounding for most of these, around that foundation appeared many layerings of esoteric accretions. With the tools of allegory, symbol, and imagination, and in a format suggesting great mysterious antiquity, men touched by the Masonic mythos began producing new “ancient” rituals. One is reminded of Irenaeus’ complaint about the Gnostics responding to the creative muse of their times: “every one of them generates something new, day by day, according to his ability; for no one is deemed mature, who does not develop . . . some mighty fiction.”¹¹¹

John C. Bennett, one of the more enigmatic figures in Mormon history, was the indisputable impetus to Masonry’s introduction in Nauvoo. Bennett’s mercurial career among the Mormons has fascinated and bewildered historians. Seemingly from out of the blue, Bennett appeared in Nauvoo and was baptized into the Mormon church in the summer of 1840. Within less than a year he became mayor of Nauvoo, chancellor of the University

109. Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 284, 304.

110. Macoy, 326-29.

111. Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, 1.18.1.

of Nauvoo, major general of the Nauvoo Legion, Assistant President of the Mormon church, and an intimate friend and counselor to Joseph Smith. In June 1841, less than three months after becoming Assistant President, he began attempts to organize a Mormon Masonic Lodge. But the Masonry he brought to Nauvoo had several unusual occult aspects. Less than a year later, he made an equally dramatic exit, excommunicated amid a flurry of allegations suggesting widespread sexual improprieties.

By the time he arrived in Nauvoo, the thirty-five-year-old Bennett had attended Athens state university; studied medicine with his uncle, the prominent frontier doctor and Ohio historian, Dr. Samuel Hildreth; helped to found educational institutions in West Virginia, Indiana, and Ohio; organized at Willoughby College the medical school and served as first dean and professor of gynecology and children's diseases; been a licensed preacher in Ohio; been appointed brigadier general of the Illinois Invincible Dragoons; and in 1840 become quartermaster general of Illinois state militia.¹¹² He had also apparently abandoned a wife and children, been ejected from at least one Masonic Lodge for unbecoming behavior, and been accused of selling medical degrees. Bennett's interests, including religion, medicine, the military, and Masonry, suggest a person inclined towards investigating the more esoteric aspects of Masonry. His apparent libidinous proclivity may also have aroused his curiosity about unorthodox sexual practices associated with more creative Masonic rites.

Given the relation between Bennett and Smith, Bennett probably had communicated some Masonic ideas to Smith before petitions were made for the formation of a Nauvoo Masonic Lodge in mid-1841. That the temple endowment ceremony developed by Smith in May 1842 was influenced by Masonry cannot escape notice. But beyond the temple endowment, several other components were developing in Joseph's vision during this period that sounded an even stranger resonance with ideas from esoteric Masonic quarters. Two stand out: organization of an "Order of Illuminati," or political Kingdom of God, and introduction of "Spiritual Wifery."¹¹³

112. Hill, 279.

113. A third issue deserves brief notation: the "Joseph Smith to Joseph Hull" letter, mentioned by Durham, said to have been written by Joseph Smith about Freemasonry. A copy of the original is in my possession, and a transcript (with some errors) was published with the Durham paper as Appendix A (*No Help for the Widow's Son: Two Papers on the Influence of the Masonic Movement on Joseph Smith and His Mormon Church* [Nauvoo: Martin Publishing Co, 1980], 29.) This torn and undated letter was discovered around 1966-67 in a group of miscellaneous manuscript materials by George Rinsland, an Eastern manuscripts dealer. In April 1967 Rinsland sent it, unsolicited and free of cost, to Steve Barnett, then an active collector and dealer of such materials in Salt Lake (Barnett to Lance Owens, 12 Feb. 1991). I have made an extensive study of the Smith-Hull letter's content and handwriting. It is my opinion that the letter is not in the hand of Joseph Smith, though the similarities

Bennett claimed that in a revelation dated 7 April 1841—the day before he was made Assistant President of the church—Joseph Smith personally commissioned him to establish an “Order of the Illuminati” in Nauvoo.¹¹⁴ Though the organization was not then specifically called by this name, a revelation received by Joseph on 7 April 1842 commanded formation of “The Kingdom of God and His Laws with the keys and powers thereof and judgment in the hands of his servants.”¹¹⁵ More commonly called the Council of Fifty, the organization finally took form in March 1844. Joseph was soon thereafter ordained King of the Kingdom, a ritual of coronation also performed for each of the next two presidents of the LDS church, Brigham Young and John Taylor. Whether Bennett got the idea for an order of Illuminati from Smith, or Smith from Bennett, is open to argument. But Ebenezer Robinson, editor of the *Nauvoo Times and Seasons* until February 1842 and a contemporary observer, thought the stimulus arrived with Bennett: “Heretofore the church had strenuously opposed secret societies such as Freemasons . . . but after Dr. Bennett came into the Church a great change of sentiment seemed to take place.”¹¹⁶ Subsequent history links the idea with Bennett. After Smith’s death, Bennett sought out the charismatic

are strong enough to suggest a period forgery. The signature essentially matches Smith’s post-1840 signature (when he ceased to append “Jr.”).

The letter itself is interesting, regardless of the author, and represents the type of esoteric Masonic thought to which Joseph Smith might have been exposed. In an esoteric disquisition, the Masonic temple is metaphorically interposed upon the world and the offices of the temple are placed geographically over the face of the globe, as they are arranged within the Masonic temple ceremony. Symbolically, Masonic ritual is seen as an image of greater forces working historically in human society—a telling example of esoteric Masonic thought. This is just the type of expanded, esoteric interpretation one might expect Joseph Smith to impose upon Masonic ritual.

The dualistic view of humankind’s guiding genius is also interesting: “Mankind is guided through this life by two Spirits viz light & Darkness two opposites & They appear in ten-thousands Shapes & they have as many names as they have Shapes.” This theme of a *compexio oppositorum*, played against the image of the single all-seeing “Eye/I” of God, is echoed again in the cryptic poem on the last page of the letter: “that our 2 eyes Sprang from his 1; that our 2 Spirits did the Same; Light; Darkness.” This dualism of two natures within the single “I” of God, of two eyes and two spirits, of Light and Dark, being born from his singleness, is the crux of an ancient heresy echoed in Joseph’s vision of God: a holy wedding of uncreated matter’s darkness with the supernal light of consciousness, intelligence or knowing, a creative union ceaselessly bearing new Gods in the dark/light transformation of man/woman.

114. Klaus Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1970), 55-71.

115. Minutes of the Council of Fifty, 1880, cited in Hansen, 60-61. Given the forty years elapsed between the events and this recording of the history in 1880, it is possible that the date of the revelation was 1841, as Bennett claimed, and not 1842.

116. *The Return* 2 (June 1890): 287, cited in Robert Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 249.

claimant to Smith's prophetic mantle, James Strang, and convinced him to establish an "Order of the Illuminati."¹¹⁷

The Council of Fifty in Nauvoo manifested a distinctly Masonic character, and Masonic ceremonial elements were incorporated in the council's meetings. A similar tenor emerged in Strang's Order of the Illuminati. It was only a few months after the claimed revelation commissioning him to organize the "Illuminati" at Nauvoo that Bennett initiated efforts to form the Masonic lodge. But Mormon historians have yet to specifically explore implications of another fact: both the name given by Bennett for the organization, "Order of the Illuminati," and the political concept embodied by the organization had a clear Masonic heritage.¹¹⁸ The parallel is so close that one wonders whether Bennett might have brought this and other more esoteric Masonic concepts with him into Nauvoo. At about this same time the practice of "Spiritual wifery" or plural marriage was also introduced. Bennett made several exaggerated claims in his later exposés about libertine sexual practices, claiming the women of Nauvoo were inducted into three ritual orders based on the sexual favors expected of them. Such claims are not tenable, but nonetheless recent historians have noted the apparent association of the Relief Society with Masonry. And Bennett's more slanderous claims aside, it is a fact that the female leaders of the Relief Society in Nauvoo were at one time all wives of Joseph Smith. Whatever the actual relationship to the practices in Nauvoo, Masonic lodges had existed which did indulge in such practices, the most specific example being Cagliostro's Egyptian rite.¹¹⁹ By all reports, Bennett would have had intimate interest in

117. Prior to joining Strang, Bennett asked, "Can I depend upon my old place? . . . While you will be the Moses of the last days, I hope to be your Joshua, my old position, while you stand as the crowned Imperial Primate, I will be . . . your General-in-Chief." Noord notes, "With the arrival of John Cook Bennett in Voree came stirrings of a royal order, of a kingdom, and of power for James Jesse Strang. [Wrote Bennett:] 'I have many things to tell you when I come that I cannot commit to paper—some very important indeed.'" One thing Bennett told Strang after his arrival at Voree, Wisconsin, in the summer of 1846 was the details about an "Order of the Illuminati." Shortly after his arrival, the "Order of Illuminati" was formed, with Strang as imperial primate and Bennett as his general-in-chief: Bennett was indeed again "Joshua" (Roger Van Noord, *King of Beaver Island: The Life and Assassination of James Jesse Strang* [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988], 45, 48-49.) Among Strang's followers were others who remembered the organization in Nauvoo, including another prominent disciple of Joseph Smith, George Miller, first Worshipful Master of the Nauvoo Masonic Lodge, member of the "Holy Order" that first received the endowment in 1842, and an original member of Joseph's Council of Fifty in 1844.

118. The most specific example is Adam Weishaupt's prominent Masonic organization of the same name founded in 1776 in Bavaria. The concept of the Illuminati appeared in varied forms and was widely attacked in anti-Masonic material circulating in the period. Ellwood, 64.

119. In Cagliostro's Egyptian rite the female Masonic consorts were known as "doves."

this sort of Masonry—or this sort of Mormonism—and it would be hard to imagine him not encouraging Joseph’s ideas about new forms of ritual marriage.

In this context, another question lingers: Is it possible Bennett’s meteoric rise to prominence in Nauvoo was related to some unsuspected Masonic factor? Did he arrive in Nauvoo claiming independent esoteric lineages of Hermetic or Masonic priesthood, or some ancient and occult knowledge—declarations that Joseph, because of prior life experiences and associations, would choose to honor? Though Bennett finally may have been nothing but a talented charlatan, it must be granted that a complex legacy of spiritual insight was embedded in Masonic rituals, myths, and symbols; they had a history and a lineage reaching back many centuries into Hermetic, Kabbalistic, and alchemical Gnosis. John C. Bennett may have brought something more than Blue Lodge Masonry to Nauvoo. And, regardless of his true intentions, what he brought may have been useful to a prophet.

In Nauvoo, in 1842 and after, I suggest Joseph Smith encountered a reservoir of myths, symbols, and ideas conveyed in the context of Masonry but with complex and more distant origins in the Western esoteric tradition. They apparently resonated with Smith’s own visions, experiences modulating his spiritual life from the time of his earliest intuitions of a prophetic calling. He responded to this stimulus with a tremendous, creative outpouring—the type of creative response Gnostic myth and symbol were meant to evoke, and evidently had evoked across a millennium of history. But, leaving Masonry, there was still another, more primary transmission of this esoteric tradition that would touch Joseph’s creative imagination during his last years in Nauvoo.

JOSEPH SMITH AND KABBALAH IN NAUVOO

By 1842 Joseph Smith most likely had touched the subject of Kabbalah in several ways and versions, even if such contacts remain beyond easy documentation. During Joseph’s final years in Nauvoo, however, his connection with Kabbalah becomes more concrete. In the spring of 1841 there apparently arrived in Nauvoo an impressive library of Kabbalistic writings belonging to a European Jew and convert to Mormonism who evidently knew new Kabbalah and its principal written works. This man, Alexander Neibaur, would soon become the prophet’s friend and companion.

Quinn illustrates a “masonic medal” Smith gave to his plural wife Eliza R. Snow; though otherwise unidentified as to origins, it is interesting that the medal is of a dove. Timothy O’Neill, “The Grand Copt,” *Gnosis: A Journal of the Western Inner Traditions* 24 (Summer 1992): 28; Introvigne, 117-35.

Neibaur has received relatively little detailed study by Mormon historians, and his knowledge of Kabbalah has earned only an occasional passing footnote in Mormon historical work.¹²⁰ Neibaur was born in Alsace-Lorraine in 1808, but during his later childhood the family apparently returned to their original home in eastern Prussia (now part of Poland). His father, Nathan Neibaur, was a physician and dentist who, family sources claim, was a personal physician to Napoleon Bonapart and whose skill as a linguist made him of "great value" to Napoleon as an interpreter (claims perhaps inflated by posterity). Like his father, Alexander became fluent in several languages, including French, German, Hebrew, and later English. He also read Latin and Greek. Family tradition claims that as the first child and eldest son, his father wished him to become a rabbi, and that the young Neibaur was started in rabbinical training. However, at age seventeen he instead entered the University of Berlin to study dentistry, and completed his studies around 1828. Sometime shortly afterwards, he converted to Christianity and migrated to Preston, England. There he established a dental practice and married in 1833. In mid-summer 1837, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, and Joseph Fielding arrived in Preston. Neibaur had been troubled by several dreams about a mysterious book, and his first question for Joseph Smith's apostles was whether they had a "book" for him—which of course they did. He was baptized with his family the next spring. On 5 February 1841 they departed for Nauvoo, arriving in Quincy, Illinois, on 17 April. Four days later Neibaur met Joseph Smith, and on 26 April he notes in his journal, "went to work for J. Smith." Two days later he acquired a quarter-acre lot in Nauvoo, and on 1 June moved his family into their newly completed Nauvoo home on Water Street, a few blocks from Joseph Smith's residence.¹²¹

Where and how Neibaur first came in contact with Kabbalah remains a mystery, though a careful evaluation of his history and personal travels

120. Brief notations on Neibaur and Kabbalah are found, for example, in Newell and Avery's biography of Emma Smith (325n36). Susa Young Gates presented the first published biographical note on Neibaur in the *Relief Society Magazine* 9 (1922): 132-40. Gates apparently obtained much of her material from Neibaur family sources. A typescript biography of Neibaur is found in LDS archives. This is the most complete biography I have found and contains several stories about Neibaur attributed to family recollections. These sources of information on Neibaur are supplemented by a biographical note in the papers of Louis C. Zucker, a Jewish scholar and Professor of English at the University of Utah who researched Joseph Smith's contacts with Hebrew (see Louis C. Zucker Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library). A brief recension of this material appears in Theda Lucille Bassett, *Grandpa Neibaur Was a Pioneer* (Salt Lake City: Published by the author, 1988).

121. The biographical material contained here is obtained principally from the undated typescript in LDS archives.

offers a few hints. Given his father's position, his childhood in western Poland, his studies in Berlin and his subsequent conversion to Christianity, some contact with a reservoir of Kabbalistic knowledge among Sabbatean or Frankist Jews should be considered.¹²² If he did indeed undertake rabbinical studies in Poland prior to his university education, he could not have avoided some exposure to the subject. That Neibaur brought a knowledge of Kabbalah to Nauvoo has been mentioned in several studies of the period. For instance, Newell and Avery note in their biography of Emma Smith, "Through Alexander Neibaur, Joseph Smith had access to ancient Jewish rites called cabalism at the same time he claimed to be translating the papyri from the Egyptian mummies [which became his Book of Abraham]."¹²³ However, that he not only knew something of Kabbalah, but apparently possessed a collection of original Jewish Kabbalistic works in Nauvoo is documented in material almost totally overlooked by Mormon historians.

In June 1843, Neibaur published in *Times and Seasons* a short piece entitled "The Jews." The work ran in two installments, in the issues of 1 June and 15 June. As to why he wrote this piece, he states only that his effort was inspired by a talk he had heard Joseph Smith present.¹²⁴ His essay deals ostensibly with the concept of resurrection held by the Jews. What he discusses for the most part is, however, the Kabbalist concept of *gilgul*, the transmigration and rebirth of souls.¹²⁵ The essay is interesting not because

122. Frankist Jews in this area had nominally converted to Christianity. A Sabbatean or Frankist source would have interesting implications for Joseph Smith's understanding of Kabbalah as interpreted and presented by Neibaur—particularly with regard to the concept of the mystical intent of sexual intercourse and anomian sexual relationships. For discussions of these issues, see G. Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973), and his notes on Sevi and Frank in *Kabbalah*, 244-309. Niebaur's parents were both Jews born around 1780 in western Poland during a period of intense Frankist foment. Though Alexander was born in Alsace-Lorraine, the family apparently had returned to and remained in Unruhstadt (now Kargowa, Zielona Gorz, Poland) after 1814. Kabbalistic interests fostered by the Hasidic movement also were present in this area, and the young Neibaur might have had some contact with them in his studies. Neibaur Family Group Sheet, LDS Geneological Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

123. Newell and Avery, 325n36.

124. "The Jews," *Times and Seasons* 4 (1 June 1843): 220-22; 4 (15 June 1843): 233-34. The article is introduced by editor John Taylor: "The following very singular notions of the Jews, with regard to their resurrection, will no doubt, be read with interest by many of the curious, especially the lovers of Jewish literature." On the composition of this piece, we have only Neibaur's brief explanatory endnote: "Having commenced this sometime since—and having had the privilege, a few Sundays back, to hear our worthy prophet on the same subject, I was determined to go on with it, and hand it over to you. If you think it will be of any interest to your readers, I shall take another time to continue the subject, and tell you the means, as held by my brethren the Jews, whereby the Lord will bring to pass this glorious work." The proposed continuation never appeared.

of his comments on resurrection, but because of his repeated citations of classic Jewish Kabbalistic texts. In the course of his four-page piece, Neibaur cites over two dozen texts and authors. Of the citations I have been able to identify, at least ten are generally Kabbalistic authors or works.¹²⁷ The tone of the entire piece, and the authoritative use of Kabbalistic materials, suggests Neibaur's respect for Kabbalah.

Neibaur's notations to these Medieval and Renaissance Jewish works illustrate that he probably both possessed the texts and had a general knowledge of their contents. Although transliterations of Hebrew into English remain variable even in modern publications, Neibaur's renderings into English of the titles and authors cited are fairly consistent and accurate to the original Hebrew. The general precision of his numerous citations suggests Neibaur had access to the works he quoted.¹²⁸ Included among his citations are several "classic" Kabbalistic texts—the most important Jewish Kabbalistic manuscripts circulated between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries—works such as the *Zohar*, *Midrash Ha-Neelam*, *Menorat ha Ma'or*, *Emek ha-Melekh*, and the *'Avodat ha-Kodesh*, as well as a few rarer documents. Much of the material he cites was available only in Hebrew, and to this date has not been translated and published. By any standard, these were unusual works to possess on the American frontier, and certainly an extraordinary collection of texts to be found in the prophet Joseph's Nauvoo.

125. See G. Scholem, "Gilgul: The Transmigration of Souls," in *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead* (New York: Schocken Books, 1991), 197-250. The concept of transmigration of souls received further discussion in early Mormonism. William Clayton records in his diary arguments among Mormon companions over the idea of "baby resurrection," or rebirth as a mortal infant. See George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1991), 429-30.

126. Given the importance of this material to the discussion that follows, I have provided an appendix to this essay listing each citation made by Neibaur in his *Times and Seasons* article.

127. If he did not have the works at hand, then it would appear he either possessed an exceptional memory or had previously compiled and maintained a fairly comprehensive set of notes listing his citations. A third option, that he relied on a single secondary source which provided all of the citations, remains possible. His own note on the essay's composition suggests that he took some time and effort with its compilation, perhaps supporting the view that he labored to collate sources. A single uncited compilation of Kabbalistic materials containing this wide collection of citations has not yet been brought to my attention. If Neibaur was quoting from a compilation instead of using the original texts, it is apparent by the material contained therein that his source or sources were Kabbalistic in nature, and that he would have recognized them as Kabbalistic. I have found no mention of Neibaur's books after the Nauvoo period, and at his death documents relating to his estate do not list personal effects such as books. See documents relating to the estate of Alexander Neibaur, LDS archives.

Joseph Smith and Alexander Neibaur were frequent associates. Neibaur had been engaged by Joseph a few days after his arrival in Nauvoo in April 1841. During the last months of the prophet's life, both his and Neibaur's diaries indicate that Neibaur read with and tutored Smith in Hebrew and German.¹²⁸ Given this friendly relationship, the interests of the prophet, and the background of Neibaur—and perhaps even the books in Neibaur's library—it seems inconceivable that discussions of Kabbalah did not take place. Kabbalah was the mystical tradition of Judaism, the tradition which claimed to be custodian of the secrets God revealed to Adam. These secrets were occultly conveyed by the oral tradition of Kabbalah throughout the ages—so it was claimed—until finally finding written expression in the *Zohar* and the commentaries of the medieval Kabbalists, books Neibaur possessed. Kabbalah was the custodian of an occult re-reading of Genesis and the traditions of Enoch, it contained the secrets of Moses. And it was a subject that Joseph Smith had probably already crossed in different versions several times in his life. Can anyone familiar with the history and personality of Joseph Smith—the prophet who restored the secret knowledge and rituals conveyed to Adam, translated the works of Abraham, Enoch, and Moses, and retranslated Genesis—question that he would have been interested in the original version of this Jewish occult tradition? And here, in Neibaur, was a man who could share a version of that knowledge with him.

Whatever the reasons for the similarities, it should be remembered that the Hermetic-Kabbalistic world view parallels Joseph's vision of God in many particulars. Not only might Joseph have been interested in this material, but he would have noted how similar this sacred, secret tradition was with his own restoration of ancient truth. And perhaps Neibaur, on a religious quest—from Judaism and Kabbalah, Europe and England, to Christianity and Mormonism and a new home in Nauvoo—saw or even

128. Alexander Neibaur Journal, 26 Apr. 1841, and entries between 24 May 1844 and 17 June 1844. Neibaur's journal begins with his departure from England, and has sporadic entries made throughout 1841, 1842, and 1844. There are no entries for 1843. The more frequent entries made during May and June 1844 indicate Neibaur was a regular companion to Smith. On 24 May 1844 Neibaur also records Smith's recounting to him of the "first vision." Neibaur Journal, 1841-62, LDS archives. Smith's journal records several additional study sessions between the men during the spring of 1844: on 18 March, "At home reciting German with Neibaur"; 23 May, "reading Hebrew with Neibaur"; and 3 June, "read German with Neibaur." Scott Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1989), 460, 481, 487. On 23 March 1844 William Clayton notes that Neibaur accompanied Smith on a sensitive trip to confront Robert Foster about allegations of Smith's sexual improprieties. Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 127.

amplified that intrinsic sympathy in his explications of the tradition for Joseph.

Certainly the first text Joseph Smith would have confronted was the *Zohar*, the great heart of the Kabbalah. This is one of the works Neibaur cited repeatedly in his article and, as the central text of Kabbalah, is the key book any individual with Kabbalistic interests would have preserved in his library. Familiarity with the *Zohar* was a given for a Kabbalist, particularly one with knowledge of works as divergent as those cited by Neibaur, all of which expounded in some degree upon themes in the *Zohar*. If Neibaur had read to Joseph from any single text, or explained Kabbalistic concepts contained in a principal book, the *Zohar* would have been the book with which to start. This might explain why in 1844 Smith, in what may be his single greatest discourse and in the most important public statement of his theosophical vision, apparently quotes almost word for word from the first section of the *Zohar*.

KABBALAH IN MORMON DOCTRINE: THE KING FOLLETT DISCOURSE

On Sunday afternoon, 7 April 1844, Joseph Smith stood before a crowd estimated at 10,000 and delivered his greatest sermon, the King Follett Discourse.¹²⁹ Dissension, rumor, accusation, and conspiracy all abounded in Nauvoo on that pleasant spring day, and Joseph was at the center. This would be Joseph's last conference, ten weeks later he lay murdered at Carthage Jail. In this atmosphere of tension, many in the congregation probably expected a message of conciliation, a retrenchment. Instead, the prophet stunned listeners with his most audacious public discourse—a declaration replete with doctrinal innovations and strange concepts that many of the Saints had never before heard. As Fawn Brodie noted, "For the first time he proclaimed in a unified discourse the themes he had been inculcating in fragments and frequently in secret to his most favored saints: the glory of knowledge, the multiplicity of gods, the eternal progression of the human soul."¹³⁰

Van Hale, in his analysis of the discourse's doctrinal impact, notes four declarations made by Joseph Smith which have had an extraordinary and lasting impact on Mormon doctrine: men can become gods; there exist many gods; the gods exist one above another innumerable; and God was

129. A newly amalgamated and authoritatively edited text of the King Follett Discourse appears in Stan Larson, "The King Follett Discourse," *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 179-225. Three excellent interpretive articles appear in conjunction with the discourse's text in the same issue.

130. Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), 366.

once as man now is.¹³¹ These were all concepts that could, by various exegetical approaches, be found in the Hermetic-Kabbalistic tradition. But even more interestingly, it appears Joseph may have actually turned to the *Zohar* for help in supporting his introduction of these radical doctrinal assertions.

The prophet begins his discussion of the plurality and hierarchy of the Gods with an odd exegesis of the first words of Genesis, *Bereshith bara Elohim*:

I suppose I am not allowed to go into an investigation of anything that is not contained in the Bible. . . . I will go to the old Bible and turn commentator today. I will go to the very first Hebrew word—BERESHITH—in the Bible and make a comment on the first sentence of the history of creation: “In the beginning. . . .” I want to analyze the word BERESHITH. BE—in, by, through, and everything else; next, ROSH—the head; ITH. Where did it come from? When the inspired man wrote it, he did not put the first part—the BE—there; but a man—a Jew without any authority—put it there. He thought it too bad to begin to talk about the head of any man. It read in the first: “The Head One of the Gods brought forth the Gods.” This is the true meaning of the words. ROSHITH [BARA ELOHIM] signifies [the Head] to bring forth the Elohim. If you do not believe it you do not believe the learned man of God. No learned man can tell you any more than what I have told you. Thus, the Head God brought forth the Head Gods in the grand, head council.¹³²

By any literate interpretation of Hebrew, this is an impossible reading. Joseph takes Elohim, the subject of the clause, and turns it into the object, the thing which received the action of creation. *Bereshith* (“in the beginning”) is reinterpreted to become *Roshith*, the “head” or “Head Father of the Gods,” who is the subject-actor creating *Elohim*.¹³³ And *Elohim* he interprets not as God, but as “the Gods.” Louis C. Zucker, who published an insightful examination of Smith’s study and use of Hebrew, notes that this translation deviates entirely from the interpretative convention Joseph had learned as a student of Hebrew in Kirtland. Joshua Seixas, the professor who had instructed Joseph and the School of the Prophets in early 1836, used in his classes a textbook he had written, *Hebrew grammar for the Use of Beginners*.¹³⁴ In the Seixas manual (p. 85), this Hebrew text of Genesis 1:1 is

131. Van Hale, “The Doctrinal Impact of the King Follett Discourse,” *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 213.

132. Larson, “King Follett Discourse,” 202.

133. The phrase “Rosh—the Head Father of the Gods” is used by Smith to clarify his translation shortly after the above text. *Ibid.*, 203.

134. The *Hebrew grammar for the Use of Beginners* was published in 1833 and 1834, and

given along with a “correct” word-for-word translation: “In the beginning, he created, God, the heavens, and the earth.” Seixas would not have introduced in his oral instruction a translation entirely alien to the conventions of his own textbook. Zucker comments on Smith’s strange translation of the verse: “Joseph, with audacious independence, changes the meaning of the first word, and takes the third word ‘Eloheem’ as literally plural. He ignores the rest of the verse, and the syntax he imposes on his artificial three-word statement is impossible.”¹³⁵

But Zucker (along with Mormon historians generally) ignored another exegesis of this verse—an exegesis which was a basic precept of Jewish Kabbalah from the thirteenth century on and which agrees, word for word, with Joseph’s reading.¹³⁶ In the tradition of Kabbalah, *Bereshith bara Elohim* was most emphatically not an “artificial three-word statement,” as Zucker implied. Gershom Scholem, in the middle of a long discussion, explains this other view:

The Zohar, and indeed the majority of the older Kabbalists, questioned the meaning of the first verse of the Torah: *Bereshith bara Elohim*, “In the beginning created God”; what actually does this mean? The answer is fairly surprising. We are told that it means *Bereshith*—through the medium of the “beginning,” [Hokhmah, or “Wisdom,” the primordial image of the Father God in the Kabbalistic Sefiroth]—*bara*, created, that is to say, the hidden Nothing which constitutes the grammatical subject of the word *bara*, emanated or unfolded,—*Elohim*, that is to say, its emanation is *Elohim*. It [*Elohim*] is the object, and not the subject of the sentence.¹³⁷

Scholem’s point is perhaps made clearer by restatement. In the *Zohar*, and in the commentaries of the majority of older (that is, thirteenth- and fourteenth-century) Kabbalists, the verse *Bereshith bara Elohim* is grammatically turned around. *Bereshith* is understood to refer to the *Sefirah* of *Hokhmah*, translated as “Wisdom” and identified in Kabbalistic theosophy as the Supernal Father—the figure who is usually interpreted in Kabbalah as the First of the Godhead. *Hokhmah* then emanates, or “creates” in the

a copy can be found in Special Collections, Marriott Library. See the discussion in Louis C. Zucker, “Joseph Smith as a Student of Hebrew,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3 (Summer 1968): 41-55.

135. Zucker, 52-53.

136. Steven Epperson’s recent study offers an example of the failure by even a well-trained Mormon historian with interests in Judaism to recognize the Kabbalistic sources in Neibaur’s essay. Epperson makes brief mention of Neibaur and his article, but essentially quotes Zucker. Steven Epperson, *Mormons and Jews: Early Mormon Theologies of Israel* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 101.

137. Scholem, *Major Trends*, 221. Yehuda Liebes also comments on this same Kabbalistic interpretation of Genesis 1:1 in *Studies in the Zohar*, 153-54.

sense of unfolding, the *Elohim*.¹³⁸ As Scholem notes, the interesting thing here is that *Elohim* has become the object of the sentence, and is no longer the subject. This is precisely Joseph Smith's reading.

This interpretation of Genesis 1:1 is not deeply hidden in the *Zohar*, but constitutes its opening paragraphs, and is the central concern of the entire first section of this long book. The *Zohar* begins with a commentary on *Bereshith bara Elohim*:

It is written: And the intelligent shall shine like the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness like the stars for ever and ever. There was indeed a "brightness" [Zohar].¹³⁹ The Most Mysterious struck its void, and caused this point to shine. This "beginning" [*Reshith*] then extended, and made for itself a palace for its honour and glory. . . . Thus by means of this "beginning" [*Reshith*] the Mysterious Unknown made this palace. This palace is called Elohim, and this doctrine is contained in the words, "By means of a beginning [*Reshith*, it,] created Elohim."¹⁴⁰

So far this is exactly Joseph Smith's reading. In his exegesis Joseph takes *Elohim*, the subject of the clause, and turns it into the object which received the action of creation from the first god-image (here called *Reshith*), just as does the *Zohar*. Indeed, his words as transcribed by William Clayton, "Rosheet signifies to bring forth the Eloheim," are almost identical with the *Zohar*'s phrasing of the interpretation.¹⁴¹

In his next step of translation, Smith interprets *Bereshith* to become *Rosh*,

138. In Kabbalistic interpretation, the "Hidden Nothing" in Kabbalah is not "nothing" in the common sense, but the vast unorganized mystery preceding creation. There is no truly *ex nihilo* creation in Kabbalah. Thus Joseph's translation "organized" accords with Kabbalah. Scholem, *On the Kabbalah*, 102-103. See also Idel, *Kabbalah*, 220.

139. Interpretively, this verse can be read in Kabbalah to mean that the brightness or *Zohar* from which creation emanated is Intelligence, the first Being of God. The sympathy of this view with Mormon theology is apparent now, as it perhaps was then.

140. *Zohar* I:15a. All translations used here and below come from the Sperling translation of the *Zohar*: Harry Sperling and Maurice Simon, trans., *The Zohar*, 5 vols. (London: Soncino Press, 1931).

141. In the amalgamated text, the phrase is taken from William Clayton's transcription given here (Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *The Words of the Joseph Smith* [Orem, UT: Grandin Press, 1991], 358). In Larson's amalgamation, the bracketed words in the reconstructed text "ROSHITH [BARA ELOHIM] signifies [the Head] to bring forth the Elohim" are interposed by Larson based on the assumption that in the original other Hebrew words may have been spoken but not recorded (Larson, 198 n15). Clayton's transcription stands well without these interpolations. Joseph's use of the words "bring forth" is also significant; this is a closer translation of the Kabbalistic concept of emanation implied in the verse and perhaps a better choice than the word "created" used by the Sperling translation of the *Zohar* quoted above (Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 98-99).

the “head” or head God. As Zucker objected, orthodox standards of translations do not yield the word *Rosh*, or “head,” from *Bereshith*. But it was not “audacious independence” alone that led Smith to change the meaning. A basis for this reading is actually found in the next verse of the *Zohar*: By a Kabbalistic cipher of letters—a technique used in Kabbalah to conceal deeper esoteric meanings—the *Zohar* explains that the word *Reshith* “is anagrammatically Rosh (head), the beginning which issues from Reshith.”¹⁴² (To understand the fuller intent of this phrase, one must again remember that *Rosh* or *reshith* is here interpreted by Kabbalah to be *Hokhmah*, the first god-image, the Supernal Father.) Thus in this text *Reshith* has been interposed as an anagram for *Rosh*—who is understood to be the “Head God,” *Hokhmah*. Could this be what Joseph means when he says “a man, a Jew without authority” changed the reading of the word, perhaps by failing to understand this ancient Kabbalistic anagram?

Finally, Smith translates *Elohim* in the plural, as “the Gods.” The word is indeed in a plural Hebrew form, but by the orthodox interpretative conventions Joseph was taught in his Kirtland Hebrew class (which remain the norm) it is read as singular. In the *Zohar*, however, it is interpreted in the plural. This is witnessed throughout the *Zohar* and appears clearly in the following paragraph from the opening sections of the work, where the phrase “Let us make man” (Gen. 1:26) is used as the basis for a discussion on the plurality of the gods:

“Us” certainly refers to two, of which one said to the other above it, “let us make,” nor did it do anything save with the permission and direction of the one above it, while the one above did nothing without consulting its colleague. But that which is called “the Cause above all causes,” which has no superior or even equal, as it is written, “To whom shall ye liken me, that I should be equal?” (Is. 40:25), said, “See now that I, I am he, and Elohim is not with me,” from whom he should take counsel. . . . Withal the colleagues explained the word Elohim in this verse as referring to other gods.¹⁴³

Within this passage is both the concept of plurality and of the hierarchy of Gods acting “with the permission and direction of the one above it, while

142. The full text of this passage in the *Zohar* is as follows: “A further esoteric interpretation of the word *bereshith* is as follows. The name of the starting-point of all is Ehyeh (I shall be). The holy name when inscribed at its side is Elohim, but when inscribed by circumscription is Asher, the hidden and recondite temple, the source of that which is mystically called Reshith. The word Asher (i.e., the letters Aleph, Shin, Resh from the word *bereshith*) is anagrammatically Rosh (head), the beginning which issues from Reshith” (*Zohar* I:15a). It should also be noted that each Hebrew letter has an independent meaning; the letter *resh* has the meaning “head.”

143. *Zohar* I:23b.

the one above did nothing without consulting its colleague." This interpretation is of course echoed in the King Follett discourse and became a foundation for all subsequent Mormon theosophy.

Two months after giving the King Follett Discourse, Joseph returned to these first Hebrew words of Genesis and the subject of plural Gods. Thomas Bullock transcribed his remarks on the rainy Sunday morning of 16 June 1844. This was to be Joseph's last public proclamation on doctrine; eleven days later he lay dead. Joseph first introduced his subject—the plurality of Gods—then again read in Hebrew the opening words of Genesis and repeated his interpretation of *Bereshith bara Elohim*, using much the same phrasing recorded two months earlier in the King Follett Discourse. He then turned to Genesis 1:26, "Let us make man," the same passage interpreted in the *Zohar* to imply a plurality of Gods. After reading the verse aloud in Hebrew, he interpreted the text and found in it the same occult import given by the *Zohar*: The God "which has no superior or equal" (the *Zohar's* words), the "Head one of the Gods" (Joseph's term) addressed the "other Gods," *Elohim* in the plural translation, saying "let us make man." Bullock transcribed his remarks thus: "if we pursue the Heb further it reads [here he apparently read in Hebrew Genesis 1:26] The Head one of the Gods said let us make man in our image. . . . in the very beginning there is a plurality of Gods—beyond power of refutation—it is a great subject I am dwelling on—the word Eloheim ought to be in the plural all the way thro."¹⁴⁴

As he began his exegesis of the opening Hebrew phrase of Genesis in the King Follett Discourse, Joseph stated that he would go to the "old Bible." In Kabbalistic lore, the commentary of the *Zohar* represented the oldest biblical interpretation, the secret interpretation imparted by God to Adam and all worthy prophets after him. Joseph certainly was not using the knowledge of Hebrew imparted to him in Kirtland nine years earlier when he gave his exegesis of *Bereshith bara Elohim*, or plural interpretation of *Elohim*. Was then the "old Bible" he used the *Zohar*? And was the "learned man of God" he mentioned Simeon ben Yochai, the prophetic teacher attributed with these words in the *Zohar*?

Joseph wove Hebrew into several of his discourses during the final year of his life. In these late Nauvoo discourses, however, he interpreted the Hebrew not as a linguist but as a Kabbalist—a reflection of his own predilections and of the fortuitous aid of his tutor, Alexander Neibaur.¹⁴⁵

144. Ehat and Cook, *Words of Joseph*, 379.

145. In the King Follett Discourse on two occasions Smith noted he had been recently "reading from the German," and he does actually read aloud in German near the end of the discourse. Neibaur was Joseph's tutor in German and Hebrew, and was the only person in Joseph's immediate company who knew German, Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, the

But in conclusion, we need to step back from this discussion of words and see that behind them resides a unique vision, a vision characteristic of the occult Hermetic-Kabbalistic tradition. Harold Bloom called the King Follett Discourse "one of the truly remarkable sermons ever preached in America." It is also a remarkable evidence of the prophet's visionary ties to the archaic legacy of Jewish Gnosticism and to the single most influential force in the evolution of Christian occultism: the Kabbalah.

KABBALAH AFTER JOSEPH: A LEGACY MISUNDERSTOOD

Kabbalistic theosophy was, if nothing else, complex. Different interpretations abounded among Christian Kabbalists removed from the original Kabbalistic foundations of Jewish culture and halakhic observance. We can imagine how easily such ideas might have been misunderstood by a concretely minded Yankee disciple of Joseph Smith. This may help explain a troubling conundrum of early Mormon theology: Brigham Young's assertion that "Adam is God." Brigham claimed that Joseph had taught him this doctrine—although there is no evidence that Joseph ever publicly avowed such a view.¹⁴⁶ In Kabbalah the theme is, however, prominent: *Adam Kadmon* is indeed "God," and his form is in the image of a Man—as noted earlier. Given the evidence that Joseph did know some elements of Kabbalah and had access both to the *Zohar* and to a Jew familiar with a wide range of Kabbalistic materials, it seems probable that Brigham heard this concept in some form from Joseph. The Adam-God doctrine may have been a misreading (or restatement) by Brigham Young of a Kabbalistic and Hermetic concept relayed to him by the prophet.

More than one element in early Mormon theology suggests that subtle visions could be made grossly concrete. Perhaps the most striking example is the sacral nature of the marital sexual union and the human potential for multiple sacred marriages, a potential shared in Joseph's time by both women and men. As Bloom noted, in Kabbalah and perhaps in Smith's practice "the function of sanctified human sexual intercourse essentially is theurgical."¹⁴⁷ This was an important un-

languages Smith mentions or uses during his oration. And Neibaur was the figure in Nauvoo who knew Kabbalah and perhaps even possessed a copy of the *Zohar*, containing the exegesis Smith used in his greatest doctrinal discourse. Hale notes that the sections of the King Follett Discourse containing foreign languages probably receive some advanced preparation (Hale, 210). It seems probable that Neibaur helped.

146. See David John Buerger, "The Adam-God Doctrine," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Spring 1982): 14-58.

147. The *Zohar* says, "The King [God] seeks only that which corresponds to him. Therefore the Holy One, may He be blessed, dwells in him who (like Him) is one. When man, in perfect holiness, realizes the One, He is in that one. And when is it that man is called

dertone in the wider circles of Christian occultism, eventually manifest in several occult Masonic societies. How Joseph interacted with this tradition and vision is the single most interesting and important issue awaiting historians of Mormonism. That this was an issue early in his life is witnessed by the need to marry and have Emma with him prior to obtaining the golden plates of the Book of Mormon.¹⁴⁸ That the pre-occupation persisted throughout his life needs little argument. Ideas of sacred sexuality permeated Kabbalah, Hermeticism, and alchemy, perhaps touching even the mystical vision of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart in his overtly Masonic opera, *The Magic Flute: "Mann und Weib, Weib und Man; Reichen an die Gottheit an!"* ("Man and Woman, Woman and Man, Together they approximate the Divine!").¹⁴⁹ By investigating in depth the legacy of ideas and experiences of Kabbalah and Christian occultism, we might begin to understand this perplexing vision shared by the prophet Joseph Smith.

That Kabbalistic ideas persisted among Joseph's disciples is suggested in an intriguing piece of evidence appearing three years after the prophet's martyrdom. To understand this item, a more detailed understanding of Kabbalah as Joseph may have heard it is necessary. Briefly summarized: the most important symbolic representation of the structure of "the Kingdom of God" in Kabbalah was the "Tree of the *Sefiroth*" (see Figures 1 and 2). The Tree was re-drawn by Robert Fludd (an important English Kabbalist and Rosicrucian of the seventeenth century) in a slightly different fashion (see Figure 12).¹⁵⁰ In his figure, Fludd uses the allegorical image of a Tree with roots in heaven above and palm-like "branches" at the bottom (in the *Sefirah* of *Malkhuth*, meaning "Foundation"), extending into the earth. The tree is crowned; the crown representing *Kether* (meaning "Crown"), the first *Sefirah* and primal god-image. Below this crown, the tree branches into the other nine *Sefiroth*.

In the *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* in 1847 an interesting figure

one? When man and woman are joined together sexually. . . . Come and see! At the point at which a human being as male and female is united, taking care that his thoughts are holy, he is perfect and stainless and is called one. Man should therefore act so that woman is glad at that moment and has one single wish together with him, and both of them united should bring their mind to that thing. For thus has it been taught, 'He who has not taken a woman is as if he were only a half'" (*Zohar* III:81a).

148. See Quinn, 138-40.

149. Mozart was of course a Mason, and his royal patron, Joseph II of Austria (reign 1780-90), was both a Mason and a patron of Masonry (Ellwood, 64).

150. Robert Fludd, "Aboris Sephirothicae," in *De Praeternaturali utrusque mundi Historia*, Vol. 2, 157, part of the larger work, *Utriusque cosmi maioris . . .* (Frankfurti, 1621). One also notes that Joseph Smith's presidential campaign poster (illustrated in Smith, lxxxvi) is similar to several other illustrations in this volume by Fludd.

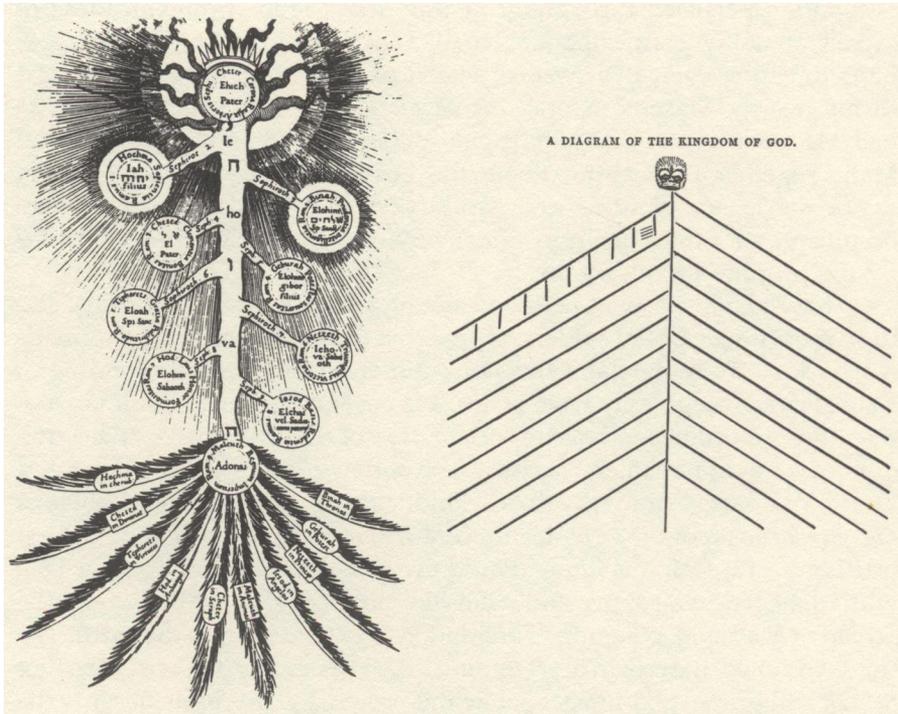


Figure 12. The Kabbalistic “Tree of Life” from Fludd’s 1621 Rosicrucian work (left) and the “Kingdom of God” as drawn by Orson Hyde in an 1847 number of the Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star (right). The crown represents Kether (which means in Hebrew “crown”), the first emanation of Divinity.

appears, titled "A Diagram of the Kingdom of God" (see Figure 12).¹⁵¹ The artist and author of this small piece was probably Orson Hyde. Hyde's tree is also crowned, and branches in precisely the fashion of Fludd's tree. The only difference is that the Hyde tree has twenty-two branches. This is a remarkable choice of numbers, as any student of Kabbalah will recognize. In Kabbalah there are two important numerical aspects of the Tree of *Sefiroth*: the first is the number ten, the number of *Sefiroth*, the second is the number twenty-two, the number of paths between the *Sefiroth*, one for each letter of the Hebrew alphabet. Thus Joseph Smith may have conveyed to one his apostles—or Hyde may have independently found compatible with the prophet's teachings—the most essential symbolic element of Kabbalah, the "mystical shape of the Godhead" contained in the image of the *Sefiroth* as redrawn by a principal and influential seventeenth-century Christian Kabbalist, Fludd.

That interest in the subject of Kabbalah and Hermeticism persisted in at least one disciple of Smith's is witnessed by William Clayton. Clayton was Smith's personal secretary and one of his intimate associates during the prophet's last years in Nauvoo.¹⁵² Few, if any, individuals had a closer view of Joseph Smith in the Nauvoo period. This may explain Clayton's otherwise unusual interest in Kabbalah and alchemy manifested in his later years. In 1864 someone in Utah loaned Clayton a guidebook of "Cabala," a tract apparently containing several advertisements for esoteric materials relating to "Cabala" and alchemy. As one of Clayton's biographers writes, "Though the record is not clear, it may be that . . . he wanted . . . something akin to the so-called Philosopher's Stone of the ancient alchemists—a substance that supposedly enabled the adept, when applied correctly, to transmute metals." Clayton subsequently organized an alchemical society in Salt Lake City, with himself as corresponding secretary, and purchased several mail-order alchemical outfits. The group, which numbered at least twenty-six members, spent months attempting to transmute metals without success before finally abandoning their project.¹⁵³ Though it appears Clayton was simply duped by a mail-order shyster, his esoteric interests and his faith in them might also be explained by some recollection he harbored about Kabbalah and the prophet in Nauvoo.

151. *Millennial Star* 9 (15 Jan. 1847): 23-24.

152. "Since Clayton attended virtually all meetings from general church conferences to Joseph Smith's private prayer circle, and was often appointed to take minutes, he was usually present when Smith delivered prophecies and revealed new doctrines" (Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle*, xxiii).

153. James B. Allen, *Trials of Discipleship: The Story of William Clayton, a Mormon* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 331-36.

JOSEPH AND THE OCCULT CONNECTION

In attempting to understand Joseph Smith and his religious vision, historians have examined both the religious sparks kindled by his time and the social soils from which the young prophet sprang. As useful as some of these efforts have been, I still agree with Paul Edwards: our methods so far have been too “traditional and unimaginative” to comprehend Joseph’s history; we remain, even now, blinded by the fears of yesterday—or biased by its erroneous judgments. Chief among the subjects that might be “feared” in Mormon history is Joseph’s apparent recurrent association with the “occult” traditions of Western spirituality, and this remains the area of his history least examined and understood. It is impossible for me to present fresh evidence which seemingly links Joseph Smith to what might be interpreted as “the occult” without addressing this wider issue.

The historical record witnesses that Joseph Smith had some intercourse with at least three important manifestations of the alternative and non-orthodox religious traditions that blossomed in the Renaissance and post-Renaissance period, traditions sometimes labeled as “the occult”: ceremonial magic, Masonry, and Kabbalah. These associations extended throughout his life, and his liaison with each constituted more than casual acquaintance. This is an area of history to which Mormon historians have been hesitant to turn full attention—an area where our fears (or ignorance) have delimited our understanding.

It would be foolish at this late date to maintain that any single tradition engendered Joseph Smith’s religious vision. Joseph was an American original—and we need not fear him being cast as a Masonic pundit, folk magician, Rosicrucian mystic, medieval Kabbalist, or ancient Gnostic. Nonetheless, we must recognize that something in the nature of the prophet, some element of his own intrinsic vision, did resonate with the occult traditions of the Western spiritual quest. Into the spirit and matter of his religious legacy, he wove these sympathies. Joseph carried his silver talisman, inscribed with the sigil of Jupiter and Hebrew letters cast in a magic square, upon his person to his death. He called Masonry a remnant of true priesthood, and over a thousand of his men in Nauvoo, including nearly every then current or future priesthood leader of his nascent church, went through the three separate steps of ritual initiation leading to the degree of Master Mason. In his last months, amid dissension and danger, he found time to sit and read Hebrew and perhaps study Kabbalah and the *Zohar* with Alexander Neibaur. In April 1844, when his congregation expected retrenchment and reconciliation, he turned to that Hebrew, and bequeathed to his disciples an extraordinary vision of God—a theosophical pronouncement which echoed the tones of Kabbalah even to the ear of a critic so far removed in time and culture as Harold Bloom.

It is this last link—Joseph’s sympathy for Kabbalah—which may be the key that finally unlocks a pattern, and opens a new methodology for understanding the prophet Joseph Smith. As Richard Bushman noted:

The power of Enlightenment skepticism had far less influence on Joseph Smith. . . . Joseph told of the visits of angels, of direct inspiration, of a voice in the chamber of Father Whitmer, without embarrassment. He prized the Urim and Thummim and the seerstone, never repudiating them even when the major charge against him was that he used magic to find buried money. His world was not created by Enlightenment rationalism with its deathly aversion to superstition. The Prophet brought into modern America elements of a more ancient culture in which the sacred and the profane intermingled and the Saints enjoyed supernatural gifts and powers as the frequent blessing of an interested God.¹⁵⁴

Joseph Smith did indeed bring into America elements of an ancient culture—but that culture was not temporally very distant from the prophet. When Joseph was introduced to Jewish Kabbalah in its classic form in Nauvoo, he found—consciously or unconsciously—the fiber of a thread woven throughout the fabric of his life. The magic he met as a youth, the prophetic reinterpretation of scripture and opening of the canon to divine revelation, the Masonic symbol system: all of these were reflections of an heterodox Hermetic religious tradition that had persisted in various occult fashions within the Western religious tradition for centuries, a tradition of which Kabbalah was a most important part. Call the tradition “occult” if you wish—certainly to survive it was at times hidden—but do not err by seeing it as simply a legacy of ideas from which the young prophet might pick and choose.

This tradition—as is now well accepted by scholars—was driven by the phenomenon of a rare human experience. As interwoven into Hermeticism, Kabbalah was a tradition not just of theosophic assertions, but of a return to prophetic vision. For a millennium or more—perhaps dating all the way back to the suppressed heresy of the Gnostics—men and women within this larger tradition asserted the reality of their vision—and sometimes even used what now seems modern psychological insight in dealing with their experiences.¹⁵⁵ Individuals caught in this experience not uncommonly

154. Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 184.

155. “The theosophical system of the Sefiroth was interpreted by Abraham Abulafia as referring to human actions and psychological states . . . [I]n principle, the psychologizing of Kabbalah in the ecstatic trend served to bridge the immense gap between it and philosophical psychology, which never emphasized the esoteric nature of this realm of speculation” (Idel, *Kabbalah*, 254-55).

saw themselves as prophets, though the force of the tradition sought to maintain a balance in the face of such realizations. Many of them thought themselves kings and queens before God, and some openly proclaimed their royalty.¹⁵⁶ They probed the mystery of Adam and Eve, and primal creation, they embraced rituals and symbols as non-verbal expressions of ineffable insights. Their sexuality was sacralized, and not infrequently their sacred sexual practices ranged beyond the bounds of expression accepted by the societies of their times. Their most sacred mystery, the great *mysterium coniunctionis*, was sometimes ecstatically mirrored in the holy union of a man and a woman. They authored pseudoepigrahic works, invoking ancient voices as their own. They told new stories about God because for them God was a living story; and they found their own lives mingled within a story being told by a living God. When Joseph sought a mirror to understand himself he found reflections in a history not so distant as that of ancient Israel. His story, the prophet's story, lived within the occult legacy of his time. He touched that legacy often, and he saw in it the image—even if dimmed and distorted—of a priesthood he shared.

Joseph Smith's life reflected the nature of an unusual human experience, and to understand his history we must understand his experience in the context of history. The Swiss psychologist Carl Jung dedicated the last half of his long life to elucidating the nature and psychological insights of the Kabbalistic-Hermetic-alchemical tradition. He felt it held the pearl of great price, the treasure forgotten by Christianity in its enlightened Protestant evolution. It was at the Eranos conferences dominated by Jung that Gershom Scholem, the preeminent pioneer of Kabbalistic studies, opened the eyes of Western scholarship to the tradition's import in our history.¹⁵⁷ Moshe Idel, Scholem's brilliant and independent protégé, has subsequently reaffirmed the value of a psychological perception in understanding its phenomena.¹⁵⁸ With insights augmented by Scholem's work, the historian

156. For example, see Scholem's discussion of this practice among the Sabbateans in his *Sabbatai Sevi*, 426-32.

157. The Eranos Society met each summer in Ascona, Switzerland, beginning in the 1930s. From 1933 through the 1950s Jung was a dominant presence in these conferences—gatherings which united many of the great minds of the time. In 1949 Gershom Scholem first lectured at Eranos and continued to lecture almost annually until 1961. These eleven lectures now compose the body of two books by Scholem, *The Mystical Shape of the Godhead* and *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism*. Jung and Scholem shared a warm intellectual friendship, though Scholem was hesitant to develop his studies of Kabbalah using purely psychological terminology. See William McGuire, *Bollingen: An Adventure in Collecting the Past* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), 152-54. See also Joseph Dan's foreword to Gershom Scholem, *The Mystical Shape of the Godhead*, 1-14. A six-volume collection of papers from the Eranos conferences edited by Joseph Campbell has been published by Princeton University Press as Bollingen Series XXX.

158. "Analysis of the psychological implications of using Kabbalistic techniques to

Francis Yates pioneered a new understanding of the vast influence of the occult tradition in Renaissance and Reformation culture.¹⁵⁹ And recently Harold Bloom has pointed to its import in the creative vision of more modern times.¹⁶⁰ Perhaps the thrust of this scholarship is now reaching the cloisters of Mormon history. But should that indeed be the case, Mormon historians must understand that they are embarking into a different methodology of history. A prophet's history flows from two springs, one above and one below, both melding in currents of his life. What story from above the prophet may have heard will remain his secret, the history no man knows. But by turning to the larger realm of prophetic history and its occult legacy, the record of its aspirations, its symbols and lore, and the enigmatic histories of the women and men who have been caught in this unique human experience, we may begin to find a methodology that leads us with new wonder into the unknown history of Joseph Smith.

APPENDIX: ALEXANDER NEIBAUR'S LIBRARY

Below is a summary of citations given by Alexander Neibaur in his article "The Jews," *Times and Seasons* 4 (1 June 1843): 220-22, and 4 (15 June 1843): 233-34. They are listed in order of first occurrence in his text. When an author or text is cited more than once, only the first is listed. These citations include several of the "classic" Kabbalistic texts circulated between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries—works such as the *Zohar*, *Menorat ha Ma'or*, *Emek ha-Melekh*, and the *'Avodat ha-Kodesh*—as well as a few rarer documents. I have noted several citations to these important texts in studies of Kabbalah by Moshe Idel and Gershom Scholem.

"Rabbi Manasse Ben Israel says in Nishmath Cajim": R. Manasseh Ben Israel, *Nishmat Hayyim*, a work published in Amsterdam in 1652 in defense of the Kabbalistic concept of *gilgul*, the transmigration of souls. (Neibaur specifically mentions the term "Gilgool.") (Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 349.)

"R. Issac Aberhaph in his Menorat Hamorr": Israel al-Nakawa is the true

attain paranormal experiences cannot be avoided. If the approach proposed here to see Kabbalah more in terms of experiential phenomena than has been previously done is correct, then psychology, as an invaluable tool, must gradually be integrated into future study of this kind of mysticism" (Idel, *Kabbalah*, 25).

159. For a summary of Yates's debt to Scholem, see the introduction to her *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age*, 1-3.

160. In addition to *The American Religion*, see Bloom's *Kabbalah and Criticism* (New York: Seabury Press, 1975), and his critical interpretation titled "A Reading," in Marvin Meyer, *The Gospel of Thomas: The Hidden Sayings of Jesus* (San Francisco: Harper, 1992), 111-21.

- author of this important fourteenth-century work, *Menorat ha Ma'or*. I have not yet identified the author cited by Neibaur, "R. Aberhaph," which is apparently in error. (Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 66.)
- "R. Baccay" (later cited as "R. Bacay" and "Rabbi Bachay"): Possibly R. Samson Bacchi of Casale Monferrato. A seventeenth-century Italian Jew and Kabbalist, and a disciple of the leading Kabbalist in Italy, R. Moses Zacuto. R. Bacchi had intimate knowledge of the Sabbatean movement and several associations with followers of Sabbatai Sevi. (Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*, 501-3) He had studied Lurianic Kabbalah with one of Luria's disciples, Joseph Ibn Tabul. (Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 424.) Another possibility is twelfth-century philosopher Bachya Ben Joseph Ibn Pakuda.
- "R. Isaac Abarbanel": R. Isaac Abrabanel (or Abravanel) was a prominent commentator on Kabbalistic eschatology and messianism active in late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Idel notes Abarvanel as one of the commentators who tended to add a Platonic interpretation to Kabbalistic ideas. (Idel, *Kabbalah*, 3, 144, 281; Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 71; Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*, 14.)
- "R. D. Kimchi": R. David Kimchi, a thirteenth-century Jewish grammarian and biblical commentator.
- "Rabbi Naphtali in Emakhamelek": *Emek ha-Melekh* by Naphtali Bacharach, published in 1648 and considered "one of the most important kabbalistic works." A German kabbalist active in the first half of the seventeenth century, "Bacharach appears as an enthusiastic and fanatical kabbalist, with a special flair for the mystical and non-philosophical traits of Kabbalah. . . . The book *Emek ha-Melekh* had a great impact on the development of the late Kabbalah. It was widely recognized as an authoritative source on the doctrine of Isaac Luria, and kabbalists from many countries . . . quoted him extensively. His influence is also noticeable in Sabbatean literature" (Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 394-95).
- "Jalkut Kodosh" (later cited "Jalkut Kadash" and "Talkut Kadash"): *Yalqut Khadash*, a seventeenth-century anthology of Kabbalistic material. This anthology contained a most interesting text on the mystical and salvific intention of sexual union between male and female (Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*, 61-62).
- "Medrash Neelam": *Midrash Ha-Neelam* is a principal section of the *Zohar*, the central Kabbalistic collection of esoteric teachings. Scholem argues that it may be temporally one of the oldest constituent sections of the *Zohar* (Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 181-88).
- "R. Joseph Albo": Spanish philosopher and Kabbalist (ca. 1380-ca. 1435) whose principal work, *Sepher ha-Ikkarim*, achieved considerable popu-

- larity with both scholars and laymen. (Idel, *Kabbalah*, 144.)
- "Aphkat Rackel" (later also cited as "Ophkat Rochel"): *Abkat Rokhel*, a Kabbalistic book in circulation in the seventeenth century (Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*, 661n.)
- "R. Jacanan": R. Yohanan ben Zakkai is a Talmudic figure, and this reference is most likely to him.
- "Talmuh Tract Sanhedrin": Talmudic text (Idel, *Kabbalah*, 403.)
- "Bereshith Rabba": The *Bereshith rabbati* by R. Moses ben Isaac ha-Darshan of Narbonne, France (eleventh century). (Scholem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead*, 156). R. Moses was a primary source of early gematriot, the cipher of letters to find hidden meanings in scripture. (Scholem, *Kabbalah*, 338.)
- "R. Levi ber Gerohonon": Levi ben Gershon (also Gershom or Gersonides) lived in the South of France (1288-1344), and is often considered the greatest Jewish philosopher after Maimonides. Working in an intellectual atmosphere charged with Kabbalistic and Aristotelian influences, he authored philosophic and scientific works which had a wide influence.
- "R. Jonathan": Not yet identified.
- "Talmud Tract Resokim": Talmudic text.
- "R. Elias": Not yet identified.
- "Rabbi Akiba": R. Akiba (or, R. 'Akiva), a second-century Jewish hero and early midrashic commentator, revered in later commentary to have been a source of both halakhic and esoteric knowledge. (Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*, 78-79.)
- "Avodath Hakodash" (also cited as "Abodah Hakadash"): *'Avodat ha-Kodesh*, by R. Meir ibn Gabbay. Written in 1531 in "Palestine or Egypt by the leading kabbalist of the generation before Luria" (Scholem, *Sevi*, 47), this is a "classic exposition of theosophical kabbalah" (Idel, *Kabbalah*, 399), and "made an especially impressive summary of the teachings of the earlier Kabbalists" (Scholem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead*, 81). It was published in Venice in 1566 (Scholem, *Sevi*, 47). Ibn Gabbay in this and other works developed the theurgic concept of man as divine in form, influencing the divine. (Idel, *Kabbalah*, 176.)
- "Talmud Tract Ketuboth": Talmudic text.
- "Sohar": The primary text of Kabbalah, the *Zohar*. The first printed edition of the *Zohar* appeared almost simultaneously in two different places, Mantua and Cremona, in 1588-90. Several later editions appeared, but the Mantua edition had the widest influence, and most subsequent editions were based on its text. Portions of the *Zohar* appeared in Knorr von Rosenroth's Latin *Kabbalah Denudata*, first published at Sulzbach

in 1677.

"Rabbi Simeon, son of Jacay": R. Simeon b. Yochai, the central figure in the text of the principal Kabbalistic text, the *Zohar*.

"Pesikta Raba": This is the *Pesiqta Rabbathi*, one of the late midrashim, notable for the impressive eschatological sections and messianic exegesis. This particular midrash was important to Sabbateans, who used sections of it to explain the messianic burden born by Sabbatai Sevi. (Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*, 54, 146, 175.)

"Rabbi Jehuda": Not yet identified.

"Rabbi Joshua ben Menaser": Not yet identified.

"The Book Siphri": *Sifrei*, a midrashic-talmudic text. (M. Idel, *Kabbalah*, 403.)

"Book Rad Hakemah": Possibly *Kad Ha-Kemah* by Bachya Ibn Pakuda, a thirteenth-century philosopher whose work had a strong spiritual affinity with the Arab mystics and influenced subsequent Jewish mysticism.

Clean

Donna Bernhisel

Creekbottom
pushes up between our toes
like mushrooms.
Summer water
moves slow around our shins
then flattens our dresses
like leaves against our thighs.
The three of us
hold tight to willows bent low
as we wade in further.
Sun shifts between the shadowed creek banks.

Yesterday
the same light fell
on the boy baptized by his father,
"by the proper authority," the bishop said.
We saw his underwater smile and closed eyes.
Creekwater streamed off his slick hair,
clean.

We stand now,
looking at each other, waiting.
The slip of water around our legs
nudges.
Willows rustle around us,
branches bowed toward the water.

We take turns.
Helped by the other two,
I bend and plunge under.
My feet kick clouds
of underwater dust
that floats up.
When I shake my hair,
an arc of droplets freckles the water,
clean.

The Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests

Dan Vogel

IN MID-1971 WESLEY P. WALTERS DISCOVERED Justice Albert Neely's bill of costs for 1826 in the damp basement of the Chenango County Jail in Norwich, New York, confirming Joseph Smith's involvement in treasure digging. Rather than defend Smith's later statements that limited his involvement as a treasure seer to a single, brief instance with Josiah Stowell in November 1825 in Harmony, Pennsylvania, many scholars now accept the essential accuracy of the March 1826 court transcript.¹ In this court record Smith confessed that "he had a certain stone, which he had occasionally looked at to determine where hidden treasures . . . were . . . and had looked for Mr. Stowell several times . . . that at Palmyra . . . he had frequently ascertained in that way where lost property was . . . that he has occasionally been in the habit of looking through this stone to find lost property for three years."²

1. Mormon apologist Richard L. Anderson has noted his change of opinion in "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," *Brigham Young University Studies* 24 (Fall 1984): 491-92, and his review of Rodger I. Anderson's *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990) in *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 3 (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1991), 63. In the absence of the original document, Gordon A. Madsen and Paul Hedengren have argued that the concluding statement ("And therefore the court find[s] the defendant guilty") in the published version is "a later inclusion" or "an afterthought supplied by whoever subsequently handled the notes" (Gordon A. Madsen, "Joseph Smith's 1826 Trial: The Legal Setting," *Brigham Young University Studies* 30 [Spring 1990]: 106; Paul Hedengren, *In Defense of Faith: Assessing Arguments Against Latter-day Saint Belief* [Provo, UT: Bradford and Wilson, 1985], 216-17). Otherwise Madsen and Hedengren accept the general accuracy of the published record.

2. The original court record has evidently not survived, so researchers must rely on three independent printings: Charles Marshall, "The Original Prophet. By a Visitor to Salt

In what follows I hope to treat Joseph Smith's treasure-seeking activities in the Palmyra/Manchester area, and later at various locations along the Susquehanna River running through Harmony, Pennsylvania, and the southern New York counties of Chenango and Broome (see Map 1). Instead of discussing these activities in general, I will identify specific locations for some of Smith's treasure quests.

PALMYRA/MANCHESTER, NEW YORK,
1822 TO 1825 AND 1827

Non-Mormon journalist James Gordon Bennett, who visited the Palmyra/Manchester, New York, area in August 1831, wrote that "[o]n the sides & in the slopes of several of these hills" in Manchester, Joseph Smith-inspired "excavations are still to be seen."³ On 4 December 1833, fifty-one residents of the Palmyra area affirmed that "large excavations may be seen in the earth, not far from their [the Smiths'] residence, where they used to spend their time digging for hidden treasure."⁴ In 1867 Palmyra resident Pomeroy Tucker wrote,

Numerous traces of the excavations left by Smith are yet remaining as evidences of his impostures and the folly of his dupes, though most of them have become obliterated by the clearing off and tilling of the lands where they were made. . . . The pit-hole memorials of his treasure explorations were numerous in the surrounding fields and woodlands, attracting the inspection of the curious, and the wonder of the superstitious.⁵

As late as March 1881 Hiram Jackway, who was born at Palmyra in 1815, said he knew the location of three holes in the area which the Smiths worked.⁶

The combined testimony from area residents, which is examined in

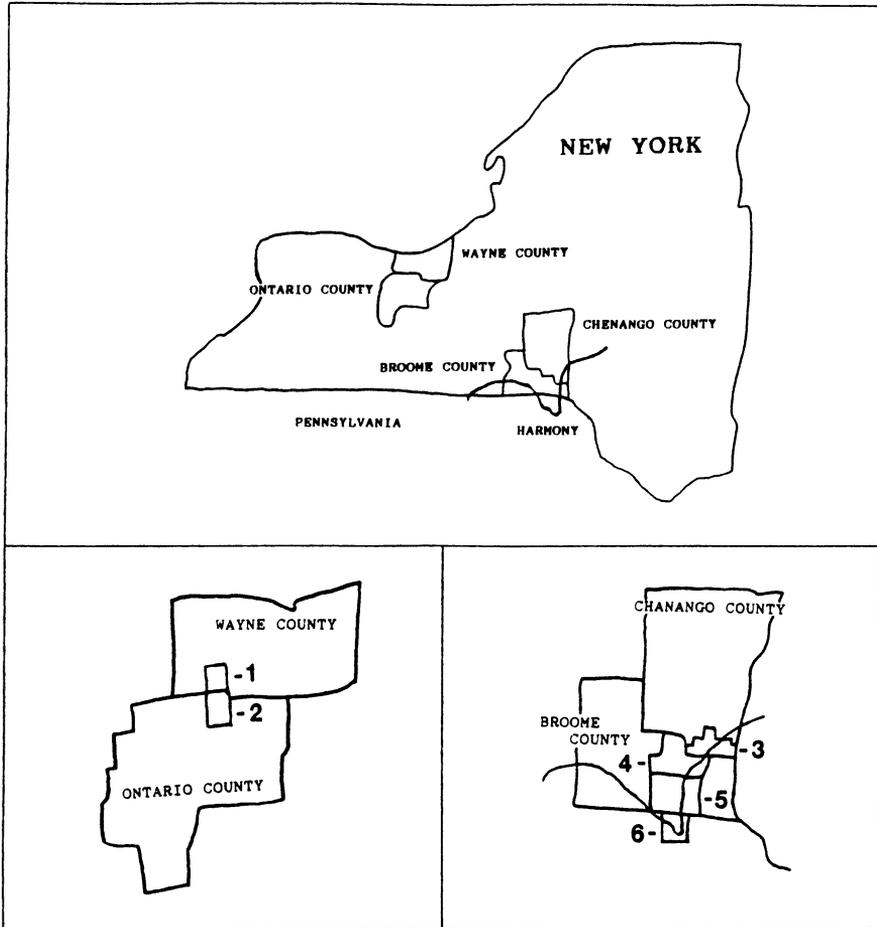
Lake City," *Fraser's Magazine* (London) 7 (Feb. 1873): 225-35 (reprinted in the *Eclectic Magazine* [New York] 17 [Apr. 1873]: 479-88); Daniel S. Tuttle, "Mormons," *A Religious Encyclopaedia*, ed. Philip Schaff (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1883), 2:1576; and "A Document Discovered," *Utah Christian Advocate* (Salt Lake City), Jan. 1886. Of the three printings, the *Utah Christian Advocate* is apparently the most carefully prepared copy; it is therefore the version used throughout this essay.

3. James Gordon Bennett, "Mormonism," *Morning Courier and Enquirer*, 31 Aug. 1831.

4. E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled: or, A Faithful Account of That Singular Imposition and Delusion, from Its Rise to the Present Time* (Painesville, OH: E. D. Howe, 1834), 261.

5. Pomeroy Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1867), 26, 27.

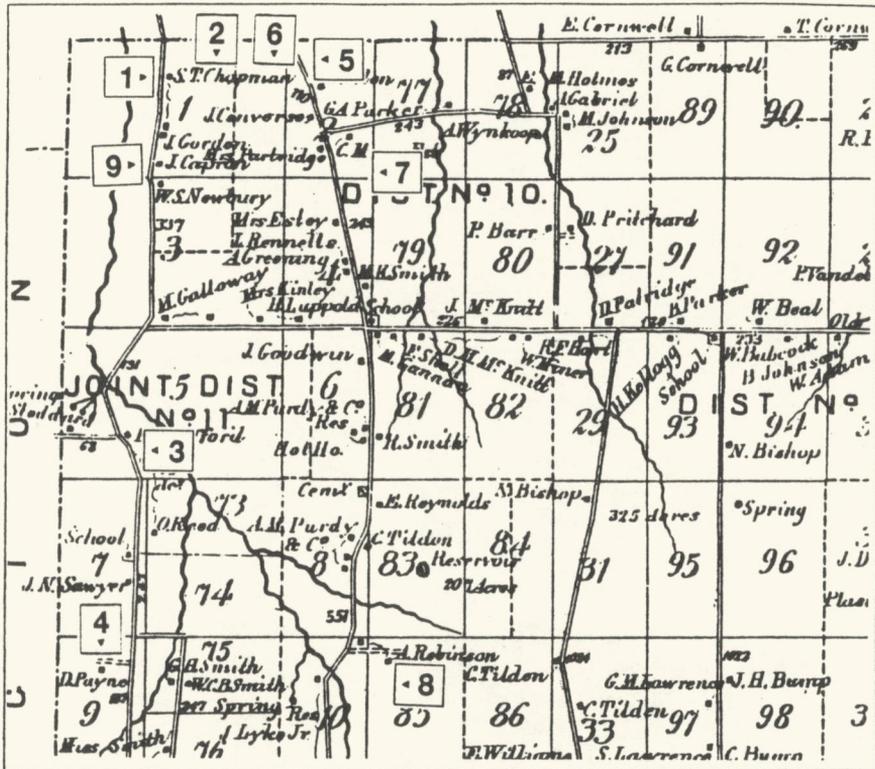
6. William H. Kelley, "The Hill Cumorah, and the Book of Mormon," *Saints' Herald* 28 (1 June 1881): 166.



RELATIONSHIP OF COUNTIES AND TOWNSHIPS

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Palmyra Township. | 4. Colesville Township. |
| 2. Manchester Township. | 5. Windsor Township. |
| 3. Bainbridge (now Afton) Township. | 6. Harmony Township. |

Map 1. Relationship of areas of Joseph Smith's early treasure quests in New York and Pennsylvania



MANCHESTER SITES

1. Joseph Smith home.
2. Hill east of Smith home; location of digging for kegs of gold and silver.
3. William Stafford home site.
4. Possible location of Joshua Stafford home; general location of digging for money.
5. Clark Chase cabin site; Joseph Smith's seer stone found in nearby well.
6. "Old Sharp" Hill; location of digging for treasure and sheep sacrifice.
7. "Miner's Hill"; location of cave and digging for golden furniture.
8. "Hill Cumorah"; northeast side location of digging for gold plates.
9. Joseph Capron home; northwest of Capron home location of digging for box of gold watches

Map 2. Manchester Township, W. H. McIntosh, History of Ontario Co., New York (Philadelphia: Everts, Ensign and Everts, 1876), 4.

detail below, identifies six specific locations in Manchester for Smith family treasure quests (see Map 2). The majority of these Smith-inspired digs date to the earliest period of Joseph Smith's activities as treasure seer (1822-25), before his employment with Josiah Stowell in October 1825 and subsequent treasure searches in Pennsylvania and southern New York. One dig, which evidently occurred in 1827 on the Joseph Capron farm before Smith procured the Book of Mormon gold plates in September, is also considered.

About four years after their arrival in Palmyra, New York, the Smiths moved south of the village on Stafford Road and took up residence in a small log cabin on the property of Samuel Jennings about fifty-eight feet north of the township line dividing Palmyra and Farmington (Manchester after 1823).⁷ About the same time Joseph Sr. and oldest son Alvin contracted for a 100-acre lot just across the line in Manchester.⁸ According to their Manchester neighbors, Joseph Sr. and other Smith family members began searching for buried treasure in 1820.⁹

The earliest Smith family treasure quests probably occurred on their newly acquired Manchester land. According to Pomeroy Tucker, the "inauguration" of Joseph Jr.'s treasure seeing and resulting dig took place on a "then forest hill, a short distance from his father's house." The account of this first dig, which Tucker said came from participants "yet living," has Joseph Jr. locating the spot by aid of a seer stone, use of a magic enchantment to hold the treasure to the spot, ordering silence, a two-hour dig, a word carelessly spoken, and the seer's revelation that the treasure had

7. A Palmyra highway survey, dated 13 June 1820, locates "Joseph Smith's dwelling house" 58.74 feet northwest of the Palmyra/Manchester town line on Stafford Road ("Old Town Record, 1793-1870," 221, Township Office, Palmyra, New York). Additionally, the positioning of Joseph Smith Sr.'s name on Palmyra road lists from 1817 through 1822 suggests a move from the village sometime between April 1819 and April 1820 ("A Copy of the Several Lists of the Mens Names Liable to Work on the Highways in the Town of Palmyra in the Year 1804 [etc.]," microfilm of typescript, LDS Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah). This is consistent with the testimony of Manchester neighbors Willard Chase, Henry Harris, William, Barton, and Joshua Stafford, who remembered first becoming acquainted with the Smiths about 1820 (Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 237, 240, 250, 251, 258). See also Donald L. Enders, "'A Snug Log House': A Historical Look at the Joseph Smith, Sr., Family Home in Palmyra, New York," *Ensign* 15 (Aug. 1985): 14-23.

8. The Smiths could not have contracted for their land until after 14 July 1820, when Zachariah Seymour received power of attorney for the Evertson lands, which included the Smiths' future property (Miscellaneous Records, Book C, 342-44, 347-48, Canandaigua Records Center and Archives, Canandaigua, New York). The Smiths' original contract does not exist, but the record of Esquire Stoddard's purchase of lands to the south of the Smith property in November 1825 states that Stoddard's new land was situated immediately south of "lands heretofore articulated to Joseph and Alvin Smith" (Deeds, Liber 44, 220).

9. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 237, 240, 251, 268.

slipped away.¹⁰ Although Tucker places the event in the “spring of 1820,” Joseph Jr.’s use of a seer stone dates the event to after 1822, when Willard Chase said the stone was discovered in a well on his family’s property.¹¹

William Stafford, an early acquaintance of the Smiths who lived about a mile and a half south on Stafford Road,¹² was invited by Joseph Sr. to participate in a treasure dig on Smith property. According to Stafford’s 8 December 1833 statement, Joseph Jr. had seen in his stone “two or three kegs of gold and silver” located “not many rods from his [Smith’s] house.” Despite Joseph Sr.’s leading the diggers through various folk magic exercises, they failed to unearth any treasure. Joseph Jr., whom Stafford said remained in the Smiths’ house during the operation, later explained that the treasure’s guardian spirit had caused the money to sink, and Joseph Sr. declared that they had made a mistake in performing the exercises.¹³

While Stafford did not describe the exact location of the dig, he intended the hill east of the Smiths’ home since he introduced his account by stating that the Smiths believed

that nearly all the hills in this part of New York, were thrown up by human hands, and in them were large caves, which Joseph Jr., could see, by placing a stone of singular appearance in his hat . . . that he could see within the above mentioned caves, large gold bars and silver plates—that he could also discover the spirits in whose charge these treasures were, clothed in ancient dress.

Again Joseph Jr.’s use of a seer stone dates this episode to after 1822.

10. Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 21-22. For a treatment of the Smith family’s belief in folk magic, see D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1887), 27-149.

11. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 241. According to Quinn’s analysis of the sources, Joseph Jr. possessed at least three seer stones. Unfortunately, Quinn follows Tucker’s dating of September 1819 for Smith’s acquiring his first stone (see Quinn, *Mormonism and the Magic World View*, 38-41). Tucker misdated discovery of the Chase stone to 1819 and cannot be used as authority for dating Smith’s first use of a seer stone (Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 19). The only dateable account of Smith’s possession of a stone other than the Chase stone is the transcript of the March 1826 court hearing, which mentions his use of a “white stone” in the Bainbridge area (*Utah Christian Advocate*, Jan. 1886). Moreover, the court record itself limits Smith’s stone gazing to the previous three years (ca. 1823). The third stone, described as greenish in color, is believed to have been obtained by Smith at Harmony, Pennsylvania, presumably after his arrival in late October 1825 (Quinn, 40).

12. In 1820 William Stafford paid taxes for sixty acres, then in 1821 for 101 acres on Lot 5 (Farmington/Manchester Assessment Records, Ontario County Records Center and Archives, Canandaigua, New York).

13. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 238-39.

Peter Ingersoll, who first met the Smiths in 1822, saw Joseph Sr. use both a mineral rod and a seer stone to locate buried treasure on his own property. On one occasion, according to Ingersoll, both Joseph Sr. and Alvin Smith placed a stone in a hat and demonstrated its use, Joseph Sr. declaring, "if you only knew the value there is back of my house, (and pointing to a place near)—*there*, exclaimed he, is one chest of gold and another of silver."¹⁴ Joseph Sr.'s phrase "back of my house" may also refer to the hill east of the Smiths' residence.¹⁵

Joseph Jr. was also reportedly involved in treasure digging on Stafford family property. Joshua Stafford (1798-1876), who owned land south of the Smiths on Stafford Road on Manchester Lots 5 (until 1821), 7 and 9,¹⁶ told Isaac Butts that "young Jo Smith and himself dug for money in his orchard and elsewhere nights." Butts personally "saw the holes in the orchard which were four or five feet square and three or four feet deep."¹⁷ Cornelius R. Stafford (b. 1813), son of Jonathan Stafford (brother of William Stafford), remembered that "[t]here was much digging for money on our farm and about the neighborhood," and that he saw his cousin Joshua Stafford "dig a hole twenty feet long, eight broad and seven deep."¹⁸ Samantha Payne (b. 1808), daughter of William Stafford, was possibly living on a portion of Joshua Stafford's property when she said in 1881 that Joseph Smith "dug

14. Peter Ingersoll, Affidavit, 2 Dec. 1833, in Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 233. According to Lorenzo Saunders, Peter Ingersoll's "land joined the Smith farm on the north" (see Interview with E. L. Kelley, 12 Nov. 1884, 6).

15. Alvin's presence would necessarily date Ingersoll's experience prior to Alvin's death in November 1823, at which time only the frame of the "house" had been raised. In this instance, "house" possibly refers to the completion of a cabin on the Smiths' property, which a substantial increase in the value of the Smiths' property would suggest occurred after June 1822 and before July 1823 (Farmington/Manchester Assessment Records, Ontario County Records Center and Archives, Canandaigua, New York). While the exact location of this cabin is unknown at this time, it is possible that it was located north of the Smiths' frame house near the township line and on the same side of Stafford Road (see Larry C. Porter, "A Study of the Origins of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints In the States of New York and Pennsylvania, 1816-1831," Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1971, 43-44). It is also possible that Ingersoll unintentionally added the element of the later constructed house into his memory of the conversation.

16. In 1820 Joshua Stafford paid taxes for forty-six acres on Lot 5, which may have been deeded to William Stafford the following year, then in 1823 he was taxed for 123 acres on Lots 7 and 9 (Farmington/Manchester Assessment Records, Ontario County Records Center and Archives, Canandaigua, New York).

17. Isaac Butts, Affidavit to Arthur Deming, ca. Mar. 1885, *Naked Truths About Mormonism*, Jan. 1888, 2. Stafford's involvement in money digging was observed by Caroline Rockwell, who mentioned his use of a "peepstone," and Cornelius Stafford (*Naked Truths About Mormonism*, Apr. 1888, 1; and Jan. 1888, 3).

18. Cornelius R. Stafford, Affidavit to Arthur Deming, (23?) Mar. 1885, *Naked Truths About Mormonism*, Jan. 1888, 3.

upon many of the farms in the neighborhood as well as upon the farm on which she now resides and that some of the holes which he dug can now be seen."¹⁹

Another early Smith-inspired dig related by William Stafford and supported in several sources occurred on the hill farther east from the Smith home on the Clark Chase farm. In this instance, Joseph Sr. and one of his sons approached Stafford, informed him that Joseph Jr. had located "some very remarkable and valuable treasures," and asked to use one of his "black sheep" for a blood sacrifice.²⁰ Stafford, who was not present at the dig, said nothing about its location, but late Palmyra/Manchester residents placed it on "Old Sharp," a hill on the west side of the Canandaigua Road just south of the township line in the northwest quadrant of Manchester Lot 2 (see Photo 1).²¹

Probably the most extensive Smith-inspired dig resulted in the excavation of a cave in a hill known to later Manchester residents as "Miner's Hill"²² on land subsequently owned by Amos Miner and his heirs (see Photo 2). Lorenzo Saunders, a Smith family friend and former resident of Palmyra, was an eye-witness to the digging on the hill's northeast side. "I used to go there & see them work," he recalled in 1884. "I seen the old man [Smith] dig there day in and day out. . . . Joseph Smith [Jr.] never did

19. Samantha Payne, Affidavit to Charles C. Thorne, 29 June 1881, Ontario County Clerk's Office, Canandaigua, New York (cf. *Ontario County Times*, 27 July 1881). Samantha Payne is listed with her husband, David Payne, in the 1860 Manchester, Ontario County, New York, census (p. 470). A map of Manchester published in 1867 locates "D[avid]. Payne" on Lot 9, evidently on land formerly owned by Joshua Stafford ([William H. McIntosh], *History of Ontario Co., New York* [Philadelphia: Everts, Ensign & Everts, 1876], 45). In 1880, at the time of her statement, Samantha Payne is listed in the census of Manchester with her son, Cuyler W. Payne, apparently on the same farm (p. 306C).

20. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 239. According to William Stafford's nephew, Cornelius R. Stafford, Joseph Smith was after a "pot of money" (*Naked Truths About Mormonism*, Jan. 1888, 3). Pomeroy Tucker said Smith and company sought an "iron chest of gold" ("The Mormon Imposture—The Mormon Aborigines," *Wayne Democratic Press* [Lyons, New York] 3 [2 June 1858]).

21. As early as 1858 Pomeroy Tucker related that Stafford's sheep was sacrificed "upon a hill near his [Smith's] residence" (Tucker, "The Mormon Imposture"). Wallace Miner and Thomas L. Cook identified the hill as "Old Sharp" (see Wallace Miner's statement in Thomas L. Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity* [Palmyra, NY: Press of the Palmyra Courier-Journal, 1930], 222). On the exact location of "Old Sharp," see *ibid.*, 237-38.

22. Some residents also referred to this hill as "Mormon Hill," which caused some confusion since the Hill Cumorah was sometimes called "Mormon Hill." During a visit to Manchester in the early 1870s George Q. Cannon was shown this hill by an area resident who explained that it was called "Mormon Hill" because "there was a cave in that hill which the 'Mormons' had dug and some of them had lived in it, so the people said; and, therefore, it was known by that name" (George Q. Cannon, "Visit to the Land and Hill of Cumorah," *Juvenile Instructor* 8 [5 July 1873]: 108).



*Photograph 1. "Old Sharp" Hill, facing east from top
(photo by Dan Vogel, 1992).*



*Photograph 2. Northeast view of "Miner's Hill." Cave site is behind the house
near the summit of the hill (photo by Dan Vogel, 1992).*

work."²³ Joseph Jr. had a different role in the quest. Joseph Sr. told Saunders that "Jo. [Jr.] could see in his peep stone what there was in that cave," and that "young Joe could . . . see a man sitting in a gold chair. Old Joe said he was king i.e. the man in the chair; a king of one of the . . . [Indian] <tribes> who was shut in there in the time of one of their big battles."²⁴ After a tunnel of considerable length had been excavated, the diggers placed a heavy wooden door at the entrance.

While Saunders believed the cave had been dug in 1826,²⁵ historical context suggests an earlier date. Saunders declared, "I am one of them that went & tore the door down to the cave. My Father was in possession & he ordered us to break that door down & Put the hole up."²⁶ The cave had evidently been completed before the death of Enoch Saunders on 10 October 1825.²⁷

Although before his death Enoch Saunders was "in possession" of, or leased, the land on which the hill and cave were situated, Lorenzo Saunders revealed that at the time the door was removed and the cave's entrance blocked "Benjamin Tabor owned the land. . . . It was a farm of a hundred acres; He had it on an article."²⁸ County records confirm Tabor's ownership, although the exact date of purchase cannot be determined.²⁹ County re-

23. Lorenzo Saunders, Interview with E. L. Kelley, 12 Nov. 1884, 12, E. L. Kelley Papers, Library-Archives, the Auditorium, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Missouri (hereafter RLDS archives).

24. *Ibid.*, 8; see also Lorenzo Saunders, Interview with William H. Kelley, 17 Sept. 1884, 7-8, E. L. Kelley Papers, RLDS archives. Independent of Saunders, Sylvia Walker, daughter of early Manchester resident Pardon Butts, said "Jo [Smith] claimed to receive a revelation to dig forty feet into a hill about two miles north of where he pretended to find the gold plates of the 'Book of Mormon,' where he would find a cave that contained gold furniture, chairs and table" (Sylvia Walker, Statement to Arthur B. Deming, 20 Mar. 1885, in *Naked Truths About Mormonism*, Apr. 1888, 1).

25. Interview with William H. Kelley, 17 Sept. 1884, 8. Samantha Payne believed the cave had been dug "[a]fter Smith came back from Pennsylvania." See Samantha Payne, Statement in Clark Braden and E. L. Kelley, *Public Discussion of the Issues Between the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and the Church of Christ (Disciples) Held in Kirtland, Ohio . . .* (St. Louis: Clark Braden, [1884]), 350.

26. Interview with E. L. Kelley, 12 Nov. 1884, 8.

27. On the death date of Enoch Saunders, see *Wayne Sentinel*, 18 Oct. 1825.

28. Interview with E. L. Kelley, 12 Nov. 1884, 8. See also Interview with William H. Kelley, 13 Sept. 1884, 8, where Saunders states that "The cave was on our place." Saunders was related to Benjamin Tabor by marriage, having married Calista Tabor, daughter of Franklin B. Tabor, in 1833 (Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity*, 239; *Portrait and Biographical Album of Hillsdale County, Mich.* [Chicago: Chapman Brothers, 1888], 446).

29. The incomplete assessment records indicate that Tabor was taxed for 100 acres on Manchester Lot 2 in 1830 (Ontario County Records Center and Archives, Canandaigua, New York; assessment records between 1823 and 1830 are missing). On 23 January 1834, Tabor deeded the land on Manchester Lot 2 to Lorenzo Saunders for \$3,000 (Deeds, Liber

cords also suggest that the previous owner was Abner Cole,³⁰ who as editor of the *Palmyra Reflector* later ridiculed Joseph Smith's treasure-seeking activities. Cole mortgaged the property in 1820 but continued paying taxes on it until at least 1823.³¹ In 1824 Cole experienced great financial difficulty which resulted in the seizure of several properties in Palmyra and Macedon, including his office lot on Palmyra's Main Street.³² About this time Cole also lost possession of Manchester Lot 2.

Cole's interest in Manchester Lot 2 explains his awareness of Smith's treasure-seeking activities, particularly his knowledge of "Walters the Magician," who has since been identified as Luman Walters (ca. 1788-1860) of Gorham, New York.³³ According to Saunders, "At the time the big hole was dug in the hill they was duped by one Walters who pretended to be a conjurer, I heard Willard Chase say that he was duped. They could not be deceived in it after he had gone through with a certain movements & . . . charged them \$7."³⁴ Cole claimed that after Walters's departure from Manchester, "his mantle fell upon the prophet Jo. Smith Jun."³⁵

On 23 January 1834, Benjamin Tabor deeded about 100 acres of land on

55, p. 368, Ontario County Records Center and Archives, Canandaigua, New York).

30. When Tabor deeded the land to Saunders on 23 January 1834, the record stated that the 100 acres on Lot 2 was "the same lot formerly owned by Abner Cole and since became the property of the state of New York by foreclosure of a mortgage by said Cole to the state, and by the Commissioner of the land office of the state sold to the said Benjamin Tabor" (Deeds, Liber 55, p. 368, Ontario County Records Center and Archives, Canandaigua, New York).

31. Extant Manchester tax records list Cole's ownership of Lot 2 for the years 1820, 1821, 1822, and 1823 (Ontario County Records Center and Archives, Canandaigua, New York).

32. Announcement of Cole's mortgage default first appeared in 1822 (see *Palmyra Herald*, 24 July 1822-5 Sept. 1822; *Western Farmer*, 5 June 1822). For announcement of the seizure of Cole's land in Palmyra and Macedon (by "S[amuel]. Lawrence, late Sheriff"), see *Wayne Sentinel*, 7, 14 Jan. 1824, 18 Feb. 1824. For announcement of the sale of Cole's lands, including several postponements (until 5 March 1824, until 16 April 1824, until 17 May 1824, until 7 July 1824, until 19 August 1824), see *Wayne Sentinel*, 17 Mar., 14 Apr., 5, 12, 19 May, 14 July, and 8 Aug. 1824.

33. On Luman Walters, see Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, 82-84, 85-97. A document which has recently come to my attention confirms this identification. The document, written by Diedrich Willers, Jr. (1820-1908), of Fayette, New York, reads: "Fortune tellers are consulted as to the future, many in this neighborhood where ever they wish to find out something <anything> which is lost, or pry into the <hidden> mysteries of hidden things will consult Dr Walters" ("Ambition and Superstition," Miscellaneous Undated Items, Diedrich Willers Papers, Box 1, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York). This was evidently written before Walters's death in 1860.

34. Interview with E. L. Kelley, 12 Nov. 1884, 12.

35. "The Book of Pukei. —Chap. 1," *Palmyra Reflector*, 12 June 1830, 37.

Manchester Lot 2 to Lorenzo Saunders for \$3,000.³⁶ On 26 November 1836, Saunders visited Albany and obtained a Letter of Patent from the state for the same property.³⁷ On 28 January 1839, Saunders deeded about forty-eight acres of this land to Amos Miner, who then became owner of the hill and cave.³⁸ Miner's heirs held the property for three generations, and the family's understanding regarding the cave is best explained by grandson Wallace Miner (b. 1843), who told Brigham Young University professor M. Wilford Poulson in 1932 that

He [Smith] dug a 40 ft. cave right on this vary farm. . . . He dug in about 20 ft. and the angel told him this was not holy ground, but to move south [to Cumorah]. Martin Harris stayed at this home when I was about 13 yrs. of age [ca. 1856] and I used to go over to the diggings about 100 rods or a little less S.E. [southeast] of this house. It is near a clump of bushes. Martin Harris regarded it as fully as sacred as the Mormon Hill diggings.³⁹

Christopher M. Stafford, a nephew of William Stafford who moved from Manchester to Ohio in 1831, claimed to have been inside the cave, evidently before it was closed by the Saunders family.⁴⁰ In 1867, Pomeroy Tucker reported that "[f]rom the lapse of time and natural causes the cave has been closed for years, very little mark of its former existence remaining to be seen."⁴¹ Manchester resident Ezra Pierce told the Kelleys in 1881 that

36. Deeds, Liber 55, p. 368, Ontario County Records Center and Archives, Canandaigua, New York.

37. Deeds, Liber 61, pp. 376-77, Ontario County Records Center and Archives, Canandaigua, New York. The Letter of Patent identifies the property as "being part of the lands mortgaged to us by Abner Cole by Indenture of Mortgage bearing date the 23d day of August 1820."

38. Deeds, Liber 65, pp. 177-78, Ontario County Records Center and Archives, Canandaigua, New York. With imperfect memory, Saunders said when Tabor's "article run out & he was likely to lose it[,] I went to Albany & I sold it to Amos Macy" (Interview with E. L. Kelley, 12 Nov. 1884, 8). Saunders's Letter of Patent was obtained from Governor William L. Marcy on 26 November 1836; he deeded the land to Amos Miner on 28 January 1839.

39. Wallace Miner, Statement to M. Wilford Poulson, 1932, "Notebook containing statements made by residents of Palmyra, N.Y., and other areas . . .," M. Wilford Poulson Collection, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

40. Christopher M. Stafford, Statement to Arthur B. Deming, 23 Mar. 1885 (*Naked Truths About Mormonism*, Apr. 1888, 1). Lorenzo Saunders's memory that the cave was ordered closed by his father before his death in October 1825 apparently contradicts other late accounts, traceable to Pomeroy Tucker, which claim Joseph Smith translated in the cave (Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 48-49; Kelley, "The Hill Cumorah, and the Book of Mormon," 165; John H. Gilbert, Interview, *New York Herald*, 25 June 1893).

41. Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 49.

the cave was still closed.⁴² But in 1884, Samantha Payne said that the cave "can be seen to-day. The present owner of the farm, Mr. [Wallace] Miner, dug out the cave, which had fallen in," and that she had been in it once.⁴³ Orson Saunders, a nephew of Lorenzo Saunders, who also visited the cave about this time, said that "he found quite a large chamber many feet in extent, with the marks of the pick plainly visible in the light of his candles. The passageway within the chamber was eight feet wide and seven feet high."⁴⁴

In 1893, a reporter from the *New York Herald*, accompanied by Orson Saunders and John H. Gilbert, visited the cave and reported that "[t]he door jambs leading into the cave are still sound and partly visible, but the earth has been washed down by storms and the opening to the cave nearly filled, so that it cannot be entered at present. . . . The door jamb is heavy plank of beech or maple, and the inscriptions, which had evidently been cut deeply by a sharp knife, were partially worn away."⁴⁵ By 1932, Palmyra historian Thomas L. Cook reported that "no trace of the old Joe Smith cave can be found."⁴⁶ The cave remained closed until April 1974 when Andrew H. Kommer, owner of the property, cleared the cave's opening with a bulldozer (see Photo 3). At that time the cave was described as "about six feet high at the largest point in the middle and 10-12 feet long," and "carved into a rock-hard clay hillside. . . . The walls and ceiling of the cave appear to have been dug or picked by hand."⁴⁷ Today the entrance of the cave is closed and overgrown with foliage (see Photo 3).

Undoubtedly the most significant of Smith's treasure quests occurred on a prominent hill, now known as the "Hill Cumorah," situated on the east side of the Canandaigua Road in the northwest quadrant of Manchester Lot 85, then part of the Randall Robinson farm (see Photo 4).⁴⁸ Certainly

42. Kelley, "The Hill Cumorah, and the Book of Mormon," 163.

43. Braden and Kelley, *Public Discussion*, 350. According to Thomas L. Cook, "For several years this cave remained practically intact. After it had commenced to fall in, Wallace W. Miner, a grandson of Amos Miner, the owner of the hill at that time, partly restored the old cave" (*Palmyra and Vicinity*, 238).

44. *New York Herald*, 25 June 1893.

45. *Ibid.*

46. Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity*, 238. After the cave closed, some exaggerated descriptions surfaced. Manchester resident Charles W. Brown (b. ca. 1849), for instance, described the cave as follows: "The cave itself was about sixty feet in length and ten feet high. From the door for the distance of forty feet, there was a hall fifteen feet wide which led to the chamber beyond. This chamber or audience room was twenty feet square, and was furnished with one rude table and half a dozen uncouth stools" ([Charles W. Brown], "Manchester in the Early Days," *Shortsville Enterprise*, 18 Mar. 1904).

47. "Palmyra Farmer Claims: Cave Dug by Mormon Prophet, Church Founder," *Courier Journal* (Palmyra), 1 May 1974; Lou Ziegler, "Palmyra Cave Mormon Holy Ground," *Times-Union* (Rochester), 25 April 1974.

48. See Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity*, 246; and Manchester Assessment Records, 1830,



*Photograph 3. Andrew Kommer standing in "Miner's Hill" cave
(Palmyra Courier Journal, 1 May 1974).*

Smith's discovery of the gold plates in 1823 and subsequent activities on the hill occurred within a treasure-seeking context.⁴⁹ Of particular interest is the claim that Smith and his friends dug on the hill sometime before Smith removed the plates on 22 September 1827.

One unidentified Manchester resident said that "'Mormon Hill' had been long designated 'as the place in which countless treasures were buried;' Joseph, the elder, had 'spaded' up many a foot of the hill side to find them, and Joseph Jr., had on more than one occasion accompanied him."⁵⁰ In 1880, Frederick G. Mather said, "Returning to the vicinity of Palmyra [from Pennsylvania], Smith and his followers began to dig for the plates on the eastern side of the hill."⁵¹ Mather connected this digging with events of 22 September 1827, but five years later Lorenzo Saunders corrected Mather's dating. Saunders, who visited the hill within days after Smith removed the plates, said he found no disturbance of the earth except "a large hole" which had been dug by the "money diggers" about "a year or two before."⁵² In August 1831, James Gordon Bennett noted that on "Golden Bible Hill . . . there is a hole 30 or forty feet into the side—6 feet diameter."⁵³ The existence of this hole on the northeast side of the hill in 1867 was verified by Pomeroy Tucker, who said that the excavation was "yet partially visible,"⁵⁴ and by Edward Stevenson, who reported seeing the hole in 1871.⁵⁵ Early residents of Palmyra/Manchester mistook this

Ontario County Records Center and Archives, Canandaigua, New York.

49. For a discussion of the treasure-seeking context of Smith's discovery of the plates and subsequent activities on the hill, see Quinn, 114-43.

50. "Mormonism in Its Infancy," *Newark* [New Jersey] *Daily Advertiser*, ca. Aug. 1856, newspaper clipping in Charles Woodward, Scrapbook, 1:125, New York Public Library.

51. Mather, "The Early Days of Mormonism," 200. See also O[rsamus]. Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase* (Rochester, New York: William Alling, 1851), 216, who also mentions the Smiths' previous digging on the Hill Cumorah.

52. Saunders's statement to Gregg is as follows: "I went on the next Sunday following with five or six other ones and we hunted the side hill by course and could not find no place where the ground had been broke. There was a large hole where the money diggers had dug a year or two before, but no fresh dirt" (Lorenzo Saunders to Thomas Gregg, 28 Jan. 1885, in Charles A. Shook, *The True Origin of the Book of Mormon* [Cincinnati, OH: Standard Publishing Co., [1914]], 135). Saunders similarly told William H. Kelley: "We went there & we examined the hill all over where he claimed to got the plates & we could not find a place that was broke & there was no plates on the ground where the hill was not broke. Robinson said he tried many times to find the hole where he took them out, that is on the west hill it was cleared off" (Interview of 12 Nov. 1884, 16-17, E. L. Kelley Papers, RLDS archives).

53. James Gordon Bennett Diary, 7 Aug. 1831, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library.

54. Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 34.

55. Edward Stevenson, *Reminiscences of Joseph, the Prophet and the Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Edward Stevenson, 1893), 12-13. Stevenson was incorrectly told that the hole was made by a company of treasure seekers from Rochester.

northeastern excavation for the location of the plates' repository, which Oliver Cowdery later said was "on the west side of the hill, not far from the top down it side."⁵⁶

Whatever the nature of Joseph Smith's involvement with money diggers on the hill, both the location and timing of the digging suggest at least an indirect connection with Smith. However, Martin Harris's statement that Smith did not separate from the money diggers until after he obtained the plates indicates a more direct involvement.⁵⁷ Moreover, the suggestion that Smith's fellow money diggers had previously dug on the hill explains why they later believed that they had a right to the plates and tried to take them from Smith.⁵⁸ According to Joseph Knight, at least one of Smith's treasure-seeking friends, Samuel F. Lawrence, who was also a seer, "had Bin to the hill and knew about the things in the hill and he was trying to obtain them."⁵⁹ Willard Chase also said Lawrence had been to the hill with Smith in 1825 and had seen the plates in his stone, but that Smith later said that he had

56. David Whitmer, who visited Manchester in 1828 and discussed the plates with Oliver Cowdery, reported conversations with "several young men" who claimed to have seen "the plates [place] in the hill that he [Smith] took them out of just as he described it to us before he obtained them" ("Mormonism," *Kansas City Journal*, 5 June 1881; for Whitmer's correction of "plates" to "place," see *ibid.*, 19 June 1881; see also *Chicago Times*, 14 Oct. 1881). In a letter to E. D. Howe, dated 15 January 1831, W. W. Phelps reported that "[t]he places where they dug for the plates, in Manchester, are to be seen" (Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 273). John A. Clark, who visited Manchester in 1840, reported seeing "an excavation in the side of a hill, from whence, according to the assertion of the Mormon prophet, the metallic plates, sometimes called THE GOLDEN BIBLE, were disinterred" (*Episcopal Recorder* 18 [5 Sept. 1840]: 94). Cowdery's statement is found in his letter to W. W. Phelps, *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 2 (Oct. 1835): 196 (cf. the addition to Joseph Smith's 1839 history in Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith. Volume 1: Autobiographical and Historical Writings* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1989], 281).

57. In his interview with Joel Tiffany, Harris states, "Joseph said the angel told him he must quit the company of the money-diggers. That there were wicked men among them. He must have no more to do with them. He must not lie, nor swear, nor steal" (*Tiffany's Monthly* 5 [May 1859]: 169). William Stafford said the Smiths were treasure seekers "until the latter part of the season of 1827" (Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 240).

58. In his interview with Joel Tiffany, Harris said: "The money-diggers claimed that they had as much right to the plates as Joseph had, as they were in company together. They claimed that Joseph had been a traitor, and had appropriated to himself that which belonged to them" (*Tiffany's Monthly* 5 [May 1859]: 167). David Whitmer stated: "I had conversations with several young men who said that Joseph Smith had certainly golden plates, and that before he attained them he had promised to share with them, but had not done so, and they were very much incensed with him" (*Kansas City Journal*, 5 June 1881).

59. Joseph Knight, Sr., "Manuscript of the History of Joseph Smith," ca. 1835-47, LDS archives, as published in Dean C. Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection of Early Mormon History," *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 (Autumn 1976): 32. Lawrence, in his forties, is listed in the 1830 Palmyra census (1830:37). His whereabouts after 1830 is uncertain.

taken Lawrence to the wrong location.⁶⁰

After their marriage on 18 January 1827 at Bainbridge, Joseph and Emma Smith went to Manchester where they resided in the Smith home until their removal to Harmony, Pennsylvania, in December. During this stay in Manchester, Joseph Smith engaged in treasure-seeking activities before obtaining the plates in September. Both Martin Harris and Lorenzo Saunders state that Smith led a treasure-digging company up to the time he received the gold plates; Harris specifically claimed that Josiah Stowell was visiting the Smiths in Manchester "digging for money" when Joseph took the plates from the hill.⁶¹

Joseph Capron, who lived south of the Smiths on Manchester Lot 1, reported that Joseph Jr. using a stone in his hat had located "a chest of gold watches . . . north west of my house," and that in 1827 a company of money diggers, led by Samuel F. Lawrence, attempted to unearth the treasure.⁶² Capron's farm was situated on the most southern portion of Manchester Lot 1, and the dig possibly occurred on the west side of Stafford Road.⁶³

HARMONY, PENNSYLVANIA,
NOVEMBER 1825

The only known Smith-inspired dig in Pennsylvania occurred in the township of Harmony (now Oakland) on land owned by Joseph McKune, Jr.⁶⁴ In October 1825, Josiah Stowell of South Bainbridge, Chenango County, New York, made his way up the newly-opened Erie Canal to visit his oldest son, Simpson Stowell, in Palmyra, Wayne County, New York. By this time, Joseph Smith Jr.'s activities in the Palmyra/Manchester area as a treasure seer were well known. For

60. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 243. See also Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, 137-39.

61. Lorenzo Saunders, Interview with E. L. Kelley, 12 Nov. 1884, 7; and *Tiffany's Monthly* 5 (May 1859): 164-65.

62. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 258-60. Joshua Stafford also related that Smith told him of locating a "box of watches" (*ibid.*, 258).

63. Capron's name appears immediately before Joseph Smith Sr.'s in the 1830 Manchester census. In 1830, Capron was taxed for five acres of land on Manchester Lot 1 (Manchester Tax Records, 1830, Ontario County Historical Society, Canandaigua, New York; see also Squire Stoddard to Joseph Capron, 1833, Deeds, Liber 53:392, Ontario County Records Center and Archives, Canandaigua, New York).

64. John B. Buck's claim that Joseph Smith's "first diggings were near Capt. [Ichabod] Buck's saw-mill, at Red Rock," a village several miles west of Harmony, together with his claim that Smith had been lumbering in the area about 1818, are unlikely (see Emily C. Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania* [Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen and Falfelfinger, 1873], 577).

years Stowell had attempted to locate a lost Spanish silver mine along the banks of the Susquehanna River near Harmony, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania.⁶⁵ Thus a mutual interest in treasure seeking drew Stowell to the Smiths' Manchester home. In fact, Lucy Smith said Stowell came to their home "on account of having heard that he [Joseph Jr.] possessed certain keys, by which he could discern things invisible to the natural eye."⁶⁶ Stowell was amazed by young Smith's ability to see distant places in his stone and hired him on the spot.

Both Joseph Sr. and Joseph Jr. accompanied Stowell to South Bainbridge, then proceeded with his small band of treasure seekers to Harmony. On 1 November 1825 "Articles of Agreement" were drawn up and signed stipulating how the interested parties were to divide the treasure among themselves. According to this document, the diggers were seeking "a valuable mine of either Gold or Silver and also . . . coined money and bars or ingots of Gold or Silver" located "at a certain place in Pennsylvania near a Wm. Hale's."⁶⁷ Since William Hale, a resident of Colesville, New York, does not appear in either land records or tax rolls for Harmony, he was evidently renting or boarding in the area of the diggings.⁶⁸ Unfortunately, this clue does not help locate the site of the Spanish mine. The earliest

65. According to Joseph and Hiel Lewis, the circumstance which began Stowell's treasure-digging venture in Harmony was as follows: "[S]ome time previous to 1825, a man by the name of Wm. Hale, a distant relative of our uncle Isaac Hale, came to Isaac Hale, and said that he had been informed by a woman named Odle, who claimed to possess the power of seeing under ground, (such persons were then commonly called peepers) that there was great treasures concealed in the hill north-east from his, (Isaac Hale's) house. By her directions, Wm. Hale commenced digging, but being too lazy to work, and too poor, to hire, he obtained a partner by the name of Oliver Harper, of [New] York state, who had the means to hire help" (*Amboy [Illinois] Journal*, 30 Apr. 1879). After the murder of Harper in May 1824 the company of diggers returned to Harmony and "work[ed] during a considerable part of the past summer [of 1825]" ("Articles of Agreement," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 23 Apr. 1880). Michael Morse, Joseph Smith's brother-in-law, said he thought "three different companies had been digging for it in all and that Mr. Stowell with his company were one of the three" (*William W. Blair Journal*, 8 May 1879, RLDS archives). Morse may have been referring to the William Hale/Oliver Harper company (1822/1823?), the William Hale/Josiah Stowell company (summer 1825), and the William Hale/Josiah Stowell/Joseph Smith company (November 1825).

66. Lucy Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet, and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853), 91-92.

67. The original "Articles of Agreement" is lost. For the published version, see *Salt Lake Tribune*, 23 Apr. 1880.

68. William Hale was a distant relative of Isaac Hale, according to Joseph and Hiel Lewis (*Amboy Journal*, 30 Apr. 1879). William Hale, in his forties, is listed in the 1830 Colesville, Broome County, New York, census (p. 55). He was also acquainted with Joseph Knight, Sr., who sold land to him on 7 October 1823 (Deeds, Liber 8, p. 332, Broome County Clerk's Office, Binghamton, New York).

account to locate the exact place of Stowell's treasure-seeking venture is Emily C. Blackman's 1873 *History of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania*, which states:

Jacob I. Skinner . . . has the deed of the land on which Joe's followers experimented. It is something over a quarter of a mile north of the river to "the diggings," up Flat Brook. . . . Starting from Susquehanna Depot to reach his place, one crosses the bridge and turns to the left following the road nearest the river, which strikes the old river at Shutt's house; then continuing on down until he crosses a creek and comes in sight of a school-house, with a grove beyond it, in front of which, on the opposite side of the road, is a graveyard. Just above the school-house he turns into a road on the right, and follows up "Flat Brook" to the farm now owned by J. I. Skinner. From his house a path leads about 120 yards southeast to the largest excavation.⁶⁹

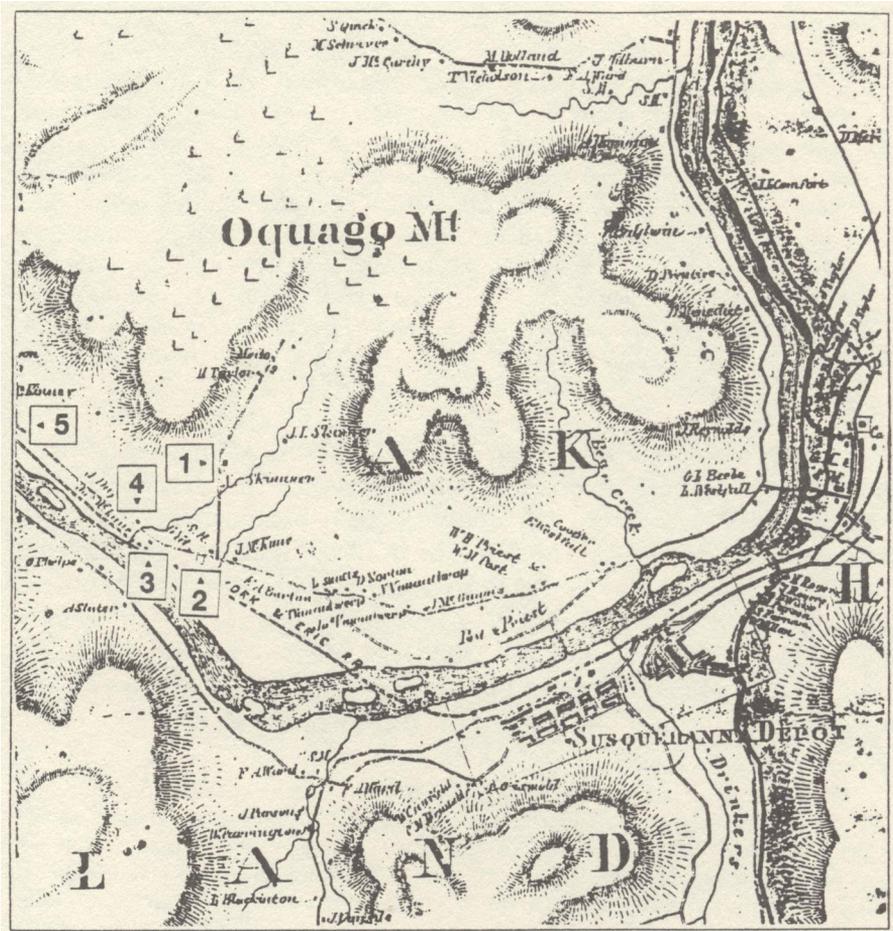
Skinner's property was situated in the foot hills of Oquago Mountain immediately north of Joseph Smith's former residence (see Map 3).⁷⁰ According to tax records, Skinner's father (Jacob) and uncle (Abram) purchased the land from Joseph McKune, Jr., in 1830.⁷¹ R. C. Doud of Windsor, New York, asserted that "in 1822 he was employed, with thirteen others, by Oliver Harper, to dig for gold . . . on Joseph McKune's land."⁷² McKune's wife, Sally (b. 1794), reported in 1880 that before her husband purchased Smith's land in 1833, she "lived upon a farm adjoining Joe Smith's lot and the Isaac Hale farm, and in sight of the place where they dug for a ton of

69. Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County*, 581. The historical setting in which Blackman places the diggings—which requires Joseph Smith's presence in Harmony years before November 1825—is incorrect, and Quinn errs in accepting Blackman (see Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, 43-44). Josiah Stowell said he was acquainted with Joseph Smith "6 years," that is, from 1825 until Smith's departure from New York in 1831 (Josiah Stowell, Jr., to John S. Fullmer, 17 Feb. 1843, LDS archives; cf. *Church News*, 12 May 1985, 10). Isaac Hale also said he "first became acquainted with Joseph Smith, Jr. in November, 1825" ("Mormonism," *Susquehanna Register, and Northern Pennsylvanian* 9 [1 May 1834]; cf. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 262).

70. Oquago Mountain occupies the greater area of the "Great Bend" of the Susquehanna River. It is likely the area Josiah Stowell identified as "Bend Mountain in Pennsylvania" in his statement at the March 1826 court hearing (*Utah Christian Advocate*, Jan. 1886).

71. The 1831 assessment for Jacob and Abram Skinner reads in part: "This property was transferred from Joseph McKune Jr since last assessment[.] The above persons came to live here since last assessment" (Harmony Tax Records, 1831, Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania).

72. Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County*, 580. An R. C. Dowd, in his forties, appears in the 1840 Windsor, Broome County, New York, census. He may be the same Russell Dowd listed in the 1820 and 1830 censuses of Windsor (1820:15; 1830:92).



HARMONY SITES

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| 1. Jacob I. Skinner home; southeast of Skinner home location of Spanish mine. | 3. Joseph Smith home. |
| 2. McKune Cemetery. | 4. Isaac Hale home. |
| | 5. Nathaniel Lewis home. |

Map 3. Harmony, Pennsylvania, Wall Map, ca. 1860, Susquehanna County Historical Society, Montrose, Pennsylvania.

silver, on Jacob I. Skinner's farm."⁷³ This confirms Blackman's location of Stowell's diggings. Joseph (b. 1807) and Hiel (b. ca. 1817) Lewis, sons of Nathaniel Lewis and cousins of Emma Smith who grew up on the farm that adjoined Isaac Hale's on the west, did not object to Blackman's placement of the diggings, locating the excavations themselves "in the hill north-east from his, (Isaac Hale's) house."⁷⁴ Hiel probably exaggerated when he claimed that "he could stand on his door step and lodge a bullet in the hole with a rifle."⁷⁵

According to Blackman's description and diagram (see Photo 5), there were five pits, the largest, which included a drainage ditch, was twenty feet deep and 150 feet in circumference. To the south were three smaller pits, and one other directly east. The number of pits, as Blackman explains, was due to the movement of the enchanted treasure and Smith's discovering its new location through his stone. Blackman also described the erosion of the pits that had occurred up to 1873, reporting that one of the smaller pits was entirely filled and another partly filled.⁷⁶ A photograph of what appears to be one of the smaller excavations was taken by George E. Anderson in 1907.⁷⁷ Larry C. Porter, who visited the site in 1968 and 1970, reported: "There are definite disturbances of the earth in the area represented by her [Blackman's] diagram, and one can piece together her intended identification of those 'pits' on the ground. Some have been filled in and are practically obscured by the undergrowth. However, it is obvious that there was a 'man-made' effort to excavate a series of holes at some time or another."⁷⁸ I failed to find any traces of the pits in October 1992.

Joseph Smith was ambiguous about the circumstances ending the project. After "nearly a month without success in our undertaking," he

73. Frederick G. Mather, "The Early Mormons. Joe Smith Operates at Susquehanna," *Binghamton Republican*, 29 July 1880. See also Joseph Smith, Jr., and Emma Smith, Deed to Joseph McKune, Jr., 28 June 1833, original in LDS archives (cf. Deeds, Liber 9, p. 290, Susquehanna County Courthouse, Montrose, Pennsylvania).

74. *Amboy Journal*, 30 Apr. 1879. The Lewises unfortunately adopted Blackman's historical interpretations and inaccurate chronology regarding Joseph Smith's involvement (see n69 above).

75. "The Histories of Mormonism," *Amboy Journal*, 23 Apr. 1879.

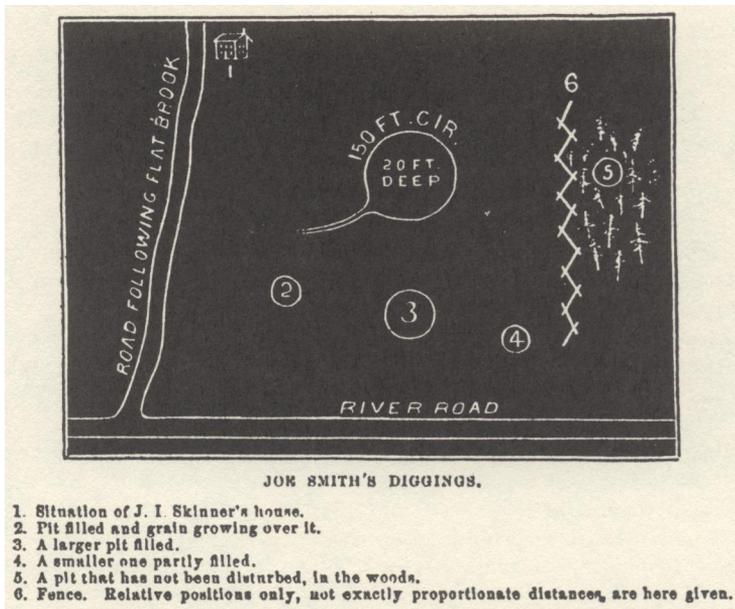
76. Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County*, 581-82. In an 1880 interview with Frederick G. Mather, Jacob I. Skinner, who incorrectly believed Joseph Smith discovered the plates while digging on his property, said "[h]e has been engaged for years in dumping stones into the holes to fill them up, because they were dangerous traps for his cattle." Also, according to Skinner, "the big hole" was at one time "covered by a rough board house" (*Binghamton Republican*, 29 July 1880).

77. Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and T. Jeffery Cottle, *Old Mormon Palmyra and New England: Historic Photographs and Guide* (Santa Ana, CA: Fieldbrook Productions, Inc., 1991), 163.

78. Porter, "Study of the Origins," 127.



Photograph 4. "Hill Cumorah," a view of its northern summit, 1920 (courtesy Utah State Historical Society).



Photograph 5. Diagram of holes in Harmony Pennsylvania (Emily C. Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania* [Philadelphia: Claxton Remsen and Haffelfinger, 1873], 581.

recalled, "finally I prevailed with the old gentleman to cease digging after it."⁷⁹ According to Isaac Hale, "Young Smith gave the 'money-diggers' great encouragement, at first, but when they had arrived in digging, to near the place where he had stated an immense treasure would be found—he said the enchantment was so powerful that he could not see. They then became discouraged, and soon after dispersed."⁸⁰

CHENANGO AND BROOME COUNTIES, NEW YORK,
NOVEMBER 1825 TO MARCH 1826

Although Smith's later accounts limited his treasure-seeking activities to his experience with Stowell in Pennsylvania, he continued similar ventures in Chenango and Broome counties until his arrest and court hearing in March 1826. Peter Bridgeman, a nephew of Josiah Stowell who believed Smith was conning his uncle, issued a warrant accusing Smith of being "a disorderly person and an Impostor." While the court's findings remain a matter of controversy, conclusions of innocence or guilt are less important than the evidence of Smith's continued practice of treasure seeing and the central role he played in those operations.⁸¹ Accordingly, residents of South Bainbridge (now Afton), Chenango County, New York, identify four possible locations in the area for Joseph Smith's treasure quests (see Map 4).

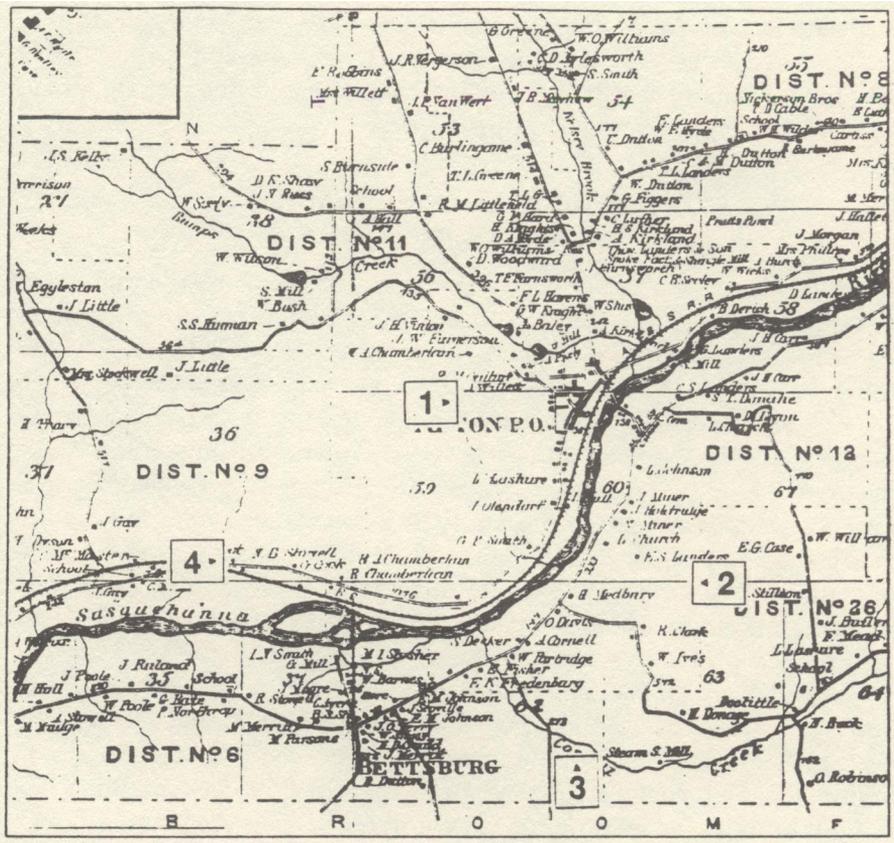
In his March 1826 statement to Justice Albert Neely, Josiah Stowell said Smith had boarded at his home the previous five months and occasionally used his stone to locate "hidden treasures" in the area. On one occasion Smith "looked through said stone for Deacon Attl[e]ton—for a mine [he] did not exactly find it but got a (piece) of ore which resembled gold, he thinks."⁸² Regarding this man, Dale Morgan observed: "No person of this

79. Jesse, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 282. According to Isaac Hale, at whose home the company boarded, the money diggers disbanded on 17 November ("Mormonism," *Susquehanna Register*, and *Northern Pennsylvanian* 9 [1 May 1834]; cf. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 262).

80. "Mormonism," *Susquehanna Register*, and *Northern Pennsylvanian* 9 (1 May 1834); cf. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 262.

81. Of the recent discussions of Joseph Smith's 1826 court hearing, the following are most useful: Wesley P. Walters, "Joseph Smith's Bainbridge, N.Y., Court Trials," *Westminster Theological Journal* 36 (Winter 1974): 123-55; Marvin S. Hill, "Joseph Smith and the 1826 Trial: New Evidence and New Difficulties," *Brigham Young University Studies* 12 (Winter 1972): 223-33; Paul Hedengren, *In Defense of Faith: Assessing Arguments Against Latter-day Saint Belief* (Provo, UT: Bradford and Wilson, 1985), chap. 13; and Gordon A. Madsen, "Joseph Smith's 1826 Trial: The Legal Setting," *Brigham Young University Studies* 30 (Spring 1990): 91-108.

82. *Utah Christian Advocate*, Jan. 1886.



BAINBRIDGE SITES

1. Approximate location of three excavations attributed to Joseph Smith.
2. General area of Charles Atherton land (lots 60 & 63); possible location of digging for gold.
3. Approximate location of cave in gorge on Abraham Cornell farm.
4. Approximate location of Josiah Stowell home; digging for treasure on surrounding land, particularly south along the Susquehanna River flats.

Map 4. South Bainbridge, New York, Beach Nichols, Atlas of Chanango County, New York (Philadelphia: Pomeroy, Whitman & Co., 1875), 12-13.

name appears in the census returns, but the name itself was obviously a puzzle to the transcriber[s]."⁸³ Morgan then suggested the person was "Charles Atherton" listed in the 1820 census of South Bainbridge.⁸⁴ According to Chenango County records, Atherton held deeded land on South Bainbridge Lots 60 and 63 in 1819 and 1824 respectively.⁸⁵ However, the court record is unclear about the location of the digging, stating only that Smith looked in his stone for the deacon not that the digging occurred on the latter's property. If the abbreviated record intended to locate the digging on the deacon's land, then a Smith-inspired dig occurred somewhere on one of Atherton's properties in South Bainbridge.

William D. Purple claimed in 1877 to have seen holes on Josiah Stowell's farm, which he assumed were Smith inspired. According to Purple, Jonathan Thompson, who accompanied Stowell and Smith in their treasure-seeking ventures, testified at Smith's 1826 court hearing that "Smith had told the Deacon [Stowell] that very many years before a band of robbers had buried on his flat a box of treasure, and as it was very valuable they had by a sacrifice placed a charm over it to protect it, so that it could not be obtained except by faith, accompanied by certain talismanic influences." But despite such efforts, the treasure slipped away.⁸⁶ Martin Harris told Joel Tiffany in 1859 about an "old Presbyterian," evidently meaning Josiah Stowell, who told him that "on the Susquehannah flats he dug down to an iron chest, that he scraped the dirt off with his shovel, but had nothing with him to open the chest; that he went away to get help, and when they came to it, it moved away two or three rods into the earth, and they could not get it."⁸⁷

The most prominent hill in South Bainbridge is directly west of the

83. The three transcribers deciphered the reading as follows: Charles Marshall "Attleton," Daniel S. Tuttle "Attelon," and the editors of the *Utah Christian Advocate* "Attilton."

84. John Philip Walker, ed., *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism: Correspondence and a New History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 398n5.

85. Horace Stowe, Deed to Charles Atherton, 28 July 1819, Liber AA, p. 249 (also Liber KK, p. 487); George Clapper, Deed to Charles Atherton, 1 Sept. 1824, Liber GG, p. 418 (Land Records, Chenango County Office Building, Norwich, New York). Atherton evidently held on to these properties until the 1830s (see Liber OO, p. 207; Liber 54, p. 435). In 1826, Atherton was taxed for seventeen acres of third-rate land in South Bainbridge ("Assessment Roll of the town of Bainbridge," 1826, original in Bainbridge Town Hall, Bainbridge, New York; thanks to H. Michael Marquardt for this source).

86. W[illiam]. D. Purple, "Joseph Smith, the Originator of Mormonism. Historical Reminiscences of the Town of Afton," *Chenango Union* (Norwich, New York), 3 May 1877, 3. Purple states that he was at the court hearing and was instructed by Justice Neely to keep notes. Jonathan Thompson's statement appears in the court record without his account of digging on Stowell's property (cf. *Utah Christian Advocate*, Jan. 1886).

87. *Tiffany Monthly* 5 (May 1859), 166.

village and immediately northeast of Stowell's former home. Three holes exist on this prominence that folklore attributes to Joseph Smith. The holes are situated about one mile northeast of Stowell's farm in the northeast quadrant of Afton Lot 59. They are in close proximity to one another, the two largest being approximately three feet deep and twelve in circumference and eight feet deep and sixteen in circumference.⁸⁸ Long-time resident Hollis Barre says he first learned of the holes from his father and grandfather, who pointed them out to him sometime before 1920.⁸⁹ These are perhaps the same holes mentioned by Lu B. Cake in 1912: "On the hills [in Afton] are holes where he [Smith] and his dupes hunted for hidden treasures."⁹⁰

According to Hamilton Child's 1869 *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Chenango County*, South Bainbridge Lot 62 was the "seat" of one of Smith's "mining operations."⁹¹ In 1880, Smith Baker of Center Village, Broome County, told Frederick Mather that Smith saw in his stone "an extensive and rich silver mine on the farm of Abraham Cornell, at Bettsburgh . . . and a hole was dug there to the depth of over thirty feet, but no silver was found except what was contributed by Josiah Stowell to provide for the expenses of the diggers."⁹² Abraham Cornell (or Cornwall) was an original settler of South Bainbridge and his farm was situated immediately east of the Village of Bettsburgh in the northeast quadrant of Lot 62.⁹³ In 1900, Harvey Baker (possibly related to Smith Baker), a great-grandson of Abraham Cornell who visited the site of the claimed Smith-inspired dig on the Cornell farm in the early 1830s, described its location in detail. Baker, who was told that the diggers were after "gold in an iron chest," described the site as follows:

The next day two of my wife's cousins and myself started to examine

88. With a map prepared by Walter R. Rose, I visited the site of the holes with resident historian Charles Decker on 7 October 1992.

89. I am grateful to Walter R. Rose of Afton for this information. Rose is uncommitted about the origin of the holes (Walter R. Rose, "Considerations regarding the so-called Joseph Smith treasure holes near the Village of Afton, New York," 13 Aug. 1986, unpublished paper).

90. Lu B. Cake, *Susquehanna Stories* (New York: L. B. Cake, 1912), 9.

91. Hamilton Child, *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Chenango County, N.Y., for 1869-70* (Syracuse, NY: Journal Office, 1869), 82-83.

92. *Binghamton Republican*, 29 July 1880. This information was repeated in Mather's subsequent article "The Early Days of Mormonism," *Lippincott's Magazine* (Philadelphia) 26 (Aug. 1880): 203.

93. I have been unable to locate a record of the original sale of land to Abraham Cornell. By the taking of the 1826 assessment in South Bainbridge, Cornell's land had evidently transferred to his sons Enos and Thomas ("Assessment Roll of the town of Bainbridge," 1826, original in Bainbridge Town Hall, Bainbridge, New York).

Smith's hole in the rocks. A creek crossed the Cornwall farm that came from the range east of the Susquehanna river and on the flat joined its waters with that stream. We followed up the creek deep into the gorge until we came to a huge pile of rocks that had but a few years before been tumbled down on the east side of the stream from a place high up the gorge—probably fifty or more feet. We climbed up the broken pile to where these huge rocks had been sent down. There in the steep side hill from solid rocks had this hole been excavated. Far above huge logs held back other rocks and large amounts of dirt from falling into the excavation.⁹⁴

In October 1992, in company with local historian Charles Decker, I visited the area described by Baker. While there were several interesting crevices, I was unable to determine the precise location described by Baker.⁹⁵

Windsor, Broome County, New York, home of Josiah Stowell's former money-digging companion Oliver Harper (murdered by Jason Treadwell in 1824), was the scene of other Smith-inspired digs. One location specifically mentioned by Stowell was "Monument Hill," where Smith saw in his stone a deposit of gold. The location of this hill was known to those in South Bainbridge, for Justice Neely failed to specify its location as he had previously done for "Bend Mountain in Pennsylvania." An article about the early history of Windsor published in the *Binghamton Daily Republican* on 18 August 1880 locates "Monument mountain" in the chain of hills on the west side of the Susquehanna River in the northern section of Windsor township. According to Stowell, Smith located the "digging part," which I take to mean evidence of previous digging. And William R. Hine claimed Asa Stowell, a relative of Josiah from nearby Bettsburgh, Broome County, "furnished the means for Jo to dig for silver ore, on Monument Hill."⁹⁶

94. Harvey Baker, "The Early Days of Mormonism," *Oneonta Herald* (Otsego County, New York), 18 Jan. 1900 (a clipping of this article is found in the Jacob Morris Papers, John M. Olin Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York). According to Baker, he visited his relatives in South Bainbridge in the "summer of 1828 or 9." But Baker's statement that Hezekiah Medbury "owned the farm next above that of Thomas Cornwall" dates his visit to 1831-35. The federal census for 1830 lists Hezekiah Medbury in New Berlin, Chenango County, New York. Medbury held land interests in New Berlin until he sold out in 1831 (Deeds, Liber PP, p. 114, 115, Chenango County Office Building, Clerk's Office, Norwich, New York). In 1835, Medbury deeded a large portion of land on South Bainbridge Lot 62 to E. C. Medbury and others (Liber 55, pp. 454-55; see also Annis Medbury to Enos Cornwall, 9 Mar. 1835, Liber 55, p. 453).

95. For many years a state historical marker stood near the bridge over Cornell Creek on Route 41 with the inscription: "Joseph Smith in 1827 dug for and claimed to find some of the plates of the Mormon Bible, one-fourth mile up this creek." This incorrect marker was removed and is now on display in the Afton Museum.

96. William R. Hine Statement, ca. Mar. 1885, *Naked Truths About Mormonism*, Jan. 1888, 2. Asa Stowell's father, Hezekiah Stowell, was Josiah Stowell's second cousin once removed. Asa became the first inn-keeper of Bettsburgh in 1788. He died on 3 November

According to the 1826 court record, Stowell said that Joseph Smith saw in his stone “where, a Mr. Bacon had buried money—that he and prisoner [Smith] had been in search of it; that prisoner said that it was on a certain Root of a stump 5 feet from [the] surface of the earth, and with it would be found a tail feather[;] that said Stowel and prisoner there-upon commenced digging, found a tail feather, but the money was gone, that he supposed that money moved down.”⁹⁷ The only Bacon in the 1830 census for either Chenango or Broome County is Asher (or Ashel) Bacon of Windsor, Broome County, New York.⁹⁸ In the same court record, Horace Stowell perhaps described the same instance when he said that by means of a stone Smith pretended to “tell where a chest of dollars were buried in Windsor a number of miles distant, [and] marked out size of chest in the leaves on ground.”⁹⁹ I have been unable to locate Bacon’s land in Windsor, assuming Bacon’s land was the focus of the treasure search, but the evidence is sufficient to place at least one of Smith’s operations in this township.

The 1826 court record alludes to another treasure dig in the Windsor, New York, area. According to Jonathan Thompson (1787-?), a shoemaker living at Plymouth, Chenango County, New York,

[Smith] was requested to look [at/for?] Yoemans for [a] chest of money—did look and pretended to know where it was, and that Prisoner [Smith], Thompson, and Yoemans went in search of it; that Smith arrived at Spot first, was in night, that Smith looked in Hat while there and when very dark, and told how the chest was situated—after digging several feet struck upon something sounding like a board or plank . . . but on account of an enchantment, the trunk kept settling away from under them while digging.¹⁰⁰

1826, at age sixty-six (see S. S. Randall, “Historical and Personal Reminiscences of Chenango-County, New York,” *Historical Magazine* 3 [Feb. 1874]: 92; James H. Smith, *History of Chenango and Madison Counties, New York* [Syracuse, NY: D. Mason and Co., 1880], 161, 165; Death Records, Chenango County Historical Society, Norwich, New York; see also Porter, “Study of the Origins,” 178-79). Hine’s claim that Smith “dug over one year without success” on Monument Hill is an error.

97. *Utah Christian Advocate*, Jan. 1886.

98. U.S. Census, 1830:83. He is also listed in the 1825 state census of Windsor, Broome County (Broome County Historical Society, Binghamton, New York). On 14 July 1832, Bacon applied for a patent on his design for a water wheel (original patent in Broome County Historical Society).

99. Although Horace Stowell has been identified either as Josiah Stowell’s son or cousin, the latter is probably correct (see Walters, “Joseph Smith’s Bainbridge, N.Y., Court Trials,” 123-55). Horace Stowell, in his thirties, is listed in the 1830 South Bainbridge, Chenango County, New York, census (1830:2).

100. *Utah Christian Advocate*, Jan. 1886.

While the "Yeomans" mentioned by Thompson could be Andrew Yeomans of Preston, Chenango County, New York,¹⁰¹ Dale Morgan had suggested either William, Solomon, or Jeremiah Yeomans, all apparently of the same family, living in Windsor.¹⁰² Land records indicate that the Yeomanses owned property on Windsor Lot 11, on the south or east side of the Susquehanna River and just east of Ouaquaga Mountain, and across the river on Colesville Lot 287 (original Lots 22/23).¹⁰³ If the court record means that Smith looked for treasure on Yeomans's property, then Windsor Lot 11 may have been the scene of the treasure dig described by Thompson.

Other sources place Smith's treasure quests at three additional locations in Windsor (see Map 5). According to William R. Hine, Smith and his father dug for salt "two summers" at the south end of Ouaquaga Mountain, "near and in sight of my house."¹⁰⁴ Hine claimed that Joseph Jr. had other men dig two wells, one thirty feet deep and the other seventy-five. In his 1885 statement, Hine also said that his "nephew now owns the land he [Smith] dug on," but I have been unable to learn either the identity of his nephew or the location of the claimed diggings.¹⁰⁵ Broome County land records also fail to list either William R. Hine or his neighbor Calvin Smith, although the latter is listed in the 1830 census of Windsor.¹⁰⁶ While it is possible for Joseph Smith to have inspired the excavations, the time required for the digging tends to preclude his direct involvement.¹⁰⁷

101. U.S. Census, 1830:229.

102. Cf. Walker, *Dale Morgan*, 399n13.

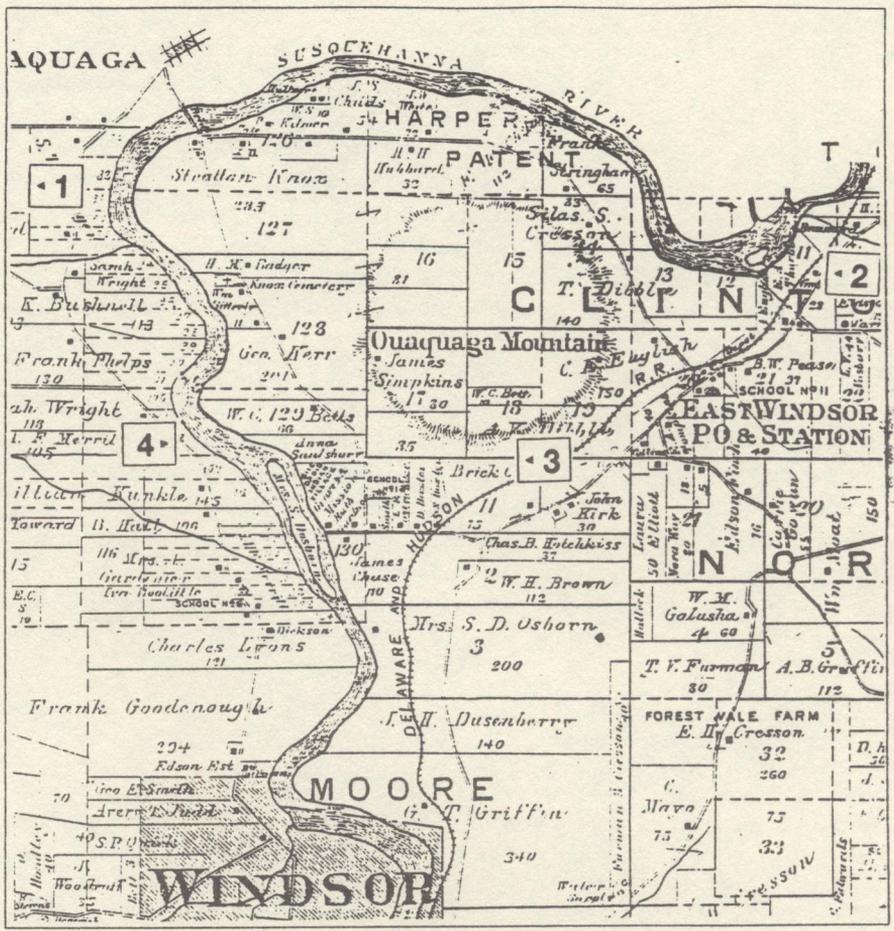
103. See Jeremiah Yeomans to Solomon Yeomans, 9 Feb. 1825, Liber 9, p. 108; 4 Sept. 1827, Liber 10, p. 344; 5 Sept. 1827, Liber 10, pp. 344-45; Solomon Yeomans to William Yeomans, 28 June 1827, Liber 10, p. 364, Broome County Clerk's Office, Binghamton, New York.

104. William R. Hine Statement, ca. Mar. 1885, in *Naked Truths About Mormonism*, Jan. 1888, 2. Hine's affidavit is undated, but it was probably taken at the time Arthur Deming collected other dated statements in Geauga County, Ohio.

105. The salt wells may have been dug on one of the three lots situated at the south end of Ouaquaga Mountain (Lots 17, 18, and 19).

106. Hine mentions that Calvin Smith's farm "joined mine." Calvin Smith, in his thirties, is listed in the 1830 census of Windsor, Broome County, New York (1830:84; also 1820:16). However, I have been unable to document Hine's residence in Windsor.

107. His statement that Smith dug in the area "two summers" is especially troublesome. Smith's first visit to the area was in the late fall and winter of 1825-26 (November 1825-March 1826), which evidently did not include digging for salt in Windsor. During the 1826 court hearing, Josiah Stowell mentioned Smith's looking "once" for a "Salt Spring," and Jonathan Thompson testified that Smith said that "it appeared to him that salt might be found in Bainbridge." According to Joseph Knight's recollection, Smith returned to the area about November 1826 and remained until his marriage on 18 January 1827 (Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection of Early Mormon History," 32). Smith was apparently in Manchester during the summer of 1827, and his subsequent visits to the Colesville area between 1828 and 1831 were apparently limited to his new roles of translator



WINDSOR SITES

1. General location of "Monument Hill"; location of digging for gold.
2. Lot 11, on which Yeomans family owned land; possible location of digging for money chest.
3. South side of Ouquaga Mountain; approximate location of digging for salt.
4. West bank of Susquehanna River; approximate area of digging for Captain Kidd's treasure.

Map 5. Windsor, New York, Plat Book of Broome County (Des Moines, Iowa: Northwest Publishing Co., 1908), 20-21.

Hine located another Smith-inspired dig "on the west bank of the Susquehanna, half a mile from the river, and three miles from his salt wells." According to Hine, who must be regarded skeptically, Smith dug for Captain Kidd's money at this location.¹⁰⁸

R. C. Doud, a resident of Windsor who claimed to have worked for Oliver Harper in 1822, also asserted that "[o]n the old Indian road from Windsor to Chenango Point [now Binghamton], about four miles west of Windsor, men were digging, at the same time, for silver, upon Joe's telling them where it could be found."¹⁰⁹ However, Doud's mistaken assumption that Smith was involved with Harper's digging in Harmony also brings this claim into question.

COLESVILLE, NEW YORK,
FALL 1826 TO 18 JANUARY 1827

According to Joseph Knight, Joseph Smith returned to the Colesville area to work for him in the late fall of 1826 and left shortly after his marriage to Emma Hale on 18 January 1827. Knight states, "Joseph then went to Mr Stowels whare he had lived sometime Before. But Mr Stowel Could not pay him money for his work very well and he came to me perhaps in November [1826] and worked for me until about the time that he was Married, which I think was in February [18 January 1827]."¹¹⁰ Some sources suggest that Smith may have engaged in treasure seeking during this time. Two areas have been specifically identified (see Map 6).

Emily Colburn Austin (b. 1813), sister of Sally Knight (wife of Newel Knight), claimed to have seen "places where they had dug for money" on the Joseph Knight, Sr., farm at Colesville. Austin was told that under Smith's direction a dog was sacrificed on the spot in the hope of breaking the charm that held the "pots of money."¹¹¹ According to Austin, the

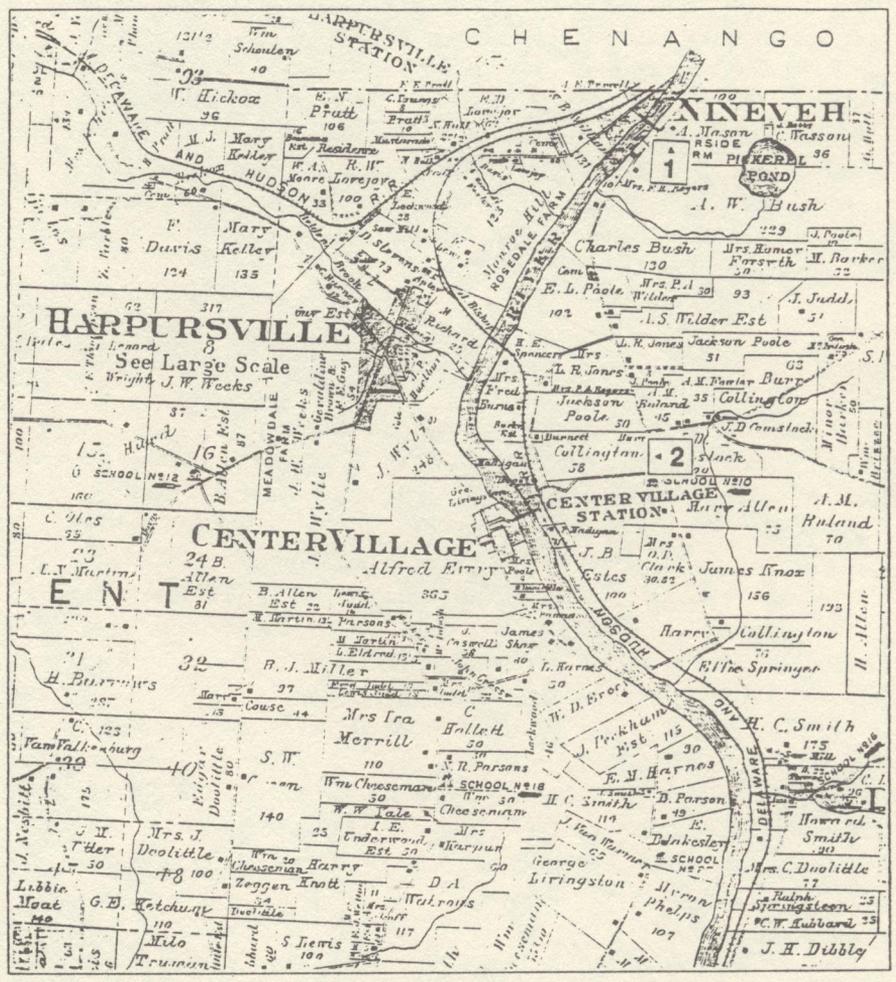
and religious leader.

108. According to Kitchall E. Bell, in another of Arthur Deming's affidavits, Smith dug for Captain Kidd's money in Broome County "near the Susquehana River" (K. E. Bell, Affidavit, 6 May 1885, original in Arthur B. Deming Collection, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois; cf. *Naked Truths About Mormonism*, Jan. 1888, 3).

109. Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County*, 581.

110. Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection of Early Mormon History," 32.

111. Emily M. Austin, *Mormonism; or, Life Among the Mormons* (Madison, WI: M. J. Cantwell, 1882), 32-33. Regarding the sacrifice of a dog, Justice Joel K. Noble, before whom Smith appeared in July 1830 at Colesville, said: "Jo. and others were Diging for a Chest of money in night [but] could not obtain it[.] they Procured one thing and an other together with [a] *black Bitch* the Bitch was offered a . . . sacrifice [blo]od Sprinkled prayer made at the time (no money obtained) the above Sworn to on Trial" (Joel K. Noble to Jonathan B. Turner, 8 Mar. 1842, Jonathan B. Turner Papers, Illinois State Historical Library,



COLESVILLE SITES

1. Joseph Smith, Sr., home; approximate location of digging for pot of money and dog sacrifice.
2. George Collington land; possible location of digging for salt spring.

Map 6. Colesville New York, Plat Book of Broome County (Des Moines, Iowa: Northwest Publishing Co., 1908), 36-37)

digging occurred before Smith married Emma Hale.

In 1880, George Collington (b. ca. 1812), a long-time resident of Colesville, told Frederick Mather that he saw Smith with Joseph Knight, his sons, and a number of others dig for a "salt spring in a marsh on the plane opposite Center Village" on land owned by Bostwick Badger.¹¹² Collington, who subsequently owned the land, claimed the men dug a hole thirty-five feet deep under Joseph Jr.'s direction but failed to discover any salt except what had been secretly deposited there by the young Collington as a prank. While Collington subsequently owned land on a number of lots in Colesville, his land on Lot 58 best fits his description.

CONCLUSION

This study has identified eighteen locations of Joseph Smith's early treasure quests (see Chart 1). While it is unlikely that any of these sites will become as famous as the northwestern slope of the Hill Cumorah, each nevertheless deserves scholarly attention as possible historical landmarks leading to the "Gold Bible Hill." The turning point in Joseph Smith's money-digging career came in August 1827, when he, Emma, and Peter Ingersoll visited Harmony, Pennsylvania, to retrieve some of Emma's furniture and other belongings. According to Ingersoll and Isaac Hale, an emotional confrontation occurred between Smith and Hale during which Smith promised to give up money digging and stone gazing and Hale promised to help the couple get established in Harmony.¹¹³ After returning to Manchester, Smith procured the gold plates, quit the money-digging company, and moved to Harmony to open a new farm. Thereafter he used his stone only for religious purposes.

Springfield).

112. *Binghamton Republican*, 29 July 1880; cf. *Lippincott's Magazine*, Aug. 1880, 202-203; and H. P. Smith, *History of Broome County* (Syracuse, NY: D. Mason and Co., 1885), 332. Collington is listed in the 1850 census of Colesville, Broome County, New York, as a thirty-eight-year-old farmer (p. 166). Bostwick Badger, in his forties, is listed in the 1830 Colesville, Broome County, New York, census (p. 54). A number of legal transactions connect Badger and Joseph Knight (see Robert Harpur Journal, 22 Nov. 1814, Broome County Historical Society, Binghamton, New York; Grantee Records, 30 Jan. 1811, Liber 3, p. 36; and 20 May 1815, Liber 5, pp. 29-30, Broome County Clerk's Office, Binghamton, New York).

113. Ingersoll, who dated the event to August 1827, claimed: "Joseph wept, and acknowledged he could not see in a stone now, nor never could; and that his former pretensions in that respect, were all false. He then promised to give up his old habits of digging for money and looking into stones" (Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 234-35). According to Hale, "Smith stated to me, that he had given up what he called 'glass-looking,' and that he expected to work hard for a living, and was willing to do so" (*Susquehanna Register, and Northern Pennsylvanian* 9 [1 May 1834]; cf. Howe, 262).

LOCATIONS OF JOSEPH SMITH'S EARLY TREASURE QUESTS

CLAIMED PLACE OF DIGGING SOUGHT	GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION	KIND OF TREASURE	APPROXIMATE DATE
Joseph Smith, Sr., farm	On hill immediately east of Smith home; northeast quadrant of Manchester, N.Y., Lot 1.	Kegs of gold and silver; chests of gold and silver	1822-25
Joshua Stafford farm	In orchard; portions of Manchester, N.Y., Lots 7 and 9.	Money	1822-25
Clark Chase farm	On "Old Sharp" Hill; in northwest quadrant of Manchester, N.Y., Lot 2.	Treasure	1822-25
Benjamin Tabor farm	On "Miner's Hill"; in southeast quadrant of Manchester, N.Y., Lot 2.	Golden furniture	1822-25
Randall Robinson farm	In Oquago Mountain, Harmony, Penn.	Gold plates	1824-25
Joseph McKune, Sr., farm	On "Hill Cumorah"; in northwest quadrant of Manchester, N.Y., Lot 85.	Gold or silver mine	Nov. 1825
"Deacon Attleton" property	Possibly Charles Atherton land on South Bainbridge, N.Y., Lots 60 and 63.	Gold mine	Nov. 1825-March 1826
Abraham Cornell Property	Northeast quadrant of South Bainbridge, N.Y., Lot 62.	Silver mine	1825-26 (?)
Josiah Stowell property	South Bainbridge, N.Y., Lot 36	Treasure box	1825-26 (?)
Hill northeast of Josiah Stowell's home	Northeast quadrant of South Bainbridge, N.Y., Lot 59.	Treasure	No date
Monument Hill	Northwest area of Windsor Township, N.Y.	Gold	Nov. 1825-March 1826
"Yoemans" property (?)	Possibly Windsor, N.Y., Lot 11.	Money chest	Nov. 1825-March 1826
Windsor, New York (?)	South end of Ouaquaga Mountain (possibly Lots 17, 18, 19).	Salt	No Date
Windsor, New York (?)	Half mile west of Susquehanna River, near southwest side of Ouaquaga Mountain.	Captain Kidd's money	No Date
Windsor, New York (?)	Four miles west of Windsor, on road to Binghamton.	Silver	No Date
Joseph Knight, Sr., farm	Colesville, N.Y., Lot 100 (formerly Lot 2).	Pot of money	1826-27
Bostwick Badger farm	Colesville, N.Y., Lot 58 (formerly Lot 72).	Salt spring	1826-27 (?)
Joseph Capron farm	Northwest of Capron home; in southern portion of Manchester, N.Y., Lot 1.	Chest of gold watches	1827, before Sept.

Chart 1. Joseph Smith's early treasure quests in Manchester, South Bainbridge, Windsor, and Colesville, New York, and Harmony, Pennsylvania.

Considering his past failures, his brush with the law in 1826, his rejection by his in-laws, and his need to find a legitimate livelihood and raise a family, Smith was probably happy to give up treasure seeking. Three years later the Book of Mormon would explain the reason for Smith's failures as a treasure seer and his subsequent success in getting the plates: "whoso shall hide up treasures in the earth shall find them again no more, because of the great curse of the land, save he be a righteous man and shall hide it up unto the Lord" (Hel. 13:18; cf. vv. 17-22, 31; see also Morm. 1:18). This not only confirmed the money-diggers' belief in enchanted treasure, it legitimized Smith's own treasure-seeking activities. Thus a clear distinction between Smith's role as treasure seer and religious seer cannot be made. In fact, Smith's use of the same stone and the same *modus operandi* (i.e., placing the stone in his hat) in translating the gold plates are simply two sides of the same coin. It is impossible to understand fully the mature Joseph Smith without coming to terms with his early role as treasure seer. Indeed, Smith's failure as a treasure seer leads us to a greater understanding of his success as a religious leader.

Early Winter

Anita Tanner

*I have learned little from anything that did not in some way
make me sick.*

—*Alice Walker*

Home from the dance in a howling blizzard.
The kitchen door blown open.
A heap of snow swirled onto linoleum.
I'm entranced at the violence,
otherworldliness.
Something anemic, cancerous,
or ruptured.
The shock of inappropriate
invades the unlocked house,
the snow both symptom and symbol
and the tension wanting to heal me.
Broom and pan, behind the door
but I can only stand and stare,
the chills coming now,
the flush of soul,
and in my head over and over,
the music of the dance.

One Face of the Hero: In Search of the Mythological Joseph Smith

Edgar C. Snow, Jr.

IN THE SPRING OF 1985 I RECEIVED a telephone call from my local stake high councilor requesting that I give a talk to the Stake Aaronic Priesthood around a campfire at an annual stake camping trip. He wanted me to talk about Joseph Smith or the restoration of the priesthood. I accepted. At the time I was reading Richard Bushman's *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* with great interest and a heightened sense of the adventure of the Smith family in bringing forth the Book of Mormon.

I soon discovered that a campfire surrounded by twelve-to-eighteen-year-old boys was not the place for profound statements about the doctrines of the priesthood or the achievements of Joseph Smith. Rather I realized that adventure stories from Joseph's life held the attention of these young men in the midst of hooting owls, a blazing fire, and thoughts of nighttime escapades.

While standing in front of a crackling fire, I told many tales, including the discovery of the golden plates, the escape from Liberty Jail, and the shootout at the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum. To my amazement these stories became magical spells holding the gaze of all present. I felt somehow during this ritual of storytelling that we became one organism much the same way a congregation may feel spiritual oneness during a church conference while standing in unison singing "We Thank Thee, O God, for a Prophet." Instead of producing a "near-death experience" for the Stake Aaronic Priesthood, youth as well as their leaders, by talking theology, a "near-life experience" occurred when I told stories.

That these stories had such a life-affirming effect should not have surprised me. I remember as a Mormon youth preferring story over theology. I also remember as a missionary receiving a group letter from my home ward Primary; one little girl told me to "Be sure and bring

home some good missionary stories." That telling such stories is what Mormonism at its heart may be—and should be—is further evidenced by recent papers given at Sunstone symposia: Richard Bushman's "The Stories of Our Lives: Narrative and Belief In Mormondom" (Washington, D.C., 1990) and Eugene England's "Book of Mormon Conversion Narratives, or Why We Should Stop Doing Theology and Tell Each Other Stories" (Salt Lake City, 1990). My purpose in this essay is to suggest one of many possible approaches to Joseph Smith and Mormonism, namely, Joseph as a faith-story Hero and as disseminator of Hero faith-stories. I rely on Joseph Campbell's popular Jungian Hero model from *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*¹ with slight modifications.²

When I use the term "faith-story,"³ I refer to the term "myth." When once asked whether a myth is a lie, Joseph Campbell replied that a myth is a metaphor.⁴ He explained that myth functions as a metaphor because myths are told, believed, and lived not because of their historical veracity, but because of their poetic power to reconcile us to the mysteries of existence and awaken our own inner spiritual potential. They accomplish this by explaining transcendent truths—difficult to articulate—in the form of a story and/or a ritual which is not only easy to articulate, but which explains the ineffable through tangible symbols.⁵ Therefore, exploring the mythological Joseph Smith has nothing to do with proving or disproving the actual events of his historical life. Rather it has to do with exploring the stories told about him and by him and their use and

1. Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1949), hereafter *Thousand Faces*.

2. Campbell's approach is being closely examined in part because of the controversial nature of his interdisciplinary methods and conclusions. See, for instance, Daniel C. Noel, ed., *Paths to the Power of Myth* (New York: Crossroad, 1990). Other approaches to Hero myths include the Freudian approach exemplified by Otto Rank in *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero*, trans. F. Robbins and Smith Ely Jelliffe (New York: Journal of Mental Disease Publishing, 1914), and a myth-ritualist approach exemplified by Lord Raglan, *The Hero* (London: Methuen, 1936), both of which have been reprinted (Raglan's work only partially) in Robert A. Segal, ed., *In Quest of the Hero* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990).

3. Suggested by C. Robert Mesle, "Scripture, History and Myth," *Sunstone* 4 (Mar.-Apr. 1979): 49-50.

4. Joseph Campbell, in Phil Cousineau, ed., *The Hero's Journey: The World of Joseph Campbell* (New York: Harper & Row, 1990), 134-36, hereafter *Hero's Journey*.

5. This concept can be found in virtually all of Campbell's works. See, for instance, Joseph Campbell and Bill Moyers, *The Power of Myth* (New York: Doubleday, 1988), 31, 55. Of course, other definitions of "myth" work as well and as poorly. Mircea Eliade, Otto Rank, Ernst Cassirer, Giorgio de Santillana, Hertha von Dechend, Claude Levi-Strauss, Robert Graves, Hugh Nibley, Lord Raglan, James Frazer, Sigmund Freud, Carl Jung, and Victor Turner, among others, have given varying definitions to "myth" and have different theories on the origin and function of myth.

meanings. That Joseph is an actual historical figure should not detract from the power of the myths he lived and those told about him any more than Abraham Lincoln's or John Kennedy's historical reality detracts from the myths they lived and which were created from their lives.⁶ I acknowledge the contributions regarding myth previously made by students of Mormon thought and history⁷ and hope that my comments may further efforts to understand and appreciate the power of myth in our shared religious tradition.

Before looking at the Joseph Smith story and Mormonism as Hero myths, it is necessary to set forth the elements contained in the Campbell model of the Hero myth.

THE HERO MODEL

Campbell summarizes the elements of the Hero myth as follows:

6. See, for example, Morton T. Kelsey, *Myth, History and Faith* (New York: Paulist Press, 1974), 14-34. The obvious problem with myths about historical figures is that new historical findings may undermine their mythic stature, as evidenced by the recent findings of plagiarism in Martin Luther King's doctoral dissertation. However, such an effect reveals the concerns of Joseph Campbell that myths not be viewed as history lest they lose their life (see *Thousand Faces*, 249.) New historical findings which may seem unsavory from a doctrinal point of view, such as the folk magic activities of the Smith family, may nevertheless yield a more fruitful field of mythic understanding, as I attempt to demonstrate in this essay. Mormon treatments of the Smith family folk magic have focused on presenting these incidents in a theologically acceptable way for twentieth-century Mormons by minimizing their effect on the origins of Mormonism or by explaining them as mere context. As discussed later in this essay, T. L. Brink, a non-Mormon, has suggested that Joseph's interest in treasure digging should be seen as a positive step in his development as a prophet and search for spiritual perfection. See T. L. Brink, "Joseph Smith: The Verdict of Depth Psychology," *Journal of Mormon History* 3 (1976): 73-83. See also Ronald W. Walker, "The Persisting Idea of American Treasure Hunting," *Brigham Young University Studies* 24 (Fall 1984): 429-59; Ronald W. Walker, "Joseph Smith: The Palmyra Seer," *Brigham Young University Studies* 24 (Fall 1984): 461-72; Marvin S. Hill, "Money-Digging Folklore and the Beginnings of Mormonism: An Interpretive Suggestion," *Brigham Young University Studies* 24 (Fall 1984): 473-88; Richard Lloyd Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," *Brigham Young University Studies* 24 (Fall 1984): 489-560; Bushman, *Beginnings*, 69-78; D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987).

7. Mythological treatments of Joseph Smith's experiences and Mormonism in general have been suggested by Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985); Brink, "Depth Psychology," 73-83; James E. Faulconer, "Scripture, History and Myth," *Sunstone* 4 (Mar.-Apr. 1979): 49-50; C. Robert Mesle, "History, Faith and Myth," *Sunstone* 7 (Nov.-Dec. 1982): 10-13; Lawrence Foster, "First Visions," *Sunstone* 8 (Sept.-Oct. 1983): 39-43; and Clifton Jolley, "The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith: An Archetypal Study," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (Fall 1976): 329-50.

The standard path of the mythological adventure of the hero is a magnification of the formula represented in the rites of passage: separation—initiation—return. . . . The mythological hero, setting forth from his commonday hut or castle, is lured, carried away, or else voluntarily proceeds, to the threshold of adventure. There he encounters a shadow presence that guards the passage. The hero may defeat or conciliate this power and go alive into the kingdom of the dark (brother-battle, dragon-battle; offering, charm), or be slain by the opponent and descend in death (dis-memberment, crucifixion). Beyond the threshold, then, the hero journeys through a world of unfamiliar yet strangely intimate forces, some of which severely threaten him (tests), some of which give magical aid (helpers). When he arrives at the nadir of the mythological round, he undergoes a supreme ordeal and gains his reward. The triumph may be represented as the hero's sexual union with the goddess-mother of the world (sacred marriage), his recognition by the father-creator (father atonement), his own divinization (apotheosis), or again—if the powers have remained unfriendly to him—his theft of the boon he came to gain (bride-theft, fire-theft); intrinsically it is an expansion of consciousness and therewith of being (illumination, transfiguration, freedom). The final work is that of the return. If the powers have blessed the hero, he now sets forth under their protection (emissary); if not, he flees and is pursued (transformation flight, obstacle flight). At the return threshold the transcendental powers must remain behind; the hero re-emerges from the kingdom of dread (return, resurrection). The boon that he brings restores the world (elixir).⁸

According to Campbell, the Hero myth awakens in listeners the untapped powers of the unconscious. The Hero represents everyone in his or her individual quest for personal identity and happiness. The Hero may in fact be an actual explorer who discovers a new world or a legendary character who discovers an imaginary world. For Campbell heroes symbolically discover the inner world of their own psyche and invite listeners to follow their own call to adventure. The Hero's call is a call to leave the ordinary world to seek an authentic life. The trials are our inner fears of self-discovery. The boon recovered is the wholeness of our soul. Our return to the ordinary world with a self-actuated soul inspires others to make their own journey.

THE COMING FORTH OF THE BOOK OF MORMON

The version of the story early Mormons told of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon as reconstructed by D. Michael Quinn and others⁹ works

8. Campbell, *Thousand Faces*, 30, 246.

9. Unless stated otherwise, all reconstructions of the story of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon are based on Quinn's *Magic World View*, 112-49. Although his work is

as a powerful myth of the Hero's journey, calling each listener on his and her own spiritual adventure. I rely on Quinn's reconstructed version for this reason, as well as because it is probably more accurate history in most respects. Current trends in the LDS church to de-emphasize Joseph Smith¹⁰ may reflect the inability of a de-mythologized Joseph Smith story to inspire¹¹ as much as reflect our attempts to placate criticisms of "Joseph worship." Lest my essay be construed as "Joseph worship," let me say that emphasizing the Joseph Smith story for its mythic qualities does not necessarily present a deified view of Joseph, nor does it replace the worship of Jesus Christ.

SEPARATION

The Call to Adventure

According to the Campbell Hero model, all heroes face a moment of awesome portent in which they realize the signs of their vocation as Hero in a call to adventure. The call to adventure for the coming forth of the Book of Mormon is the visitation of Moroni to Joseph. On Sunday night, 21 September 1823, apparently after an unsuccessful attempt at treasure digging, Joseph prayed in his room with the express purpose to communicate with a divine messenger, perhaps using his seer stone and the Smith family magic amulets and parchments in connection with his prayer. His major concern seemed to have been to obtain forgiveness of sins, perhaps so that he might once again meet the purity standards required of a seer and thereby obtain success with another attempt to find treasure.

Joseph's room filled with light revealing the presence of a divine being who referred to himself as Moroni. Moroni's message, delivered three times that evening, was that Joseph had been called of God to undertake a

speculative, Quinn's reconstruction of *how the early stories* about the coming forth of the Book of Mormon *were told* (as opposed to what actually happened) are substantiated by early sources friendly to the church. Bushman argues convincingly that an accurate reconstruction of *how events* relating to the coming forth of Book of Mormon *actually occurred* is difficult. See Bushman, *Beginnings*, 70.

10. See, for instance, how this trend is reflected in Dallin H. Oaks, "Witnesses of Christ," *Ensign* 20 (Nov. 1990): 29-32.

11. See Campbell's discussion of the death of myth when viewed solely as biography in *Thousand Faces*, 249. Ironically, accounts told to early converts by Joseph Smith (see Dean C. Jessee, ed., "Joseph Knight's Recollection of Early Mormon History," *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 [Fall 1976]: 29-39) contained details of treasure digging and folk magic in the story of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon whereas later versions by him ignored those elements or admitted them defensively. See, for example, Richard Van Wagoner and Steve Walker, "Joseph Smith: The Gift of Seeing," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Summer 1982): 48-68.

task of tremendous importance such that his name would be had for good and ill among all nations of the earth. Joseph was called to retrieve a set of golden plates from a hill known as Cumorah¹² near his home and translate the record for the benefit of humankind. Supernatural aids were hidden with the plates to help Joseph complete the ordeal of translation. He was told he would be tempted by his own indigent circumstances and past experience to obtain the treasure for his own gain, but that he was to withstand this temptation and follow all instructions given him to obtain the plates. In vision, Joseph saw the exact spot where the plates lay in the hill.

Supernatural Aid

Heroes typically find that the gods provide them with certain unsuspected supernatural aids to assist them in their adventure. The supernatural aids given to Joseph in the pursuit of the golden plates and its translation may have been the Smith family amulets and parchments, the seer stone he had previously found while digging for a neighbor's well, and the interpreters found with the plates. The seer stone had enabled Joseph to venture forward in his vocation as neighborhood seer and treasure hunter and thereby aided him in his quest for the golden plates.

Threshold of Adventure

The day after Moroni's visit, Joseph went to the forested hill Cumorah he had seen in a vision and found, with the help of his seer stone, the spot where the plates were buried under a stone. Both the forest and mountains/hills are appropriate adventure encounter realms and are consistently used for that purpose in myth, according to Campbell.¹³ The dark depths of forests and visionary heights of mountains and hills provide a glimpse of the risky path of the Hero into forbidden areas of the psyche and the potential vision acquired after such a quest.¹⁴

12. Whether Joseph called the hill "Cumorah" has been much discussed. See William J. Hamblin's arguments that Joseph did not identify the hill with Cumorah in "An Apologist for the Critics: Brent Lee Metcalfe's Assumptions and Methodologies" in *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 6 (1994), 1:476-80. David Whitmer's testimony, however, is clear that both he, Joseph, and Oliver Cowdery met Moroni on the road to Fayette where Moroni said he was "going to Cumorah" in the direction of the hill where the plates were found. See the interviews cited by Milton V. Backman, Jr., in *Eye-Witness Accounts of the Restoration* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1986), 120.

13. See, for instance, Campbell, *Thousand Faces*, 43; Campbell, *Hero's Journey*, 11-12.

14. Campbell, *Hero's Journey*, 8-12.

INITIATION

Road of Trials

Upon finding the location of the plates, Joseph likely drew a magic circle around the stone with the ceremonial Smith family dagger and consulted his amulets and parchments. With a long branch Joseph lifted the stone to find the golden plates glistening in a stone box along with the interpreters (Urim and Thummim), a large breastplate, the sword of Laban, and the Liahona—the holy relics of ancient Nephite kings. Joseph's astonishment was matched only by his fear at actually uncovering such a treasure. He reached for the plates three times but was unable to grasp them. He cried out, "Why can't I obtain this book?" Joseph had heard of the enchantment which guarded such treasures but was surprised at his inability to remove the plates. Moroni appeared suddenly from the stone box, perhaps appearing from the form of a toad or some other amphibian,¹⁵ and shocked or struck Joseph, rebuking him for desiring the plates for riches and for failing to keep God's commandments.¹⁶ Campbell's comparative mythological and dream motif analysis indicate that the toad/dragon symbol may in fact represent Joseph's encounter with the fearful guardians of his own psychic recesses and that the golden plates as a symbol may in fact represent Joseph's own soul potentialities which can only be obtained after surviving heroic trials.¹⁷ Moroni also assumes a dual role of guardian presence in this story and mentor figure in successive visits to the hill.

Moroni indicated that Joseph could try to obtain the plates the same date the next year if he brought his brother Alvin with him. Joseph had failed his first trial to overcome greed, but anxiously awaited his next opportunity.

Joseph's family believed his story and took great interest in his adventure. Joseph's former treasure-hunting partners (Moroni had told Joseph

15. That the so-called "Salamander Letter" is a Mark Hofmann forgery does not change the detail of the amphibian as shown by Quinn, *Magic World View*, 128n5.

16. Other accounts indicate that Joseph was able to lift the plates from the stone box, but that after placing them to the side of the box, he looked into the box for additional treasure and found that the plates had disappeared. Moroni told him then that because he had disobeyed the commandment to not lay down the plates and because of his greed, the plates would not be delivered to him and he would have to wait another year to receive them. Quinn, *Magic World View*, 123-24.

17. See Campbell, *Thousand Faces*, 51-53. Others have also indicated that the golden plates and the Book of Mormon both may represent spiritual ideals as mere objects, regardless of the reality, content, or historicity of the text. See, for instance, A. Bruce Lindgren, "Sign or Scripture: Approaches to The Book of Mormon," in Dan Vogel, ed., *The Word of God: Essays on Mormon Scripture* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990)

to leave their employ) and some of his neighbors also believed his story. His older brother Alvin was especially anxious about the plates because of the role he might play in obtaining them. Two months later, however, Alvin died. His last words were to Joseph: "Do everything that lies in your power to obtain the Record. Be faithful in receiving instruction, and in keeping every commandment that is given you. Your brother Alvin must leave you." Alvin's loss was great because of the love the Smiths felt for him as well as the fear that Joseph, without Alvin, would not be able to pass the tests to get the plates. Joseph did not know what to do.

The next year, on 22 September 1824, Joseph returned to the hill alone. Rumors had been circulating that either the Smiths or their former treasure-hunting partners had exhumed Alvin's remains to fulfill the requirement that Alvin be present at the next meeting with Moroni; Joseph Sr. had printed newspaper notices in an attempt to dispel that rumor and eventually opened Alvin's grave to disprove it. Moroni asked Joseph at this 1824 meeting where Alvin was. Joseph replied that Alvin was dead. Moroni then said Joseph could have the plates if he brought the right person with him next time. Joseph asked, "Who is the right person?" Moroni said, "You will know."

On or before 22 September 1825 Joseph again attempted to get the plates by bringing a former treasure-digging partner named Samuel Lawrence. Joseph took Lawrence to the hill and determined that Lawrence was not the right person and apparently failed to visit with Moroni or obtain the plates.

The following year, on 22 September 1826, Joseph visited the hill again and Moroni told him that he had only one more chance to get the plates: he must keep the commandments and get married. Joseph looked in his seer stone and discovered that Emma Hale was the woman he was to marry and bring with him to get the plates the next year.

Meeting the Goddess

After many trials the Hero is faced with an ultimate challenge which, if resulting in triumph, enables him to return with a boon to restore the world. The ultimate challenge may take many forms, and most often results in a sacred marriage with the goddess-mother of the world, or atonement with the father-creator, or the exaltation and divinization of the Hero himself.

For Joseph's adventure of the discovery of the Book of Mormon, his triumph could be viewed as the sacred marriage, which also takes the mythic form of bride-theft. Joseph met Emma after moving to Pennsylvania to work with Josiah Stool's treasure-hunting partnership and the couple fell in love. Emma's father knew of Joseph's treasure-digging activities and strongly disapproved of Emma's seeing him. Joseph had turned to his

treasure-digging associates to help him win Hale's approval, but met no success. For love and to fulfill Moroni's requirement, Joseph eloped with Emma in January 1827, risking the alienation of her parents.

Campbell has attempted to show in many myths that the sacred marriage may represent the coming to knowledge of the Hero of all things that can be known, and may be associated with the discovery of gold or other wealth.¹⁸

Retrieval of the Ultimate Boon

Joseph and Emma "borrowed" Joseph Knight's wagon early on the morning of 22 September 1827 and drove to the hill. Emma stayed and prayed as Joseph climbed Cumorah and retrieved the plates. Details of this final, successful visit with Moroni are non-existent, but Joseph returned with the plates and published them to the world as the most correct book on earth with the express purpose to bring Jew, Indian, and gentile to Jesus Christ, to resolve contemporary gospel doctrine disputes, and to explain the mystery of the ruins of a once great people who anciently inhabited the Americas.

Return

Although specifics of the last interview with Moroni are not available, details of Joseph's return with the plates indicate the further trials he had to overcome as Hero to bring the boon of the Book of Mormon to the world. One version indicates that as he ran through the forest evil spirits tried to stop him, lashing him with tree limbs in a storm. Subsequent stories which took place during the translation process of hiding the plates from inquisitive neighbors—actually former treasure-hunting partners looking for their share in the find of the golden plates treasure—are equally as adventurous, as well as the trials of the dictation of the text and its final printing. But since these stories are generally familiar to Mormons and of less mythic appeal, I will not repeat them.

MYTHICAL APPLICATION OF THE BOOK OF MORMON STORY

Non-Mormon psychologist T. L. Brink has discussed aspects of the connection of Joseph's treasure digging with the discovery of the Book of Mormon in order to analyze Joseph's psychological profile. His conclusions are equally as valid to explain the mythic-psychological effect of treasure digging on Joseph's ultimate vocation as prophet. Comparing

18. See Campbell, *Thousand Faces*, 116. Although Campbell deals mainly with male heroes, the sacred marriage may also represent the same coming to knowledge for females as well as males.

Joseph's explorations with seer stones and treasure digging to Carl Jung's analysis of an alchemist's attempt to use a philosopher's stone to change lead to gold, Brink indicates:

The gold which the alchemists sought was but a symbol of spiritual perfection which they hoped to achieve in themselves. From this perspective we may say that even if Joseph Smith had engaged in money-digging as a youth, this in no way proves him to have been an imposter. The technique of using a magic stone in order to obtain gold can be seen as a spiritual quest for perfection. Therefore, from a Jungian perspective, a young money-digger is not necessarily a swindler in the making. He may be a prophet in the making.¹⁹

Joseph's experience with treasure digging and his only treasure find, the Book of Mormon, did not yield riches for the Smith family, contrary to their expectations. Joseph's treasure-digging experiences and publication of the Book of Mormon did, however, bring spiritual wealth to the Smiths and the soon-to-be-founded Mormon church. After Joseph's trial in 1826 for being a "disorderly person and a juggler" (under a statute similar to vagrancy statutes today which particularly included a prohibition against treasure-digging seership²⁰) Joseph and his father, Joseph Sr., lamented that young Joseph had not used his prophetic gifts for greater uses. The message of the myth seems clear: listeners may find themselves in a heroic search for the boons of the material world and yet find heretofore unexplored paths to inner spiritual growth, follow them, and find a treasure to be retrieved and shared to restore their own soul and the world.

The current use of the story of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon by Mormons is almost entirely limited to missionary discussions and history texts, albeit in biblical-rationalized terms. I do not recall hearing the story used as a faith-story or myth told in a testimony meeting to inspire the listener. As I will later discuss, the story of Joseph, the plan of salvation, and the first vision are the living myths currently told by Mormons rather than the story of the golden plates. I hope my suggestions will enable us to use the story of the golden plates—as it appears to have been originally told—as a living myth in our faith discussions.

THE FIRST VISION AS HERO MYTH

The mythic potentiality of the first vision has elsewhere received

19. Brink, "Depth Psychology," 80.

20. See, for instance, Wesley P. Walters, *Joseph Smith's Bainbridge, N.Y. Court Trials* (Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry, n.d.).

significant attention and will only be briefly treated in this essay.²¹ The first vision, although officially recorded in 1838 and discussed in private circles before that time, did not become a pronounced faith story told by Mormons until the 1880s.²² My discussion does not involve a detailed account of the different versions of the vision or a harmonization²³ of them in an attempt to reconstruct the story as first told, because it was not first told by Joseph or other Mormons for its mythic appeal, and also because the story is well known and is currently used for its mythic appeal.

The first vision is typically the first story told to non-Mormons interested in joining the LDS church. It has been described as the "central means by which Joseph Smith and others explained to themselves and others 'who we are.' In telling this story, Joseph was acting not as historian but as myth maker."²⁴ It is a shared experience by all Mormons and is used as the sacred form for Mormons in explaining their own heroic quest for truth and their adventure of faith and discovery of the treasure of testimony.

The first vision story follows the Campbell Hero pattern fairly closely. Joseph's readings in scripture (James 1:5) and attending revivals resulted in his call to adventure. He physically separated himself to a grove of trees to pray. He was visited by an evil force which bound his tongue; presumably this trial was overcome by his faithful struggle to continue his prayer. After this initiation, Joseph was then released from the invisible force that held him and he beheld a vision of angels, including the Son and Father. Joseph experienced atonement (reconciliation) with the Father when he was told his sins were forgiven him. The ultimate boon retrieved by Joseph was the knowledge that the true church of Jesus Christ would be restored through him. Joseph then returned to the world to share the knowledge gained from this adventure of the spirit.

As I remarked earlier, new Mormon converts often narrate their conversion experience along the lines of the first vision story and see themselves as bearers of a great boon to a reluctant world. More seasoned Mormons often find that they are spiritually reawakened when they hear the new convert's story of Hero quest and reflect on their own conversion and experience a renewal engendered by the teller of the conversion faith-story.

21. See, for instance, Mesle, "History, Faith and Myth," 13; Shipps, *Mormonism*, 32; and James B. Allen, "Emergence of a Fundamental: The Expanding Role of Joseph Smith's First Vision in Mormon Religious Thought," *Journal of Mormon History* 7 (1980): 43-61.

22. Allen, "First Vision."

23. I will use details from each of the different versions in my discussion. The different accounts are readily available. See, for instance, Dean C. Jessee, "Early Accounts of the First Vision," *Brigham Young University Studies* 9 (Spring 1969): 275-95.

24. Mesle, "History, Faith and Myth," 13.

JOSEPH SMITH'S RESTORATION AS RESTORATION OF THE HERO MYTH

As the work of Hugh Nibley and the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS) have documented, the message of the Restoration as told by Joseph's visions, restored ancient texts, and restored ancient rituals can be compared to similar ancient visions, texts, and rituals with apologetic and exegetical benefits.²⁵ These comparisons also lend themselves to mythic analysis. Such an analysis may provide a Jungian collective unconscious framework (or some other psychological framework) for explaining the parallels and thereby negate their direct apologetic use as confirmatory evidence of Joseph's prophetic abilities. But even Jungian psychological explanations (and perhaps others) can be harmonized with the Mormon doctrine of the pre-existence of humankind—the equivalent of the Jungian collective unconscious—and could explain the uniformity of archetypes discovered by Jung and others in all cultures.²⁶

Regardless of the apologetic use of such parallels, the core faith story of Mormonism, the plan of salvation, and its ritual form, the temple endowment, follow the Campbell Hero pattern. I choose not to discuss the endowment but suggest that temple-going Mormons read Hugh Nibley's *The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri*²⁷ and John Lunquist's "The Common Temple Ideology of the Ancient Near East"²⁸ to see the extent to which Mormon temple ritual fits the Campbell Hero pattern.

The story of the plan of salvation in narrative form can be told by nearly any child in Primary. Before we were born, we lived with heavenly parents. Our call to adventure took place in the heavenly council when we sided with Jesus and Michael against Lucifer and a third of the heavenly host. After this conflict, we left them to come to earth to undergo mortal initiation consisting of trials often caused by Satan and his followers.

Mormons have specific and general forms of supernatural aid during this quest. Aside from visions, dreams, and other experiences, we believe

25. See, for instance, Hugh W. Nibley [Stephen D. Ricks, ed.], *Enoch the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1986); and C. Wilfred Griggs, "The Book of Mormon as an Ancient Book," in Noel B. Reynolds, ed., *Book of Mormon Authorship* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982), 75-101.

26. Other approaches to myth may shed further light on these issues. Structural approaches, as developed by Claude Levi-Strauss and others, may suggest that the Restoration through Joseph Smith of ancient narratives and ritual is a restoration of mythemes that reconcile the same binary opposite phenomena that were reconciled anciently, even though the ancient narratives and rituals may or may not have formal correspondence with the narratives and ritual restored through Joseph.

27. Hugh Nibley, *The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri: An Egyptian Endowment* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1975).

28. In Truman G. Madsen, ed., *The Temple in Antiquity* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1984), 53-76.

that our patriarchal blessings are a specific aid guiding us in our quest. The Holy Ghost is also a gift given (Campbell points this out as well²⁹) to guide us on our search for the exaltation of our soul through (a) sacred marriage, (b) personal atonement with the Father (reconciliation through repentance), and (c) resurrection after death and return to the heavenly family (apotheosis) to jointly share in exaltation's boon.

The plan of salvation myth is clearly taught in Mormonism with the express purpose of enabling each individual to discover his or her divine nature (the call), join the community of faith (separation), and endure trials of keeping the commandments, persecution, and mortal sorrow, with the hope of a triumphant, heroic return to God's presence.

THE LIFE OF JOSEPH SMITH AS HERO MYTH

Joseph Smith's life, a life viewed by Mormons as having been lived according to the myth of the plan of salvation, also follows the Hero path in its typical tellings.

The Hero's call to adventure for Joseph's life as a prophet can be viewed as the combination of his divine call in the pre-existence—as evidenced by his (a) statements,³⁰ (b) restored textual prophecies,³¹ and (c) a family prophecy³² plus the first vision and discovery of the golden plates.

The supernatural aid given Joseph consisted of the Holy Ghost, his seer stones/Urilm and Thummim, the Smith family parchments, amulets, and other paraphernalia, and constant revelatory experiences and visitations.

The trials of Joseph are numerous and well known: his leg operation as a child; the Kirtland, Ohio, tar and feathering; the "trials of Missouri," specifically, Liberty Jail; false imprisonments and trials; and finally his brutal death in a Carthage, Illinois, jail.

The telling of the Joseph story also includes a meeting with the goddess and apotheosis.

While polygamy is no longer taught or sanctioned in the mainstream church, it nevertheless has current mythic meaning and potential. While polygamy has been previously viewed as having been instituted (a) by

29. Campbell, *Thousand Faces*, 72-73.

30. See Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1980).

31. Both the Book of Mormon and Joseph's inspired revision of the Bible contain prophecies about the rise of a prophet named Joseph. See 2 Ne. 3:5-16; JST Gen. 50:26-36.

32. Brigham H. Roberts, ed., *The History of the Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1978), 2:443.

Joseph at God's command (D&C 132), (b) by Joseph's lust,³³ (c) by Joseph's desire to broaden his family experience,³⁴ or (d) as a reaction to the breakdown of the traditional family in the nineteenth century,³⁵ polygamy as Joseph's meeting with the goddess makes mythological sense as a part of his Hero quest.

In addition, the Joseph Hero cycle also includes the story of his apotheosis. Joseph died a martyr's death and was called home again to a place where his enemies could no longer harm him. Beyond the veil, Joseph continues to lead and direct the church and sits with the exalted prophets of old. His restoration benefits us below and he continues to lead and direct above in the Kingdom of God: "Mingling with Gods he can plan for his brethren/ Death cannot conquer the Hero again."³⁶

CONCLUSION

At a minimum, I think the foregoing Hero myth analysis of Joseph Smith confirms Richard Bushman's conclusion that "[i]n the final analysis, the power of Joseph Smith to breathe new life into the ancient sacred stories, and to make a sacred story out of his own life, was the source of his extraordinary influence."³⁷ Bushman's conclusion that "[t]he strength of the church, the vigor of the Mormon missionary movement, and the staying power of the Latter-day Saints from 1830 to the present [1984] rest on the belief in the reality of those events" is undoubtedly true, but given the phenomenon of the "closet doubter" in the church,³⁸ one wonders if Bushman's observation might be broadened so that the strength of the church partially rests on the psychological response of its members to the mythic elements of the sacred stories of Joseph Smith and the church and the mythic boon they brought to humankind as Hero.³⁹

33. See Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945).

34. Brink, "Depth Psychology," 82.

35. See Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984).

36. W. W. Phelps, "Praise to the Man," no. 27, *Hymns of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1985).

37. Bushman, *Beginnings*, 188.

38. See D. Jeff Burton, "The Phenomenon of the Closet Doubter," *Sunstone* 7 (Sept.-Oct. 1982): 34-38.

39. Although most Mormons and non-Mormons tend to accept or reject the Joseph Smith story based solely on empirical/ historical grounds, many rank-and-file Mormons I have known appear to have an unarticulated mythic sense of his story and yet use orthodox language when discussing it even though they do not have a conventional "testimony" of the reality of Smith's experiences. Whether Mormon general authorities

A reviewer of Dean Jessee's compilation *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* recently commented that as a result of such fine research by Jessee and others we are now making real progress in our "search for the historical Joseph,"⁴⁰ alluding to Albert Schweitzer's groundbreaking *In Search of the Historical Jesus*. Perhaps one day soon a reviewer will speak of the growing body of literature proposing mythological approaches to Joseph and Mormonism and say we are now making real progress in our "search for the mythological Joseph and his church." At that point, our experience of Joseph's narratives and other faith stories of our tradition will have called us to the soul's high adventure and we will have embarked on our own spiritual heroic quest.

respond or have responded in a mythic manner while nevertheless maintaining a more orthodox posture is more difficult to determine. Although a matter of controversy, B. H. Roberts apparently came to view his belief in the Book of Mormon and Joseph Smith's production of it in a mythic sense as a psychological event of profound reality, although perhaps non-historical. See Brigham D. Madsen, ed., *Studies in the Book of Mormon* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 23-24. Similarly, while discussing the Book of Abraham with Thomas Ferguson, Apostle Hugh B. Brown is reported to have agreed with him regarding the non-historical nature of that book, evidently revealing a possible mythic interpretation of it. See Stan Larson, "The Odyssey of Thomas Stuart Ferguson," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 23 (Spring 1990): 55-93.

40. See the review of Marvin S. Hill in *Brigham Young University Studies* 25 (Summer 1985): 117-25.

Storytime

Philip White

Even now in the stony
courtyard under withered
vines the characters

are assembling. Doddering
fathers, young children,
wives. Each can think

of a word to tell why.
But what's to be done?
And will the wounded boy

arrive in time to say
All's right, the cup
of trembling is dry

and the bloody field won
at enormous cost of life
and vast tribulation?

Toward an Introduction to a Psychobiography of Joseph Smith

Robert D. Anderson

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

WERE A MORMON PSYCHOTHERAPIST TO ATTEMPT a psychobiography of Joseph Smith, I believe the first decision should be identifying his or her theological assumptions. These assumptions not only determine audience, but in turn are determined by whether the author takes a professional position or writes as a believing member of the LDS church. The writer's stance necessarily leads to certain conclusions and eliminates others.

Nowhere is this more true than in the area of spiritual claims. An extreme example of this demonstrates the changing assumptions of our own culture. During the witch-craze of Western Europe from about 1350 to 1650 A.D. thousands of people, mostly women, were condemned to death for confessing under torture to actions now considered impossible. These included flying through the air on forked sticks or animals, meeting in "covens" during "Sabbats" where they sacrificed infants, brewed storms, created plagues, illnesses, impotency, or infertility, and engaged in sexual relations with demons, called incubus (male) and succubus (female).

Some 350 years after these events, historian Joseph Hansen wrote a naturalistic approach to the witch-craze. He believed confessions were the result of coercion, usually torture, and witch/demonic interactions did not occur. Two years later Catholic Jesuit scholar Robert Schwickerath responded to Hansen's work, commenting that the "one-sided *a priori* treatment of the [sixteenth-century Catholic] scholastics was fatal; and it would be well if the book were studied by Professors of Philosophy and Theology." He added quotes by other Catholic leaders: "[W]e

now know how much is purely natural which even the most enlightened men of their age formerly account supernatural." Schwickerath acknowledged that "belief in incubus and succubus which played a most important part in the witch trials, are now rejected . . . by the best Catholic theologians." Nevertheless, he stated that Hansen's book was "based on a false supposition in denying the existence of evil spirits, and consequently leads to wrong conclusions."¹

What credence in a psychobiographical study of a Mormon—in this case, the first Mormon—concerning the supernatural should be allowed? Let us move along a sliding scale, from totally supernatural to totally natural explanations. In the process, my own position will become clear.

To many believing Mormons, virtually all that Joseph Smith did was a result of commandments from God. This was the position of the LDS church during its first 100 years, and continues to surface in many church manuals and sermons. As recently as 1976 Mormon apostle Ezra Taft Benson criticized two Mormon historians for suggesting that environmental factors—such as the temperance movement of the 1830s—may partly explain the background of Joseph Smith's 1833 health-related revelation on the Word of Wisdom.² According to this view, external secular influences should be largely discarded. Smith thus is not so much a man of his time, nor a result of his own psychology, but a product of the influence of the Holy Ghost. Outside the Mormon church, Jesuit scholar H. Becher takes basically the same position in his biography of the sixteenth-century founder of his priesthood order, *Ignatius of Loyola*³: "Even a lack of psychological analysis may be admissible as long as one sees and correctly portrays the workings of God in the Saint."

In this position, there is virtually nothing important about Joseph Smith to understand psychologically, and no significant psychobiography can be

1. Joseph Hansen, *Zauberwahn, Inquisition and Hexenprozess im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1900). The response by Robert Schwickerath, S.J., is in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review* 27 (1902): 475-516, entitled "Attitude of the Jesuits in the Trials for Witchcraft." For a brief overview of the witch trials, see H. R. Trevor-Roper, *The European Witch-Craze of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and other Essays* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), 90-192; R. H. Robbins, *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1965); and R. D. Anderson, "The History of Witchcraft: A Review with Some Psychiatric Comments," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 126 (June 1970): 1727-35.

2. Benson, Ezra Taft: *The Gospel Teacher and His Message* (Salt Lake City: Church Educational System, 1976), 11-12, quoted by D. Michael Quinn, "On Being a Mormon Historian (and Its Aftermath)," in George D. Smith, ed.: *Faithful History: Essays on Writing Mormon History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 69-111.

3. H. Becher, S.J., "Ignatius as Seen by His Contemporaries," in *Ignatius of Loyola: His Personality and Spiritual Heritage, 1556-1956*, ed. F. Wulf, S.J. (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1977), 69-96, at 70. Also in W. W. Meissner, S.J., "Psychoanalytic Hagiography: The Case of Ignatius of Loyola," *Theological Studies* 52 (1991): 3-33.

attempted. Such histories of Smith simply reiterate his story, along with experiences from his mother, other acquaintances, friends, and enemies, without close scrutiny or analysis. They continue to be found in church books and manuals. Most non-Mormon historians consider them of limited value at best.⁴

The next step along this continuum is acknowledging Joseph Smith's statement that "a prophet is a prophet only when he is acting as such."⁵ Here Smith's supernatural acts of translation and revelation are still largely exempt from psychological and environmental inquiry, but in his daily life he can be understood as a man of the nineteenth-century American frontier as well as of some limited psychological forces. This is the position of most present-day academic Mormon historians, who expect that psychological forces result in a view of Smith as mostly healthy and his underlying motivations as fundamentally charitable.

Yet comments here by most Mormon historians seem timid. In the words of one writer: "there has been little effort to uncover the background modes of thought, the controlling categories and assumptions, of Joseph Smith himself."⁶ Even if one suspects that some aspects of Smith's daily life contained psychological conflict, there is immediate challenge. Mormon Jungian psychoanalyst C. Jess Groesbeck has proposed Smith may have had an unresolved "split" in his personality, an internal conflict between two contending systems of morality:

[Joseph Smith] basically could not unite these two aspects of himself[:] . . . that side which believed in a single relationship to his wife . . . versus that side that believed in multiple plural relationships to other women. . . . In my opinion Joseph sensed he was not going to be able to heal the split in his life . . . [H]ad Joseph lived his life longer, he might have united the opposites . . . and the split . . . within him.

Groesbeck was soon countered by another Mormon psychiatrist: "There is great danger in interpreting manifest dream content without access to the latent dream material. There is even greater danger in interpreting the dreams of a prophet. . . . Prophets dream dreams of things past, present, and future." Thus even day-to-day mundane mental functions of a prophet escape psychological evaluation.

4. Lawrence Foster, "New Perspectives on the Mormon Past: Reflections of a Non-Mormon Historian," in Smith, *Faithful History*, 113.

5. Joseph Smith, Jr., et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols., ed. B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1951), 5:265.

6. Gary F. Novak, "Naturalistic Assumptions and the Book of Mormon," *Brigham Young University Studies* 30 (Summer 1990): 23-40.

7. C. Jess Groesbeck, "Joseph Smith and His Path of Individuation: A Psychoanalytical

If Smith's motives have been little examined, his revelations remain completely exempt from psychological interpretation. This approach contains two essential elements: (1) the acts of a prophet—when “acting as such”—contain no psychological influence, (2) and God does not work through the psyche of a prophet but is external to it. Such a man is little more than a tool or machine worked by God. In fact, this is how Smith's translation of the Book of Mormon has been described.⁸

The next move toward a secular approach is controversial and calls for closer examination. At this level God might work through the psyche of a saint or prophet, whose conflicts appear not only in his ordinary living but constitute an important element in his visions and spiritual calling. Here the essential ingredient is not only acknowledging psychological forces—healthy or pathological—but their fusion with spiritual forces that use these psychological struggles to express the will of God.

I know of no published work in orthodox Mormonism that represents such a view, but at least two authors imply such in their writings about the Book of Mormon. One believes that the core of the book is authentic history but that Smith added elements from his own life and time to it.⁹ The other believes there is no historical basis for the book but nonetheless subscribes to its spiritual value,¹⁰ a position also held by some members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.¹¹ Aside from this, Smith's revelations remain exempt from psychological or environmental influence. Outside the Mormon church, this fused approach is best represented by the work of Jesuit psychoanalyst William W. Meissner on the life of Ignatius of Loyola.¹²

Exploration in Mormonism,” Aug. 1986, privately circulated; tape-recorded version with response by James Morgan available on tape through Sunstone Foundation, Salt Lake City.

8. James E. Lancaster, “The Translation of the Book of Mormon,” in Dan Vogel, ed., *The Word of God: Essays on Mormon Scripture* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 97-112; Dean C. Jessee, “Joseph Knight's Recollection of Early Mormon History,” *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 (Autumn 1976): 29-39, esp. 35-36.

9. Blake T. Ostler, “The Book of Mormon as a Modern Expansion of an Ancient Source,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Spring 1987): 66-123.

10. Mark Thomas, “Lehi's Doctrine of Opposition in Its Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Contexts,” *Sunstone* 13 (Jan. 1989): 52; and his “The Meaning of Revival Language in The Book of Mormon,” *Sunstone* 8 (May-June 1983): 19-25. See also his “Rhetorical Approach to The Book of Mormon,” 1992, privately circulated.

11. William D. Russell, “A Further Inquiry into the Historicity of the Book of Mormon,” *Sunstone* 7 (Sept.-Oct. 1982): 20-24.

12. William W. Meissner, S.J., *Ignatius of Loyola: The Psychology of a Saint* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 346-58.

The term “Jesuit psychoanalyst” deserves some discussion. Sigmund Freud, an atheist, referred to himself as “The Godless Jew” and believed that religion was an illusion.

This, I propose, is the next step for Mormon psychohistorians.

All of the above approaches assume that God, supernatural forces, and spiritual experiences exist, but in the last approach they are not of interest to the psychobiographer. In the words of Meissner:

If the theologian allows that Ignatius was the recipient of great mystical graces and that the miraculous course of his inspired saintly career was the work of God's grace guiding and inspiring him at every step of the way, on this subject the psychoanalyst can say neither yea nor nay. The interpretation lies beyond the scope of his methodology and theory. The psychoanalyst is concerned with only those aspects of his subject that reflect basically human motivation and the connections of psychic meaning—whether or not the patterns of behavior have religious or spiritual meaning. . . .

His method and his perspective do not include the theological nor the spiritual. If he is wise he will leave those considerations to theologians and spiritual writers. The psychoanalyst is in no position to deny or exclude any actions, effects, or purposes of God. He is simply not interested in them since his approach has nothing to say about them.¹³

Toward the end of his life he wrote his "warcry against religion," entitled "The Future of an Illusion" (*Standard Edition*, vol. 21 [London: Hogarth Press, 1961]). Freud believed that the therapeutic effects of psychoanalysis resulted from the successful disintegration of the Oedipal conflict. Religion was an adult form of this conflict and would be abandoned when the conflict dissolved. However, this was not his followers' subsequent experience, who instead watched their patients' conflicts alter into more refined and adaptive behaviors. Today the therapeutic effects of psychoanalysis are understood to come not from interpretation but the internalization of the patient-doctor relationship which lays down added unconscious psychic structures through which conflict is modified. Even toward the end of successful analysis, unusual stress might bring back symptoms of insomnia, anxiety, depression, etc., albeit in brief and less intense forms. Note how this changes things: involvement in religion might be one form of a refined cultural adaptation. The question then turns, not on religious participation, but on the adaptive and flexible forms of religion and their coordination with reality. Fundamental religions, holding firm beliefs in opposition to new knowledge, do not fare well in this view.

Meissner, with 200 papers and nine books, is a leader at the interface between psychiatry and religion. In 1961 he published the *Annotated Bibliography in Religion and Psychology* (New York: Academy of Religion and Mental Health), and in 1984 his *Psychoanalysis and Religious Experience* (New Haven: Yale University Press) proposed that religion is an adult form—mature and immature—of transitional object. In his "The Pathology of Belief Systems" (*Psychoanalysis and Contemporary Thought* 15 [2]: 99-128), he distinguishes between the verifiable validity of a religion and the measurement of its pathology. In his "The Cult Phenomenon and the Paranoid Process" (*The Psychoanalytic Study of Society* 12:69-95) he finds similarity in the mental underpinnings of both processes, whether in the first or nineteenth century after Jesus Christ.

On a personal note, he is a man of wide humanity that has no flavor of fundamentalism. His critique of some of my preliminary writings has been very useful.

13. This quote is a composite from Meissner's large biography of Ignatius and his

There is considerable difference between assuming God and the supernatural while ignoring them and refusing either to assume or deny such sources for visionary, prophetic, inspired translations, statements, and acts. The existence of God lies not only beyond the psychoanalyst's interest but, as a scientist, beyond his or her knowledge. This does not deny the possibility; it simply insists that from a position of science and history, miracles have not been established as fact and cannot be assumed. I am among the first to acknowledge Meissner's contributions which, while scientific, are not science, as well as those of historians writing as believing Mormons or Christians who, while enlightening, do not write academic history.

One can acknowledge that the scientist or historian—or anyone, for that matter—may miss vital elements by refusing to acknowledge the spiritual. Perhaps such subjective experiences will forever be outside scientific replication, and science and history may forever miss ultimate causality. Nevertheless, as a psychiatrist within the field of medicine, I have only one possible response when such supernatural claims are admitted for consideration: I must respond by saying that I have no psychiatric experience mixed with collective knowledge in the professional literature to evaluate such happenings, including the effect of such phenomena on personality. I do not deny the possibility, nor do I deny my interest. I simply insist that supernatural experiences lie beyond scientific knowledge, and from a position of science they cannot be assumed. At the same time, if I as a person of science wished to write as a religious believer, I would have an obligation to inform my audience that I am stepping outside my professional role and to provide for them the suppositions with which I begin—or am attempting to support—that color my work.

If I maintain my position as scientist, my approach has two other consequences probably even less appealing to believers. First, it allows that all religious belief and experience may be naturalistic and therefore subject to unrestrained psychological examination. In the case of St. Ignatius, instead of excluding religious and theological considerations from scrutiny, the psychobiographer asks, "Can his visions and religious life be explained by natural means?" If we attempted a psychobiography of Joseph Smith, we would be expected to do the same. Second, such a consideration may ask if claims of obedience to God are being used not only to excuse but justify behavior no matter how flagrant. Belief in supernatural influences can become an escape from possibilities that are otherwise difficult. This same consideration applies to

earlier work reference in n12. However, the critical second sentence of the second paragraph has been removed from the later, larger work.

others, such as Ignatius. But even if one believes that the visions, spiritual and mystical experiences—as well as leadership qualities—of Ignatius resulted only from natural abilities, childhood trauma, and psychopathological responses to adult stress, in the eyes of Catholics he is still admirable. His simple life was characterized by vows of chastity and poverty. Many Mormons, on the other hand, would probably believe that the supernatural claims of Joseph Smith must be preserved at all costs. Otherwise, what are we to do, for example, with Smith's polygamy, including his attempts to marry pubescent girls, as well as his sexual activities with these girls and with already-married women?¹⁴ Eliminate the supernatural and we are left with what appears to be emotional rape. Perhaps this is why, despite the twenty-year-old challenge by non-Mormon historian Jan Shippo to find a solution to "The Prophet Puzzle,"¹⁵ relatively nothing has been done.

We are now at the center of a growing conflict, and the literature here is massive. Some Mormons insist that all historical accounts are subjective in the sense of being interpretations only; so a believer's interpretation is as valid as a non-believer's, both representing interpretations based on mutually incompatible but non-verifiable premises. But some historical issues are testable facts not subject to interpretation. To believe contrary to the evidence that something in the past happened the way that tradition says it happened "is not a matter of justified subjectivity but simply of incoherent commitment to the irrational."¹⁶

Repeatedly non-believing historians have debated this position with devout historians.¹⁷ Neither denying nor assuming spiritual experience, they must of necessity exclude the hand of God in events:

The reason for this aspect of academic history is both clear and persuasive. What sense data exist to reveal God's hand? If such data existed, whose God would it reveal? Because God is not sensible, data dealing with him is nonsense and speculative. Were historians to admit such nonsense data, they would lose much of their shared universe of discourse which allows them to evaluate theories. Personal, inspired speculation with no data

14. Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippets Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith; Prophet's Wife, "Elect Lady," Polygamy's Foe* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1984), 65, 100-101, 146-47.

15. Jan Shippo, "The Prophet Puzzle: Suggestions Leading Toward a More Comprehensive Interpretation of Joseph Smith," *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974): 3-20.

16. Richard Sherlock, "The Gospel Beyond Time: Thoughts on the Relation of Faith and Historical Knowledge," in Smith, *Faithful History*, 53n.

17. Articles may be found in many volumes of *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, as well as in *Sunstone*. Many of the best of these arguments have been gathered together in Smith, *Faithful History*.

would become as valid as hard documents, and chaos would replace orderly criticism.

. . . [A]cademic history, like science, has limited its universe of discourse to sense data. God and his action, in history, being non-sensible, therefore, do not fall within the bounds of that universe of discourse. . . . [B]ehind this limitation of subject matter was an attempt to facilitate communication among historians. . . . Were historians to accept revelations and other metaphysical data, communication would be greatly hindered because individuals from different religious traditions could not agree on which revelations were to be accepted or rejected.

. . . Should [the believer] seek evidence of God's action in history, let him turn to his faith, for academic history can never provide proof for something which its methodology excludes.¹⁸

And again some refuse to hear this required position. They continue to insist that subjective non-reproducible, non-observable spiritual experiences must be accepted as fact or possible fact, not just as an unknown that has not been proven and cannot be assumed.

The historian or scientist may personally believe in miracles but must exclude them from his or her professional products. Historian Michael Grant, in his biography of Jesus, understands this position: "It is true that words ascribed to the risen Christ are beyond the purview of the historian since the resurrection belongs to a different order of thinking. . . . Accordingly, therefore, to the cold standard of humdrum fact, the standard to which the student of history is obliged to limit himself, these nature-reversing miracles did *not* happen."¹⁹

In fact, this position is stronger than "clear and persuasive"; I believe it is necessary if we are to talk with anyone outside our own circles. The usual arguments against this are that all history requires interpretation and that the secular historian's position is, like everyone else's, personal opinion colored by predetermined and unconscious prejudice. This denies two countering considerations. (1) Some history is simple documentation and does not require interpretation; and (2) some historians are capable of rising above themselves, altering previously-accepted beliefs and accepting unpleasant truths. This is one of the distinguishing contrasts between science or academic history and religious fundamentalism. In addition, the belief that "faith and revelation" (which are above rational evaluation) lead to the "one true perspective" fails

18. This quote is a composite from two letters from Michael T. Walton in *Sunstone* 8 (Nov.-Dec. 1983): 2, and 11 (Jan. 1987): 6.

19. Michael Grant, *Jesus: An Historian's View of the Gospels* (New York: Collier Books, 1977), 13, 39.

to acknowledge . . . that nearly 21,000 other sectarian perspectives would thus be above rational evaluation too, and all other denominations would be as true as theirs, which of course they cannot accept. In other words, historians of Mormonism must accept Mormon Truth claims. In like manner, historians of Catholicism must accept Catholic Truth claims and the Catholic Holy Spirit as a reliable indicator of those claims, which of course would automatically nullify Mormon Truth claims. The same must obtain of historians of eastern Orthodoxy, Lutheranism, and the remainder of the almost 21,000 Christian denominations. Since it would not be possible for historians of religion to write about other religions or denominations without accepting *their* Truth claims, no historian of one perspective could critically analyze another perspective with any validity because he or she would have to accept the latter's Truth perspective. Historiographers would be turned back into pre-Enlightenment "story-tellers" or "defenders of the faith" called by the church "to summon events from the past" and write "faith-promoting history."²⁰

Thus such a position leads to the conclusion that one must accept not only God and the supernatural, but Mormon truth claims about God and the supernatural. The argument is circular, and concludes where it begins, with accepting the claims of Joseph Smith.

This then is the predicament: take a position from science and you exclude the supernatural; take a position from religion and your conclusions support your assumptions. The way we solve such problems in our ordinary lives is to follow the instructions Galileo attempted to teach the Catholic church 350 years ago: coordinate your assumptions with external objective reality; emotional certainty by itself is not enough. We cannot and will not find objective evidence for the visions of Joseph Smith, but his ability to translate ancient records is another matter. A scientist or academic historian will take a close look at the Book of Mormon when archaeology says he or she should.

To summarize: I believe we can attempt no truly satisfactory psychobiography of Joseph Smith if we consider his motivations and behavior the result of supernatural experiences only. Nor can we fully understand his life if we consider both naturalistic and supernatural events because difficulties in his psychological makeup which result in questionable behavior will be attributed to obedience to God, not to underlying psychological reasons. Such a psychobiography when it appears will be by believers for believers and be understood as "faith-promoting." Few outside historians will take it seriously because the author will have abandoned the common ground of naturalistic assumption—daily "humdrum fact"—required of

20. Edward H. Ashment, "Historiography of the Canon," in Smith, *Faithful History*, 292.

his or her position in the world of science.

A true psychobiography of Joseph Smith can be done only if naturalistic assumptions are made and if all of Smith's writings—including canonized scripture—and interactions are considered psychologically. (Again, this position does not deny the possibility of the supernatural, but acknowledges that supernatural experiences are not established as scientific fact and must be ignored for heuristic reasons.) This would be difficult if we relied solely on Smith's reputed autobiography—*The History of the Church*—for two reasons: (1) as Fawn Brodie has stated, Smith wrote it with the public in mind, not as an uncensored confession; and (2) it has been so compromised by past Mormon historians that it is of little value as autobiography. Source material does exist in his mother's preliminary biography, in acquaintances' accounts of Joseph and the Smith family during Joseph's teenage years, in early courtroom testimonies, in affidavits from New York, and in testimonies from his wife's neighborhood. These, together with the Book of Mormon, which as his first artistic creation would likely be the most revealing of his personality, give us some evidence of underlying motives and unconscious thought processes.

METHODOLOGY

Psychiatry is that branch of medicine dealing with the diagnosis and treatment of mental dysfunction, and the term "psychiatrist" is reserved for physicians—graduates of medical school—who have taken added specialty training in psychiatry. That area of psychiatry focusing on the mental forces and maneuvers of a person to modify these forces into successful social adaptation is referred to generally as "(psycho)dynamic psychiatry." Its most intense form is psychoanalysis, a subspecialty of psychiatry that is a collection of knowledge and a body of theory, as well as a specific form of treatment for certain patients.

Psychoanalysis began with Sigmund Freud around 1900 and for sixty years dominated psychiatry. In the absence of other theories, it over-extended itself into the treatment of severe psychotic mental illnesses, now known to be partly, or largely, genetically determined. In the last thirty years the leadership role of psychoanalysis has been replaced with technical laboratory methods and their results in the burgeoning fields of neurophysiology and psychopharmacology. This has allowed psychiatrists to modify, but not cure, severe forms of mental illness by medication. The next fifty years hold promise that the study of mental forces will unite with technical studies of brain chemistry, and we will be able to explain in neurophysiologic terms why the loss of a mother when a child is two years old will probably result in certain types of adult mental disturbance. Freud

anticipated this,²¹ and today some “psychoanalysts” are active in laboratory research in those areas.

The term “psychoanalyst” is not legally regulated throughout most of the United States, and the title frequently may be claimed by anyone, including the uneducated and charlatan. Within the profession, it is usually reserved for the 10 percent of psychiatrists who have completed four to six or more years of advanced training in the thirty-five or so psychoanalytic institutes accredited by the American Psychoanalytic Association. Others who use the term “psychoanalyst” are expected (but not required) to explain that their use of the term is not the usual or standard definition.

The American Psychoanalytic Association and its psychoanalysts continue to exercise major influence on all areas of treatment of the mentally ill. Their training courses welcome psychiatrists, psychologists, registered nurses, and social workers; and the body of knowledge they have accumulated over the last ninety years has filtered not only into the practices of mental health professionals but into our whole lives. For example, every modern government has “think tanks” of professionals using psychoanalytic knowledge in trying to understand the actions of other governments and in evaluating their leaders. Psychoanalytic knowledge is imparted in high schools and has become universal. Both Hollywood and Madison Avenue have people knowledgeable in psychodynamic understanding and manipulation who use these techniques successfully and without moral compunction. Psychoanalytic treatment has been modified and some of its methods help in treating all mentally disturbed patients. Its most extreme form of treatment, using a couch and “free association” in frequent sessions extending over years, continues to be the treatment of choice for a smaller but carefully selected percentage of patients.

That segment of psychoanalytic thinking that does not deal with development of theory or treatment of patients, but instead focuses on culture,

21. “We have found it necessary to hold aloof from biological considerations during our psycho-analytic work and to refrain from using them for heuristic purposes,” Freud wrote, “so that we may not be misled in our impartial judgement of the analytic work we shall have to find a point of contact with biology; and we may rightly feel glad if that contact is already assured at one important point or another” (“The Claims of Psycho-Analysis to Scientific Interest. Part II (C)” [1913], in *Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* [London: Hogarth Press, 1955], 13:181-82 [hereafter *Standard Edition*]). “Biology is truly a land of unlimited possibilities,” he added. “We may expect it to give us the most surprising information and we cannot guess what answers it will return in a few dozen years to the questions we have put to it. They may be of a kind which will blow away the whole of our artificial structure of hypotheses” (“Beyond the Pleasure Principle,” *Standard Edition*, 18:7-64). Finally, “We may look forward to a day when paths of knowledge and, let us hope, of influence will be opened up leading from organic biology and chemistry to the field of neurotic phenomena. That day still seems a distant one [in 1926]” (“The Question of Lay Analysis,” *Standard Edition*, 20:231).

art, history, politics, and literature is referred to as applied psychoanalysis. Attempts to enhance our understanding of individuals by their writings or known life is termed psychobiography. It began early in the psychoanalytic movement. Freud's first attempts to apply psychoanalytic concepts outside of psychoanalysis proper were in 1897. Three years later in his *Interpretation of Dreams* (1900) he again referred to Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* and *Hamlet*.²² In 1907 he wrote on Jensen's *Gravida*,²³ then on *Leonardo da Vinci* (1910),²⁴ and on the paranoid process of Schreber (1911).²⁵ Since then the psychobiographical literature has greatly expanded. Classic works include Ernst Kris's *Explorations in Art* (1952), Phyllis Greenacre's *Swift and Carroll* (1955), Richard and Editha Sterba's *Beethoven and His Nephew* (1954), and of course Erik Erikson's *Young Man Luther* (1958) and *Gandhi's Truth* (1970).

One division of applied psychoanalysis attempts to study personalities and interactions of fictional people in literature without necessarily using this material to understand the author. This approach has aided our appreciation of some of the greatest works such as the writings of Shakespeare. A collection of thirty-three such papers was made by M. D. Faber in 1970.²⁶

These studies, which open the door to understanding the *unconscious* processes and interplay among *fictional* people, fit into the object-relations theory of development which presently dominates psychoanalytic discussions. Bruno Bettelheim's writings on the meaning behind fairy tales are related.²⁷ The cultural phenomena of belief in witches, vampires, devils, and nightmares were studied by Ernst Jones²⁸ in a work which reflected early psychoanalytic preoccupation with sexual frustration.

However, the greatest contributions of psychobiography have been to expand our ideas about the personality of authors.²⁹ Difficulties in such

22. See Freud, Letter #71 (17 Oct. 1897), *Standard Edition*, 1:265-66; Freud, "The Interpretation of Dreams," *Standard Edition*, 4:263-66.

23. Freud, "Delusion and Dreams in Jensen's *Gravida*," *Standard Edition*, 9:3-95.

24. Freud, "Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of his Childhood," *Standard Edition*, 11:59-137.

25. Freud, "Psychoanalytic Notes on an Autobiographical Account of a Case of Paranoia," *Standard Edition*, 12:9-82.

26. M. D. Faber, *The Design Within: Psychoanalytic Approaches to Shakespeare* (New York: Science House, 1970).

27. Bruno Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976).

28. Ernst Jones, *On the Nightmare* (New York: Liveright, 1951).

29. See Gary James Bergera, "Toward 'Psychologically Informed' Mormon History and Biography," *Sunstone* 15 (Dec. 1991): 27-31. I consider this excellent review an expansion on the ideas in this section.

endeavors are carefully reviewed in important papers by Heinz Kohut³⁰ and John Mack. Mack adds the provocative thought that applied analysis will provide in coming generations the greatest legacy of psychoanalysis.³¹

Harry Trosman³² identifies various cultural and humanistic sources of Freud's pursuits and then discusses art and literature. This work, along with the small book by Fritz Schmidl,³³ provides extensive bibliographies. These lists demonstrate progress from fumbblings and errors to more precise, careful work. Other studies are speculative in the extreme, and two works by Freud are now considered unfortunate setbacks.³⁴

Alliances between psychoanalysis and history have been encouraged in the past. In 1958 William Langer, president of the American Historical Association, challenged colleagues to seek deeper psychological meaning in their studies.³⁵ The response has varied from mixed to hostile. Historians emphasize that there is no such thing as objective history, but they do live in a world where there are historical facts and documentations. This, happily, allows them to keep their feet on the ground. In contrast, the world of psychodynamic psychiatry is far more a world of feelings, thoughts, misrememberings, forgettings, fantasy, analogy, allegory, and metaphor. No wonder some historians give little credence to attempts to make sense of ephemeral mental material which does not seem to be connected. Freud knew this: "[In the use of applied psychoanalysis] we should have to be very cautious and not forget that, after all, we are only dealing with analogies and that it is dangerous, not only with men but also with concepts, to tear them from the sphere in which they have originated and been evolved."³⁶ Analogy is not a good way to establish historical fact, and history cannot be reduced to psychological explanation. Western historian Bernard DeVoto understood this: "Psycho-analysis has no value whatever as a method of arriving at facts in biography. . . . [The first condition of biography must be] absolute, unvarying, unremitted accuracy."³⁷ But psy-

30. Heinz Kohut, "Beyond the Bounds of the Basic Rule," *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 19 (1960): 143-79.

31. John E. Mack, "Psychoanalysis and Historical Biography," *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 19 (1971), 1:143-49.

32. Harry Trosman, *Freud and the Imaginative World* (Hillsdale, NJ: The Analytic Press, 1985).

33. F. Schmidl, *Applied Psychoanalysis* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1981).

34. Freud, "Leonardo da Vinci," and W. D. Bullitt and Freud, *Thomas Woodrow Wilson: A Psychological Study* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966).

35. W. D. Langer, "The Next Assignment," *American Historical Review* 63 (1958): 283-304.

36. Freud, "Civilization and its Discontents," *Standard Edition*, 21:144.

37. Bernard DeVoto, "The Skeptical Biographer," *Harper's Magazine* 166 (1933): 181-92 (1933).

choanalytic application and attention to factual detail are compatible, and psychoanalytic interpretation and understanding may add texture to the historical picture, fill in aspects of personal meaning and motive, and provide continuity to a history that has gaps. DeVoto found little value in applied psychoanalysis except as a plaything. Consequently, his conclusions concerning the Book of Mormon lacked comprehension: "a yeasty fermentation, formless, aimless and inconceivable absurd . . . a disintegration."³⁸

When psychiatrists enter the world of history, they are strangers in a strange land. They are trained to interact with a live and reactive patient not someone distant or dead for 150 years. Interaction between therapist and patient is the central focus and the means for, if not a cure, then improvement. Clarification, confrontation, interpretation, and repeatedly working through an issue describes the observable process. It is speculative work, which only gains assurance over time and in the interaction. Every dynamic psychiatrist has had the experience of making a painful interpretation he or she felt was accurate, only to have the patient exclaim, "No!" then break into sobs and correct the therapist with an even more painful truth, newly discovered by the therapist's near-miss. It is this dynamic interplay that we do not have in an applied psychoanalytic approach to a dead man or woman.

Add to this the fact that a person not only reflects his or her own personal, familial development but his or her time and place. It is difficult to shift spheres of influence, much less gain insight by guesswork in the inner wellsprings of a person's emotions and thinkings. Time veils many things and there will be aspects of anyone's life that will never be understood, even with the full cooperation of a live patient. These difficulties tempt a psychohistorian to become reductionistic instead of reductive in finding certain conclusions where only incomplete information and partial solutions are available:

Reductionism, the "nothing but" fallacy, which attempts to reduce complex psychological and creative processes to roots in the unconscious, is the most dangerous tendency. . . . Closely related to this is "the original fallacy," the invoking of antecedent experiences or early drives to explain the subject's later behavior. I would add to these "the critical period fallacy," which attempts to build a study of a man's life around a certain "key" period of development, and "eventism," the discovery in some important episode in a man's life of not only the prototype of his behavior

38. Bernard DeVoto, "The Centennial of Mormonism," *American Mercury*, Jan. 1930, 1, in Francis W. Kirkham, ed., *A New Witness for Christ in America* (Independence, MO: Zion's Printing Press, 1951), 1:352.

but *the* turning point in his life from which all subsequent events and work are derived. Both these oversimplifications lend artistic grace to a biographical study, but also impose unnatural order, shape, and direction to the often rather amorphous nature and fitful course of a human life, even that of a great man.³⁹

The above emphasizes the necessary tension and balance between the historical and the psychological. If this latter view becomes too strong, then "psychopathology becomes a substitute for the psychohistorical interface. . . . the psychopathological idiom for individual development . . . [replaces] the idiom for history, or psychohistory. When this happens there is, once more, no history."⁴⁰

If a balance is maintained, then looking at symptomatic or general behaviors can be productive. From our psychodynamic perspective and experience, there is reason to believe that all of us derive part of our motives and uniqueness from psychologically meaningful events in our past, most strongly and enduringly in our childhood. Might this be true also for a prophet? At the least, such considerations add depth to understanding. The concern is that the subject might be reduced to a stilted figurine to fit a psychodynamic model, while the full richness of his or her life is left unexplained. No live patient fits any mold and sooner or later will emotionally bristle when he or she senses the therapist's attempt to do so. Some of this will happen with psychobiography because live interaction, corrections, modifications, and elaborations by the patient are not available to us. The patient is not there to challenge, correct, and change our tendency to simplify. It will also happen because no one has direct first-hand experience with a culture from the past.

Some now believe that the greatest impediment to good psychobiography is the author's own emotional relationship to his or her subject. These "countertransferences" may "distort the [biographers'] material so that their discussion may actually reveal more about themselves than about their subjects."⁴¹ Psychobiographers are not limited to writing about people they admire or love, but also those considered profoundly destructive, and this can bend their studies into attempts at debunking. No one can write completely free of bias, but it is important to know where one's prejudices lie. This may be especially true of religious figures. For this reason, clarifying the underlying theological assumptions, as discussed earlier, is necessary. Some readers will find the scientific position untenable. The goal of

39. Mack, 156.

40. Robert J. Lifton, "On Psychohistory," in *Explorations in Psychohistory: The Wellfleet Papers*, eds. R. J. Lifton and E. Olson (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974), 25.

41. Bergera, 28.

psychobiography is explanation and understanding, but sometimes such explanation and understanding may be unattractive. Describing a personality that rationalizes, changes his or her story, deceives, and abuses others is unavoidable in any honest study, while mislabeling or avoiding these qualities results in incomplete or even censored history. The best psychobiographers, like the best psychotherapists, use their emotional reactions to their subjects and patients as stepping stones to further understanding of the unconscious.⁴²

What psychobiography does have, despite the absence of a live patient, are two areas of collective knowledge and known experience. Techniques used in applied psychoanalytic investigation are adapted from techniques of psychoanalytic treatment. If Joseph Smith were in dynamic psychotherapy, he would have the right to begin the sessions anywhere, under the guide of free association—to say anything and everything that comes to mind with preferably no editing at all—and our job would be to follow, understand, decipher, confront, and clarify. Where will he take us?

Patients tell their life story and emphasize problem areas repeatedly in treatment. But some areas of conflict are too painful to discuss and feel directly, so patients use a number of methods, both conscious and unconscious, to modify their pain. They may talk about a friend with similar problems or discuss a movie or book that contains problems similar to their own. They may divide their history into two or more parts, discussing some segments one day and filling in the remaining segments on other days. The more painful the incident, the more repetitious the patient will be in “working through” the problem. If the pain of sadness is too much on one day, they may reverse it into an inappropriate euphoria which will break down in the next days or weeks. Their dreams will repeat their life stories and conflicts, disguised by exaggeration, displacement, reversal, projection onto others, condensing and combining stories, and so forth. Their mental fantasies will repeat their problem and frequently show dramatic wished-for solutions and compensations, some reasonable and some impossible.

Over time the psychotherapist begins to know the life story well and becomes acquainted with the psychological “defenses” the patient uses to repeat yet half-avoid facing pain. The patient will speak in metaphor, simile, allegory, fantasy. We can expect that the mental maneuvers, styles, and defenses of the author will be represented in his or her work. This is most true if the work was his or her first or early work and if the work was “spontaneous” and close to the therapeutic process of “free association,” as perhaps was Joseph Smith’s dictation of the Book of Mormon.

The therapist may learn the patient’s methods so well that he or she

42. Mack, 155.

can anticipate the next session's content—only to find him- or herself surprised on occasion when the patient demonstrates a new technique. What becomes increasingly important is not the life story but its modifications which the patient brings to treatment. These modifications—exaggerations, similarities, aversions, combinings, reversals, eliminations, projections, forgettings, denials, imagined compensations, division of the story into two or more parts, etc.—are what help us understand the patient and assist him or her to face pain and more successfully adapt to life. What we wait to see are patterns. Meissner states:

The data of analytic investigation are subtle, hidden, and masked behind the veil of manifest content. . . . The causal links are nowhere immediate or evident. The proof rests on a welter of facts, opinions, reactions, behaviors in various contexts, comments in letters and other writings. No single fact or connection will validate the hypothesis, but it begins to take on meaning and consistency in the light of the total complex of facts, data, and their integrating interpretations.⁴³

The second principle is overdetermination.

The problem of determinism in psycho-analysis is a point that bothers unsympathetic critics of psycho-analysis. Freud insisted that strict determinism prevailed in respect of psychic acts; there are no "accidents." For example, "free associations," the basis of dream analysis and of therapy, is "free" only in the sense that it is not hampered by the censorship of "logical," "rational" thought and *mores*. It is not, however, undetermined.⁴⁴

This also depends on the amount of material extant, and if no pertinent material exists there can be no psychobiography. But we do have material with Joseph Smith—from himself, his mother, outsiders—and we can theorize his mental productions in the Book of Mormon. Overdetermination comes in two forms: the fact that the same word or symbol refers to many elements in the unconscious thought process, and that a single unconscious drive or pattern of behavior will manifest itself in numerous different conscious manifestations. This makes the evidence abundant and self-confirming. If one adds this to outside observations—by family, friends, enemies—it seems possible to complete the historian's task of reconciling, interpreting, and confirming evidence, as well as the psycho-historian's task of explaining.

Let us take as an example from Joseph Smith's life: his first known run-in with the law. Shortly after he turned twenty years old—four years

43. Meissner, xiv.

44. Bruce Mazlish, "Clio on the Couch," *Encounter*, Sept. 1968.

before the Book of Mormon was published—he was arrested as a “disorderly person and imposter.” He spent one night in jail, was found “guilty” in a “trial” (probably a type of preliminary hearing or examination) that received some local attention, and was encouraged to leave the area to avoid further punishment.⁴⁵ Mormon historian Marvin Hill says that Smith “experienced shame . . . in 1826 when he was brought to trial. . . . It is significant that Joseph Smith never mentioned this trial in any of his writings.”⁴⁶ Hill’s statement is half correct, for seven years later Smith assisted his close friend, Oliver Cowdery, in writing about this trial: “some very officious person complained of him [Joseph Smith] as a disorderly person, and brought him before the authorities of the country; but there being no cause of action he was honorably acquitted.”⁴⁷

Joseph’s subsequent avoidance in discussing this trial suggests that he did experience shame and humiliation. If the principle of overdetermination applies, then this trial might appear in the Book of Mormon in unconscious representation. Smith’s emotional upheaval might appear in a dream of a volcanic explosion or perhaps transformed into physical assault and injury. Or the trial might be represented as just that: a literal court trial. Or perhaps it will show as a judgment from God, or persecution by evil men. If this trial appears, we will want to place it into continuity: other aspects of Smith’s life before and after it should be represented in metaphor and allegory but in proper sequence in the Book of Mormon. If the trial was a profound emotional experience, we could expect that it would appear more than once, again expecting it to be in proper sequence with the rest of his life. Like we do with live patients, we listen until it becomes clear we are hearing allegorically, metaphorically, and in fantasy a repetition of major incidents. However once again of even greater interest to us is to see how Smith changes his real-life trial into Book of Mormon incidents, for when we begin to see such patterns we begin to understand him and his motives. We wait to see an internally consistent chronological pattern and repetitive psychological style.

This then is one challenge: to what extent, if any, can the Book of Mormon be understood as an autobiography of Joseph Smith? Such a psychobiography would be both interpretive essay and psychological de-

45. Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971); Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *Joseph Smith and Money Digging* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm, 1970); Wesley P. Walters, “Joseph Smith’s Bainbridge, N.Y. Court Trials,” *Westminster Theological Journal* 36 (Winter 1974): 123-55; and Wesley P. Walters, “From Occult to Cult with Joseph Smith, Jr.,” *The Journal of Pastoral Practice* 1 (Summer 1977): 121-13.

46. Marvin S. Hill, *Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 11, 193n62.

47. *Messenger and Advocate* 2 (Oct. 1835): 200-201.

tective story. But if this inquiry is successful, can repeated psychological patterns in Smith's alteration of his dramatic life into Book of Mormon stories be discerned? If so, then this level of writing can be advanced to another and allow an expanded question: Can such observations contribute to a psychological understanding of Smith, and with this information, alongside his mother's biography and other outside information, can we develop a reasonably complete psychoanalytic profile of Joseph Smith?

From the beginning with Joseph Smith there has been not only an alternate story to the official version, but a contradictory one. Depending on one's outlook, this has been curse, burden, challenge, opportunity, or blessing. Some alternate stories were plausible but with inadequate documentation; others failed as contradictory evidence was discovered. With each failure, some Mormons felt reassured that Smith's original stories were confirmed. However, this is no longer true. Recent historical discoveries not only add to the alternate version but are incompatible with the canonized story. This has created something of a "crisis in Mormon historiography" and divided many Mormons into "traditionalists" and "New Mormon Historians."⁴⁸ The problem has become intense because church leaders have reacted with a degree of defensiveness that suggests the threat they feel. They have typically sided with "traditionalists" and their response to those grappling with historical documentation has oscillated between uncharitable and cruel.⁴⁹ A naturalistic psychobiography of

48. These articles may be found in issues of *Sunstone* and *Dialogue*, as well as in *Faithful History*.

49. See Lavina Fielding Anderson, "The LDS Intellectual Community and Church Leadership: Contemporary Chronology," *Dialogue: Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Spring 1993); and also Quinn, "On Being a Mormon Historian (and Its Aftermath)," in Smith, *Faithful History*, 69-112.

Intellectuals in the Mormon church are becoming symbolic martyrs in a twentieth-century struggle against a sixteenth-century mentality. Mormon writer Linda King Newell summarized the conflict best when she described at the 1992 Pacific Northwest Sunstone Symposium events that followed release of *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith*, which she co-authored with Valeen T. Avery. Within months of publication, her award-winning biography of Joseph Smith's first wife was censored by Mormon church officials and she and Avery were forbidden to speak in church meetings, teach classes, or speak about their research. With her husband and their stake president, Newell met with Elders Dallin H. Oaks and Neal A. Maxwell, authors of the ban, on 21 July 1985. Oaks, a former Utah Supreme Court Justice and past president of Brigham Young University, did not believe the ban would be lifted. He recognized that "many members consider him an intellectual given his academic background in professional history, but he doesn't want us or anyone else to be misled." He said: "My duty as a member of the Council of the Twelve is to protect what is most unique about the LDS church, namely the authority of the priesthood, testimony regarding the restoration of the gospel, and the divine mission of the Savior. Everything else may be sacrificed in order to maintain the integrity of those essential facts. Thus, if *Mormon Enigma* reveals information that is detrimental to the reputation of

Joseph Smith, if successful in demonstrating repeated styles of psychological defense and patterns of thinking—even within the Book of Mormon—that parallel his life, would provide explanations and motivations for Smith's behavior as well as possibly fill in gaps in recent discoveries. It would add more challenges to the traditional story of the founding of Mormonism and enlarge the present controversy.

ADDENDUM

In the winter 1993 issue of *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* non-Mormon historian Lawrence Foster, following Mormon Jungian psychoanalyst C. Jess Groesbeck, attempts a psychological explanation of Joseph Smith. Foster's review of the basic literature on religious leaders and previous psychological writings on Smith show his usual care and insight, but I believe the direction of manic-depressive illness as a basis to help explain Smith's personality is so filled with problems that it deserves some scrutiny.

The necessary symptom for a diagnosis of manic-depressive illness, now called Bipolar Affective Disorder, is a discrete episode of mania with or without episodes of depression. Usually beginning in the late teens or early twenties, the first episode(s) is likely precipitated by stress such as birth, death, loss of employment, or divorce. As the illness unfolds it takes on a life of its own with episodes occurring independent of the stresses of life. But the illness may create havoc in the patient's life. It is a periodic illness with recurrence throughout one's life. As is the case with all psychiatric diagnoses, the illness is determined by clumpings of symptoms ("syndromes") seen in a patient in a clinical setting.

In the early and mid-1970s lesser manic episodes not severe enough to warrant hospitalizations were split off from full mania and termed "Bipolar Affective Disorder [type II]." This questionable distinction was supported by statistical studies of patients who were younger than more severe "Bipolar I" patients at onset, tended to be female with greater chronicity to the illness, had families which had relatives with a similar degree of mania, etc. Some were "rapid cyclers" or the episodes seemed connected to seasonal affective disorder or premenstrual syndrome. Some patients experi-

Joseph Smith, then it is necessary to try to limit its influence and that of its authors."

In his statement Oaks sacrificed the search for truth to the support of dogma. The names of similarly motivated men that come to mind include Jakob Sprenger, Jean Bodin, Henri Boguet, Peter Binsfeld, Nicholas Remy, M. A. Del Rio, and Dietrich Flade. However, unlike Oaks, they were not restrained by a Constitution and Bill of Rights and are not seen in a favorable light today. The last named, the most decent of them all, attempted to resist zealous actions that overrode the search for truth, was caught, and destroyed.

enced the onset of the illness when prescribed standard antidepressant medication.

Researchers continued to divide Bipolar II patients into lifelong forms of even lesser intensity, termed *cyclothymia* and *hyperthymia*. Both of these “unofficial” illnesses require the occurrence of *hypomania*—a distinct period of at least a few days of mild elevation of mood, positive thinking, and increased activity level, but without the severe impairment of full manic episodes. It is not easy to distinguish “hypomania” from simple happiness except perhaps by its inappropriate timing, and it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish these illnesses from other mental health problems or even normal everyday variations. Even with interviews with a live patient and family members, the symptoms are termed “subsyndromal” or “subclinical,” suggesting uncertainty. Some may have intermittent mild depression (“*cyclothymics*”), but some, these researchers suggest, have *hypomania* woven habitually into their personality. One researcher proposes these characteristics for this “hyperthymic” temperament: cheerful, overoptimistic, or exuberant; warm, people-seeking, and extroverted; overtalkative and jocular; overconfident, self-assured, boastful, or grandiose; habitual short sleeper, including weekends; high energy level, full of plans and improvident activities; overly involved and meddling; uninhibited, stimulation-seeking, or promiscuous. But where is the necessary episodic nature of the illness required for the diagnosis?

These last descriptions put us over the line from episodic illness into general personality types, and the closest present official description to this type is “narcissistic personality disorder” as these researchers acknowledge. In addition, these researchers suggest the possibility that some patients with the turbulent “borderline personality disorder” may in fact have a disguised form of “*cyclothymia*.” These are ideas rich for research, but such diagnoses are difficult to delineate in a live patient, and impossible to discern from a distance of more than 150 years. I agree that Bipolar Affective Disorder may appear in a myriad of subtle forms and believe these suggestions hold promise, but almost anything can be put into such categories, and we are obligated to follow the descriptions of illness that have some reasonable clarity.

Researchers in these studies focus on neurobiology and pay little attention to psychology. These illnesses are seen as a result of the body’s internal clock going awry to its own independent drumbeat, but possibly affected by how much light hits the retina of the eye, or menstrual-cycle biochemistry. These lesser subdivisions of “Bipolar Affective Disorder, type II” (types III, IV, V, VI?) are speculative, and I believe we should stay at the first level of theorizing by trying to fit Joseph Smith into known and clearly distinguishable categories or combinations of distinguishable categories of illness. Trying to place him into a speculative form of Bipolar

Affective Disorder that is actually a description of a personality type, or deciding that he has one of the subtle atypical forms of the illness, difficult to discern even in a real live patient, only stirs an already muddy pool. If this is allowed, then almost anything can be permitted.

These lesser forms of Bipolar Affective Disorder—type II and the unofficial so-called cyclothymic and hyperthymic individuals—assuming both are bipolar illnesses—may demonstrate artistic creativity. The introversion and self-doubt of mild depression contributes to insights and reflection on the human condition, and then hypomania provides the energy for the creative work.

It seems to me Foster/Groesbeck must demonstrate repeated episodes of illness in Joseph Smith that reversed his usual temperament and were minimally or not at all precipitated by external factors. Where is such a description of periodicity from his friends or enemies? Without this periodicity of reversal, there can be no real diagnosis of any form of Bipolar Affective Disorder. I do not doubt that he had periods of depression especially toward the end of his life, but these seem to have been in response to his environment. He was steadily being entrapped by his enemies in retaliation for his own doings. He may indeed have had periods of elation following narrow escapes, imprisonment, conquests, etc. Foster's quote from Smith that excitement had become his essence of life suggests a chronic steady condition, not an episodic one. Does Foster know of a period in Smith's life when he was not making grandiose claims?

How does any form of Bipolar Affective Disorder explain the Book of Mormon, Smith's revelations, or the Book of Abraham? At best, it only provides Smith with thoughtful introspection when depressed and energy when hypomanic. It contributes little to the explanation for these "miracles." Foster, as a non-Mormon, must yet provide further naturalistic—psychological—explanations for these texts. Groesbeck, on the other hand, as a believer in the miraculous source for the Book of Mormon, escapes this problem. But with no objective evidence for the Book of Mormon as actual history, all thoughtful outsiders (as well as some insiders) see it as a product of early nineteenth-century America. Groesbeck must be certain that he sees nothing significant in the Book of Mormon that reflects Smith's personal life, his readings, his local religious experiences, or the national scene. Groesbeck must also explain how Smith's revelations and translations escaped contaminations from Bipolar Affective Disorder such as overstatement or grandiosity; or at the other end of bipolarity, exaggerated despair and condemnation.

Here are some of the issues that the diagnosis of Bipolar Affective Disorder does not address: the results of an unstable and deprived childhood with many moves and periods of near-starvation; the results of a

traumatic childhood surgery; the effects of being raised in a family with an alcoholic father, a mother predisposed to depression, and repeated failures and minimal esteem in the community; and the effect of being raised in a subculture of magical delusion, requiring deceit of self and others. I agree that Smith demonstrated grandiosity, but I see it as a progressive development going out of control toward the end of his life. It may be that he suffered from an atypical, strange form of Bipolar Affective Disorder in addition, but I do not believe he fits into established categories of the illness. The strongest evidence for this diagnosis is probably his family history, but family members had an incomprehensible burden of conflict to carry. (This could lead to suicide. Schizophrenia is not one of the bipolar spectrum of illnesses.)

Five years ago, paying attention to the recurrent depressive episodes in Joseph's mother and the life-long mental illness of his son, I seriously considered Bipolar II but abandoned it for the reasons given. Frankly I was sorry, for I would have liked to find an explanation for Smith's later excesses that was outside of his control. Other intellectuals in the Mormon world would understand this wish.

If Foster/Groesbeck are trying to observe a periodic illness so minimal or atypical that it looks like a general personality type, why avoid the obvious and not investigate personality types? (This would still allow normal everyday ups and downs and episodes of euphoria and temporary hypomania in response to conquests and successes.) The main writers on personality types are psychoanalysts, not family statisticians. Here the writings are so voluminous that one hardly knows where to begin, for the study of the "narcissistic personality" has preoccupied them for thirty years, along with their intense investigation of the first three years of life and the consequent development of "Object Relations" metapsychology which continues to dominate any theoretical discussion. Even so, I do not think any single personality type will adequately explain Joseph Smith. Finally, I would encourage the idea that explaining Joseph Smith requires looking beyond just his genetic makeup, internal conflicts, or personality, but also to interactions between him and his followers, for they contributed to his creation as a prophet. Here the nidal point is easy to see, for it was described by the unsophisticated farmer and wagon master, Peter Ingersoll, and published in 1834. Any explanation should encompass that description. This description, like so much else in his life, nudges the diagnosis toward psychology and away from the organic/genetic.

Let me open this discussion to further dialogue by asking if the following striking example of hypomania in the Book of Mormon is the result of Bipolar Affective Disorder in Joseph Smith or a result of psychological defensiveness. The specific example occurred during a war between the Lamanites and Nephites, and also between the Lamanites and their former

brothers, the Anti-Nephi-Lehies. In the middle of these slaughters the heroic missionary-swordsman Ammon breaks forth into a cry of joy, his heart brimming over for the salvation of the victims in the Kingdom of God (Alma 26). He sets aside the carnage, mayhem, dislocations, devastation, deaths, rapes, dismemberings, torturings, burnings, and grievings that would have resulted from these continuing hand-to-hand combats with savages driven by hatred.

If the hypomania of Ammon, as an alter-ego for Joseph Smith, cannot be connected to specific incidents in the latter's life, then the diagnosis is likely Bipolar Affective Disorder. But if this hypomania can be connected to some devastating humiliation in Joseph Smith's life, then I believe it supports understanding this hypomanic episode as a *psychological defense of compensating reaction-formation*. The clues are probably be found in the chapters before and after Ammon's curious Ode to Joy.⁵⁰

50. In the above I summarized the following books and papers: F. K. Goodwin and K. R. Jamison, *Manic-Depressive Illness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 13-55, 75-151, 281-315, 332-66, 541-70; J. S. Akiskal, "New Diagnostic Concepts of Depression—The 'Soft' Bipolar Spectrum," *Masters in Psychiatry*, July 1993, 9-13; H. S. Akiskal and K. Akiskal, "Reassessing the Prevalence of Bipolar Disorders: Clinical Significance and Artistic Creativity," *Psychiatry and Psychobiology* 3 (1988): 29s-36s; H. S. Akiskal, "The Bipolar Spectrum: New Concepts in Classification and Diagnosis," in L. Grinspoon, ed., *Psychiatry Update: The American Psychiatric Association Annual Review* (Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Press, Inc., 1983), 271-92; G. B. Cassano et al., "Proposed Subtypes of Bipolar II and Related Disorders: With Hypomanic Episodes (or Cyclothymia) and with Hyperthymic Temperament," *Journal of Affective Disorders* 26 (1992): 127-40; R. H. Howland and M. E. Thase, "A Comprehensive Review of Cyclothymic Disorder," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 181 (1993): 485-93; G. L. Klerman, "The Classification of Bipolar Disorders," *Psychiatric Annals* 17 (Jan. 1987); and D. L. Dunner, "A Review of the Diagnostic Status of 'Bipolar II.' For the DSM-IV Work Group on Mood Disorders," *Depression* 1 (1993): 2-10. Peter Ingersoll's testimony is in E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* (Painsville, OH: the Author, 1834), 323-37. For an introduction to the development of the grandiose self as part of the narcissistic personality, see Otto Kernberg, *Borderline Conditions and Pathological Narcissism* (New York: Jason Aronson, Inc., 1975), 16-18, 227-314.

My mama's hands

Donna Bernhisel

can hold eight eggs
when she walks from the
refrigerator to the stove,
bacon fat popping out
of the black skillet.
Her hands can work
their way around carrots,
feeling through the earth
for the ripest ones.
They can pluck tomato bugs off
of sticky leaves and
fling them in the high grass.

My mama's hands
can rub the knots out of my
daddy's shoulders
as he sits on the bottom step
of the wooden front porch,
his hands clasped between
his workboots, him saying
mmhmm, mmhmm
to the rhythm of her hands
rubbing away his day.

My mama's hands
pick cotton and plums
and pull feathers off chickens
and wrap babies in blankets
and pick flowers that she
arranges in old pop bottles.

On Sunday
my mama's hands lay
folded on her lap.
"Too wrinkled and ugly," she says,
"but they work."
So she keeps them together,
each protecting the other.

But she'll forget.
And I'll feel her arm,
cool across the back of my neck.
Her hands will rub my shoulder
and finger the lace she sewed
on my Sunday dress.

If I sit real still,
she will smooth my hair,
her roughened fingers sometimes
catching.

From Temple Mormon to Anti-Mormon: The Ambivalent Odyssey of Increase Van Dusen

Craig L. Foster

IN 1847 A SMALL CRUDE PAMPHLET APPEARED in New York City bearing the title, *Positively True. A Dialogue between Adam and Eve, The Lord and the Devil, called the Endowment*.¹ A contemporary observer, Charles L. Woodward, described how the tract's author, Increase Van Dusen, "stood selling his pamphlets in [New York's] City Hall Square."² Van Dusen's foray into the literary world was successful, for he sold out the first 10,000 copies of his tract and published a second edition of another 10,000 within the year.³

In his tract, Van Dusen claims first-hand knowledge of the Mormon temple and its ceremonies. He describes how the members of the church "labored on this building with many privations, in heat and cold, and in

1. Increase McGee Van Dusen and Maria Van Dusen, *Positively True. A Dialogue between Adam and Eve, The Lord and the Devil, called the Endowment: As was acted by Twelve or Fifteen Thousand, in Secret, in the Nauvoo Temple, said to be revealed from God as a Reward for Building that Splendid Edifice, and the Express Object for which it was built* (Albany: C. Killmer, 1847). The tract was 24 pages long.

2. Charles L. Woodward, *Bibliothica Scallawagiana. Catalogue of a Matchless Collection of Books, Pamphlets, Autographs, Pictures, etc. relating to Mormonism and Mormons. The 10 Years' Gatherings of Charles L. Woodward, who, enjoying superior facilities for their acquisition, has never let slip an opportunity, whether at public or private sale, of adding to their number, to be sold at vendue* (New York: Bangs & Co., 1880?), p. 10.

3. Dale L. Morgan, *Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints [Strangite]*, 44-45.

very many instances, hunger, supposing [they] would be rewarded for all [their] privations when the house was finished."⁴

He details what he called the seven degrees of the temple endowment, warning that some parts of the ceremony are "of rather to delicate of a nature to speak of as this work is designed to be read by all classes of both sex [sic]." He then recounts what he refers to as a "very queer and excitable farce."⁵

The initiates are led through a series of rooms which are said to represent the Garden of Eden and the fall of Adam and Eve, as well as what he describes as "a Burlesque on all the Sects." The final room, representing the celestial kingdom of God, is the setting for the teaching of the "Spiritual Wife Doctrine," or polygamy. The people are told that all former marriage contracts, as well as the laws of the land, have been "cut asunder"⁶: "It is now the woman's privilege to choose whom she sees fit; if she likes the one she has been living with, she can keep him; if not, she is at liberty to ship him and take another; and it is the man's privilege to have one, two, four, ten, or twenty . . ."⁷

Van Dusen's first pamphlet, which included his wife Maria's name on the cover,⁸ is important for several reasons. It was the first tract to publish the Mormon endowment ceremony. It also reiterated the accusations of spiritual wifery which had been put forth by other apostate Mormons. And perhaps most importantly this and subsequent publications of the Van Dusens helped create an image of Mormonism as a licentious cult engulfed in a system of falsity and perversion.

Indeed, while the Van Dusens refrained in the first tract from discussing some aspects of the ceremony deemed too "delicate a nature to speak of," the six to seven later editions published under varying titles between 1847 and 1855, emphasized what they saw as the sensual, lascivious nature of the endowment ceremony. Thus in the first tract their experience of being washed and anointed was described as having their mouth, arms and breast washed "and so down to [their] feet . . . , etc."⁹ Later editions described the same experience with a much more sensual description: "I wash . . . your breast, that you may give suck to a numerous posterity; your loins, bowells, etc., that you may conceive and bring forth spiritual sons

4. Van Dusen, 1.

5. *Ibid.*, 5, 8.

6. *Ibid.*, 10, 15-16.

7. *Ibid.*, 16.

8. While Maria Van Dusen's name appeared on the cover of a number of the tracts, Increase was probably the author as he appears to have been most active in public affairs. Very little is known of Maria Van Dusen's life or activities.

9. Van Dusen, 6.

and daughters; your _____, that you may _____ . . ."¹⁰ In order to reenforce the imagery of lascivious behavior in the temple, woodcuts, such as the one portraying a half-naked woman on what is described as the "Bridal Couch of the Spiritual Wife," were added to the later editions of the Van Dusen tracts.¹¹

The images created by the Van Dusens of licentious activities in the Mormon temple were quickly picked up by others in the efficient, albeit unofficial network of anti-Mormon writers. As early as 1848 a tract published in London quoted Van Dusen.¹²

Often descriptions of the temple ceremony were embellished by the new writers. In the late 1850s John Benjamin Franklin published a tract describing the temple ceremony in which men and women are washed in a state of nudity and men are checked "to see whether [they] be wounded in the testes" and some were made eunuchs.¹³

Thus with the numerous publications and republications of their temple account, as well as the use and embellishment of their story by such writers as John Benjamin Franklin, Increase and Maria Van Dusen were a significant influence on anti-Mormon literature and therefore on non-Mormon perceptions of Mormonism. These images created by the Van Dusens and subsequent writers would last into the twentieth century and, some might argue, still exist to some extent today.

With this in mind, an important question must be asked. Who were Increase and Maria Van Dusen and why did they write these exposés on Mormonism and the temple ceremony? Increase McGee Van Dusen¹⁴ came

10. Increase McGee and Maria Van Dusen, *The "Endowment": or, Peculiar Ceremonies of the Mormons in Initiating a Spiritual Husband and Wife into The Mysteries of the Temple* (New York: n.p., 1852), [5-6].

11. *Ibid.*, 4.

12. John Thomas, *Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Dispersion of the Mormons, to which is added an account of the Nauvoo Temple Mysteries, and other abominations practiced by this Impious Sect previous to their emigration to California, by Increase McGee Van Dusen; formally one of the initiated* (London: Arthur Hall & Co., [1848]). A few examples of other tracts which included information from the Van Dusens are John Bowes, *Mormonism Exposed, in its Swindling and Licentious Abominations, Refuted in its Principles, and in the Claims of its Head, the Modern Mohammed, Joseph Smith, who is proved to have been a deceiver, and no prophet of God* (London: E. Ward, [1850?]), and T. W. P. Taylder, *Twenty Reasons for Rejecting Mormonism* (London: Partridge & Co., 1857).

13. John Benjamin Franklin, *The Mysteries and the Crimes of Mormonism; or, a Voice from the Utah Pandemonium* (London: C. Elliot, [1858]), p. 10. For a further analysis of anti-Mormon imagery developed by the Van Dusens, Franklin, and other writers, see Craig L. Foster, "Victorian Pornographic Imagery in Anti-Mormon Literature," *Journal of Mormon History* 19 (Spring 1993): 115-32.

14. In no available family record can I find any reference to Increase having the middle name McGee. It does not appear to be a middle name nor were there any McGees

from a prominent Dutch-American family. His fifth-great-grandfather Abraham Pietersen Van Deursen was born in 1607 in Haarlem, Holland, and was an active member of the Dutch Reformed Church. He came to New Amsterdam (now New York) before 1636 and settled on what is now Broadway where he was a miller and innkeeper.¹⁵

Several of Abraham's sons later settled in Albany where they intermarried with such prominent Dutch-American families as the Van Burens and Van Benthuydens. In 1767 John Van Deusen was born in Clavarack, New York. In 1790 he married Marytje "Polly" Decker (also spelled Deccker) of the same town. They were the parents of eleven children, Increase being the ninth.¹⁶

Increase was born on 25 May 1809 in Hillsdale, which was located next to Copake where the family lived for a number of years. His early years appear to have been spent in relative comfort as his father was a tavern keeper and involved in community affairs.¹⁷ In 1826 John Van Dusen died. John had been an active member of the West Copake Reformed Church in his early years but apparently changed to the Methodist Episcopal Church as he was buried in their churchyard.¹⁸

In 1833, at the age of twenty-four, Increase traveled to Lapier, Michigan, where he met and married Maria Hoffman. Not much is known about Maria or her family except that she was originally from New York, apparently from the same part of the state as Increase. Either immediately before or during this time Increase acted as a Methodist exhorter or preacher.¹⁹

The Van Dusens moved to Oakland County, Michigan, sometime after their marriage and were residing there when they were baptized into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in about 1841 or 1842. In 1843

in the immediate area of Copake, New York.

15. Albert F. Van Deusen, *Van Deursen Family* (New York: Frank Alleman Genealogical Company, 1911), 1. The Van Deursen/VanDeusen family is said to have originally come from the southern part of the Netherlands (what is now Belgium). According to Cherry Laura Van Deusen Pratt, *The Genealogy of Rev. W. H. Van Deusen* (Rockford, OH: Rockford Press, 1969), 1, Abraham was somewhat prominent in New Amsterdam because his grandfather had been closely associated with the Prince of Orange (perhaps even a relative to the House of Orange).

16. *Ibid.*, 87, 160-61. Ironically, the inter-marriages would not only have made Increase a distant relative of President Martin Van Buren, but also of Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, a plural wife of Joseph Smith. Mary's mother was a Van Benthuyden from Albany.

17. "Town of Livingston, Various Records, 1802-1829," *The Columbia* 7 (Fourth Quarter, 1991): 127-28. Livingston is located next to Copake and Hillsdale.

18. "West Copake Reformed Church, members," *The Columbia* 6 (First Quarter, 1990): 15; *Gravestone Inscriptions: Columbia County, New York* (S.l.: s.n., 1938).

19. "Obituary," *Painsville Telegraph*, 10 Aug. 1882, 3.

Increase served a Mormon mission in Michigan where he acted as a clerk at a mission conference held in Lapeer on 20-22 January.²⁰

In 1843 the Van Dusens moved to Nauvoo, Illinois, to be closer to the main body of the church. They lived on a third of an acre lot about four and a half blocks southeast of the temple site. Increase, in fact, donated time working on the temple as a carpenter. The couple's living quarters was probably a small log house, as their taxes for 1843 were not high.²¹

The Van Dusens lived modestly in Nauvoo and were actively involved in the church and community. On 29 December 1843 a petition was presented to the city requesting that Mulholland Street be opened to the corporation line. Increase was one of the petition's signers. Also in December both Increase and Maria signed the Mormons' Missouri Redress Petition to the United States Congress.²²

In April 1844 Increase took advantage of the new doctrine on baptism for the dead and was baptized in behalf of his father John and his sister Katherine Vosburg.²³ The following 3 December Increase was ordained a Seventy and received into the Seventh Quorum of Seventy.²⁴

The next year Increase was active in quorum business. He gave a speech to the quorum substantiating the Book of Mormon from the scriptures, donated a total of \$5.50 to provide assistance for President Joseph Young, and on 28 December 1845 he listened to remarks given by Randolph Alexander on preparing for the temple endowments and donated 32 1/2 cents to provide "Oil Sufficient for [their] Anointing [sic]."²⁵

On the morning of 29 January 1846 Increase and Maria entered the Nauvoo temple where they participated in the endowment ceremony. According to the Manuscript History of Brigham Young, Brigham Young was in the temple hiding from troops trying to arrest him. Young recorded that he "continued giving endowments in the temple" and that 133 persons

20. Journal History, 20 Jan. 1843, 1, archives, historical department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS archives).

21. The 1843 Nauvoo Tax List. The total taxes they paid for their lot and property on Block 3, Lot 3 of the Kimball's First Survey was \$40; \$25 for land, \$12 for personal property, and \$3 for watch rates.

22. "1843 Petition to the United States Congress," *The Nauvoo Journal* 1 (July/Oct. 1843): 85. While neither Increase nor Marie experienced the Missouri problems, they probably signed the petition as an act of support for their fellow members. Their names are on page 12 of the petition and they are listed as living in the Third Ward.

23. *Nauvoo Baptisms for the Dead Index* (Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society of Utah, n.d.). The index identifies her as Katherine Vosburg while *Van Deussen Family*, 160, identifies her as Freelove Van Deussen who married Henry Vosburgh in 1815.

24. General Record of the Seventies, Book B (1844-1847), 21, LDS archives.

25. Nauvoo Seventh Quorum of Seventy Minutes, pp. [10, 13, 16, 39], Daughters of the Utah Pioneers Collection, 1828-1963, LDS archives.

received their endowments.²⁶ Included among that number were Increase and Maria Van Dusen.

By April 1846, however, Increase and Maria had defected from Mormonism. While there are no contemporary documents which give the reason for the Van Dusens' disaffection, a major part of their decision to abandon the church rested on their experience in the temple.²⁷ Increase, however, did not abandon Mormonism entirely; he briefly united with self-proclaimed Mormon schismatic, James J. Strang.

On 7 April 1846 Increase attended a conference presided over by Strang in Voree, Wisconsin. Strang, a recent Mormon convert, claimed to have received a letter written by Joseph Smith on 18 June 1844 appointing him as his successor. He also stated that at the time of Joseph Smith's death an angel appeared to him and ordained him Joseph's successor. A number of important Latter-day Saints believed and followed Strang, including William Smith (Joseph Smith's younger brother), John E. Page (a former member of the Council of Twelve Apostles), and William Marks (former president of the Nauvoo stake).²⁸

Joining this group was Increase Van Dusen who acted as a witness against the LDS Quorum of the Twelve *in abstentia* on charges they were conspiring to overthrow the order of the church.²⁹ They were also charged with teaching that polygamy, fornication, adultery, and concubinage were lawful and commendable and that murder, theft, and rebellion were justifiable and necessary in building up God's kingdom. After the various

26. Elden J. Watson, ed., *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1846-1847* (Salt Lake City: Eldon J. Watson, 1971), 24.

27. Another reason was the doctrine of plural marriage.

28. Steven L. Shields, *Divergent Paths of the Restoration: A History of the Latter Day Saint Movement*, rev. and enl. 3rd ed., (Bountiful, UT: Restoration Research, 1982), 40-41. Strang also claimed to have discovered metal plates which contained the record of "Rajah Manchore of Vorito" in which it was promised that there would be a "forerunner" (Joseph Smith) and then a "mighty prophet" (Strang). See Milo M. Quaipe, *The Kingdom of Saint James: A Narrative of the Mormons* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1930), 18-19.

29. It is interesting to see the names of the witnesses and how they eventually stood with the Strangite movement: John E. Page was appointed one of Strang's twelve apostles and excommunicated in 1849; Jehiel Savage was appointed an apostle in 1846; Collins Pemberton was excommunicated in October 1846 for immoral conduct and later wrote two anti-Strang tracts; Moses Smith was appointed an apostle in April 1846 and died in 1849; John Gaylord was appointed a member of the presidency and excommunicated in 1848; James M. Adams was appointed an apostle in April 1846, excommunicated in 1847, and published an anti-Strang tract; Samuel Shaw was a member of Strang's church throughout his life; Joseph Younger was excommunicated in July 1847; Rueben Miller was appointed president of the Voree stake in April 1846 and left the church by October 1846 when he published an anti-Strang tract; and Increase Van Dusen was excommunicated in 1849.

testimonies, Strang excommunicated Brigham Young and eight other members of the Twelve and "delivered [them] over to the buffetings of Satan in the flesh."³⁰

On 5 May 1846 Increase was ordained an Elder in the Second Quorum of Seventies, received a license to preach from Strang, and was told to travel to Columbia County, New York.³¹

It appears that he first returned to Michigan where he preached some, as well as spending five months preaching in Syracuse, New York.³² From Syracuse Increase wrote to Strang, "I feel almost as if I was alone in the world and especially in the work of the Lord I have had sickness in my family more or less since I have been here consequently I have been detained at home most of the time [sic]."³³

Increase obviously was experiencing an inner struggle for he wrote, "All I have heard from you at Voree is evil and it makes me mad because I can't know the truth." However, he assured Strang, "I know God will perform his work that he begun by Joseph and you are his prophet," but then continued by declaring,

my faith is not on you at all although I believe the testimony you have given concerning this work but I don't believe in some of the things you have done fellowshiping the Devil and hugging up all the trash of the church with all their sins now I do know that some men you called good men at the April conference are as corrupt as hell and I know further that the whole church was reprobate concerning the faith previous to Joseph's death . . . [sic]³⁴

By early 1847 Van Dusen's poverty and frustration at lack of communication with the church in Voree appears to have been too much of a strain. He ended his ministry in Syracuse and moved his family to New York City.³⁵

Shortly after their arrival in New York, Increase and Maria published their first tract. During the next two years Increase was busy writing and

30. *Chronicles of Voree*, 72-76. There were only nine excommunications because there was a vacancy in the Twelve, John E. Page had accepted Strang, and they decided to allow Wilford Woodruff to return from England and see which way he went before judging him.

31. *Chronicles of Voree*, 80.

32. *Painsville Telegraph*, 10 Aug. 1882, 3. Also, Lorenzo Dow Hickey to James J. Strang, 26 Sept. and 11 Oct. 1846, James J. Strang Papers, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, mentions that Increase Van Dusen had left for the east to go to New York.

33. Increase Van Dusen to James J. Strang, 3 Jan. 1847, Strang Papers.

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Painsville Telegraph*, 10 Aug. 1882, 3.

publishing and was out of contact with Strang, although he still viewed him as a prophet of God. By June 1849, however, Increase appears to have had some concern about the correctness of the course he had taken and once again wrote to Strang,

I confess my folly in the course I have taken the last two years in leaving the work of God and turning to my own in publishing the Endowment as given by the Imposter B. Young. I sinned not that I believe it should be kept A secret but it was fare beneath my calling to do so I stooped low in doing it I was called by the Great God to perform another work the Great principles of truth had been revealed to me in mighty vision + Revelation of God . . . I say therefore to all the honest in heart in all the world I hereby confess my sin . . .³⁶

Increase's reconciliation with Strang was short lived, however. From 5 to 8 October 1849 a conference was held in New York City. Various leaders of the church, including Strang, apostle George J. Adams, and newly appointed apostle Lorenzo Dow Hickey, were present. While the meetings went well at first, a sign that there was trouble occurred when Strang suggested postponing a proposal that Increase accompany Lorenzo Hickey on a mission to Philadelphia.³⁷

Both Increase and Hickey had been friends in Oakland County, Michigan, when they first converted to Mormonism, and both at a later time had rejected the doctrine of plural marriage. Once again, it was the doctrine of plural marriage which precipitated a violent confrontation between Increase and Strang. Apparently, Hickey had received several letters from his wife on Beaver Island, headquarters of Strang's church, accusing Strang of adultery and "spiritual-wifery."

The conflict came to a head in one of the conference meetings when Hickey accused Strang "with adultery, fornication, spiritual-wifery, and all the abominations that were ever practiced at Nauvoo, and denounced him as a deceiver, an imposter, and a false prophet."³⁸ Increase fell into a fit of rage and began "screaming like a madman." Strang was temporarily driven from the meeting.³⁹

Ironically, the charges of plural marriage, although denied by Strang, were true, and his first plural wife, Elvira Fields, was present at the meeting. However, Elvira was dressed as a young man and had been

36. Increase Van Dusen to James J. Strang, 18 June, 1849, Strang Papers.

37. *Gospel Herald*, 15 Nov. 1849, in John Cumming, *Lorenzo Dow Hickey: The Last of the Twelve* (S.l.: s.n., 1966?), [7], as reprinted from *Michigan History* (Mar. 1966).

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*; Quaife, 102-103.

introduced to the congregation as Charles J. Douglas, personal secretary to Strang.⁴⁰

Within two weeks both Increase and Hickey were tried for their membership. During the proceedings, Increase was charged with misconduct and having physically threatened Strang. He admitted to most of the charges and explained that he could become emotional and passionate when angered. However, when he was charged with saying that the church and the Book of Mormon was a “humbug from beginning to end,” he defended himself by stating that “he might have said so for the purpose of selling his books but he never designed it in his heart.”⁴¹ His explanation was not enough, for he was excommunicated by Strang and “delivered over to the buffetings of Satan until the day of redemption.” Hickey was disfellowshipped for “following after the diabolical revelations of Increase Van Dusen.”⁴²

The confrontation and trial proved to be too much for Hickey’s psyche and he suffered an emotional break-down. George J. Adams later found Hickey in a lunatic asylum where he begged Adams to heal him. Adams wrote to Strang in December that he had cast a devil out of Hickey and that he “don’t speak to Van-Devil, Increase Duzen [sic]” anymore. Indeed, Hickey found himself again able to defend Strang to the world. On 5 December Adams wrote to Strang, describing a testimony meeting the night before: “Van Devil Duzen was there, but we bound up the Devils so tight in him, that he could not open his mouth and he Trembled like a reed shaken by the wind after the meeting he raged a little. Bro. Hickey told him to his face that he was a liar, a knave, a pupy, and a Scoundril [sic].”⁴³

It is difficult to understand why Hickey would turn from his friend, Increase Van Dusen. One can only imagine that Hickey had descended to the lowest point of his life, emotionally and psychologically. First, he had been thrust out of an organization in which he had so strongly believed. Second, and as a direct result of the emotional trauma of the first experience, he had suffered an emotional breakdown and had been incarcerated in a mental hospital. Hickey viewed Adams’s appearance at the hospital and his own healing as a miracle that reconfirmed his belief in the divine mission of Strang.

While Hickey was reconverted to Strang’s teachings, Increase was not. In late 1849 he published a tract containing revelations which he had

40. Cumming, [8]; Quaiife, 102-103.

41. Proceedings of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, ca. Oct.-Nov. 1849, Strang Papers.

42. Ibid.; Cumming, [7].

43. George J. Adams to James J. Strang, 3 Dec. 1849, and George J. Adams to James J. Strang, 5 Dec. 1849, Strang Papers.

received declaring that Strang and Adams were led by the devil. He also sent his revelations and other exhortations to Strang, for on 19 December 1849 Strang wrote from Baltimore, where he was staying, and told Increase to stop sending him letters and other correspondence.⁴⁴

Increase angrily responded on the same letter that he only sent important things and that he would continue to do so. He then stated that God had revealed to him "That you [Strang] are establishing certain damnable heresies for which God's hand shall be on you heavy for evil and not for good except you repent." Expressing his contempt of Adams, he continued, "You can send as many bags of wind As you can . . . with sutch lies and the truth will remain [sic]." He then closed by writing, "God has placed in the Church Apostles, Prophets, etc. for the perfecting of the saints. And we do not read of the perfecting of the saints by Endowments + covenants or secret societies or any such thing."⁴⁵

Whether this final existing correspondence between Van Dusen and Strang was really the last and Increase was able to exercise himself of Mormonism is doubtful. Evidence of this is the marked bitterness that appears in later Van Dusen tracts that was not as evident in the first one. For example, in the fifth edition (1852) Van Dusen warns readers that "The whole Mormon world in California (Utah) is leaguuing in a dark conspiracy for [the country's] ruin, but more particularly Illinois and Missouri."⁴⁶

Ironically, Van Dusen's fifth edition still included the favorable account of Joseph Smith's first vision which was included in the first tract when it was used as a missionary tool in behalf of Strang. This inclusion of Smith's history could suggest a continued ambivalence toward Joseph Smith on the part of Increase and Maria Van Dusen.

While no evidence has been found that the Van Dusens ever rejoined any branch of Mormonism, they later moved to Kirtland, Ohio. It is not known why they selected Kirtland as their home in late 1860, but it appears that they left New York City in 1852 and returned to Michigan where Maria gave birth to a son named Charles. By early 1860 they were again in New York where a son named Walter was born; by fall of that same year they had moved to Ohio.⁴⁷

The Van Dusens continued to live in modest circumstances in Kirtland.

44. James J. Strang to Increase M. Van Deusen, 19 Dec. 1849, Strang Papers.

45. *Ibid.*, response on same returned to Strang on 21 Dec. 1849.

46. Van Dusen, *The "Endowment:" or, Peculiar ceremonies of the Mormons*, [2]. While Van Dusen's comments were meant to be inflammatory, there was obviously great bitterness on the part of Mormons toward Missouri and Illinois and a number of members of the Mormon church were known to pray for God's punishment against the inhabitants of those two states.

47. United States Census of 1870, State of Ohio, County of Lake, 19.

They owned a small farm of 3 1/2 acres worth \$80 in 1868-69.⁴⁸ In 1860 Van Dusen's total real and personal worth totaled \$1,500. His declining years were painful as his obituary mentions that he had "been ill a long time with disease of the kidneys, suffering intensely at times." On 4 August 1882 Increase Van Dusen died at his home in Kirtland. The funeral was held in his home on 6 August,⁴⁹ and he was buried in the Kirtland temple cemetery.

Maria continued to live in Kirtland until her death on 4 April 1906 at the home of her daughter and son-in-law, Emma and Charles E. Metcalf. She was buried next to her husband. Unfortunately, little is known about Maria as she left no written record. However, she, like many women of her age, knew the pain of losing a child. For in 1900 she stated that she was the mother of ten children, only three of whom were still living.⁵⁰ She was survived by the three children, all of whom lived in the Kirtland area.

While some light has been shed on the enigmatic life of Increase and Maria Van Dusen, one question remains. What was the driving force behind the publication and republication of their exposés of the temple ceremony? In light of some of Increase's comments, combined with his troubled financial circumstances, the pursuit of monetary gain cannot be ruled out. However, a deeper explanation appears more satisfying.

Increase and Maria were "seekers" who, like so many other men and women, were looking for the primitive gospel of Jesus Christ.⁵¹ Early Mormonism's millenarian teachings and emphasis on the restoration of all things attracted people seeking the pure gospel which they believed had been taken from early Christianity. They, like others, tried several religions before accepting the message of Joseph Smith.

For the Van Dusens, as for others, Mormonism turned out not to be the simple, primitive church they were seeking. Whatever the reasons were—the plurality of gods, eternal progression, the degrees of glory, the temple ceremony, plural marriage—many seekers who found their way into Mormonism also found a reason to continue their search.

The same was true for the Van Dusens. Their concept of primitive Christianity did not include secret temple ceremonies and plural marriage. Burned once by Brigham Young and the twelve apostles, Increase and

48. Treasurer's Duplicate of taxes for Lake County, Ohio, 1868-69, n.p.

49. "Obituary," *Painsville Telegraph*, 10 Aug. 1882, 3.

50. "Death of a Kirtland Woman," *Painsville Evening Telegraph*, 5 Apr. 1906, 1. United States Census of 1900, State of Ohio, County of Lake, 26A. While the gravestone in the Kirtland temple cemetery gives Maria's death year as 1901, the newspaper is dated 1906.

51. I use Dan Vogel's definition of a seeker as one who believed there had been an apostasy from primitive Christianity and that there needed to be a radical restoration of the gospel. See his *Religious Seekers and the Advent of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 8.

Maria turned to James J. Strang as the true successor of Joseph Smith, only to be burned again. And while many disappointed seekers quietly left Mormonism, as they had done with other religious denominations in the past, the Van Dusens, with their intense feelings of having been betrayed, were compelled to speak out against "temple" Mormonism.

It also appears that Increase and Maria followed the process of others who leave a religious or social organization which required intense mental and spiritual devotion, as well as some form of physical or material sacrifice: denial, anger and frustration, depression, and finally acceptance and reconciliation. People who have lost faith in Mormonism appear to experience these four stages to varying degrees. The length and intensity of the first three depend on each person's personality and world view. Most who leave Mormonism or a similar organization express their anger and frustration and then continue to acceptance and reconciliation.

Some people, however, are struck to their emotional core by the death of their faith in a belief-system which once meant so much but has now become the cause of emotional and spiritual pain. They lash out in a sense of anger and betrayal with an intense campaign of exposure. For some, only a written exposé or series of lectures to "tell it all" achieves the catharsis that leads to acceptance of a life without the belief-system which had previously been so important.

Some take a longer time to pass through the anger and frustration stage and subsequent depression which can follow. And some never progress beyond that stage to acceptance and reconciliation.⁵² While it took Increase and Maria Van Dusen years to reach reconciliation, they eventually did.

But even with his bitter disappointments with the various branches of Mormonism and the inner turmoil and anguish which culminated with his final break with Mormonism, Increase Van Dusen remained a seeker firmly believing that "the gift of prophesy and power of healing may be, and ought to be, in the church."⁵³ While Increase and Maria had traveled a long, often painful, road from temple Mormons to anti-Mormons, they still in the end hoped for a simple, primitive gospel. Perhaps they were looking for what they had glimpsed for a fleeting moment in the wake of their conversion to Mormonism in 1841-42.

52. Fawn M. Brodie is an example of a person who experienced to varying degrees this four-step process. Newell G. Bringhurst, Brodie's biographer, recognized the four stages in her life but emphasized that while she reconciled her break with Mormonism, she was never able to completely leave it (telephone interview with Newell G. Bringhurst, 13 Nov. 1993). Other examples of anti-Mormons who may have followed this process are John C. Bennett, Andrew Parrot, and Fanny Stenhouse.

53. "Obituary," 3.

On X-ing

Marden J. Clark

crossed out—an inexact word in typescript
but not erased

left unused—an unread book
but not unneeded

cut off from communion—the words can't touch
but not from the Word

thrust forth—a babe with no cradle
but not reborn

no longer a member—expendable column or beam
but not without friends

exhibit A and B and C ad omega

excise exile expel exceed excess exclude

O we could X all night X left and right
and never exhaust the extremes the explanations
the x's (no exponent to express this sequence)
the consequences:

exodus expiration excoriation exposé
explosion exasperation extirpation exotic

extra-vagance extrication eccentricity exertion
exception exploration expectation expansion

expression excellence excitement expiation
exuberance exhilaration exaltation ecstasy

A Courtship

Joseph Fisher

I remember the great bear
circling the blue night,
the black juniper and no motion.

Mornings we stretched
our shirts over the fire
and let smoke roll
up our chests like wool
and didn't mind the soot.

Then, she was rising
through still water,
spreading her body after
on the bloodrock, the heat,
the slow drumming of desert.

Afternoons I walked shirtless
beside her, turning the canvas
of my back to the sun, the stone
of my forehead facing east
to the Escalante, the Circle Cliffs,
and maybe the Henry Mountains.

Those days were surprised doves
out of the thick sunflower,
and long, long past, but still

from the black hills
of this place coyotes
stretch their grey throats
and moan down our walls.

The LDS Temple Ceremony: Historical Origins and Religious Value

Edward H. Ashment

HISTORICAL ORIGINS

CHRISTIANITY IS FIRMLY ROOTED in a commitment that certain key doctrines and claims are anchored in history. For example, the resurrection of Jesus is a cornerstone of Christianity; therefore, "the empty tomb *must be* a historical fact."¹ As a Christian denomination, Mormonism not only shares that commitment,² it adds some of its own doctrines and claims. For example, the Book of Mormon *must be* an actual history of ancient inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere that "has been revealed anew in modern times"³; the Book of Abraham *must be* an actual translation of "a papyrus record taken from the catacombs of Egypt," and like the Book of Mormon must be "a record preserved by the Lord to come forth in this day of restoration."⁴

Indeed the cornerstone of Mormonism's claim to be "the True church" is "restoration": the conviction that Joseph Smith restored "many plain and precious things" that had been taken from the true gospel and scriptures

1. Daniel Patte, *What Is Structural Exegesis? New Testament Series*, ed. Dan O. Via, Jr. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), 7, emphasis added.

2. See Edward H. Ashment, "Making the Scriptures 'Indeed One in Our Hands,'" in *The Word of God: Essays on Mormon Scripture*, ed. Dan Vogel (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 251f.

3. Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), 98.

4. *Ibid.*, 564. See Edward H. Ashment, "A Response to 'Ancient Sources of Masonic Ritual,' by David Ellis," 1989, privately circulated.

throughout history; that he restored the "same organization that existed in the Primitive Church" of Jesus Christ (A of F 6) because the rest of Christianity had become "corrupt" (JS-H 1:19).⁵

The LDS temple endowment is likewise regarded as a restoration of ancient temple ordinances that "have been the same in all dispensations," according to Elder Bruce R. McConkie. The Mormon ritual was restored "in modern times to the Prophet Joseph Smith by revelation, many things connected with them being translated by the Prophet from the papyrus on which the Book of Abraham was recorded."⁶ LDS writer Hyrum Andrus concurs, citing Smith's explanations of figures 3 and 8 of Facsimile 2 of the Book of Abraham as evidence that "Joseph Smith obtained the essential covenants, keywords, etc. of the temple ceremony from the writings of Abraham."⁷ Hugh Nibley elaborated on this in his book *The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri: An Egyptian Endowment* (1975), in which he went to great lengths to read the Mormon temple ceremony into the Papyrus-Joseph-Smith Book of Breathings and other ancient Egyptian papyri.⁸ Thus the consensus of these Mormon scholars about the temple ceremony is that it *must* be rooted firmly in Egyptian antiquity, and that Smith restored it by means of a revelatory translation of papyri. Since the temple ceremony *must* be a restoration of historically ancient rites, it is therefore True.

It is true that Smith's explanations for two of his "figures" on Facsimile 2, the hypocephalus, which he thought was part of Abraham's writings, use such Mormon temple-like terms as the "grand Key-words of the Holy Priesthood" (3 and 7). It is also true that figure 8 refers opaquely to secret writings that are "to be had in the holy temple of God." However, neither of these in any way establishes that the hypocephalus was the origin of the signs, tokens, key words, etc., of the contemporary LDS temple ceremony. The fact is that Smith had been formally initiated into Masonry on 15 March

5. See McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 634ff.

6. *Ibid.*, 779, see p. 637.

7. Hyrum L. Andrus, *God, Man, and the Universe* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1968), 334n11.

8. See Hugh W. Nibley, *The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri: An Egyptian Endowment* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1975). Note how Nibley organizes the second half of his book, his "Commentary," to parallel the Mormon temple endowment:

"Part I: Nature and Purpose of the Book of Breathing(s)"

"Part IIa: Purification Rites" = Washings and Anointings

"Part IIb: Entering the Temple"

"Part III: The Creation of Man" = The Creation

"Part IV: The Garden Story" = The Garden of Eden

"Part V: The Long Road Back" and "Part VI: The Fearful Passage" = The Fall and the Lone and Dreary World

"Part VII: Culmination and Conclusion" (including "Ritual Embraces"; "the temple veils"; and "'Seeing the god', the culmination of the mysteries") = The Veil Ceremony.

1842—the very day he composed his note to readers for the late-to-press 1 March edition of the *Times and Seasons*, which published his translation of the writings of Abraham—and he may have produced his explanations of the figures of the facsimile after that date, resulting in the moot importance of Facsimile 2.⁹ Moreover, contrary to Andrus, the fact is that Smith never claimed any causal connection between the temple ceremony and his interpretation of the the Book of Breathing, and for a good reason: the evidence indicates that Smith treated this papyrus as the original text of the Book of Abraham.

In actuality, these efforts, arguing for the antiquity of the origins of the temple ceremony through the Egyptian papyri, ignore important evidence contemporary with Joseph Smith and his close associates. For Smith taught that the temple endowment ceremony, taught in Solomon's temple, had been corrupted through the millennia, and that Freemasonry was the surviving, albeit degenerate, "apostate endowment," just as "sectarian religion was the apostate religion."¹⁰ In a letter of 17 June 1842 Heber C. Kimball wrote that "Bro. Joseph Ses Masonry was taken from the preasthood but has become degenerated. But menny things are perfect."¹¹ In a later speech, Kimball elaborated: "We have the true Masonry. The Masonry of today is received from the apostasy which took place in the days of

9. As of 4 March 1842, the facsimile illustrations to be printed with the Book of Abraham in the *Times and Seasons* still had not been made, for on that date Smith noted that he showed the papyri to the engraver, "so that he might take the size of the several plates or cuts, and prepare the blocks for the Times and Seasons" (Joseph Smith, Jr., et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1949], 4:543 [hereafter HC]). On 19 March, several days after Smith had been inducted into the masonic mysteries, Wilford Woodruff noted in his journal that the 15 March edition of the *Times and Seasons* was in press, which included Facsimile 2 (Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* [Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1983], 2:155).

10. Benjamin F. Johnson statement, in Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *Mormonism: Shadow or Reality* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm Co., 1982), 490. Smith gave a revelation on 19 January 1841, in which he outlined how the temple was to be used: for washings, anointings, baptisms for the dead, solemn assemblies, Levitical sacrifices, and divine oracles; that God would reveal unspecified ordinances there; and that things that were never before known would be revealed there (i.e., "things which have been kept hid from before the foundation of the world" [DC 124:38-42]). In the latter regard, it is important to consider how the Kirtland temple was used (DC 110). It is also significant that the original drawings of the Nauvoo temple did not include an area in which to perform the endowment ceremony, suggesting that no endowment ceremony was contemplated. Later drawings of the temple were altered to include a rectangular section in the attic story at the front where the endowment was to be performed (see Laurel B. Andrew, *The Early Temples of the Mormons: The Architecture of the Millennial Kingdom in the American West* [Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977], 85).

11. In Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *Evolution of the Mormon Temple Ceremony: 1842-1990* (Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1990), 28.

Solomon and David."¹² Reflecting these teachings, Brigham Young enthused years later that "Our Temple [in St. George, Utah] is the first completed Temple built to the name of the Most High, in which the ordinances for the living and the dead can be performed, since the one built by Solomon."¹³ Finally, Apostle Melvin J. Ballard declared that, while "Modern Masonry is a fragmentary presentation of the ancient order established by King Solomon, the ordinances and rites revealed to Joseph Smith constituted a reintroduction upon the earth of the divine plan inaugurated in the Temple of Solomon in ancient days."¹⁴

In addition, the chronology of events indicates that Smith was familiar with Freemasonry before he revealed the temple endowment. Weeks after he was initiated into Freemasonry and "rose to [its] sublime degree" on 15 and 16 March 1842,¹⁵ Smith performed his first endowment ceremony, initiating his closest associates as "brethren of the secret priesthood" in the Masonic Lodge over his store, and introduced what he termed "the ancient order of things for the first time in these last days."¹⁶ Part of that ancient order included secret "key-words, signs, tokens, and penalties,"¹⁷ as well as celestial marriage, which sanctioned the polygamous relationships that Smith and his closest associates had already entered into.¹⁸

Smith's involvement in both Freemasonry and his introduction of the secret temple ceremony represent a reversal of his earlier teachings. At the beginning of his career, he inveighed strongly against secret societies, attributing to them the downfall of both the Jaredite and Nephite civilizations in the Book of Mormon (Alma 37:24-31; Hel. 2:13), and warning readers of the Book of Mormon to steer clear of them (Ether 8:23ff.). He declared that secret societies were begun by Adam's wicked son Cain in league with the devil, who reintroduced them to humankind from time to time to "keep them in darkness" (Ether 8:15f.; Hel. 6:26-30; Moses 5:29f.).

Smith warned unequivocally that "the Lord worketh not in secret combinations" (Ether 8:19). Consequently, to help readers make no mistake about how to recognize secret societies, he identified their characteristics: secret "oaths," "covenants," "signs," and "wonders" (Alma

12. In *ibid.*, 28.

13. *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool, Eng.: William Budge, 1878), 19:220.

14. In Tanner and Tanner, *Mormonism*, 490. See Andrew, *The Early Temples of the Mormons*, 84f.

15. HC, 4:550ff.

16. *Ibid.*, 5:1f.

17. Brigham Young, in Andrus, *God, Man, and the Universe*, 334n11.

18. See Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1984), 140.

37:27), adding that “their secret signs, and their secret words” enabled them to “distinguish a brother who had entered into the covenant” from the uninitiated (Hel. 6:22). Finally, he noted that they swore oaths that they would suffer their lives to be taken should they divulge any secrets (Ether 8:14). There seems little doubt that in all this Smith had the Freemasons in mind.¹⁹

As time went on, however, Smith’s attitude toward Freemasonry softened, until he finally embraced it. Perhaps that was because many of his closest associates and family members had been Freemasons for years, such as his brother Hyrum Smith, Heber C. Kimball, and Newell K. Whitney. In October 1841, he allowed masonic members of the church “to hold lodge meetings” in the upper room of his store in Nauvoo.²⁰

Another important factor in his change of attitude seems to have been related to his efforts to keep secret his already deep involvement in polygamous relationships with his closest associates’ wives and daughters—which represented another reversal of his earliest teachings against polygamy (Jacob 2:25, 27-28). In time he initiated some of his most trusted followers into this practice, which he assured them was a requirement from heaven. Rumors of these activities were beginning to spread, and he was in danger of being exposed and disgraced.

Already in late 1841 Smith reprimanded Ebenezer Robinson’s wife for spying on his activities and reporting on them to Emma. He then demanded that Robinson reprove his wife. When Robinson did not, Smith fired him as editor of the *Times and Seasons*, giving a revelation to that effect on 28 January 1842.²¹

In February 1842 Smith married Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, already the wife of Adam Lightner, “in the Masonic Hall, over the old brick store”—according to one count, his eighth concurrent wife. On the morning of 9 March he married Patty Bartlett Sessions, already wife of David Sessions—Smith’s ninth.²² One week later, on 17 March, he inaugurated the women’s Relief Society, which in part was dedicated to opposing polygamy by correcting “the morals of the community.”²³ The secret oaths and penalties were not entirely effective, however, and news soon leaked out among the church that there was “a secret group of Saints, including

19. See Andrew, *The Early Temples of the Mormons*, 83f.

20. Widtsoe, in Tanner and Tanner, *Mormonism*, 535; see Andrew, *The Early Temples of the Mormons*, 84.

21. Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 61n2.

22. Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 2d ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), 467f.

23. Newell and Avery, *Mormon Engima*, 108; Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 20.

women, called the 'Holy Order' whose private rites included symbolic reenactment of the Garden of Eden."²⁴

Thus began the rift that was to result in the death of Smith, in a permanently-divided Mormon congregation, and in the emigration of the temple/polygamy faction of that congregation from the borders of the United States.²⁵ Just a few days after Smith introduced his restored temple endowment, which included restoration of the polygamous practices of ancient Solomon as well as his temple ceremony, his older brother Hyrum strongly condemned those very things, relying on the authority of the Book of Mormon (Jacob 2:25ff.). Hyrum reportedly said: "there were many that had a great deal to say about the ancient order of things Solomon & David having many wives & Concubines—but its an abomination in the sight of God . . . If an angel from heaven should come and preach such doctrine, [you] would be sure to see his cloven foot and cloud of blackness over his head."²⁶

Hyrum had joined the early efforts of William Marks, the Nauvoo Stake president, and William Law, one of Joseph Smith's counselors in the First Presidency, to "'expose' Joseph and bring a stop to the practice," unless Smith "had a revelation on the subject," in which case Hyrum "would believe it."²⁷ Joseph Smith's subsequent revelation (D&C 132), complete with its reversal of the Book of Mormon condemnation of polygamy, converted his brother to its practice. Law remained unconvinced, even though the revelation was read to him, and ultimately helped to found the *Nauvoo Expositor* to expose and consequently bring about the demise of Smith, whom he considered to be an adulterous, fallen prophet. When Smith ordered the destruction of the *Expositor's* press, he was arrested and murdered, his last words reportedly being a masonic distress signal.

To summarize thus far: Joseph Smith's perceived mission was to restore the ancient truths—of God's original gospel, rites, and ordinances—to earth for the last time before the Second Coming. In order for these restorations to be True, they must be anchored in ancient history. Regarding the temple ordinances, Smith gave no indication that he obtained them from his interpretation of Egyptian papyri, although he mentioned parallels in his interpretations of Facsimile 2. Recent attempts to find them in the papyri

24. Robert Flanders, quoted in Andrew, *The Early Temples of the Mormons*, 84.

25. Andrew presents a fascinating study of continuity and discontinuity in temple architecture that mirrored the change of the Mormon temple from being a meetinghouse, "a congregational center of town activity," to "a place set apart, like a Masonic lodge, to be used only by those whom church authorities had initiated into something great and mysterious" (*The Early Temples of the Mormons*, 85).

26. In Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 54.

27. Newell and Avery, *Mormon Enigma*, 141.

do not square with the evidence—ancient or modern. Joseph Smith himself indicated that he restored the ancient priesthood “signs, tokens, penalties, and keywords” of Solomon’s temple from corrupt, apostate Masonry, which accounts for several parallels between the two rituals. Unfortunately, the ultimate origin of masonic ritual is medieval Europe—not the ancient temple of Solomon, as Freemasonry asserts.²⁸ Freemasonry is not old enough to be a corrupt, apostate endowment from which a modern, inspired restoration could be made.

RELIGIOUS VALUE

If the LDS temple ceremony is not authentically ancient, how can it be True? Especially, how can it be True when its core elements have undergone the most drastic changes, some of them being eliminated from the ceremony altogether? In fact, how can those changes even be justified?

The church’s answer lies in an appeal to another cornerstone of Mormonism: the doctrine of ongoing revelation. As articulated in the ninth Article of Faith, God “will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the Kingdom of God.” Regarding changes made in the church, Apostle Boyd K. Packer reminds members of this doctrine: “Changes in organization or procedures are a testimony that revelation is ongoing. There will be changes made in the future as in the past. Whether the Brethren make changes or resist them depends entirely upon the instructions they receive through the channels of revelation which were established in the beginning.”²⁹

However, regarding changes in the temple ceremony, the problem is not that simple. For church officials put Article of Faith 6 at cross purposes with Article of Faith 9: through revelation Joseph Smith restores signs, tokens, penalties, and other elements of the primitive temple ordinances, but through revelation those very signs, tokens, penalties, etc., are either drastically altered or eliminated. Cognitive dissonance results, because a restoration through revelation is later altered by on-going revelation, meaning Smith did not restore primitive ordinances, because God later determined they were in need of revision, or God inspired Smith to restore the original ordinances but did not inspire their revisions.

Some members of the church are concerned about the recent changes in the temple ceremony, because the signs, tokens, penalties, etc., are supposed to be found in ancient times as Joseph Smith claimed, and their existence in the temple ceremony objectifies the reality of the

28. See Ashment, “A Response to ‘Ancient Sources of Masonic Ritual,’” 5.

29. In the *Ensign* 19 (Nov. 1989): 15f.

antiquity that restorationism requires: those same ordinances were first administered to Adam and Eve at the beginning of time.³⁰ To those members, the Truth of of Mormonism depends on the historicity of its restorationist claims. Their faith is informed by “a historically correct and rational understanding of the word of God.”³¹ Consequently, the recent changes in the temple ceremony constitute an erosion of a cornerstone of Mormonism—that it is God’s restoration through Joseph Smith of many plain and precious truths, doctrines, and ordinances intended for the salvation of humanity.

This dilemma about the temple ceremony—as well as about the historicity of the books of Mormon, Moses, and Abraham; about changes in the Doctrine and Covenants; and about the early doctrine and history of Mormonism—has resulted in denunciations by church apologists of members of the church who seek to have their faith informed by methodologically-correct historiography. To apologists, mythical Truths are more important than historical accuracy, with the result that the myths themselves become “history,” and events must be “narrated [in such a way as] to bring out their significance for faith.”³² Accordingly, “the only acceptable historical methodology for writing Mormon history is that it must be ‘faith-promoting.’”³³ Mormon apologists want writers of Mormon history to have the same goals as the writers of the four gospels, who were “ready to sacrifice accuracy in reporting for the sake of theological interpretation.”³⁴ In other words, if the facts are not in accordance with the myth, the facts are revised.

For most members of the LDS church, however, a methodologically-correct historiography is of little importance, because their faith informs them as to what is historical. Theirs is an emotional religion that stresses “the validity of inner religious experience,” and they have “little need” for

30. See Norman Perrin and Dennis C. Duling, *The New Testament: An Introduction*, 2d ed. (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1982), 57.

31. Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), 70.

32. Perrin and Duling, *The New Testament*, 60.

33. Boyd K. Packer, in Ashment, “Making the Scriptures ‘Indeed One in Our Hands,’” 249.

34. James Barr, *Beyond Fundamentalism* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1984), 79. C. J. Bleeker, *The Rainbow: A Collection of Studies in the Science of Religion. Studies in the History of Religions (Supplements to Numen), Volume 30* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), disagrees with such “apologetic history”: “History of religions is a historical study. Any attempt to give a theological appraisal of historic facts means a transgression from historic study to theology. Naturally theologians have the liberty to evaluate the historic course of events. However, this is a matter of their own concern and responsibility and is not any longer the business of historians or historians of religions” (23).

an “intellectual foundation for religious conviction.”³⁵ For them, when general authorities speak, “the thinking has been done. When they propose a plan, it is God’s plan. When they point the way, there is no other which is safe. When they give direction, it should mark the end of controversy.”³⁶

As a result, the changes in the temple ceremony are not disturbing to them. In fact, they probably will find the revised ceremony more enjoyable, because many things to which members objected in a recent churchwide survey were removed or revised.³⁷ Among these are the putatively ancient elements that Smith restored in their pure form from Freemasonry. But because their faith is not hampered by a need for historical correctness, they will easily agree with the assertion that the “changes do not affect the substance of the teachings of the Endowment, nor the covenants associated therewith.”³⁸

These members may try to resolve the contradictory propositions about the temple ordinance being divinely restored and yet in need of divine revision by asserting that God was behind both; that Joseph Smith’s “restored” temple ordinances represent what God thought was appropriate for the church at that time; that the changes through the years reflect how God has kept the temple ceremony relevant. But since restoration usually refers to “The action or process of restoring something to an unimpaired or perfect condition,”³⁹ it precludes revision. The net effect is that God did not restore ancient ordinances to Smith. Rather, he inspired him with certain core ideas that would be revised as times changed.

This argues for the primacy of Article of Faith 9 over Article of Faith 6 and for the fact that Mormonism is not a restoration of primitive Christianity. Instead, it consists of divine revisions. Moreover, the argument for revisionism opens a Pandora’s box of relativism in church doctrine: there can be no commandments carved in stone, because God may have only intended them for that people at that time and may have something else entirely in mind for us today. Scriptures would not be binding because they represent what God told other people in other times; they would be in constant need of revision. In addition, if a general authority tells us something, it may be that God only wants us to think that way for the time being.⁴⁰

Finally, with the changes to the temple ceremony announced in April 1990, the church completed a decades-long odyssey from violence and

35. Hofstadter, *Anti-intellectualism*, 56.

36. In the *Improvement Era*, June 1945, 354.

37. Tanner and Tanner, *Evolution of the Mormon Temple Ceremony*, 52f.

38. First Presidency statement, in *ibid.*, 109.

39. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 8:552, s.v. “restoration.”

40. See Barr, 82.

Masonry by excising the ceremony's bloody oaths and penalties and deleting the five points of fellowship. That not only put some distance between the Mormon temple ceremony and Freemasonry, it resulted in the ceremony being a little more uplifting.

Perhaps the most sociologically-significant change was granting women greater responsibility rather than having them live with bowed heads in the shadows of their husbands. Perhaps because of her opposition to polygamy, Emma Smith was not allowed to receive the newly-revealed priesthood endowments. She would not submit to her husband the prophet, who taught that "a wife must obey a righteous husband to merit the same reward."⁴¹ Today, however, women promise to obey the Lord and hearken to their husband, and Eve receives greater consideration in the narration sequences. In a church that possesses a rich patriarchal tradition, the greatest religious value of the recent changes in the temple ceremony may be those courageous steps towards recognizing the equality of women.

41. Newell and Avery, *Mormon Enigma*, 140.

Prophet by the Sea

Phyllis Barber

ONE LATE AFTERNOON JUST BEFORE SUNSET, the Prophet with white hair like the mane of a lion was walking by the sea with his friend, Fernando. They walked and talked about many things as the water rushed to the soles of their shoes and rushed away carrying anything it could.

"My wife," said Fernando to the Prophet, his head and shoulders curving in discouragement. "*Mi Elena*. She will not repent. *Mi Elena hermosa*." He shook his head in sorrow as the wind tangled his bead black hair.

"What has she done?" the Prophet asked, stopping to watch a sand crab scuttle after the receding water and toward the falling sun.

"She insists, my dear *Profeta*, that she speaks not only with God, but God's wife. God is one, not divided into man and wife. God is everything together. And besides," Fernando's words tumbled faster, "that is your job to do the speaking. You are God's mouth on earth."

"Do you love each other?" the Prophet asked as he looked up to watch the sea gull swooping over their heads, its webbed feet posed for landing, its wings swept back by the wind.

"Of course, dear *Profeta*. We live to give each other comfort, but her words pierce me like arrows." He closed his eyes and thumped his chest with his fingertips.

The Prophet put his arms around Fernando's shoulders. "She may want comfort. How can anyone know God who is always unfolding, even me?"

Fernando turned his cheek against the stiff breeze. "I listen to her and I weep, *mi Profeta*. I want to be with her in the afterlife. She's straying from the path." At that moment, Fernando's long, sad, and beautifully sculpted face reflected the bright orange that tintured the bottoms of the massive gray clouds. His eyes searched, as if for the finger of God to write an answer across the sky fast filling with the varying ripenesses of peach and gray.

"Your ears are turned inside out, Fernando," the Prophet said, as if knowing the wind would carry his words in the opposite direction from

Fernando. He bent to scoop sand into both hands and let it trickle like fine salt to the beach. He rested on his haunches; his white hair seemed like a shaded lamp at dusk, the way it glowed, even as the greater light diminished. Finally, he sat down, untied his shoelaces, removed his socks, and folded them into his simple brown shoes. He rolled up the pant legs of his Sunday suit, loosened his tie, and wriggled his toes in the cool gray sand.

Fernando returned from his consideration of the clouds. "Did you say something, *mi amigo*?" he said, trying to outspoke the wind.

"Sit by my side." The Prophet patted the beach with his hands. "Let's build a castle together. I haven't done that for years."

"Me neither." Fernando stood stiffly in his suit and tie and Sunday best cologne. "But sand castles, my dear *Profeta*?" "Why not, Fernando?" he said, scooping more sand into both hands and tossing it in the air. "Think how very old and wise this sand must be because of all the shoes and feet that have crushed it so fine."

"I can't think of anything except there is so much to do." Fernando paced back and forth on the beach, asserting his finger in the air with each thought. "So many people and my wife to save."

"Come build a castle with me. We can dig a moat and maybe add a tower before sunset."

"There is so little time, *mi Profeta*." And Fernando drove his fingers through his bounteous hair and bowed his head against the palms of his hands. "The sword of justice. It hangs over the people. *Y mi Elena*."

"I feel your anguish, my brother." His eyes lifted to Fernando's and spoke much more with their silence.

Fernando stopped pacing and thrust his hands into his pockets. He squinted at the sun's furnace burning up the last of the daylight and burnishing his black hair with red streaks. "Don't distract me with those eyes, *mi Profeta*. If a man repenteth not," he held up one fist, "he shrinks from the presence of the Lord and his pain and anguish is like an unquenchable fire, not unlike that fiery ball of sun balancing on the horizon this very moment."

"Fernando, you are such a fierce lion. So sure of your territory." The Prophet patted the sand again. "But for one moment, sit by my side."

Fernando smiled, uncovering his straight, narrow teeth. "*Leon de Dio*." He lifted his chin to the West, and his chiseled face, strong cheekbones and bristled eyebrows were indeed leonine against the blunt slant of light.

"Look!" Suddenly, the Prophet was on his feet, brushing sand from the seat of his pants and keening his head toward the water. Something dark and slow and triangular was rising out of the surf. Something amorphous, a creature of the twilight silhouetted in the shade between dark and light.

Fernando and the Prophet watched speechlessly as the creature pulled itself slowly onto the beach, water rolling off its sides, water swirling at its

feet, part dragon, dragging its belly, lumbering from side to side until it collapsed onto the beach—its head in the damp sand, its back and sides caressed by fingers of tide.

"*Por Dios!*" yelled Fernando over the sound of the wind and the waves as he struggled to run across the beach in his black patent lace-up shoes that quickly filled with sand. As he ran, the ball of sun suddenly dropped into the ocean, leaving a fan of gold light flecked with fish-scale clouds. And as Fernando finally reached the creature on the beach, the wrist of God snapped the fan closed, and it, too, dropped into the void and pulled the day behind it.

The Prophet walked calmly behind Fernando, not as young and quick as his friend. As he pulled each footstep from the sucking sand, the night began to claim the sky. In this half light, the Prophet's white hair glowed even brighter—a flame on a candle in a large window. A thin, luminous mist surrounded his body. Dark sticks of driftwood reached out of the sand like arms asking to be held, but the Prophet walked steadily toward the fallen creature. "*Es leon del mar,*" Fernando shouted over the sound of the waves pulling pebbles back to sea. "*Leon marino.*"

"A sea lion, Fernando?"

"*Si. El toro grande.*"

"He's bigger than two of us together, Fernando."

The massive animal's breathing was labored, its sides heaving in starts. It rested its head and wrinkled neck in a shallow bowl of beach and glared sideways at the Prophet as he knelt by its side. But the bull was too weak to frighten any man or even another sea lion from its territory. Its silky black eyes seemed more liquid than substance.

Fernando placed his hands on his hips, tried to kick the sand from the cuffs of his trousers, and leaned forward to peer at the animal. "*El Profeta.*" His yellow knit tie dangled above the sea lion's head like a twisted rag. "He's hurt, badly. His neck is torn."

The Prophet stroked the exposed side of the bull's head, running his finger down the length of the blunt nose and over the arch of its eye and down to its small flap of an ear. The sea lion tried to grunt, but the sound was only a weak gesture.

"This is the way of nature," said Fernando, squatting onto his heels and looking into the Prophet's face. "He was probably fighting for his territory."

"All the kingdom for territory, then?" the Prophet said as he felt the slowly heaving sides of the sea lion beneath his hands. "How human."

"I can't stand to see *el muerte* anytime." Fernando turned his head to watch a wave disperse its foam on the beach. "Even if it is a part of life."

"Death is only a moment, Fernando. You mustn't be afraid."

"But I am afraid, *El Profeta*. This sea lion reminds me the end is close.

There's so little time to accomplish what God has asked of me."

"Death is only a door, Fernando. And time is bigger than a clock. There's enough of it to do what you need to do, to accomplish what you're here to accomplish. Trust, my friend. Don't be afraid."

The Prophet rubbed the loose wrinkles on the bull's neck that looked like hills and tight valleys. Lightly, he tracked his finger across the broad gash at the side of its neck and down the length of one quivering whisker. Then he put both hands on the bull's head, closed his eyes, and lifted his face to the sky. For a while, he was silent, his white hair blowing in wisps, tangling, dancing with the brisk breeze. His eyes still shut, he inhaled the ancient smell of the sea. He lifted his head even higher, stretched his neck, and his breath slowed and moved with the tide.

"In the name of the holy priesthood, bless my brother, dear God. Bless this creature of the deep water. Bless its body, its eyes, its heart. Give it strength, in the name of Jesus Christ."

"*Jésus. Por favor.*" Fernando placed his hands in prayer at the center of his chest.

Pushed and pulled by the magnets of heaven, the water came and went from the shore. The men were still like a painting, their heads bowed over the animal, the Prophet's hands gentle on its head. Underneath the upside down bowl of sky where the first star was appearing, his fingers trembled like arrows from the quiver of God. The waves repeated themselves, as if they were the earth's breath. Exhalation, inhalation, the great constancy. This passed through the Prophet and into his hands to the great sea lion.

Very slowly, the breath of the waves became the breath of the animal. In and out. The huge bull turned its head, rolled back to its stomach, and struggled to lift onto its front flippers. It lifted its body out of the sand, out of the bowl of beach, until its neck was once again a massive triangle beneath its whiskers, its nose pointed to the heavens, and its head proud and strong. Then the sea lion barked crisply before turning to the water's edge and the black stones washed smooth and round like beetles' backs. Waddling from one flipper to the other, it pulled itself over the slippery rocks and wet oozing sand toward the water.

"Now," said the Prophet, sitting back down in the sand as the dark shape of the sea lion sank into the sea. "Before it's completely dark, will you build a castle with me, Fernando?"

Fernando balanced on one leg and bent to untie his shoe. When the first black-patent shoe dropped into the sand in the twilight, it seemed a small boat cutting across an endless sea.

Loose Ends that Defy Explanation

The Unsolicited Chronicler: An Account of the Gunnison Massacre. Its Causes and Consequences. By Robert Kent Fielding (Brookline, MA: Paradigm Publications, 1993).

Reviewed by Vivian Linford Talbot, professor of history, Weber State University, Ogden, Utah; and Fred R. Gowans, professor of history, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

AFTER FOURTEEN YEARS OF "PAINSTAKING historical detective work on the Gunnison Massacre" (see dust jacket), Robert Kent Fielding has concluded that the history of the Mormons between 1847 and 1859 has not been dealt with in a credible, scholarly manner and has decided to "correct such neglect and distortion" (iii). The result of his labors is a prodigiously researched work that offers little new concerning this time period and does not deliver the promised "proof" of Mormon complicity in the Gunnison Massacre and other dark deeds for which church leaders have been blamed.

In assessing the events which occurred Fielding asserts that "even now it may be impossible to deal with these issues objectively" (iv). Indeed he seems to make no attempt at objectivity himself, seeing in every omission in conduct and written record an ulterior motive, and seeing the stimulus behind every action the belief of the LDS church in "blood atonement." Finally, in addition to the paucity of new pertinent material and objectivity, Fielding's work often

suffers from a lack of coherence as he introduces too much extraneous material which serves only to confuse readers and adds unnecessary length to the work.

In spite of its title, examination of the Gunnison incident occupies relatively little space in Fielding's book. However, his interpretation of the massacre and its contingent events provides numerous examples of his flawed logic. Captain John Williams Gunnison of the United States Army Topographical Engineers was charged with locating one of the contemplated railroad routes (this one between the 38th and 39th parallels) which would tie the nation together. When Gunnison was near the end of his assignment he decided to split his survey party in two to complete the work before winter. While camped along the Sevier River several miles northwest of Fillmore, Utah, Pahvant Indians attacked and killed the captain and seven of his party while four members of the group escaped.

Fielding sees the massacre as a pivotal event in relations between the LDS church and the U.S. government since the ultimate investigation of the massacre brought federal officials to the Great Basin and this led to the tensions leading to the Mountain Meadows Massacre and the "Utah War." However, in Fielding's own words, it was the "Runaway Judges" episode "which made Brigham Young infamous in congressional and administrative circles in Washington" (54), a controversy predating Gun-

nison's trip to the West. Indeed, there were federal officials in the territory beginning in 1851. Although a tragic incident, Fielding does not convince us that Gunnison's death was a turning point in relations between Mormons and the U.S. government.

In claiming Mormon complicity in Gunnison's death Fielding does not adequately address the subject of motive, usually important when accusing individuals of murder. The facts indicate that Mormons had more to gain by keeping the captain alive. While residing in the East, and when in the company of those with influence, Gunnison often defended the Latter-day Saints' right to practice their religion and praised their accomplishments in settling the Salt Lake Valley. He was especially vocal in their defense following the "Runaway Judges" incident. In a letter to Albert Carrington, Gunnison wrote that he had formed a friendship with the editor of the *Free Press* of Detroit, the leading Democratic organ in the area, who wanted Gunnison to arrange an exchange of publications with Willard Richards, editor of the *Deseret News* (see Brigham D. Madsen, "John W. Gunnison's Letters to His Mormon Friend, Albert Carrington," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 59 [Summer 1991]: 278). Gunnison also met with Franklin Pierce, an old acquaintance, and gave the president some background concerning the Mormons and expressed his admiration for them (*ibid.*, 281). Finally, he wrote to Brigham Young that he had suggested the railroad should run north of Utah Lake so that Mormon settlements would benefit from the resulting increase in commerce (see David Henry Miller, "The Impact of the Gunnison Massacre on Mormon-Federal Relations," M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1968, 17). One wonders how anyone as pragmatic as

Brigham Young would wish harm to come to such an individual as Gunnison.

Fielding is correct in stating that Gunnison's book was often critical and uncomplimentary of the Mormons. However, compared with other castigations against the church from eastern presses Gunnison's work was mild in its reproach and reasonably objective and fair in its assessments. Fielding finds ominous meaning in the words of Edward R. Hunter when at the cornerstone laying of the Salt Lake temple the bishop "defiantly" challenged those who would persecute Mormons to follow the advice offered by Gunnison, who Hunter referred to as "our much esteemed, though distant, learned, very polite and unsolicited chronicler . . . of letting us alone severely" (22). Somehow this reference to the captain does not sound as threatening to us as Fielding finds it.

Fielding presents much circumstantial evidence to prove Mormon leaders were behind Gunnison's death. However, the data he considers damaging can be used just as effectively to prove the innocence of the Mormons. Many times Fielding is inconsistent and contradictory as he builds his case. For instance, he notes that it was a "remarkable fact" that none of the victims of the massacre had been scalped (160). Yet he later quotes the testimony of Judge Drummond that "by order and direction of the Mormons the Indians sprang out of the ambush where they lay disguised during the night before the firing, which occurred about sunrise in the morning, and went across the river to *scalp* [emphasis added] and otherwise maltreat the men in their agonies of death" (367). Fielding also introduces "evidence" that Mormons disguised as Indians massacred the survey group and then at other times gives testimony

"proving" Mormons conspired with local Indians in getting them to attack Gunnison's group. He never says which of the two he thinks actually happened.

Fielding discounts the argument that since one of the men killed was an active Mormon (William Potter, a guide for Gunnison), members of the church could not be responsible for the massacre. He asserts that Potter probably signaled the Indians the day before the attack when he went duck hunting and that he was killed by mistake. But Potter was not alone when he went hunting. Two of the privates from the party's military escort were with him. In addition, it was only two days before the massacre that the decision was made to split the group in two, thus reducing the size of Gunnison's party, so no Mormon leader in Fillmore or elsewhere would have been aware of this decision and known of Gunnison's new vulnerability to attack.

Fielding discusses at length the question of from whom Gunnison received information and advice in Fillmore concerning the degree of danger he could anticipate from Indians, inferring that the captain had been deliberately misled. He takes issue with the reminiscence of Anson Call, written many years after the fact, that Call himself had discussed the situation with Gunnison in Fillmore when in fact there is uncertainty that Call was even in Fillmore at the time. But a contemporary source, the journal left by Frederick Kreutzfeldt, the botanist in Gunnison's party who was killed with Gunnison, reported that while in Fillmore "the Captain and his men were invited to dinner 'by the President of the place,'" who according to Fielding was Anson Call (154n4).

Fielding argues that it was Dimick Huntington, Brigham Young's "special

Indian agent," who apprised Gunnison of the local situation and assigns significance to the fact that none of the reports following the massacre mention Huntington's presence in the Fillmore area prior to the massacre. However, Fielding does not offer substantial proof that Huntington really was there—not that it matters. The point is that whether it was Call or Huntington, Gunnison learned that "Indian relations were very tense at the moment," but that local Pahvants were appeased even though one of their number was killed the previous month by a member of an immigrant train on its way to California (146, 148).

Fielding gives special emphasis to what he believes Gunnison was *not* told and this accounts for the captain's "unusual feeling of security" about local Indians (151). This begs the question how we can know what Gunnison was *not* told. Can one assume that Gunnison and others of his party recorded everything they learned and wrote down all such conversations verbatim?

Records indicate that Gunnison was anxious to finish his survey before winter and perhaps he chose to emphasize the positive in the reports he was given. As Fielding mentions, the general instruction to Mormon settlers during this Indian unrest was never to travel with less than a dozen men, and Gunnison could easily have complied with this warning even if he split his party in two. Although members of Gunnison's party had misgivings, their captain had a long and distinguished career in conducting surveys in various hostile and isolated locations and in his haste chose to ignore these misgivings.

Fielding points to several instances when the personal journal of Lieutenant Beckwith, Gunnison's second in command, does not square with his official report concerning events before and fol-

lowing the massacre, inferring that Beckwith withheld damaging information that could be used in evidence against the Mormon hierarchy. But there does not seem to be anything particularly significant in these variations or omissions, and again there would have been no reason for Beckwith to protect the Mormons. In fact, according to Fielding, neither Beckwith nor Captain Morris, who was in command of the expedition's armed guard, were treated particularly well by Brigham Young once they arrived in Salt Lake City, supposedly because Young did not feel these men tried hard enough to recover the remains of their fallen comrades. If Beckwith was trying to protect anyone, there is more reason to believe it was his former captain's reputation, because it was Gunnison's decision to divide the group that put them in greater jeopardy.

As far as the rest of Fielding's book is concerned, aside from the massacre itself, the reader is subjected to a litany of vituperative quotations from sermons by LDS officials against contemporary U.S. leaders, certain federal officials assigned to the territory, and against gentiles in general. Undoubtedly Fielding uses these quotes to illustrate the militant, threatening, and unpatriotic stance of the Latter-day Saint hierarchy. A few of these quotes would have sufficed. However, much of what was said by Brigham Young and others could be interpreted as zealous rhetoric intended to excite the Saints to remain united, repentant, vigilant, and continually on the road to eternal salvation, a method not unlike the "fire and brimstone" approach used by Protestant clergy in times past.

Fielding also calls attention to many instances illustrating the downside of Mormon polygamy although this was extraneous to his focus. He is

undoubtedly right in observing that polygamy, more than anything else, was what outraged the "Christian world" against the Mormons. He fails to point out, however, that President Buchanan's decision to send troops to Utah territory in 1857 was basically a ploy to divert attention from the stresses caused by the slavery controversy rather than to put down that other of the "twin relics of barbarism"—polygamy (Fielding quotes Stephen A. Douglas here; see p. 373).

Fielding seems to give more credence to the opinions and testimony of those opposed to Mormonism, whose motives proved to be suspect, than to church leaders. These include individuals such as Judge Drummond, Mary Etie V. Smith (a disaffected Mormon who Fielding acknowledges was prone to "clearly sensational" charges and whose stories were "among the more colorful"), and Sylvester Mowry, a lieutenant in Colonel Steptoe's company who admitted that he had every intention of seducing Mary Ann Young, the polygamous wife of Brigham Young's son who was then absent on a mission.

In portions of the book Fielding displays the ability of a fine writer. One simile he used is especially striking: "Seen from the hillside near Emigration Canyon, the canvas-topped wagons were as the white capped wavelets of a tumbling brook washing into the city to bob and dance in the street as might water, filling furrows in a cultivated field, bringing nourishment to growing crops" (74). Also the scenes where both Gunnison and Beckwith camp the night before the massacre are vividly told; it is obvious Fielding has done field work in his research.

Paradigm Publications has put together an attractive book which includes interesting contemporary maps.

It would have been helpful to have included a map showing other sites in close proximity to the massacre, such as Beckwith's camp in relation to the area Fielding refers to as "the third leg of a triangle, begun at Cedar Springs three days before" (160). The full-paged sketches of more than thirty LDS and national leaders seem excessive and serve only to add to the expense of the publication. Also, the book has a num-

ber of minor editing errors.

In conclusion, it would be well for all authors who write about tragic events in history to understand that there are always loose ends that seem to defy explanation. The innocent do not anticipate having to explain their actions in relation to an event such as the Gunnison Massacre. Unlike the guilty, they are not thinking in terms of having to "cover" themselves later on.

The Burden of Proof

Peculiar People: Mormons and Same-sex Orientation. Edited by Ron Schow, Wayne Schow, and Marybeth Raynes (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991).

AMCAP Journal, Volume 19 (Salt Lake City: Association of Mormon Counselors and Psychotherapists, 1993).

Reviewed by Gary M. Watts, M.D., diagnostic radiologist and head of Nuclear Medicine, Utah Valley Regional Medical Center, Provo, Utah.

HAVING SOLD OUT ITS TWO CLOTH printings, *Peculiar People: Mormons and Same-sex Orientation* is now available in paperback. First published in 1991 by Signature Books and edited by Ron Schow, Wayne Schow, and Marybeth Raynes, it is a landmark book dealing with homosexuality in our Mormon culture. It is a book that should be read by all bishops, stake presidents, regional representatives, and general authorities, as well as anyone who is struggling with homosexuality on a personal or family level.

The book is divided into four major

sections including (1) a foreword by Lowell Bennion and an editors' introduction, (2) personal perspectives of gays, lesbians, spouses, and family members, (3) professional and Christian perspectives, and (4) an annotated bibliography, appendices, and published statements of professional and religious organizations regarding homosexuality.

The editors' introduction provides an excellent overview of the problems faced by individuals and their families dealing with homosexuality in the Mormon community and society at large. The editors' perspectives are identified up front and provide some understanding regarding their selection criteria. They basically agree that (1) homosexuality touches far more lives, directly and indirectly, than is generally recognized, (2) that condemnation of homosexuality by church and society leaves most Mormons ill-prepared, emotionally and intellectually, to confront this fact of life, (3) that Latter-day Saints who encounter this issue face many practical problems, and (4) that much of the suffering by gays and lesbi-

ans is a result of an inadequate Christian response on the part of many in the heterosexual majority. Terminology, misconceptions, and the concept of "sealed premises" are discussed and a short historical overview of homosexuality and the Mormon response is documented.

Since this is a compilation of many authors, the writing is occasionally uneven and repetitive. The seven personal perspectives by gays and lesbians all follow a similar pattern. Most of the individuals became aware of their same-sex orientation in their teenage years. The unwanted feelings were initially considered repugnant and assumed to be temporary. Unsuccessful attempts were made to change or eliminate the feelings through fasting, prayer, dedicated church service, counseling, and/or attempts at reparative therapy. All failed in his or her efforts to eradicate these feelings, and most subsequently expressed bitterness and disillusionment with church attitudes and responses. Absent are any perspectives from individuals who have changed or claim to have changed or significantly diminished their homosexual feelings. This is an unfortunate omission and exposes the editors to criticism of bias in selecting which essays to include.

Statements such as the following are sprinkled throughout the personal perspectives: "In a lifetime of church activity I have yet to hear a single word of compassion or understanding for homosexuals from the pulpit"; "church policy showed an utter lack of awareness of the challenges that faced me"; "I couldn't believe the church was so unenlightened on this subject yet judged so harshly"; "I am convinced, based on my own experience, that the church is ignorant of homosexuality and wrong in its treatment of the homosexual"; "I love

the church, but in all honesty it was not there in this time of crisis"; "I feel rejected by the church"; and "There are simply not words to describe the feeling of being let down by my church at the most critical time of my life." These statements stand as an indictment of current LDS policy and suggest a need for re-evaluation. All of the writers anticipated a more loving, more informed, and more Christlike response rather than disenfranchisement. The intransigence of the church in the face of these testimonials is difficult to understand and/or defend.

The writers from among the partners, families, and friends generally follow the same theme. Wayne Schow's "Homosexuality, Mormon Doctrine, and Christianity: A Father's Perspective" is the most eloquent and persuasive essay I have read on this subject. Excerpts from Carol Lynn Pearson's *Goodbye, I Love You* should be read in conjunction with Karen Brown's "One View of a Troubled Relationship." They are examples of different responses to similar trials. Both authors deal with the extraordinarily difficult situation of a female spouse who discovers that her husband is homosexual and the subsequent impact it has on their relationship and family.

The essay by an anonymous author entitled "New Friends" troubled me somewhat. The author reinforces some of the myths about the causes of homosexuality and makes several statements which made me wonder how secure he is with his own sexuality. Do straight people really fear that "sub-consciously homosexuals may entice them into homosexuality?" Do straight people really fear "that maybe, just maybe, there is some of it [homosexuality] in all of us?" I think not. He concludes his essay with the statement that "the most powerful

tool I have found to help them is still the idea that change is possible, gradual as it may be." The author does not suggest that accepting one's sexual orientation and learning to live with it is an acceptable alternative.

Several contributions from the "Professional and Christian Perspectives" section are extremely worthwhile. Jan Stout's "Sin and Sexuality: Psychobiology and the Development of Homosexuality" should be read by every Latter-day Saint. His perspective as a psychiatrist and his evolution to the beliefs he held up until his untimely death last year are invaluable.

"Homosexuality: A Part of Life, Not a Curse," by the Episcopalian bishop John S. Spong, is an outstanding contribution and deserves attention. He points out that the church's suggestion to "love the sinner but hate the sin" is patronizing, judgmental, and represents "rhetoric piety." He observes that "none of those defined as sinners experienced that love . . . and most learned not to trust the church. Since the evidence points to the conclusion that homosexual persons do not choose their sexual orientation, cannot change it, and constitute a quite normal but minority expression of human sexuality, it is clear that heterosexual prejudice against homosexuals must take its place alongside witchcraft, slavery, and other ignorant beliefs and oppressive institutions that we have abandoned." I personally find his logic compelling.

United Methodist bishop Melvin E. Wheatley, Jr., has written a one-page masterpiece entitled "I Do Not Believe Homosexuality a Sin." He rightly equates morality with behavior, not sexual orientation. He expresses the view that homosexual and heterosexual behavior may be beautiful or sinful depending on the actions and the intent of

the individual. He suggests that straights and gays should be held to the same standards.

Gay and lesbian youth and trusted family friends who are considering counseling should read Marybeth Raynes's "Alternatives in Therapy Approaches." The choice of a therapist or counselor during the "coming out" process is extremely important for the individual and his or her family, and Ms. Rayne's views of various therapy options are excellent.

George Weinberg, a psychotherapist in private practice in New York City who coined the term "homophobia," authors an essay entitled "Homophobia—Do I Have It?" His essay helped me understand why one of my close friends has such a hard time accepting homosexuals. Weinberg makes the observation that men who emphasize power, conquest, and "masculinity" regard homosexuals as lowering the "male standard" and therefore tend to hold homosexuals in low esteem.

Adonna Schow's short essay entitled "Sexuality as Spiritual" offers some interesting perspectives about the aspects of maleness and femaleness possessed by everyone. She equates expressive behavior as predominately male and receptive behavior as predominately female. She suggests that we cannot achieve wholeness in a spiritual sense without the presence of both. She observes that "in the sanctity in which the Godhead creates diversity, the ratio of maleness to femaleness in each person varies widely. Each person has one's own appropriate divinely given and developing union of both aspects."

Somewhat buried in the fourth section but not to be missed are the two appendices which give a useful overview of the sexuality continuum and define Alfred Kinsey's "Heterosexual-

Homosexual Rating Scale" which I think is a key to understanding why it may be possible for some with same-sex attraction to adapt to a successful heterosexual lifestyle while others fail. LDS leaders who are making recommendations to individuals with same-sex attractions without being aware of Kinsey's scale are in danger of doing a real disservice to those so counseled. In addition to providing insight into the sexuality continuum, the statistical information on the incidence of homosexual experiences is very interesting. The Kinsey data indicate that at least 18 percent of men and 9 percent of women have had homosexual activity leading to orgasm at some time in their life.

In summary, this is an excellent book and I highly recommend it. The minor criticisms including the uneven quality of some of the writings and the apparent bias of the editors in the material selected for inclusion are dwarfed by the wealth of information supplied. This book belongs in the library of every Latter-day Saint who is involved personally or ecclesiastically with the issue of homosexuality.

The recent annual journal of the Association of Mormon Counselors and Psychotherapists deals entirely with homosexuality and reparative therapy. It contains an editorial, four essays, two interviews, and five reviews. The journal makes for interesting reading and will stimulate controversy. It suggests that homosexuality is a psychosocial condition, is not immutable, and is best treated in the majority of cases by reparative therapy.

William Byne, a practicing psychiatrist and Ph.D. research associate in the Department of Pathology at Albert Einstein College of Medicine, is virtually "canonized" by the journal's editors for his essay on "Human Sexual Orienta-

tion: The Biologic Theories Reappraised." He is the subject of an interview; his paper is reviewed by Erin Bigler, a professor of psychology at Brigham Young University; and his paper is referenced by four contributors to the journal. I find Byne's interview more interesting for the questions not asked. Noticeably absent are direct questions about the immutability of sexual orientation, whether choice is a factor, and his attitude about reparative therapy.

After reading the interview, I telephoned Dr. Byne to ask his opinions on causation, immutability, and therapy, because I couldn't glean them from the published interview. He indicated that he believes the causes of homosexuality are complex but are a combination of biologic, hormonal, and psychosocial conditions; are ingrained no later than four years of age; are not chosen; and are in the vast majority of cases immutable. He has had little experience with reparative therapy but acknowledges it is inconsistent with his strong belief that sexual orientation is generally immutable.

As I read the journal, I was impressed that the reparative therapists represented throughout its pages apparently feel threatened. Scott Richards, the editor, acknowledges that the journal is not balanced but defends this position by stating, "The professional literature is not balanced. Only one perspective gets published right now—the gay affirmative one. Someone needs to present alternative perspectives" (xi).

The interview with Dean Byrd, assistant commissioner of LDS Social Services, shows his views to diverge from Byne's and mainstream psychiatry and psychology. He is "convinced from both a spiritual and clinical perspective that homosexuality is not an immutable condition . . . and supports the right of

those individuals who are unhappy (egodystonic) with their same-sex attraction to diminish/eliminate those attractions and to make changes in their lives" (91). If one accepts the Kinsey scale where 0 is strictly heterosexual and 6 is strictly homosexual, it seems to me that some individuals in the 2-5 range may be amenable to some change. Herein lies the difficulty: determining and agreeing who should avail themselves of this type of therapy.

Byrd's paper, co-authored by Mark D. Chamberlain, a doctoral student in clinical psychology, and his interview detailing his own experience with reparative therapy may be an attempt to answer the assertion of Melvin Sabshun, medical director of the American Psychiatric Association, that

there is no published scientific evidence to support the efficacy of reparative therapy as a treatment to change one's sexual orientation . . . There is little, if any, evidence that these methods can change a homosexual person's deep-seated sexual feelings for others of the same sex . . . Clinical experience suggests that any person who seeks conversion therapy may be doing so because of social bias that has resulted in internalized homophobia, and that gay men and lesbians who have accepted their sexual orientation positively are better adjusted than those who have not done so (May 1992 press release).

The executive director for Professional Practice of the American Psychological Association has also stated that "efforts to 'repair' homosexuals are nothing more than social prejudice garbed in psychological accouterments" (statement by Bryant L. Welch, 26 Jan. 1990).

It is regrettable that such divisive-

ness exists and that both camps feel a need to disparage the other view. Since this is such a controversial area, it is unfortunate that Byrd's "meticulous" notes reporting the cases of more than 200 patients do not provide some objective data about the efficacy he claims for reparative therapy. Until researchers such as Byrd are willing to subject their claims to scientific inquiry and corroboration in a longitudinal study they will remain vulnerable to criticism. Byrd needs to design a study in collaboration with someone without an agenda which will provide a scientific basis for his claims.

The three books reviewed, *Reparative Therapy of Male Homosexuality: A New Clinical Approach*; *Kinsey, Sex and Fraud: The Indoctrination of a People*; and *Peculiar People: Mormons and Same-sex Orientation*, are praised or castigated depending on whether they support or question psychological etiology, choice, and/or reparability. BYU psychologist Reed Payne's review of *Reparative Therapy of Male Homosexuality* reveals his own bias. Payne supports the author's conclusions that "the homosexual condition often has developmental and dynamic underpinnings involving male-identity failure; and, clinical evidence clearly demonstrates optimism by confirming the change process." This approach is geared to the "egodystonic" homosexual (those homosexuals with internalized homophobia) despite the fact that "ego-dystonic" homosexuality was removed from the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-III-R) in 1987.

Payne divides homosexuals into the "non-gay homosexual" and those in the "gay lifestyle." He finds it ironic that those who are most vocal about gay rights tend to be hostile towards homosexuals who desire treatment and those

who offer them help. Yet he makes no reference to the equally obvious irony that societal and religious homophobia forces homosexuals into a state of self-loathing or of sexual promiscuity in an attempt to validate their being.

Kevin M. Marett's review of *Kinsey, Sex and Fraud* acknowledges that the book is "moralistic in tone" and concedes that the authors "use the same facts and sources over and over to make the same arguments . . . to the point of becoming wearisome and laborious." Nevertheless, he recommends it "for those who do not accept the current sexual mores that run counter to the prevailing arguments for sexual license." The book is not based on substantive facts and information but is a sensationalist smear of Kinsey's work which the authors believe has been a major factor in the erosion of social mores since its publication in 1948.

Peculiar People comes in for criticism for its "grossly disproportionate . . . over-representation of those who have embraced their homosexuality versus those that have chosen to make the transition out of gay lifestyles and behaviors." The reviewer, Scott R. Peterson, of BYU's Comprehensive Clinic, suggests that many of the book's contributors "have chosen to reject the fundamental values of the LDS church. Rather than adjusting their behavior to accommodate the values of their religion, they adjust their own religious values to accommodate their behavior." Peterson complains that many of the stories in *Peculiar People* "fall into the trap of tautological reasoning wherein the validity of an opinion is self determined and therefore cannot be wrong."

Peterson wants everyone with same-sex attraction to resolve their conflicts in church-sanctioned ways and has difficulty in accepting alternative solu-

tions. He fails to mention or address the obvious conclusion that these individuals are expressing their own belief that the church in many cases has failed them and is now a source of pain rather than comfort. Peterson does show considerable empathy, however, for those with same-sex attraction and commends the editors of *Peculiar People* for attempting to educate and enlighten their readers. His most prescient comment is in the last paragraph: "And where social conditioning, theological belief, and the inexactitude of science converge to create opinions that are potentially damaging to any member of human kind, there is no greater need for open-mindedness, tolerance, and the representation of information simply for the sake of enlightenment." In my opinion, *Peculiar People* is a milestone in understanding homosexuality in the Mormon culture and belongs in the library of every Mormon family dealing with or interested in the issue.

Erin Bigler's review of Byne's "Human Sexual Orientation" is refreshing. Bigler, a professor of psychology at BYU, gives a balanced review, avoids dogmatic extremes, and shares some information about the incidence of homosexuality as well as the limbic circuitry in the brain. He supports Byne's "interactionist model" and points out that it does not exclude biologic factors which many in LDS Social Services have tried to imply. He is correct, in my opinion, in suggesting that "exclusivity should be avoided in our attempts to understand homosexuality and homosexual behavior."

Richard Bickerton's review of Robert Rees's pamphlet, *No More Strangers and Foreigners*, saddened me. I can't help wondering how two former LDS bishops arrive at such dramatically different conclusions? Does Bickerton

really mean, as he suggests, that "all" who are invited to come unto Jesus Christ excludes those involved in homosexual behavior? I have had a copy of Rees's pamphlet for several months and have loaned it to many of my friends. I think his views are consistent with true Christian values and can't understand how anyone could so denigrate his contribution.

In summary, the 1993 AMCAP journal fairly depicts the current posture of some LDS counselors and psychotherapists who deplore their inability to get their views published in professional literature and continue to support

a psychosocial causation and attempts to "repair" men and women with same-sex orientation. While the journal provides some credibility for reparative therapy in selected cases, it is clear that the burden of proof as to who, if anyone, may benefit is on the reparatists. So far their data are not persuasive. Indeed, it is held in such low esteem by most professionals that the American Psychiatric Association Committee on Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Issues in conjunction with the Committee on Abuse and Misuse of Psychiatry in the United States labels reparative therapy as unethical and an abuse and misuse of psychiatry.

Memory and Familiarity

Voices from the Bottom of the Bowl: A Folk History of Teton Valley, Idaho, from 1823-1952. By Thomas Edward Cheney (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991).

Reviewed by Elaine Thatcher, Folk Arts Program Director, Western States Arts Federation, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

THIS COLLECTION OF REMINISCENCES about life in a tiny southern Idaho community has such an authentic flavor of small-town Mormon country, a flavor which I did not experience first-hand but at a second-generation level through stories told by my parents, that they struck a deep chord of emotional familiarity. Therefore, it is difficult to be completely objective about this book—I enjoyed it immensely. So now that readers understand my point of view, I will attempt to step back a bit and be at least somewhat objective.

Thomas E. Cheney is probably best

known for the collection of Mormon folk music he compiled. In this new book he turns to his own family and community folklore and becomes a teller of tales. He makes no claims of historical accuracy: all of his stories are colored by memory, with a strong personal voice. He writes, "The stories are accurate as memory is accurate, biased as morals may be biased, and romanticized as time and imagination unconsciously romanticizes" (1). There is, indeed, some romanticism to the narratives, but recognized as such it does not detract from the good read that this book is.

This collection brings to mind the recent work of folklorist William A. Wilson, who has compared family narratives to the best novels. They have recurring characters whom we get to know better as they appear in successive stories; they have settings that influence the action in the narrative; and the threads of character, setting, and inter-

weaving plots bind the vignette-like narratives into a coherent story (William A. Wilson, "Personal Narrative: The Family Novel," *Western Folklore* 50 [Apr. 1991]: 127-49).

Characters are keenly drawn in this book—we quickly become familiar with Cheney's mother, his stepfathers (his father died of an infected tooth three months before Thomas was born), the town pranksters, Whispering Ed (whose normal speaking voice was so loud that an ironic nickname was called for), the murderous bartender, the adulterous postmaster-cum-Sunday school president, and the other citizens of Victor, Idaho. We read of ear-splitting profanities coming out of the same mouths that offer humble prayers to God, and we see the human weaknesses which sometimes lead to regrettable occurrences.

One of the most affecting stories is "Red Hair in the Sacred Grove," about a young woman who came to town to teach high school in 1918. She was not Mormon, and her first words upon alighting from the train, "My God, what a dump," soon were all over town. The story describes her efforts to expose her farm-bred students to the great artists in history, but in moments of frustration she uses mild profanity, chastises the students for their self-righteousness, and says, "You think your Eliza Snow is a greater musician than Handel. You probably have never heard of Rembrandt, but if you had you would think that that sloppy painting of The Sacred Grove above the pulpit in your chapel is greater than his Christ Healing the Sick. You have raw aesthetic sense, no concept of beauty. You people in this class will not allow yourselves to like Chaucer—my God, what poverty" (55).

While Miss Spurns awakened in young Thomas a new appreciation for

literature and ideas, and he had a conversation with her about his interests, he later caved in to peer pressure and signed a student petition demanding her resignation after the school board had confirmed their support of her. She was on the train that night, abandoning a copy of *Othello* which she had loaned him, and which he still possesses, calling it "a chronic chastisement to my sensitivity" (53).

These are folk narratives dressed up to go to town. The stories, when told orally, are undoubtedly simpler, with less of a literary quality. There is no fault in the literary turn, but this is not folk style—it is folk material, however. In general, the book is beautifully written, with only one or two lapses into overblown or clichéd prose. Much of the dialogue clearly reflects the kind of blunt understatement common to the West: After the death of a woman in childbirth, the widowed husband comes to Thomas's stepfather, who is building the coffin. "'Pete,' the man said in a loud, gruff voice, 'I want you to make the coffin big enough for the baby too.'

"'Is it dead?' Pa asked.

"'No, it ain't dead, Pete, but it can't live without a mother.' Pa turned to me and said, 'Thomas, it is your bedtime. Go'" (12).

In this collection are insights into social structure, hardships, and conventions of early twentieth-century Mormon country. There is delight in recognition for those whose histories include similar stories, and readers see how the sacred and profane sides of life intermingle and interact in a close community. Folk customs and beliefs appear here and there. Thomas Cheney was born with the "veil"—part of the inner membrane of the uterus—wrapped around him. The midwife who delivered him apparently told his

mother that a child wrapped in the veil would be a special person. A poem is included (8), referring to the death of Thomas's father and Thomas's birth with the veil, but it is not clear that the midwife wrote the poem. Nor is it clear whether the poem was left by the mid-

wife or written later by someone else. Finally, without an index the book is not as useful to scholars as it could be.

Voices from the Bottom of the Bowl is a delightful reminiscence for all readers, with scholarly uses similar to those of other personal histories and memoirs.

To the single men of the church

Derk M. Koldewyn

who sit singly, as I do, on unkempt
beds in dingy small rooms among their own
litter and cast-off clothes; who slump
against walls watching late-nite TV instead
of cradling a loved wife in their withered arms,
or a new child, or a good book—to you I say:
nothing. Having nothing but my own experience
to offer advice, I cannot tell you how. I only know
how you want, and what you want, but
not where it is, or how to find it. Are you
bitter, as I am? Smile wanly and sit. Are you
desperate? Be quiet and calm and say nothing.
If this is what has brought you here, if you
want to do more, break out, think again:
This is all you can do. This is all you have done.

CONTRIBUTORS

ROBERT D. ANDERSON, M.D., is a psychiatrist in private practice in Bellevue, Washington, and an Associate Member of the Seattle Psychoanalytic Society.

EDWARD H. ASHMENT is former Coordinator of Translation Services for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. He lives in Manteca, California.

PHYLLIS BARBER is author of *And the Desert Shall Blossom*. She resides in Denver, Colorado.

M. SHAYNE BELL is poetry editor for *Sunstone* magazine and editor of *Washed by a Wave of Wind: Science Fiction from the Corridor*. He lives in Salt Lake City.

DONNA BERNHISEL lives in Logan, Utah.

JOANNA BROOKS is a graduate student in English at the University of California, Los Angeles, where she is recipient of the Battrick Poetry Fellowship.

MARDEN J. CLARK, author of *Morgan Triumphs*, taught English at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, until his retirement. He lives in Provo, Utah.

JOSEPH FISHER lives in Highland, Utah.

CRAIG L. FOSTER, a librarian, is executive secretary of the Mormon History Association. He lives in Layton, Utah.

MICHAEL W. HOMER is a lawyer in Salt Lake City, Utah. Versions of his "Similarity of Priesthood in Masonry: The Relationship between Freemasonry and Mormonism" were delivered at a conference on "Masonry, the Church and New Religions," sponsored by the Center for Studies of New Religions, Foggia, Italy, 11 December 1993; at the Fifteenth Annual Sunstone Symposium, Salt Lake City, 14 August 1993; and at the Twenty-second International Conference of the International Society for the Sociology of Religion, Budapest, Hungary, 22 July 1993. He resides in Salt Lake City, Utah.

DERK M. KOLDEWYN is a recent graduate of Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

LANCE S. OWENS, M.D., practices emergency medicine in Salt Lake City, Utah. He lives in Salt Lake City, Utah.

EDGAR C. SNOW, JR., holds law degrees from the University of Tennessee and Boston University. He currently practices business law with the firm of Miles & Stockbridge in Baltimore, Maryland.

ANITA TANNER lives in Cortez, Colorado.

DAN VOGEL is author of *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon* and *Religious Seekers and the Advent of Mormonism*. "The Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests" was presented on 22 May 1993 at the Mormon History Association annual meeting, Graceland College, Lamoni, Iowa. He lives with his wife Margie in Columbus, Ohio.

PHILIP WHITE lives in South Hadley, Massachusetts.

sonnet: on his blindness to autumn

Marden J. Clark

i too consider how my days are spent
and fret but little when like autumn's bright
orange maples they fade and fall. my sight
is good enough to burn those maples, scent

and color, on my brain so deep a thousand
sonnets ought to issue forth unbid
but my shy talent has only life to hide
itself so deep in folds that i can drowse

eye-deep in shades of orange from yesterday,
i wind again with wife and friends the Squaw
Peak Road and test our oohs against their aahs
around each hairpin turn as autumn plays

its brightest prelude to winter and death
we gasp and know again the life of breath

ABOUT THE COVERS

One of the most comprehensive collections of Masonic symbology was published in 1819 by Jeremy L. Cross in his *True Chart of Hieroglyphic Monitor*. According to the well-known Masonic author, Arthur Edward Waite, Cross "was the first to produce the familiar Masonic emblems in pictorial form. The quaint conventional designs have circulated everywhere, in official Masonic publications and in the piracies which appeal to common curiosity. The Anchor, the Ark, the All-Seeing Eye, Jacob's Ladder, the Pot of Incense, the Horn of Plenty, the Scythe and Hour-Glass, are a few examples at random of the cuts to which I refer." This symbology was reproduced by anti-Masons in the aftermath of the William Morgan affair, which in turn was reinterpreted in anti-Mormon literature, such as John C. Bennett's *The History of the Saints* and in illustrations prepared in connection with the French and Italian editions of Richard F. Burton's *The City of the Saints*.

Masonic symbols were also used in LDS church publications, including the cover of the March 1892 issue of the *Juvenile Instructor* which is reproduced on the front cover of this issue of *Dialogue*. For comparison, refer to the cover of the December 1923 issue of *The Masonic Record* reproduced on the back cover of this issue.

DIALOGUE

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