

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY



Editorial Board

JAMES B. ALLEN	R. GRANT ATHAY
HAYLE BUCHANAN	JOE J. CHRISTENSEN
BRUCE B. CLARK	DAVID L. CLARK
PETER L. CRAWLEY	W. FARRELL EDWARDS
R. JOHN EYRE	BRUCE C. HAFEN
F. MELVIN HAMMOND	FRED HOLMSTROM
WILLIAM CLAYTON KIMBALL	KAREN LYNN
T. EDGAR LYON	TRUMAN G. MADSEN
ROBERT J. MATTHEWS	EARL E. OLSON
ERNEST L. OLSON	BRUCE M. RICHARDSON
CHAUNCEY C. RIDDLE	CHARLES D. TATE, JR.
EDITOR	CHARLES D. TATE, JR.
BOOK REVIEW EDITOR	PETER L. CRAWLEY
HISTORIANS CORNER EDITOR	JAMES B. ALLEN
UNIVERSITY EDITOR	ERNEST L. OLSON
EDITORIAL ASSISTANT	LAURA WADLEY
EDITORIAL INTERNS	KATHERINE FLANIGAN
	JEAN F. JOHNSON

Brigham Young University Studies

A Voice For the Community of LDS Scholars

Volume 16

Winter 1976

Number 2

CONTENTS

The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844, D. MICHAEL QUINN	187
Letter to a Four-Year-Old Daughter, A Poem, LINDA SILLITOE	234
Mormonism and Revolution in Latin America, LAMOND TULLIS	235
Eliza R. Snow and the Woman Question, JILL C. MULVAY	250
The Image of Mormonism in French Literature: Part II, WILFRIED DECOO	265
<i>Measure for Measure</i> : Tragedy and Redemption, PAUL JAMES TOSCANO	277
Book Reviews, PETER L. CRAWLEY, EDITOR	
James B. Allen and Thomas B. Alexander, <i>Manchester Mormons: The Journal of William Clayton</i> WILLIAM MULDER	290
John Sterling Harris and L. Douglas Hill, <i>Barbed Wire: Poetry and Photographs of the West</i> CLARICE SHORT	293
Harold D. Langley, ed., <i>To Utah With the Dragoons and Glimpses of Life in Arizona and California, 1858-1859</i> RICHARD D. POLL	295
Robert J. Matthews, "A Plainer Translation" <i>Joseph Smith's Translation of the Bible; A History and Commentary</i> RICHARD P. HOWARD	297
J. Keith Melville, <i>Conflict and Compromise: The Mormons in Mid-Nineteenth Century American Politics</i> JAN SHIPPS	301
Annie Clark Tanner, <i>A Biography of Ezra Thompson Clark</i> THOMAS G. ALEXANDER	303
The Historians Corner, JAMES B. ALLEN, EDITOR	
John Hyde, Jr.—An Earlier View EDWARD L. HART	305

The opinions and statements expressed by contributors to *Brigham Young University Studies* are their own and do not necessarily reflect the views of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Brigham Young University, the editor or editorial board.

Published Quarterly by
Brigham Young University Press
Provo, Utah 84602



© 1976 Brigham Young University Press. All rights reserved.
Printed in the United States of America.

1-76 5m 16027

SUBSCRIBER NOTICE

Subscription is \$7.00 for four numbers; \$12.00 for eight numbers; and \$16.00 for twelve numbers. Single numbers are \$2.50. The rate to bona fide students and missionaries is \$5.60 for four numbers. All subscriptions begin with the current issue unless subscriber requests otherwise. Send subscriptions to Brigham Young University Press, Marketing Division, 205 UPB, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah 84602.

If you're moving, PLEASE let us know four weeks before changing your address. A Change-of-Address Postcard available at all Post Offices, sent in advance, will aid us in getting your magazine to you promptly. Your courteous compliance with this request will help us to solve a serious and costly problem.

The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844

D. Michael Quinn

As President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints since its establishment in 1830, Joseph Smith, Jr., had been the apex of a pyramid of ecclesiastical leadership, but to many people he was viewed as though he were the keystone of the existence of Mormonism. In this view, as the removal of the keystone from an arch causes the arch to collapse, it was assumed that the entire LDS Church would collapse if at Smith's death the role of the president were not filled properly and to the satisfaction of the general membership. A small group of men, most notably the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, had received private instruction from Joseph Smith in the spring of 1844 concerning the proper mode of succession. These private instructions, however, were unknown to the general membership of the LDS Church. In fact, by the summer of 1844 there was no explicit outline of presidential succession in print.

This laid the foundation for a succession crisis among the Latter-day Saints when Joseph Smith was murdered by a mob on 27 June 1844. Not only did most Mormons have only the haziest concept of what should transpire in the leadership of the LDS Church if the founding prophet were to die, but between 1834 and 1844 Joseph Smith had by word or action established precedents or authority for eight possible methods of succession: 1) by a counselor in the First Presidency, 2) by a special appointment, 3) through the office of Associate President, 4) by the Presiding Patriarch, 5) by the Council of Fifty, 6) by the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, 7) by three priesthood councils, 8) by a descendant of Joseph Smith, Jr. In time, all but one of the major claimants were invalidated by their personal circumstances or the insufficiency of their claims.

D. Michael Quinn is a doctoral candidate in history at Yale University.

For those few to whom Joseph had given definite instructions relating to succession, their course following the martyrdom was clear once the shock of that event passed, but for the average Mormon the death of Joseph Smith, Jr., created a sometimes prolonged crisis in which it was necessary to decide which of conflicting succession claimants was authorized of God. The schismatic fragmentation of the LDS Church that followed the martyrdom resulted from a multiplicity of succession precedents and a general lack of uniform understanding of what Joseph Smith's provisions for succession actually were. Tracing the history and significance of these eight precedents is the work of this article.

SUCCESSION BY A COUNSELOR

The earliest mode of presidential succession mentioned by Joseph Smith concerned the right of his first or second counselor to preside in his absence. On 17 February 1834, at the organization of the Kirtland Council, the Prophet spoke of the role of counselors in the ancient church: "He had two men appointed as counsellors with him, and in case Peter was absent, his counsellors could transact business alone."¹ An 1833 revelation stated that the counselors in the First Presidency "are accounted as equal with thee in holding the keys of this last kingdom" (D&C 90:6). Moreover, on 19 April 1834, Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, and Zebedee Coltrin "laid hands upon bro. Sidney [Rigdon], and confirmed upon him the blessings of wisdom and knowledge to preside over the church in the absence of brother Joseph." Although idiomatic English would not normally equate "absence" with "death" in such statements, the lack of a publicly acknowledged method of succession caused many Mormons in 1844 to make such an equation in Rigdon's favor. This interpretation was aided by the fact that the Prophet had never specifically denied the possibility of presidential succession by a surviving counselor of the First Presidency in the event of his own death.²

¹Kirtland Council Minute Book, 17 February 1834, Archives Division, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Hereafter cited as Church Archives. See also Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1970), 2:25, 28-31. Hereafter cited as *HC*. All manuscript excerpts in this article are quoted by permission of the respective repositories.

²Journal of Joseph Smith, Jr., 1832-1834, pp. 78-79, Church Archives; *HC*, 2:251. In the *History of the Church* there are minutes of a meeting of the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve, part of which reads: ". . . also the Twelve are not subject to any other than the first Presidency, viz., 'myself,' said the Prophet,

After Joseph Smith's murder in June 1844, Sidney Rigdon indeed did claim the right as first counselor to preside over the Church as "guardian," but his previous unstable Church service did not inspire confidence in his claim. Less than four months after he had been appointed as a counselor to Joseph Smith on 8 March 1832,³ Rigdon attempted to seize control of the Church, as described in the diary of Reynolds Cahoon, under the date of 5-6 July 1832:

Thursday 4 O clock Met with some of the Br for Meting and at the meting Br Sidney remarked that he had a revelation from the Lord & said that the kingdom was taken from the Church and left with him fryday Br Hiram went after Joseph When he came he affirmed that the kingdom was ours & never should be taking from the faithful. . . .⁴

The Prophet disfellowshipped Rigdon ("took his license"), but after a period of about three weeks he restored Rigdon to the position of counselor.⁵ Moreover, after the expulsion of the Mormons from Missouri in 1839, Rigdon became disaffected, claiming that "he would never follow any revelation again that did not tend to his comfort and interest, let it come from Joseph Smith, God Almighty, or any body else."⁶ Rigdon apparently also urged the

³Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams, *who are now my counselors; and where I am not, there is no First Presidency over the Twelve*."

"The Prophet also stated to the Twelve that he did not countenance the harsh language of President Cowdery to them. . . ." See HC, 2:374. Italics added.

The italicized words certainly would have removed the implication that at the death of the President of the Church, his counselors would be able to succeed him in the leadership of the Church. The italicized words, however, were not in the original minutes which constituted Roberts' source. The passage in the original reads: ". . . also the 12 are not subject to any other than the first Presidency, viz. myself S. Rigdon and F. D. Williams—I also stated to the 12, that I do not countenance the harsh language of Presidency Cowdery to them. . . ." (See Journal of Joseph Smith, Jr., 16 January 1836.) This important addition to the text appeared in the printed edition of these minutes in "History of Joseph Smith," *Deseret News* (biweekly) 21 August 1852. I have been unable to find any original records of a statement by Joseph Smith specifically nullifying the right of presidential succession by his counselors implied in his 1834 remarks.

³Kirtland Revelations Book, 8 March 1832, pp. 10-11, Church Archives. See also D. Michael Quinn, "Evolution of the Presiding Quorums of the LDS Church," *Journal of Mormon History* 1(1974):23-24.

⁴Diary of Reynolds Cahoon, 5-6 July 1832, Church Archives.

⁵In a letter to W. W. Phelps on 31 July 1832, Joseph Smith said that Rigdon had already been restored to his position. See Joseph Smith papers, Church Archives; *Times and Seasons* 5(1 October 1844):660; Jedediah M. Grant, *A Collection of Facts Relative to the Course Taken by Elder Sidney Rigdon*. . . . (Philadelphia: Brown, Bicking & Guilbert, 1844), p. 6; Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet* (London: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1853), pp. 194-96.

⁶Orson Hyde, *Speech of Elder Orson Hyde, Delivered Before the High Priests' Quorum in Nauvoo, April 27th, 1845* (City of Joseph, Ill.: John Taylor, 1845), p. 7; Grant, *A Collection of Facts*, p. 13; Brigham Young's statement in *Times and Seasons* 5(1 October 1844):666.

Saints to scatter after their expulsion, "for the work seems as though it had come to an end."⁷ When Joseph Smith escaped from prison in Missouri, however, he had the Saints gather at a settlement on the Mississippi he later named Nauvoo.

At Nauvoo, Joseph Smith sought to displace Rigdon from the Presidency of the Church. In 1841 Joseph appointed John C. Bennett as Assistant President to assume Rigdon's duties, and on 13 August 1843, a conference of the Church at Nauvoo temporarily disfellowshipped Rigdon for allegedly aiding anti-Mormons. Nevertheless, a general conference on 7 October 1843, voted to retain Rigdon as first counselor even though Joseph Smith proposed that Rigdon be deposed and excommunicated. Forced to have a counselor he didn't want, the Prophet remarked: "I have thrown him off my shoulders, and you have again put him on me. You may carry him, but I will not."⁸ Although Sidney Rigdon briefly regained the confidence of the Prophet in the spring of 1844, on the eve of his assassination Joseph expressed gratitude that Rigdon would not lead the Church.⁹

After the martyrdom of the Prophet, Sidney Rigdon returned to Nauvoo from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, claiming that he was the man to lead the Church as its "guardian." He presented his claim of succession by reminding the Mormons of his long association with the deceased prophet and by referring to a revelation he had allegedly received in Pittsburgh confirming his right to lead. Moreover, Rigdon claimed that the death of Joseph Smith had not disorganized any quorum of the Church, and therefore Rigdon claimed he still functioned as first counselor. But many of the Saints at Nauvoo were well aware of his previous instability, and at a public meeting on 8 August 1844, rejected Rigdon's claim to succession and voted to accept the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles as the presiding authority.¹⁰

⁷Brigham Young and John Taylor in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1855-1886), 11:25, 17. Hereafter cited as *JD*.

⁸*HC*, 6:49. A variant quotation of Joseph Smith's words concerning the action of the conference in 1843 is as follows: "I do therefore reject and cast him off as a man unworthy of the high office to which he has been ordained and appointed, I can no longer sustain him; if the church is disposed to take the responsibility upon itself of sustaining him, it may, but I shall do it no longer." See Grant, *A Collection of Facts*, p. 15.

⁹For a summary of Rigdon's pre-1844 decline, see F. Mark McKiernan, *The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness: Sidney Rigdon, Religious Reformer, 1793-1876* (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1971), pp. 106-10, 114-25. Hereafter cited as *Sidney Rigdon*.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 129.

Bitterly disappointed, Rigdon refused the offer of the apostles to continue functioning under their direction. The seriousness of Rigdon's position and the threat he represented in 1844 was indicated in the journal of one of the apostles, George A. Smith:

Tuesday Sept 3 I Learned Elder Rigdon was Making a Division in the Church ordaining Prophets Priests & Kings contrary to the Say of God The Twelve visited him he Said his Authority was Greater than Ours Seemed Determined to Scatter the Church and Led up A Party he Claimed to have many visions and Revelations and at varance with those Given Prest Joseph Smith We Labored With him till 9 o cloc at Night and after Deliberation desfeloshiped him & Sent Elders P P Pratt O Hide A Lyman to Demand his Licenc he was angry he Said he Would Expose the Counsels of the Church and Publish all he knew against us he knew the Church had not Been Led By the Spirit to God for Long time.¹¹

Unable to tolerate Rigdon's schismatic activities, the Quorum of the Twelve prepared to excommunicate him. In doing so, they took pains to assemble a special council designated in one of the revelations as the proper body to try a president of the High Priesthood for misconduct.¹² The care of the apostles in adhering to this provision may have been intended to show Rigdon's supporters that his case had been handled in a manner appropriate to his pretensions.

Like John C. Bennett and William Law before him, Sidney Rigdon, in October 1844, established a periodical in which he and his supporters attacked the Church at Nauvoo, charging the Saints with various crimes, including polygamy. Rigdon was sustained as "first president of the church" at a conference of his supporters in Pittsburgh on 12 October 1844, which was followed by the establishment of a "Church of Christ" on 6 April 1845, that included a Quorum of Twelve Apostles and Council of Seventy at its inception.¹³ From the outset Rigdon's supporters wrote articles insisting that Joseph Smith had been "cut off by the Lord" as early as 1841, when he appointed Rigdon as a prophet, seer, and revelator.¹⁴ Writing to his own spokesman, Stephen Post, in 1866, Rigdon made it clear that Joseph being a fallen prophet was the *sine qua non* of his own claims: "Hence all must see that the state of things

¹¹Journal of George A. Smith, 3 September 1844, Church Archives.

¹²HC, 7:268-69; D&C 107:82-84.

¹³*Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* (Pittsburgh, Pa.), 1(15 October 1844):11-12; *Messenger and Advocate of the Church of Christ* (Pittsburgh, Pa.), 1(15 April 1845):168.

¹⁴*Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* (Pittsburgh, Pa.), 1(15 October 1844):5; 1(1 November 1844):11; 1(16 December 1844):54; 1(1 February 1845):105.

which now exists could not exist only through the transgression and fall of J.S." Rigdon's ultimate claim as a successor to Joseph Smith rested on that assumption.¹⁵

Sidney Rigdon's followers began deserting him in 1846, when his rash prophecies failed and when he introduced a form of polygamy. As his movement was collapsing, Rigdon made a desperate bid to recapture the millenarian vision of Mormonism by colonizing his remaining adherents, but this also shortly failed.¹⁶ Having been humiliated at Nauvoo and again in Pennsylvania, Rigdon withdrew to the seclusion of his home in Friendship, New York. His appointment of Stephen Post as his spokesman in 1856 was so literal that it was Post who provided the only effective proselyting and leadership for Rigdon's group. Aside from publicly preaching at Centerville, Pennsylvania, in December 1859, Rigdon apparently refused to have personal contact with a movement that had disheartened and disgraced him so many times. Instead, he instructed Post to proselyte and organize, wrote lengthy revelations and "sermons" for Post to read at conferences of "the Children of Zion," yet exercised such restraint on the movement that proselyting was allowed only among pre-1845 members of the LDS Church and a quorum of apostles was not organized until 4 July 1868. Although Sidney Rigdon continued to write revelations and intricate religious treatises to his spokesman until Rigdon died in 1876, he wrote a non-Mormon inquirer on 25 May 1873:

The church of Latter day saints had three books that they acknowledge as Canonical The Bible the book of Mormon and the commandments. For the existence of that church there had to be a Revelator one who received the word of the Lord [and] A

¹⁵Rigdon to Post, [19] June 1866, Box 1, folder 12, Stephen Post Papers, Church Archives. After Rigdon broke with the apostles, John C. Bennett circulated a revelation purportedly given through Joseph Smith in 1841, designating Rigdon as successor at the Prophet's death. This revelation was published in a special issue of Rigdon's periodical. (See reprint in *The Prophet* [New York, 10 May 1845].) To one acquainted with Bennett's literary style and flourishes, however, the document was obviously Bennett's own creation. Orson Hyde characterized it in 1845 as having Bennett's identity "stamped upon every sentence." (Hyde, *Speech*, p. 29.) Rigdon himself distrusted the document. He professed total ignorance of it in 1845. See *Messenger and Advocate of the Church of Christ* 1(15 July 1845), p. 266. Moreover, in 1856 Rigdon wrote a lengthy treatise in support of his right of succession, but made no mention of the alleged 1841 revelation. See Rigdon to Post, 22 February 1856, Box 1, Folder 3, Stephen Post Papers.

¹⁶For a contemporary description of the 1846 collapse of Rigdon's church, see the following letters: Benjamin Chapman to James J. Strang, 24 March 1846; James Smith to Strang, 16 May 1846; and Peter Hess to Strang, 14 December 1846; which are documents 16, 22, and 45 in the James J. Strang Manuscripts, Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. Hereafter cited as Yale University.

Spokesman one inspired of God to expound all revelation so that the church might all be of one faith With out these two men the Church of Latter day Sainst could not exist This order ceased to exist, being overcome by the violence of armed men. . . .

All societies and assemblages of men collected together since then is not the church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints nor never can there be such a church till the Lord movest by his own power as he did the first.¹⁷

The instability Sidney Rigdon manifested during the lifetime of Joseph Smith had by this time apparently come full circle in this private denial of the existence of a church that Rigdon was privately fostering through correspondence.¹⁸ When Rigdon's indefatigable spokesman died in 1879, the Rigdon movement disintegrated.

SUCCESSION BY SPECIAL OR SECRET APPOINTMENT

A second possible method of presidential succession involved a special appointment of a successor without prior public confirmation or public announcement. Revelations to Joseph Smith specified that "all things," including ordination, were to be done in the Church by the common consent shown by a vote of the Church (D&C 20: 65-67; 26:2). Nevertheless, due to peculiar circumstances or exigencies, Joseph Smith had often suspended the prior approval of common consent. At Nauvoo, the Prophet secretly introduced special endowment ceremonies, the practice of plural marriage, and the organization and conduct of a parapolitical Council of Fifty without the ratifying vote of the Church in common consent. Moreover, the following important ordinations of General Authorities had not only occurred without a prior vote of the Church, but had also continued in force for weeks, months, or years before being officially presented for a public vote of common consent: Sidney Rigdon and Jesse Gause as counselors to the president on 8 March 1832; Oliver Cowdery as Assistant (or Associate) President on 5 December 1834; Joseph Smith, Sr., and Hyrum Smith as assistant presidents on 6 December 1834; Hyrum Smith as Presiding Patriarch on 14 September 1840; and several apostles, including Amasa M. Lyman, who was ordained an apostle on 20 August 1842 and made a

¹⁷Rigdon to Charles L. Woodward, 25 May 1873, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library, New York City.

¹⁸His son, John W. Rigdon, interpreted this instability of his very lucid and articulate father as mental derangement (see letter of John W. Rigdon to Stephen Post, 5 December 1859, Stephen Post Papers). For details of Rigdon's followers and organization from 1856 to 1879, see the diaries, letters, and documents in the Stephen Post Collection, Church Archives.

special counselor to the president the following February. Common consent had followed, rather than preceded, all these ordinations, and these precedents therefore accustomed the Saints to voting for the highest officers in the Church in public long after the ordination or appointment had occurred in private.

The possibility of such a practice affecting succession to the presidency of the Church was given precedent when Joseph Smith specially ordained David Whitmer, one of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon, as his successor on 8 July 1834:

President Joseph Smith, Jr. gave a history of the ordination of David Whitmer, which took place in July 1834, to be a leader or a prophet to this church, which [ordination] was on condition that he [J. Smith, Jr.] did not live to God himself.¹⁹

Whitmer's ordination as successor was known to only a few in Missouri, and news of this most important appointment was not published in the Church periodical at the headquarters in Kirtland, Ohio. The fact that Whitmer was excommunicated from the Church in 1838 for apostasy removed his name as a possible successor, but did not alter an important development in the succession question. Joseph Smith had established precedent for ordaining men to the highest offices of the Church without prior common consent and without immediate public knowledge. The mere lack of public knowledge or absence of common consent did not invalidate any appointment or actual ordination made by the President of the Church who held the keys of the priesthood. Only the personal action of one so designated, or the authoritative action of a proper tribunal could cancel the validity of such an appointment or ordination.

In the confusion following Joseph Smith's death, it was inevitable that a claim of secret ordination as successor would be advanced by someone who wanted to lead the Saints. As it turned out, three men claimed they had received secret ordinations or appointments which gave them authority for the divergent paths they took after the martyrdom. James J. Strang, Lyman Wight, and Alpheus Cutler advanced such claims, each attracting fewer adherents than his predecessor.

James J. Strang had been baptized into the Church on 25 February 1844, and had left Nauvoo shortly thereafter to explore a

¹⁹Far West Record, typescript, 15 March 1838, Church Archives; HC, 3:32, note; Reed C. Durham, Jr., and Stephen H. Heath, *Succession in the Church* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1970), pp. 9-10.

possible location for the Mormons in Wisconsin. He claimed that while there he received a revelation in a letter from Joseph Smith dated 18 June 1844, which appointed him as Joseph's successor:

& now behold my servant James J Strang hath come to thee from far for truth when he knew it not & hath not rejected it but hath had faith in thee the shepherd and stone of Israel & to him shall the gathering of the people be for he shall plant a stake of Zion in Wisconsin & I will establish it & there shall my people have peace & rest & shall not be moved. . . .²⁰

Even at face value, the letter seemed to be no more than a local appointment, but Strang insisted the document designated him as Joseph's successor. Rather than presenting his claims to the Church in Nauvoo, Strang announced his position at a conference of the Church at Florence, Michigan, on 5 August 1844. The presiding elder of that branch, Crandall Dunn, denounced the claim as an imposture and observed that the postmark on the envelope of Strang's letter proved it to have been a forgery.²¹ Brigham Young in 1846 denounced the entire letter as a forgery: "Every person acquainted with Joseph Smith, and his style of dictation and writing might readily know that he never wrote nor caused to be written that letter to Strang."²² Modern analysts of the document have not only agreed with that verdict, but have also judged the signature of Joseph Smith on the letter to be a forgery.²³ In addition to the letter, Strang also claimed that he had been ordained successor by an angel. Persisting in his claims, he was excommunicated by the branch at Florence, Michigan, on 5 August 1844, an action that was repeated by the apostles at Nauvoo.

Despite his excommunication and in rebellion against a revelation published by Orson Hyde condemning Strang,²⁴ hundreds of

²⁰Milo Quaife, *The Kingdom of Saint James, A Narrative of the Mormons* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), p. 236. The original document is in the Strang manuscripts at Yale University.

²¹Journal of Crandall Dunn, 5 August 1844, Church Archives, and Dunn's letter concerning the Florence, Michigan, conference in *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star*, 8(15 October 1846):93.

²²Brigham Young to "Beloved Brethren," 24 January 1846, document 11, Strang Manuscripts, Yale University.

²³Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), p. 70; Robert P. Weeks, "For His Was the Kingdom, and the Power, and the Glory . . . Briefly," *American Heritage* 21(June 1970):78; Dale L. Morgan, "Calendar of the Strang Manuscripts," pp. 25-28, Strang Manuscripts, Yale University; interview with Dean C. Jessee, Salt Lake City, who has extensively studied the handwriting, signatures, and prose style of Joseph Smith, Jr.

²⁴Orson Hyde, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches," broadside (Nauvoo: n.p., 14 March 1846). Copy at Church Archives.

Saints immediately rallied to the self-proclaimed new prophet. Eventually, Strang gave up his commission to establish a stake in Wisconsin, and instead built a theocratic community on Beaver Island, Michigan, where more than two thousand followers assembled. Strang alienated many of his own followers, however, by advancing to the highest leadership in his organization such avowed enemies of the Prophet Joseph Smith as William E. McLellin and John C. Bennett, by introducing a form of endowment ritual and the practice of polygamy, and by his public coronation as king in 1850. Strang was murdered by disgruntled followers and non-Mormons in 1856. Although he survived his assassination long enough to appoint a successor, he steadfastly refused to do so, and his erstwhile dynamic following disintegrated after his death. In 1897, one of Strang's apostles ordained a man to be a presiding high priest, and subsequent ordinations have continued to provide leadership to a devoted band of approximately 200 Strangites.²⁵

Unlike Strang, Lyman Wight had an impressive record of service in the Church and Kingdom of God that extended back to his baptism in 1830. He was the first man ordained by Joseph Smith to the office of high priest in June 1831, and not quite ten years later he was ordained an apostle. As a member of the Council of Fifty in 1844, Wight had been commissioned by Joseph Smith to establish a colony in Texas, which mission he was allowed by the Council of Fifty to commence after the martyrdom. Wight never departed from that mission, and his refusal to rejoin the Quorum of the Twelve in Utah or to recognize its authority over him resulted in his being dropped from that quorum and excommunicated on 3 December 1848.²⁶

Leading his little colony of followers in Texas, Wight gave varying support to several possible modes of succession (to be discussed later in this essay): he supported the Quorum of Twelve Apostles until he was asked to depart from his original mission; he maintained that the Council of Fifty had the right to reorganize the Church and appoint a successor to Joseph Smith; he accepted in

²⁵See also Quaife, *The Kingdom of Saint James*; William D. Russell, "King James Strang: Joseph Smith's Successor?" in *Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History*, ed. F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul M. Edwards (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1973), pp. 231-56.

²⁶Philip C. Wightman, "The Life and Contributions of Lyman Wight," (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1971); Lyman Wight, *An Address By Way of an Abridged Account and Journal of My Life from February 1844 up to April 1848* (n. p., 1848). Publication of this pamphlet was the specific cause for Wight's excommunication.

November 1849 the position of counselor to William Smith as the Patriarchal successor to Joseph Smith; and he repeatedly affirmed that it was the patrilineal right of Joseph Smith III to be the Prophet's successor.²⁷

Nevertheless, Lyman Wight firmly believed he had authority by secret ordination superior to that of anyone else on earth. In a letter written in July 1855, Wight said that Joseph Smith in 1834 had ordained him to the office of "Benamey" in the presence of an angel, and that when Joseph Smith commissioned Wight to establish the Texas colony in 1844, the Prophet gave to Wight a lifelong mission:

This revolation of the Lord was given by the angel of the seventh dispensation and was to continue during my life it was given by the highest authority that then was and I can not see any use or benefit it could be to alter it especially as their is no power on earth that can do it. . . . my mission was to continue dureing my life and as Joseph never found fault with me and no other man has authority to do so I think my case will lay over till the Lord takes me to himself.²⁸

Thus, the "Wild Ram of the Mountains" had adopted an attitude of ecclesiastical solipsism based on a secret ordination. His attitude made the succession question irrelevant: Wight was able to acknowledge individually or collectively the prerogatives of the Quorum of the Twelve, of the Council of Fifty, of William Smith, and of Joseph Smith III, as long as those claimants did not presume to infringe upon his view of his own appointment and mission. From 1845 until his death in 1858, Lyman Wight led his devoted followers on a series of exoduses, explorations, and colonizations in Texas. Wearied by their perpetual pioneering and unable to share Wight's solipsism, following his death most of Wight's colony espoused either the patrilineal succession he had approved, at least in theory, or the apostolic succession that he had rebelled against.

Alpheus Cutler was the last man who claimed a right of succession on the basis of a secret ordination by the Prophet. Born in 1784, and called "Father Cutler" by Joseph Smith, Alpheus had been a member of the Church since 1833. He rose to special prominence at Nauvoo, becoming a member of the high council, of the temple committee, of Joseph Smith's bodyguard, and in 1844, of

²⁷Ibid; Heman C. Smith, "The Lyman Wight Colony in Texas," typescript, Church Archives; Letterbook of Lyman Wight, p. 24, Research Library and Archives, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, the Auditorium, Independence, Missouri. Hereafter cited as RLDS Archives.

²⁸Wight Letterbook, p. 25.

the Council of Fifty. It was from the latter body that Cutler derived his own claim of special authority. In a letter of 29 January 1856, Alpheus Cutler described the Church as the lesser stream which flows from the greater fountain of the Kingdom of God.²⁹ For Cutler, however, the right of succession came through a special ordination, as described in the official history of Cutler's Church of Jesus Christ:

Joseph Smith, sometime prior to his death, organized a Quorum of Seven, all of whom were ordained under his hand to the prophetic office; with all the rights, keys, powers, privileges, and blessings belonging to that condition. The only difference in the ordinations of the seven, was in the case of Alpheus Cutler, whose right to act as prophet, seer and revelator was to be in force upon the whole world from that very hour. Under this ordination, he claimed an undisputed right to organize and build up the kingdom the same as Joseph had done.³⁰

Declining to go to Utah with the Quorum of Twelve Apostles and Council of Fifty, Alpheus Cutler withdrew from Winter Quarters in 1848, and established a colony of followers in Iowa. He ordained a patriarch on 1 February 1849, and, having been excommunicated from the LDS Church on 20 April 1851, Cutler performed the first baptisms of a separate organization on 8 September 1853. On 19 September 1853, Alpheus Cutler was sustained by his followers as "our head or chief Councilor" while (consistent with Cutler's view of the superiority of Kingdom over the Church) another man was sustained president of the Church of Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, on 13 March 1863, Alpheus Cutler stated "that the Quorum of 7 ord[ained] by Joseph had no control over Spiritual affairs."³¹ At its apex in 1859, Cutler's organization comprised only 183 persons, and following his death on 10 August 1864, the movement gradually disintegrated until as of 1973 only five persons maintained his testimony.³²

²⁹Cutler to Zenas H. Gurley, 29 January 1856, RLDS Archives.

³⁰Rupert J. and Daisy Whiting Fletcher, *Alpheus Cutler and the Church of Jesus Christ* (Independence, Missouri: The Church of Jesus Christ, 1974), p. 53.

³¹Diary of William W. Blair, 1863-1864, 13 March 1863, RLDS Archives. Moreover, in a meeting of the Nauvoo High Council on 30 November 1844: "Elder [Alpheus] Cutler also remarked that he felt bound to sustain the Twelve, and all the Quorums in the Church with its present organization, for on that his salvation depended. . . ." (Minutes of Nauvoo High Council, 30 November 1844, p. 8, Church Archives.)

³²Fletcher, *Alpheus Cutler*; Rupert J. Fletcher, *The Scattered Children of Zion* (Independence, Missouri: Rupert J. Fletcher, 1959); Patriarchal Blessing Book of Pliny Fisher, p. 2, RLDS Archives; Beloine W. Young, "Minnesota Mormons: The Cutlerites," *Courage: A Journal of History, Thought and Action* 2(Winter/Spring 1973):117-37.

Although contrary to the published revelations concerning the necessity for common consent in ordinations, these claims of secret ordination were consistent with the precedents Joseph Smith had frequently established in which he asked the Saints to ratify ordinations that had occurred previously without public knowledge. Strang's claim of secret appointment was based on apparently falsified evidence. Wight's was a manifestation of his religious solipsism, and Cutler's was an aberrant of the political Kingdom of God. Nevertheless, none of these claims could be dismissed as contrary to precedent, and each of them acted as a siren call during the succession crisis of 1844.

SUCCESSION THROUGH THE OFFICE OF ASSOCIATE PRESIDENT

During the same year that precedent for the first two methods of presidential succession was established, Joseph Smith added a third when on 5 December 1834, he ordained Oliver Cowdery to the office of Assistant President of the High Priesthood to "assist in presiding over the Church, and bearing the keys of this kingdom." Cowdery's minutes of his ordination indicate that he was not merely made an assistant whose role was subordinate to the first and second counselors in the First Presidency:

The office of Assistant President is to assist in presiding over the whole church, and to officiate in the absence of the President, according to ~~their~~ his rank and appointment, viz: President Cowdery, first; President Rigdon Second, and President Williams Third, as they were severally called. The office of this Priesthood is also to act as Spokesman—taking Aaron for an ensample.³³

Although introduced as a member of the First Presidency after Rigdon and Williams, Cowdery was given supremacy over them. In fact, the definition of his powers gave Cowdery joint control with the Prophet. In the absence of Joseph Smith, Cowdery was president and the first and second counselors were *his* counselors. Recent LDS historians have been unanimous in the judgment that Oliver Cowdery's position gave him automatic right to the presidency of the Church in the event of the Prophet's death, and therefore some have asserted that Cowdery should be called "Associate President" rather than assistant president, an office given to several men.³⁴

³³Manuscript History of the Church, Book A-1, 5 December 1834, Church Archives.

³⁴Joseph Fielding Smith, "The Divine Law of Witnesses," Church Section, *Deseret News*, 8 April 1939, pp. 6, 8; Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1958), p. 53; Joseph Fielding Smith, "Foreword" in Pearson

However, had Joseph Smith "not lived to God," David Whitmer had also been ordained to succeed him as president. Thus, following 5 December 1834, both Whitmer and Cowdery had been given an indisputable right to succeed Joseph Smith. A succession impasse could have resulted had the Prophet died or been deposed while these two appointments were still in force. As it turned out, both Cowdery and Whitmer fell from grace. At a conference on 3 September 1837, Joseph Smith announced Cowdery had been in transgression, and thereafter Cowdery was demoted to serve with the assistant presidents who were ranked beneath the first and second counselor in authority. Whitmer also became disaffected and rebellious. Both he and Cowdery were excommunicated from the Church for apostasy in 1838.

Following their excommunications, Cowdery and Whitmer followed quite different paths with respect to their former rights of succession. Cowdery asserted no schismatic claims on the basis of his former ordinations. He established a law practice at Tiffin, Ohio, where in 1844 he was a charter member of the Methodist congregation. Oliver Cowdery never fully lost his interest in Mormonism, however, and on 12 November 1848, he was baptized again into the Church over which Brigham Young now presided.³⁵ In contrast, David Whitmer was drawn into schismatic activities. Appointed by excommunicant William E. McLellin as president of the "Church of Christ" on 10 February 1847, Whitmer supported McLellin's actions until it was apparent that the organization was stillborn. For the next thirty years Whitmer seemed embarrassed by the 1847 effort, affirming that the time had not arrived to put the Church in order. Nevertheless in 1876 David Whitmer ordained his nephew to "organize a new church according to the original pattern," thus reviving the 1847 "Church of Christ." Although Whitmer himself denied that he was claiming to be Joseph Smith's

H. Corbett, *Hyrum Smith, Patriarch* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1967), pp. xiv-xv; Robert Glen Mouritsen, "The Office of Associate President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1972), pp. 33-112; Durham and Heath, *Succession*, p. 3. Elders Smith and McConkie seem to have been the first to adopt the term "Associate President."

³⁵Stanley R. Gunn, *Oliver Cowdery, Second Elder and Scribe* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1962), pp. 181-82. Cowdery wrote a letter to Whitmer which seemed to support Whitmer's schismatic movement, and the letter was printed in *Ensign of Liberty* (Kirtland, Ohio) 1 (May 1848):91-93. When he applied for baptism into the LDS Church, Cowdery explained that the letter was published without his knowledge and that he wrote it prior to learning of the revelation (D&C 124) that conferred upon Hyrum Smith the keys and authority previously held by Cowdery. Having come to this realization, Cowdery accepted apostolic succession.

successor, his supporters did not fail to use the fact of Whitmer's 1834 ordination as a supporting argument for the movement. Moreover, Whitmer regarded Joseph Smith as a fallen prophet. Although Whitmer's organization produced some important historical documents, it never advanced beyond a struggle for existence.³⁶

After Oliver Cowdery lost the privilege of joint leadership with Joseph, that position was conferred upon the Prophet's brother, Hyrum Smith, in 1841. In the revelation Joseph announced on 19 January of that year, Hyrum Smith was appointed to Oliver Cowdery's former station. Having been given this position, Hyrum Smith was the first in line of succession should Joseph Smith die. In October 1844, Brigham Young remarked: "Did Joseph ordain any man to take his place? He did. Who was it? It was Hyrum, but Hyrum fell a martyr before Joseph did. If Hyrum had lived he would have acted for Joseph. . . ."³⁷ Although Joseph had established a special office in the hierarchy which had automatic right of succession in the event of the death of the Church President, the only men who had been ordained to that office had been removed by apostasy or death.

SUCCESSION BY THE PRESIDING PATRIARCH

Deriving from Hyrum Smith, however, came a fourth claim for the right of succession. In addition to being the successor of Oliver Cowdery as Associate President, Hyrum Smith was also his father's successor as Presiding Patriarch of the Church. On his deathbed, 14 September 1840, Joseph Smith, Sr., Presiding Patriarch since 1833, conferred that office upon his son Hyrum.³⁸ With reference to this event, Joseph Smith, Jr., commented to his associates on 27 May 1843: "The patriarchal office is the highest office in the church, and father Smith conferred this office, on Hyrum Smith,

³⁶Ebbie L. V. Richardson, "David Whitmer, A Witness to the Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1952), pp. 77-82, 128-34; Letter of Hiram Page to William [E. McLellin], 6 June 1848, and letter of McLellin to Bond family, February 1870, both at RLDS Archives; David Whitmer, *An Address to All Believers in Christ* (Richmond, Missouri: n. p., 1887); *The Ensign of Liberty, of the Church of Christ* (Kirtland, Ohio), 1847-1849; *The Return* (Davis City, Iowa; Richmond, Missouri; Denver, Colorado; Independence, Missouri, Jan. 1889-Oct. 1900).

³⁷*Times and Seasons* 5 (15 October 1844):683; D&C 124:94-95; HC, 6:546; Mouritsen, "Associate President," pp. 124-40; Edward Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (Plano, Ill.: Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1880), p. 491.

³⁸Journal of Joseph Fielding, 9 December 1840, Church Archives; Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, pp. 266-67; Corbett, *Hyrum Smith*, pp. 240, 241, 243.

on his deathbed.”³⁹ Determining what Joseph meant by his description of this office as the highest in the Church is problematical, because the documents and history of the LDS Church from 1833 to 1844 unquestionably refute the concept that the Presiding Patriarch’s office was superior in authority either to the President of the Church or to the Quorum of the Twelve. The Presiding Patriarch directed the administration of prophetic blessings in the Church, and presided over regional patriarchs who performed that task. Patriarchs Joseph Smith, Sr., and Hyrum Smith had acted as subordinates to Joseph Smith, Jr. Perhaps the Prophet described that office as the “highest” in honor, rather than in priesthood keys, due to the completely revelatory nature of its operation. In any event, when Joseph Smith publicly declared on 16 July 1843, that Hyrum Smith should “hold the office of prophet to the Church, as it was his birthright,”⁴⁰ he obviously referred to Hyrum’s lineal role as successor to his father in the office of Presiding Patriarch, and thus established a method of presidential succession separate from that of Hyrum’s simultaneous role as Associate President.

When their brother William Smith, an apostle, was ordained by the other apostles to the office of Presiding Patriarch on 24 May 1845, he seized upon this succession precedent and claimed that as Hyrum Smith’s patriarchal successor he had the right to preside over the entire Church as Hyrum would have done. However, he did not make this claim when he first petitioned Brigham Young in August 1844 to be ordained to the office of Presiding Patriarch:

... will the Brethren remember me & my claims in the Smith family I do not mean ~~as to~~ a Succession as a prophet in Joseph, place for no man on Earth can fill his place he is our prophet sear revealter Priest & King in time & in Eternity & hence the 12 come next to him on Earth or in heaven consequently they must act in Joseph place on Earth as presiding officers & govern the Church in all things Temporally & Spiritually receiving revelation from Joseph as the ancient apostles did from Christ through the President of the Corum for the instruction & government of the Church.⁴¹

³⁹Minutes of meeting of Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, James Adams, Newel K. Whitney et al, at Nauvoo, 27 May 1843, in Miscellaneous Minutes, Brigham Young Collection, Church Archives.

⁴⁰HC, 5:510. Joseph Smith’s remarks on this occasion caused some to think he was resigning as president of the Church, a misapprehension he corrected the following Sunday. See HC, 5:517-18. The Prophet’s private secretary simply wrote that Joseph “constituted Hyrum prophet.” See Journal of Willard Richards, 16 July 1843, Church Archives.

⁴¹William Smith to Brigham Young, 27 August 1844, Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives.

In actuality, the apostles could not confer upon William Smith the primary office of the patriarchal order held by Joseph Smith, Jr., for that was a position that transcended the ecclesiastical organization of the Church. It belonged alone to Joseph Smith, Jr.⁴²

Brigham Young acknowledged William Smith's right to be the Presiding Patriarch of the Church at the October conference of the Church in 1844, and the apostles ordained William Presiding Patriarch to the Church on 24 May 1845.⁴³ Within a few days, he started making such expansive claims about his powers as Presiding Patriarch that his fellow apostles wrote an article in *Times and Seasons*, explaining that since patriarchs were ordained by the apostles, a patriarch could not have authority superior to that of the apostles, and specifically that William Smith did not preside over the Church in any sense by virtue of his being the Presiding Patriarch.⁴⁴

Even though William himself had concurred in those same sentiments the previous August, by 27 June 1845, he was insisting that he was President of the Church by virtue of his patriarchal office. He was supported in this by his mother, Lucy Mack Smith, who related three visions she had received indicating that he was already President of the Church.⁴⁵ Joseph Smith's statement about the Presiding Patriarch being the highest office in the Church could provide precedent for such a claim, but William Smith's 1845 ordination by the other apostles could not be the basis for such a claim. Earlier the office of patriarch to the Church had been conferred only through patrilineal ordination: Joseph had ordained his father, who in turn ordained Hyrum, who had died without ordaining a patriarchal successor. As the apostles reminded William Smith almost immediately after his ordination as Presiding Patriarch, they could not give him an authority or keys higher than they held as apostles.

⁴²The most thorough discussion of this question is found in Hyrum L. Andrus, *Doctrines of the Kingdom*, vol. 3 of *Foundations of the Millennial Kingdom of Christ* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1973), pp. 537-43.

⁴³There was a delay in his ordination resulting from William's advocating polygamy in the eastern states. See T. Edgar Lyon, "Nauvoo and the Council of the Twelve," *Restoration Movement*, p. 203; *Journal History*, 24 May 1845, p. 2; *HC*, 7:395, 418; Brigham Young to Orson Pratt, 26 May 1845, Newel K. Whitney Family Papers, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. Hereafter cited as Brigham Young University.

⁴⁴*Times and Seasons* 6(1 June 1845):920-22.

⁴⁵*Journal of John Taylor*, 27 and 30 June 1845, quoted in B. H. Roberts, *Succession in the Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1894), pp. 19-23; Brigham Young to Wilford Woodruff, 27 June 1845, Wilford Woodruff Collection, Church Archives; statement of Lucy Mack Smith, 27 June 1845, Affidavits Collection, Church Archives.

William Smith was already an apostle, and the other apostles simply ordained him to be patriarch to preside over the administration of blessings to the Saints. In their view, the role of Joseph Smith, Jr., as president and patriarch of the entire latter-day dispensation belonged alone to him.

Even if William Smith's claim had had validity, he, like Rigdon, was not a person whose former conduct gave credence to his claims. He had frequently demonstrated insubordination to the presidency of the Church. Angered at an ecclesiastical decision by his brother Joseph, William had resigned his apostleship on 31 October 1835. William later physically assaulted his brother, for which he was tried by the Quorum of the Twelve on 17 December 1835, and dropped from office. Through the earnest intercession of the Prophet and his family, William confessed his wrongs at the Church tribunal which would have excommunicated him on 2 January 1836, and was immediately restored to the fellowship of the Church and to his position in the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.⁴⁶ A year and a half later, David W. Patten, a senior member of the Quorum of Twelve, questioned whether William Smith should be continued as an apostle because of unfavorable reports about his "faith in the work."⁴⁷ Moreover, when Joseph Smith was imprisoned and threatened with execution in Missouri, William is reported to have exulted: "Dam him Joseph Smith ought to have been hung up by the neck years ago and Dam him he will get it now anyhow."⁴⁸ For such disaffection, he was temporarily disfellowshipped from the Church and again suspended from office in 1839.

William Smith's opposition to the authority of the Twelve Apostles in 1845 was one more manifestation of the insubordination which had characterized his ministry during the previous decade. He was dropped from office on 6 October and excommunicated on 19 October 1845, for publishing a pamphlet against the authority of the Twelve Apostles to govern the Church.⁴⁹ Following his excommunication, William Smith became a leader in the Strang group in 1846, from which he was excommunicated in 1847 for moral infractions. Subsequently, he made a series of unsuccessful efforts to organize a church under his leadership, aligning himself with any-

⁴⁶Journal of Joseph Smith, Jr., 31 October, 16 and 18 December 1835; 2 and 3 January 1836; *HC*, 2:295-96, 334, 338-44, 346-47, 352-55.

⁴⁷Far West Record, 7 April 1838.

⁴⁸Journal of Wilford Woodruff, 13 February 1859, Church Archives.

⁴⁹*HC*, 7:483.

one who would accept his role as patriarchal successor to Joseph Smith.⁵⁰

Despite his frequent fulminations against Brigham Young and the Mormons of Utah, William longed to rejoin the councils of the Church there. In June 1847, he wrote two letters to Apostle Orson Hyde, pleading that he might be rebaptized into the Church by the apostles and be restored to his former standing in the Quorum of the Twelve. Concerning Brigham Young's rule of the Church, Smith said:

I hope Brother Brigham will forgive me for I have said many hard things concerning him and yet I know him to be a man of God he shall never complain of me hereafter for I have decreed that my tounge shall no more speak evile of the ruler of my people. . . .⁵¹

Seven years later he made an even more obeisant plea directly to Brigham Young. William asked Brigham to restore him to his former apostleship and thereby give to the entire Smith family not in Utah an honor they deserved.⁵² Although William Smith repeated his request in 1855, we have found no record that Brigham Young responded to the letters. Apparently becoming irritated at the silence, William wrote a letter in 1856 consigning President Young to hell.⁵³ That would seem to have ended the matter, but the ever unpredictable William Smith made a final, unilateral effort at reconciliation with the Church in Utah. In 1860 Brigham Young received letters from William Smith and J. J. Butler indicating that Butler had baptized William Smith into the LDS Church, and that Smith would come to Utah.⁵⁴

About the time of William Smith's baptism into the Church headquartered at Salt Lake City, his nephew, Joseph Smith III, became president of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, which repudiated the claims of Brigham Young and the other apostles. Lacking a promise from Brigham Young of restoration to the apostleship, William Smith deferred going to Utah in the apparent hope that with the rise of the Reorganization either

⁵⁰Calvin P. Rudd, "William Smith: Brother of the Prophet Joseph Smith," (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1973), pp. 136-49.

⁵¹William Smith to Orson Hyde, 22 June 1847; also 2 June 1847, Orson Hyde Collection, Church Archives.

⁵²William Smith to Brigham Young, 8 August 1854; also 7 May 1855, Brigham Young Collection, Church Archives.

⁵³Rudd, "William Smith," pp. 149-52.

⁵⁴Brigham Young Office Journal, 14 May 1860, Brigham Young Collection, Church Archives. The letters by Smith and Butler cannot be located at present.

Brigham Young or Joseph Smith III would make him an offer of high office in return for his support of their particular claim of succession. By the time Brigham Young died in August 1877, William had apparently given up hope of being restored to the hierarchy of the Church in Utah. In January 1878, he wrote his nephew Joseph Smith III and offered to add his prestigious membership to the RLDS Church in exchange for the position of counselor to Joseph Smith III or the thus-far vacant position of Presiding Patriarch in the RLDS Church. To give his request added impact, William Smith threatened to launch a campaign against the succession claims of Joseph Smith III if he did not grant William's request for office. With greater interest and restraint than Brigham Young ever gave William's mercurial outbursts, Joseph Smith III responded on 12 January 1878 by offering to accept William Smith into the Reorganization as a high priest, dismissing as ineffectual his threats, but "leaving the question of apostleship and the patriarchate, to be settled subsequently, as the necessity of the case may demand, wisdom direct, or the spirit command."⁵⁵ For William Smith this glimpse of success was enough, and he entered the RLDS Church as a high priest on 9 April 1878. Although William repeatedly petitioned his nephew to appoint him Presiding Patriarch, and Joseph Smith III continued to leave that possibility vaguely open, the aged Tantalus died on 13 November 1893 without obtaining either of the offices he had sought since 1845. On 9 April 1897, a brother of Joseph Smith III was appointed as the first Patriarch of the RLDS Church.⁵⁶

SUCCESSION BY THE COUNCIL OF FIFTY

A fifth possible mode of succession was suggested when Joseph Smith established the Council of Fifty in the spring of 1844. This was a parapolitical body organized on 10 March 1844, to advance the Kingdom of God in a political sense. During Joseph's last months of life, this organization directed his political campaign for

⁵⁵Joseph Smith III to William B. Smith, 12 January 1878 in Joseph Smith III Letterbook, 1876-1878, pp. 275-79, RLDS Archives, gives the former's answer to the presently unlocated letter of William Smith. The content of William Smith's letter is clearly revealed in the response.

⁵⁶Rudd, "William Smith," pp. 153, 155-57; letter of Joseph Smith III to William B. Smith, 20 February 1879, Joseph Smith III Letterbook, 1878-1880, pp. 115-16, RLDS Archives; Joseph Smith III and Heman C. Smith, *The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*, 6 vols. (Independence, Missouri: Board of Publication of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1951-1970), 4:212, 5:394.

the presidency of the United States, commissioned ambassadors to represent the Church in "foreign" capitals, and continued the preparations for an intended move west which had been initiated by the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Following the Prophet's death the Council of Fifty influenced the economic and political life of the Mormons of the Great Basin.⁵⁷

In a meeting with the Council of Fifty (on 23 March 1844 by one account) the Prophet Joseph made a statement which became the shibboleth of succession for the majority of Mormons after Smith's death. In later years Benjamin F. Johnson, a member of the Council of Fifty, recalled the event:

At one of the last meetings of the Council of Fifty after all had been completed and the keys of power committed, and in the presence of the Quorum of the Twelve and others who were encircled around him, he arose, gave a review of his life and sufferings, and of the testimonies he had borne, and said that the Lord had now accepted his labors and sacrifices, and did not require him any longer to carry the responsibilities and burden and bearing off of this kingdom, and turning to those around him, including the 12, he said, "And in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ I now place it upon you my brethren of the council and I shake my skirts clear of all responsibility from this time forth," springing from the floor and shaking his skirt at the same time.⁵⁸

Following the death of Joseph Smith, the apostles almost immediately referred to his remarks on this occasion as indicating the right of the Quorum of the Twelve to govern the Church in his absence.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, the Kingdom of God in Mormonism was both ecclesiastical and temporal. The "Keys to the Kingdom" rested upon the shoulders of the Council of Fifty, which included the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. In 1846, Brigham Young stated: "Wher-

⁵⁷Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire, The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1967), pp. 45-89, 105ff.

⁵⁸Autobiography of Benjamin F. Johnson, "A Life Review," p. 96, Church Archives. In the published version of this autobiography, the references to the Council of Fifty were eliminated, giving the impression that the instructions were given exclusively to the Quorum of the Twelve. See Benjamin F. Johnson, *My Life's Review* (Independence, Missouri: Zion Printing & Publishing Co., 1947), p. 99. On 30 November 1844, "Elder Orson Hyde then made some very appropriate and pointed remarks relative to to the organization of the church; the course of Elder Rigdon and others; and also of the appointment of the Twelve by Brother Joseph on the 23d of March last, to stand in their present office, that on them the responsibility of bearing of the Kingdom rested, and tho' they had many difficulties to encounter, they must, 'Round up their shoulders and bear it, like men of God and not be bluffed off by any man,' which statements were sanctioned by Councillor A. Cutler [a member of the Council of Fifty]." (Minutes of Nauvoo High Council, 30 November 1844, p. 7.)

⁵⁹*Times and Seasons* 5(15 September 1844):651; 5(1 November 1844):698.

ever the 12 & Council are there will the Keys be also.”⁶⁰ Thus, it is not strange that some members of the Council of Fifty regarded that body as having a right of succession to lead and organize the Church.

As early as 30 July 1844, two members of the council tried to persuade three of the apostles that such was the proper role of the Council of Fifty.

Elders W. Richards and Geo. A. Smith met in Council with Elder Taylor at his house. Bishop Geo. Miller and Alexander Badlam wanted them to call together the Council of Fifty and organize the Church. They were told that the Council of Fifty was not a Church organization . . . and that the organization of the Church belonged to the Priesthood alone.⁶¹

Even Lyman Wight, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles since 1841, concluded that the “grand council of fifty persons” was the highest governing body of the church, rather than being the political arm of the Mormon kingdom.

. . . I will here state the first thing to have been done [following the death of Joseph Smith] would have been to have called the fifties together from the four quarters of the earth, which contained all the highest authorities of the church. As you will readily see, that had not the fifty constituted the highest authorities, it would have been a species of weakness to have ordained all the highest authorities into that number.

Wight concluded by saying that, having assembled together, the Council of Fifty should have appointed the successor to Joseph Smith.⁶²

Despite the arguments of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles that it was the prerogative of that body to govern the ecclesiastical

⁶⁰Diary of John D. Lee, 3 May 1846, Church Archives. Lee was also one of the early members of the Council of Fifty. In his diary the references to “council” applied to that body, as can be determined by comparing his meeting notations with those of other members of the Council of Fifty.

⁶¹Manuscript History of the Church, Book F-1, Addenda, p. 9; *HC*, 7:213. This account in the Manuscript History was written in 1856. See Dean C. Jessee, “The Writing of Joseph Smith’s History,” *BYU Studies* 11(Summer 1971):441. Of the five participants in this meeting, only Richards and Smith kept diaries that are presently available, and these contain no reference to the meeting. In 1855 Miller wrote a series of autobiographical letters for publication in the official Strangite organ. In *Northern Islander*, (Saint James, Lake Michigan), 5(6 September 1855):4, his letter makes specific reference to this meeting, but he does not mention his urging that the Council of Fifty organize the Church. The original account of this meeting may be in the presently unavailable diary of John Taylor, to which Roberts had access when he was Assistant Church Historian.

⁶²Smith, *History of the Reorganized Church*, 2:790-91. Wight said that the successor should have been Joseph Smith III. See discussion of Joseph Smith III below, under the heading, “Succession by a Descendant of the Prophet Joseph Smith.”

kingdom, several members of the Council of Fifty broke with them and proceeded to form their own theocratic commonwealths, Lyman Wight establishing his colony in Texas; Alpheus Cutler and Peter Haws organizing a little colony in Iowa; and George Miller, John E. Page, and George J. Adams aligning themselves with Strang, who was crowned king in 1850.⁶³ The claims of these renegade members of the Council of Fifty could be derived from the statements of Joseph Smith to the Council of Fifty, but it was a specious argument by which they asserted that the Council of Fifty outranked the Quorum of the Twelve. The apostles had been directing the economic and political life of the Mormon kingdom since 1841. They, with the president of the Church, had organized the Council of Fifty in the spring of 1844. The Council of Fifty was the creature of the ecclesiastical hierarchy; it merely gave a quasi-democratization to the rule of the Mormon theocracy. The schismatic members of the Council of Fifty ignored the reality of the powers that Joseph Smith had conferred upon the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles by 1844.

SUCCESSION BY THE QUORUM OF TWELVE APOSTLES

It was, in fact, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles which exerted the sixth and most successful claim of succession. A published revelation of 28 March 1835, had stated that the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles was equal in "authority and power" to the organized First Presidency (D&C 107: 23-24). This provided a scriptural basis for the succession claim of the apostles, but the 1835 revelation was far less important as a proof-text of succession than the actuality of the ecclesiastical, economic, and political powers that Joseph Smith had conferred upon the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles from 1841 to 1844. Under the direction of Joseph Smith, the Quorum of the Twelve had directed the emigration of Mormons to Nauvoo, had been responsible for their settlement in and around Nauvoo, had administered the finances of the Church in concert with Joseph Smith as Trustee-in-Trust, had overseen the baptisms for the dead, and had presided over the secret developments of Nauvoo: the administration of the endowment, the performances of plural marriages, the initial preparations for the movement into the American West, the organization of the Council of Fifty. As the

⁶³Smith, "The Lyman Wight Colony"; Hansen, *Quest for Empire*, pp. 92-96; Davis Bitton, "Mormons in Texas, the Ill-fated Lyman Wight Colony, 1844-1858," *Arizona and the West*, 2(Spring 1969):17-18; Wightman, "The Life and Contributions of Lyman Wight," pp. 97-115; Fletcher, *Alpheus Cutler*, pp. 31-44; Young, "Minnesota Mormons," pp. 117-37; Quaife, *Kingdom of Saint James*, pp. 93-94.

Nauvoo Mormons knew too well, next to Joseph and Hyrum Smith there was no ecclesiastical power in the Church to compare with that of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.⁶⁴

Nevertheless, the right of the apostles to continue the spiritual authority once possessed by Joseph Smith was not automatically assumed. Brigham Young himself, though President of the Quorum of the Twelve, had for a moment wondered whether all the spiritual authority and priesthood had died with the martyred prophet:

While at brother Bemant's house at Peterboro', I heard a letter read which brother Livingstone had received from Mr. Joseph Powers, of Nauvoo, giving particulars of the murder of Joseph Smith and Hyrum. The first thing which I thought of was, whether Joseph had taken the keys of the kingdom with him from the earth. . . .

Although he was thus dazed by the news of the martyrdom, Brigham Young suddenly brought his hand down on his knee and exclaimed: "The keys of the kingdom are right here with the Church."⁶⁵ Henceforth he never faltered in asserting that the spiritual authority and ecclesiastical prerogatives of Joseph Smith were to be perpetuated through the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.

If the president of the Twelve wondered even for a moment whether that body or any other body retained the priesthood keys once possessed by the dead prophet, it is understandable that many Mormons who knew infinitely less about Church government were more vulnerable to differing claims of succession. By the time Brigham Young arrived in Nauvoo on 6 August 1844, the situation in the Church was at crisis proportions. James J. Strang, Sidney Rigdon, and members of the Council of Fifty were already making divergent claims of authority, and it was possible that additional claims would be advanced. Had that trend not been decisively re-

⁶⁴Lyon, "Nauvoo and the Council of Twelve," pp. 167-205; Quinn, "Evolution of the Presiding Quorums," pp. 26-31. D&C 112:15, 30 was not published until after the martyrdom of Joseph Smith. Although this crucial revelation about Joseph Smith and the apostles both holding the keys of the priesthood had been circulated in manuscript form since 1837, it still left ambiguous what would happen if Joseph Smith should die. D&C 112:15 specified that the priesthood keys would not be taken from Joseph Smith until the Second Coming of Christ. This verse of the revelation may have contributed to Brigham Young's initial fear that Joseph Smith's death removed the priesthood keys from the earth.

⁶⁵"History of Brigham Young," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, 26(4 June 1864):359. Brigham Young, on 12 February 1849, commented that the shock of the martyrdom had caused such mental turmoil that he forgot himself and thus expressed the momentary doubt. See Miscellaneous Minutes, Brigham Young Collection, Church Archives.

versed, the Church could have disintegrated within the year of Joseph Smith's death.

At this juncture a general meeting of all the quorums and local members was held at Nauvoo on 8 August 1844. Rigdon, who for several days had publicly advanced his claims, now presented his case to the assembled multitudes from 10:00 to 11:30 A.M. Rather than follow Rigdon's remarks with an immediate rebuttal, Brigham Young adjourned the meeting for two-and-a-half hours. Some of the apostles had voiced criticism of Rigdon's claims prior to the 2:00 P.M. meeting, but it was Brigham Young who spearheaded the opposition to him and all other claimants in the afternoon meeting:

Here is President Rigdon, who was counselor to Joseph. I ask, where are Joseph and Hyrum? They are gone beyond the veil; and if Elder Rigdon wants to act as his counselor, he must go beyond the veil where he is. . . .

If the people want President Rigdon to lead them they may have him: but I say unto you that the Quorum of the Twelve have the keys of the kingdom of God in all the world.

The Twelve are appointed by the finger of God. Here is Brigham, have his knees ever faltered? Have his lips ever quivered? Here is Heber and the rest of the Twelve, an independent body who have the keys of the priesthood—the keys of the kingdom of God to deliver to all the world: this is true, so help me God. They stand next to Joseph, and are as the First Presidency of the Church.⁶⁶

Brigham Young's remarks were a masterful mixture of indirect references to Rigdon's exile and former instability, affirmations of the acknowledged authority given by Joseph Smith to the Quorum of the Twelve, appeals to the Mormons to retain stability in the Church by relying on established authorities rather than appointing new ones, and warnings about the consequences of not following the Twelve Apostles. Young had set the tenor for the rest of the speakers.

Appalled by the effect of the various apostles' words upon the audience, Rigdon declined to speak again when given the opportunity. Instead, he asked William W. Phelps to speak in his behalf. Rigdon could not have chosen a worse advocate, for Phelps exclaimed at one point during his discourse: "If you want to do right, uphold the Twelve." When the question was put to a vote whether to sustain the Twelve Apostles as the head of the Church, the vote

⁶⁶HC, 7:233. The report of this meeting by the Twelve Apostles in *Times and Seasons* 5 (2 September 1844): 637-38 was an abbreviated summary. HC, 7:231-42 gives the longer stenographic account.

of the assembled multitude was nearly unanimous in the affirmative.⁶⁷

For many people in the audience, the issue had been supernaturally resolved when Brigham Young stood to make his opening remarks. To their eyes he seemed transfigured into the form of Joseph Smith; some in the audience later said that even Brigham's voice sounded identical to that of the dead prophet. Apparently no explicit accounts of this manifestation were written at the time of its occurrence, even though many journals recorded reminiscent descriptions of it. Nevertheless, some contemporary references have survived. On 15 November 1844, Henry and Catharine Brooke wrote from Nauvoo that Brigham Young "favours Br Joseph, both in person, & manner of speaking more than any person ever you saw, looks like another."⁶⁸ This could be construed as only a casual comparison, but the entry for May 1845, in the diary of William Burton related more directly to the problem of succession: "But their [Joseph and Hyrum Smith's] places were filled by others much better than I once supposed they could have been, the spirit of Joseph appeared to rest upon Brigham."⁶⁹ For those whose eyes and ears were attuned to this manifestation, it was a compelling sign that the Twelve Apostles should lead the Church.

SUCCESSION BY THREE PRIESTHOOD COUNCILS

Parenthetically, it is necessary to recognize that the apostles had good reason for not stressing the 1835 revelation (D&C 107:23-24) as the basis for the apostolic claim of succession, because the Quorum of the Twelve was not the only ecclesiastical body cited therein as having authority equal to that of the First Presidency. The First Quorum of Seventy, a group of the seventy men ordained to the proselyting office of Seventy, was also designated in that revelation as forming "a quorum, equal in authority to that of the

⁶⁷HC, 7:237-38. On page 240, Roberts states that the vote was "universal" with no negative votes. The footnote on page 236 quotes the William C. Staines' journal as saying there were "a few dissenting voices." On page 15 of "History of William Adams, Wrote by himself January 1894," Brigham Young University, it states: "out of that vast multitude about twenty voted for Rigdon to be Gardian. . . ."

⁶⁸Henry and Catharine Brooke to Leonard and Mary Pickel, 15 November 1844, Leonard Pickel Papers, Yale University. The effect of this manifestation was not permanent, however, for Henry Brooke joined the splinter group, Jehovah's Presbytery of Zion, led by Charles B. Thompson.

⁶⁹Diary of William Burton, entry for May 1845, Church Archives. Further evidence of the proximity of this entry to the events is the fact that Burton died in 1851. The entry after 20 November 1844 in the diary of Arza Hinckley at Brigham Young University states: ". . . and Brigham Young on hom the mantle of the prophet Joseph has falen is a men of god and he ceeps all things in good order."

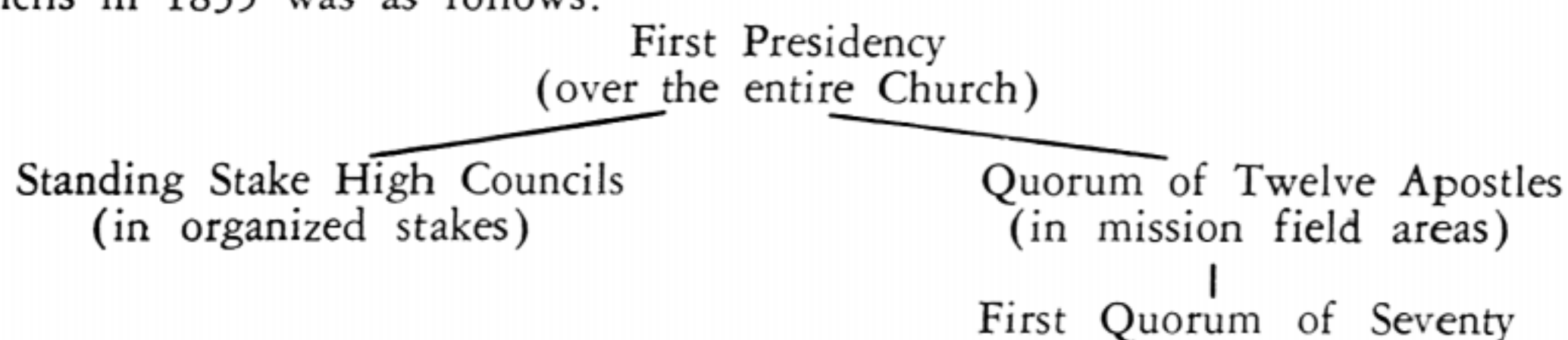
Twelve" (D&C 107:25-26). Moreover, the 1835 revelation also specified that:

The standing high councils, at the stakes of Zion, form a quorum equal in authority in the affairs of the church, in all their decisions, to the quorum of the presidency, or to the traveling high council [Quorum of the Twelve Apostles].

The high council in Zion form a quorum equal in authority in the affairs of the church, in all their decisions, to the councils of the Twelve at the stakes of Zion. (D&C 107:36-37)

This latter provision was further complicated by the fact that on 3 July 1834, Joseph Smith implied that the central high council of the Church could lead the Church in the event of his death, and in a revelation of 19 January 1841 the Nauvoo High Council was called "the corner-stone of Zion."⁷⁰ The provisions of the 1835 revelation established a thinly defined equilibrium between the three priesthood councils under the jurisdiction of the organized First Presidency, but did not specify if or how that equilibrium

⁷⁰HC, 2:124; Andrus, *Doctrines of the Kingdom*, pp. 192-94; D&C 124:131. For members of the LDS Church, it is difficult to read D&C 107 without unconsciously interpolating circumstances and priesthood developments that did not exist when the revelation was recorded on 28 March 1835. At that time, the jurisdiction of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles was limited to areas where no stake high councils were formed. Where high councils existed in 1835, the Prophet specified that the Quorum of the Twelve had no jurisdiction. It was in the mission field of small branches, therefore, that the First Quorum of Seventy "are to act in the name of the Lord, under the direction of the Twelve or the traveling high council . . ." (D&C 107:34). As regards the Church as a whole, the jurisdiction of the priesthood councils in 1835 was as follows:



Beginning in 1841, the Prophet gave ever-increasing jurisdiction and responsibility to the Quorum of the Twelve at the headquarters of the Church, ultimately making that body second governing body of the entire Church. (This development is analyzed from contemporary sources in Quinn, "Evolution of the Presiding Quorums," pp. 26-31.) Thus, the provisions of the 1835 revelation could be confusing in the following ways if strictly applied to the altered ecclesiastical conditions of 1844 when the President of the Church was dead: 1) If his death disorganized the First Presidency (a question not discussed in the 1835 revelation), should the respective jurisdiction of the Quorum of Twelve and stake high councils return to the status of the written revelation of 1835, thus allowing autonomous rule by these respective bodies over organized stakes and isolated branches? 2) If the altered jurisdiction of the Quorum of the Twelve over the entire Church was to be continued, did the First Quorum of Seventy likewise gain an ascendancy over matters within organized stakes? These questions were resolved after the recognition of apostolic succession enabled the Quorum of Twelve Apostles to apply the provisions of D&C 107 to the altered ecclesiastical situation.

would be altered once the First Presidency no longer existed. The sudden removal of the organized First Presidency (an event not specifically provided for in the 1835 or 1841 revelations) on 27 June 1844, thus made possible a three-way struggle for power among the Quorum of the Twelve, the full First Quorum of Seventy, and the President of the central high council of the Church at Nauvoo. This ill-defined potential of tripartite leadership by these ecclesiastical bodies constituted a seventh avenue of succession that could legitimately be derived from Joseph Smith. Although no strident claims of succession were advanced on this basis, there were undercurrents at Nauvoo in response to this possibility.

In April 1845, Joseph Smith's widow, Emma, quoted the 1835 revelation to argue that William Marks, president of the Nauvoo High Council and president of the Nauvoo Stake since 1839, should have succeeded Joseph Smith in the leadership of the Church.⁷¹ By the time Sidney Rigdon was excommunicated on 8 September 1844, it was apparent that Marks did not support the claim of the apostles, and therefore on 10 September 1844, Marks was dropped from the high council, and on 7 October 1844 a conference of the Church dropped Marks from his position as president of the Nauvoo Stake, a position he had held since 1839.⁷² Despite his disaffection from the rule of the apostles, William Marks apparently never gave much energy to promoting himself as a successor to Joseph Smith. Instead he followed the frustrating road of those who sought alternatives to the Church over which Brigham Young presided. After joining with Rigdon, Strang, and other groups of dissidents, William Marks finally joined the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in 1859. Marks assisted in the 1860 ordination of Joseph

⁷¹Journal of James M. Monroe, 24 April 1845, Yale University.

⁷²Minutes of Nauvoo High Council, 10 September 1844, Church Archives. Despite William Marks' rebellion against the authority of the Twelve Apostles, there is no evidence that he was ever disfellowshipped or excommunicated. He was tried by the Nauvoo High Council on 30 November 1844 and unanimously retained in fellowship, because he affirmed his support of the Twelve Apostles despite being "in an unsettled state respecting how the church should be organized." On 7 December 1844, he was cited for trial again because he had refused to sign a statement repudiating Sidney Rigdon's claims. On 9 December 1844, Marks appeared before the Nauvoo High Council and signed a statement repudiating Rigdon and voluntarily adding a clause acknowledging the authority of the Quorum of the Twelve. See minutes of Nauvoo High Council, 30 November 1844, p. 6, 7 December 1844, pp. 9-10, and 9 December 1844, pp. 10-11; and *Times and Seasons* 5(15 December 1844):742. Perhaps Marks' public statement of support for the Quorum of Twelve Apostles was considered sufficient repudiation of his later schismatic career, for no record of his being excommunicated is found in the following sources at Church Archives: Journals of Brigham Young, Wilford Woodruff, Willard Richards, Thomas Bullock, Nauvoo High Council Minutes, or in the "Excommunication Record, 1845-1878."

Smith III as president of that Church, and from 1863 to his death in 1872 served as a counselor in the RLDS presidency. Despite Emma Smith's preferences in 1845, Brigham Young received little schismatic challenge from Marks, and none from any subsequent president of the central stake of the Church.

There is no evidence that any of the seventy members of the First Quorum of Seventy in 1844 challenged the already firmly established rule of the Quorum of the Twelve. Nevertheless, on 29 September 1844, Brigham Young vacated the full First Quorum of Seventy by appointing the sixty-three lesser members of that quorum as presidents over local quorums of seventy, leaving only the first seven presidents of the First Quorum in the original quorum. Although these seven men continued to function as General Authorities of the Church, known as the First Council of Seventy, they no longer had their own quorum over which to preside.⁷³ This action eliminated the First Quorum of Seventy spoken of in the 1835 revelation, and thus dispensed with its potential threat to the prerogatives of the numerically smaller Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.

THE NATURE OF APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION

The Quorum of the Twelve was a known and trusted entity to the Mormons. As early as 27 March 1836, the apostles had been sustained with the First Presidency as "Prophets and Seers."⁷⁴ With their prophet dead and mobs menacing Nauvoo, the Quorum of the Twelve seemed to be the only stability upon which Mormons could depend. After 8 August 1844, the Church emerged from its crisis. An unsettled mode of succession could have destroyed it; the Quorum of the Twelve was determined that such a crisis should never be repeated. The apostles were careful, however, to specify that the place of Joseph Smith would never be filled by another. In an epistle of the Quorum of the Twelve to the Church, on 15 August 1844 they stated: "Let no man presume for a moment that his [Joseph Smith's] place will be filled by another; for, *remember he stands in his own place*, and always will."⁷⁵ When the membership of the Church voted on 8 August to accept the Twelve Apostles

⁷³HC, 7:279; James N. Baumgarten, "The Role and Function of the Seventies in L.D.S. Church History" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1960), pp. 31-32.

⁷⁴Journal of Joseph Smith, Jr., 1835-1836, pp. 175-76. The published version of the original minutes added the word "Revelators" to the designation. See HC, 2:417.

⁷⁵Times and Seasons 5(15) August 1844):618. Italics in original.

as the First Presidency of the Church, they were not voting for a successor to Joseph Smith. The Mormons were simply acknowledging the fact that the Quorum of the Twelve presided over the Church by virtue of known revelations and by the recognized ascendance given to them by the founding Prophet.

Nevertheless, by virtue of his being president and senior member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, Brigham Young was already acting as President of the LDS Church. As early as 5 December 1844, Brigham Young signed himself in a letter as "Prest of the Church of L.D.S."⁷⁶ Moreover, the manuscript minutes of the general conference on 7 April 1845, show that Brigham Young was unanimously voted upon and sustained "as the President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles to this Church and nation, and all nations, and also as the President of the whole Church of Latter Day Saints."⁷⁷ In pursuance of this mandate, Brigham Young on 8 May 1845 wrote Wilford Woodruff, then in England, to obtain foreign copyrights to Church publications "in the name of Brigham Young, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints," and on 15 August 1845, he gave identical instructions to others for the securing of U. S. copyrights to Church publications.⁷⁸

⁷⁶Brigham Young to David Rogers, 5 December 1844, Yale University. Brigham Young's role in presiding over the LDS Church has traditionally been regarded as a fulfillment of a prophecy given by Joseph Smith in 1832, when the two men first met. The first published account (1858) of that meeting noted that Brigham Young spoke in tongues on that occasion, and that Joseph Smith stated beyond the hearing of Brigham Young: ". . . the time will come when bro. Brigham Young will preside over this church." See "History of Brigham Young," *Deseret News* (weekly), 10 February 1858, p. 358. However, the first handwritten version of the "History of Brigham Young" makes no reference to the prophecy, although it gives a detailed account of the speaking in tongues incident. In the second and third handwritten versions of this event, the details of the speaking in tongues incident were reduced, and reference to the prophecy was added. See handwritten drafts of "Manuscript History of Brigham Young," September 1832, Church Archives. The Church Historian and clerks who prepared the first version of Brigham Young's history seem not to have known about the prophecy. Considering the additional evidence that none of the tracts written before 1858 defending the position of the Quorum of the Twelve as the presiding body of the Church mentioned that 1832 prophecy, we must conclude it had no bearing on anyone's deciding to follow the leadership of Brigham Young.

⁷⁷Manuscript Minutes of Conference, 7 April 1845, in the handwriting of Thomas Bullock, Miscellaneous Meeting Minutes, d 4358, Church Archives. These minutes were altered to correspond with the report of the conference published in *Times and Seasons* 6(15 April 1845):870. The fact that Brigham Young was sustained President of the Church in 1845 was therefore public knowledge among those who witnessed it, but unknown to those who depended upon the published account of the conference. The official history of the LDS Church omits entirely the reference to Brigham Young being sustained to any position in April 1845; see *HC*, 7:392.

⁷⁸Brigham Young to Wilford Woodruff, 8 May 1845, Wilford Woodruff papers, Church Archives; Journal of Willard Richards, 1844-1845 Book, 15 August 1845. Moreover, one of the causes for the excommunication of William Pomeroy on 9 August 1845 was "for cursing the President of the Church." (Minutes of Nauvoo High Council, 9 August 1845).

As he returned from the new Mormon refuge in the Salt Lake Valley, Brigham Young suggested forming a separate First Presidency. Wilford Woodruff, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve since 1838, recorded on 12 October 1847 his feelings about the suggestion:

I had a question put to me by President Young what my opinion was concerning one of the Twelve Apostles being appointed as the President of the Church with his two Councillors. I answered that a quorum like the Twelve who have been appointed by revelation—confirmed by revelation from time to time I thought it would require a revelation to change the order of that quorum.⁷⁹

Although there was biblical precedent for the quorum of apostles to lead the Church (with Peter at the head anciently) there was neither precedent nor specific authorization for the Quorum of the Twelve to *appoint* a separate First Presidency.

When the matter was first proposed in a meeting of the Quorum of the Twelve on 15 November 1847, it became apparent that others questioned the advisability of the proposal. Woodruff recorded:

I returned to Winter Quarters with Br Potter & met in Council with the Twelve O Pratt introduced the subject of the standing & rights of the President & also of the quorum, O Pratt was followed by G. A. Smith W. Woodruff & A Lyman & council adjourned until tomorrow.⁸⁰

The above entry alludes to the fact that members of the Quorum of the Twelve, led by Orson Pratt, were concerned about the effect a separate apostolic presidency would have on the jurisdiction of the rest of the Quorum of the Twelve. Brigham Young subsequently acknowledged that Elder Pratt had led the opposition to organizing the 1847 First Presidency.⁸¹ In 1873, T. B. H. Stenhouse (an apostate, but former confidant and associate of the General Authorities), not only correctly identified Woodruff and Pratt as questioning the organization of the First Presidency in 1847, but also said that John Taylor and Parley P. Pratt had opposed its initial proposal.⁸²

⁷⁹Journal of Wilford Woodruff, 12 October 1847. At the end of the October 12 entry in the journal there is the added phrase "whatever the Lord inspires you to do in this matter I am with you." This phrase is in a different penmanship than the rest of the entry and apparently was added subsequently by Woodruff.

⁸⁰Ibid., 15 November 1847.

⁸¹Meeting of 12 February 1849, Miscellaneous Minutes, Brigham Young Collection.

⁸²T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1873), pp. 263-64. Although Stenhouse was an apostate Mormon at the time he wrote this book, his account agrees in significant respects with Woodruff's journal.

The crux of the controversy was not whether Brigham Young should be appointed President of the Church. He had already been publicly sustained to that position on 7 April 1845, and by 1846 rank-and-file Mormons were referring to Brigham Young as President of the Church.⁸³ At issue in 1847 was his proposal to establish a First Presidency that would be administratively autonomous with respect to the rest of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, thus diminishing the administrative role of the remaining quorum members. The extent of apostolic opposition to this proposal is indicated by the number of meetings convened to discuss the matter. The meeting of 15 November was reconvened the following day, at which the question was again discussed, "& A vote was taken that the President shall at all times have the privilege of reproof, rebuking, exhorting & teaching at all times as he shall be led by the Holy Ghost. Council dismissed." This decision was unsatisfactory to Brigham Young who felt that it still required the majority of the apostles to remain at the headquarters of the Church instead of preaching the gospel among the nations of the earth. On 30 November 1847 the question was again discussed, and the meeting again ended inconclusively.⁸⁴

A final meeting of nine of the apostles on this proposal occurred 5 December 1847. On this occasion Brigham Young said: "I have been stirred up to do this by the spirit of the Lord." By this time, resistance to the proposal had been reduced to two men: George A. Smith, whose opposition was tentative, and Orson Pratt, whose argument was more pronounced. Nevertheless, after a five hour meeting, the apostles voted unanimously that Brigham Young and two other apostles comprise a separate First Presidency. The apostles did so on the basis of President Young's emphasis that the Spirit of God testified that there was a need for a complete organization of the Church.⁸⁵ In 1860, Apostle Orson Hyde stated that this action "received explicitly divine confirmation in February 1848 when the voice of God declared to a private meeting of the apostles:

Moreover, his former associations with the apostles gave Stenhouse ample opportunity to gain knowledge of the internal relationships of the Church. As late as 1867, for example, he had joined John Taylor's prayer circle, wherein he and other men met weekly to pray and to receive counsel and instruction from John Taylor. Attendance Record of John Taylor's Prayer Circle, Church Archives.

⁸³Letter of Ursulia B. Hascall to Colonel Wilson Andrews, 19 September 1846, in Hascall Family Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri.

⁸⁴Journal of Wilford Woodruff, 16 November, 30 November 1847.

⁸⁵Minutes of Public and Private Meetings, 3-7 December 1847, in Miscellaneous Minutes, Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives; Journal of Wilford Woodruff, 5 December 1847.

"Let my servant Brigham step forth and receive the full power of the presiding Priesthood in my Church and kingdom."⁸⁶

The general membership of the Church required no special manifestation or protracted consultation to approve the formation of the new First Presidency. At conferences of the Church membership on 27 December 1847 and subsequently, the Mormons who had followed the Twelve voted to sustain the action of the Quorum of the Twelve in forming a First Presidency. To the general membership of the Church, this development must have appeared as a natural consequence to Brigham Young's vigorous leadership during the difficult times following the death of Joseph Smith.

Nevertheless, the First Presidency established in 1847 and subsequently by the apostles was significantly different from that of Joseph Smith's presidency. Joseph's presidency was based upon appointment by fiat. From the world's millions, God chose Joseph Smith, Jr., to lead His church. When Joseph Smith contemplated a successor, he made an appointment without seeking prior approval of the other governing bodies of the Church. He did this in 1834 with David Whitmer and Oliver Cowdery, and in 1843 with Hyrum Smith. Although the Prophet had given the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles jurisdiction over the Church equal only to his own, he had retained the arbitrary right to appoint his successor to the office of President of the High Priesthood and President of the Church. Lacking his one-man privilege of arbitrary appointment, the rule of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles remained within the basic structure of that body.

Brigham Young demonstrated that this was his view during his thirty-three year presidency over the Church. Throughout his life he denied that he was the successor of Joseph Smith as prophet, repeatedly affirming that he was an apostle of Jesus Christ and of Joseph Smith.⁸⁷ Brigham Young maintained that he was President

⁸⁶*JD*, 8:234 (discourse delivered on 7 October 1860). No contemporary record of this event has yet been discovered. In 1894, Wilford Woodruff specifically denied that the events Hyde described had occurred at the time the First Presidency was organized. (Journal of Abraham H. Cannon, 30 August 1894, Brigham Young University.) Woodruff's denial does not impugn Hyde's testimony, however, because Hyde specifically stated that the event he described occurred in February 1848, two months after the organization of the First Presidency. Corroboration of Hyde's account is provided by Brigham Young himself in a statement made on 4 April 1860 with reference to a doctrinal dispute: "At O. Hyde's the power came upon us, a shock that alarmed the neighborhood. . . . Bro. Pratt had the spirit of God like us all in Pottawatomie & believed when the Revel was given to us." (Miscellaneous Minutes, Brigham Young Papers.)

⁸⁷*JD*, 6:320 (discourse delivered 7 April 1852); 8:69 (discourse delivered 3 June 1860); 3:212 (discourse delivered 17 February 1856); 5:296 (discourse delivered 6 October 1857).

of the Church by virtue of his position as senior apostle, and that in reality he had never left the Quorum of the Twelve.

Now it is no more my duty to live so as to know the mind and will of the Lord than it is the duty of *my brethren, the rest of the Twelve*. I say the rest of the Twelve, because I am the President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles on the earth.⁸⁸

Although the organized First Presidency was administratively autonomous with respect to the body known as the Quorum of the Twelve, the presidency after 1847 was an extension of that quorum. For this reason President Brigham Young in 1865 could assert that the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles had led the Church for twenty-one years.⁸⁹

It has been customary to refer to the periods after 1844 in which the apostles had not organized a First Presidency as the "apostolic interregnum" or "apostolic presidency."⁹⁰ In reality, there has never been a time since 1844 that the apostolic presidency has not existed. Since 1844 the senior apostle in rank within the Quorum of the Twelve has been the President of the Church, whether or not he established himself in a First Presidency with separate counselors. As Wilford Woodruff stated in a letter of 28 March 1887: "The President of the Twelve is really the President of the Church by virtue of his office as much while presiding over the Twelve Apostles as while presiding over his two counselors."⁹¹ Nevertheless, on occasion it has been seriously advocated that someone other than the senior member of the Quorum of the Twelve become the President of the Church: in 1880 Apostle Orson Pratt proposed that "a young man" be appointed President of the Church instead of any of the elderly senior apostles, and Joseph F. Smith was specifically proposed to be such a choice in 1877 by Counselor Daniel H. Wells and again in 1887 by Apostle Heber J. Grant. These proposals were disapproved by the rest of the Quorum of the Twelve.⁹²

⁸⁸JD, 18:70-71 (discourse delivered 31 August 1875). Italics added.

⁸⁹JD, 11:155 (discourse delivered 26 June 1865). Not until 12 February 1849 were three men ordained apostles to fill the administrative vacancies in the Quorum of the Twelve caused by the creation of the new apostolic First Presidency.

⁹⁰HC, Volume 7, "Apostolic Interregnum"; Durham and Heath, *Succession*, pp. 59, 78, 103.

⁹¹Matthias F. Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909, reprinted 1965), p. 651; original in Church Archives. Also Durham and Heath, *Succession*, pp. 58, 92. The basis by which the apostles are ranked in seniority has varied. For a discussion of this matter, see Durham and Heath, *Succession*.

⁹²Journal of Moses Thatcher, 1880, October, p. 117, Brigham Young University; Diary of Franklin D. Richards, 3 October 1877, Church Archives, and Journals of Heber J. Grant, 24 and 25 June 1887 and 4 October 1898, Church Archives. T. B.

When Joseph F. Smith did become President of the Church in 1901, he had previously been ranked as the senior apostle of the Quorum.

The automatic nature of the senior apostle becoming the next President of the Church was vital to apostolic succession. President Harold B. Lee has stated that this automatic process "avoids, as Elder [Spencer W.] Kimball has said, the possibility of using political devices or revolutionary methods" in establishing presidential succession.⁹³ This automatic succession of the senior apostle was fundamental to the concept that the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, without appointing a successor, has presided over the Church since 1844. Down to the present, the apostles have affirmed that although succession of the senior apostle is automatic, it would require direct revelation for any other person, including another member of the Quorum of the Twelve, to become President of the Church.⁹⁴ Appointing anyone as President of the Church who was not already the senior apostle could conceivably end the automatic apostolic succession established in 1844 and reestablish the former prerogative of the living president to designate or actually ordain intended successors as Joseph Smith once did.

As part of apostolic succession, however, the Quorum of the

H. Stenhouse wrote in 1873 that President Young was grooming his son Brigham Jr. to succeed him. (See Stenhouse, *Rocky Mountain Saints*, pp. 662-63.) I have found no evidence to suggest that President Young intended his son to be his immediate successor to the presidency of the Church. On the other hand, he undoubtedly anticipated that eventually one of his sons would become the president by virtue of being the senior apostle in the Church. Ordaining John W. Young an apostle at the age of eleven may have been a step in that direction. See Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1899), p. xxviii. Until 5 April 1900, apostles in the Quorum of the Twelve were ranked in seniority according to date of ordination, even if the apostle entered the quorum years afterward.

⁹³*Improvement Era* 73 (June 1970):28; see also Bruce R. McConkie, "Succession in the Presidency," *Speeches of the Year, BYU Devotional and Ten-Stake Fireside Addresses*, 1974 (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), pp. 19, 25. In 1904, President Joseph F. Smith publicly referred to the automatic succession of the senior apostle as "merely a custom." See *Proceedings Before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate in the Matter of the Protests Against the Right of Hon. Reed Smoot, A Senator from the State of Utah, to Hold his Seat*, 4 vols. (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1904-1907), 1:93. This was apparently President Smith's way of countering the objection to Apostle Reed Smoot's being a U. S. Senator on the basis of Smoot's being a member of a "self-perpetuating" body of twelve men who had control of ecclesiastical, political, and economic policies of the Church. Because President Smith was testifying before men who did not believe in revelation (in fact the final conclusion of the attorney seeking to unseat Smoot was that Smoot was ineligible because he believed God could answer prayer with revelation), Joseph F. Smith apparently chose not to indicate that the "custom" of apostolic succession could be changed only by revelation.

⁹⁴Wilford Woodruff to Heber J. Grant, 28 March 1887, Church Archives, quoted in *Improvement Era* 73 (June 1970):29; and statement by Harold B. Lee in *Ibid.*, p. 28.

Twelve and apostolic First Presidency have clearly outlined the pattern of succession implied in the 1835 and 1841 revelations. The succession of the senior apostle of the Quorum is automatic, but in the event that some catastrophe eliminated all but one member of the Quorum of the Twelve, then that surviving apostle (having all the keys of the priesthood) would be President of the Church and would then ordain others to fill up the Quorum of the Twelve. If the case were that the President of the Church and entire Quorum of the Twelve Apostles were to be removed, then the seven men comprising the First Council of Seventy would call sixty-three other seventies to fill up the full First Quorum of Seventy, which body in such circumstances would have the keys of authority to direct the Church and priesthood until the Quorum of Seventy ordained men to comprise a new Quorum of Twelve Apostles. If at the extreme, the President of the Church, the entire Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and the entire Quorum of Seventy were removed by death or church discipline, then even in such an extremity the succession would be unclouded, for the presidents of all the ecclesiastical stakes of the Church would then hold as a body the keys of the priesthood sufficient to govern the Church and ordain men to the Quorum of the Twelve, who then would govern and organize the Church according to the clearly established pattern of apostolic succession.⁹⁵ When the reestablishment of the full First Quorum of Seventy was begun on 3 October 1975 (after an absence of 131 years), it thereby made virtually impossible the need to turn to the latter option of automatic succession. Thus the automatic nature of apostolic succession established in 1844 has protected the Church membership from a repeated crisis by clarifying the pattern of succession in all exigencies.

SUCCESSION BY A DESCENDANT OF THE PROPHET JOSEPH SMITH

Although the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, holding the keys of the priesthood, legitimately presided over the Church by virtue of established directives and authorization of Joseph Smith, Jr., there remained an eighth method of succession which may have been established by the Prophet. That method involved the right of his

⁹⁵Brigham Young in *JD*, 9:87-88 (discourse of 7 May 1861); George Q. Cannon in *JD*, 19:235 (discourse delivered 8 October 1877); Anthon H. Lund in *Conference Report* 1901 (Salt Lake City, 1901), p. 75; B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1930), 2:369-370; Joseph Fielding Smith, "The Twelve Apostles," *Improvement Era* 59 (November 1956):788.

sons to succeed him as President of the Church. These claims were not advanced by his sons until fifteen years after the martyrdom, a fact which Utah Mormon polemicists used for the next century to repudiate Joseph Smith III's claims that he was designated to be the successor of his father.⁹⁶ Apologetics aside, there is evidence that Joseph Smith, Jr., hoped that his sons might eventually preside over the Church. To this end he may have designated his eldest living son, Joseph Smith III, to be his successor.

That Joseph Smith intended his descendants to have prominence in the leadership of the Church is apparent from several sources. In an 1841 revelation there was a direct statement concerning Joseph Smith's descendants: "In thee and in thy seed shall the kindred of the earth be blessed" (D&C 124:58).⁹⁷ Between 1833 and 1843 Joseph Smith called the following members of his family to be General Authorities: his father, his brothers Hyrum and William, his uncle John, his aunt's first cousin, Amasa M. Lyman, his own first cousin, George A. Smith, and several distant cousins.⁹⁸ In view of revelatory comments about Joseph Smith's descendants and his own efforts to make the hierarchy an extended family, it would be difficult to deny that Joseph Smith may have had plans for elevating his own sons to the highest leadership of the Church.

Whether, in fact, Joseph Smith officially designated his son Joseph III to be his successor has been debated for more than a century. Apostle Lyman Wight, already excommunicated by Brigham Young, wrote a letter to the Strangites in which he said that after Joseph Smith escaped from Liberty Jail in 1839, the Prophet designated "a youth" (possibly Joseph Smith III) to be his suc-

⁹⁶B. H. Roberts, *Succession in the Presidency*; Charles W. Penrose, *Priesthood and Presidency; Claims of the "Josephite" or "Reorganized Church," Examined and Compared with Reason and Revelation* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1898); Joseph Fielding Smith, *Origin of the "Reorganized" Church and the Question of Succession* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909); O. A. Murdock, *Succession of Joseph III* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1913) (which was copyrighted and endorsed by the LDS First Presidency); Alvin R. Dyer, *The Fallacy* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1964); Russell Rich, *Those Who Would Be Leaders (Offshoots of Mormonism)* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1967). Invaluable and unbiased surveys of the various churches deriving from Joseph Smith, Jr., are to be found in the works of two historians of Utah Mormon background: Dale L. Morgan, "A Bibliography of the Churches of the Dispersion," *Western Humanities Review* 7 (Summer 1953):107-81; and Kate B. Carter, *Denominations That Base Their Beliefs on the Teachings of Joseph Smith, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1962).

⁹⁷See also D&C 86:10 and 110:12.

⁹⁸For a discussion of dynasticism in the Mormon hierarchy, see D. Michael Quinn, "Organizational Development and Social Origins of the Mormon Hierarchy, 1832-1932: A Prosopographical Study" (Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1973), pp. 125-245.

cessor.⁹⁹ In 1892 James Whitehead, a member of the RLDS Church, testified that as a private secretary to Joseph Smith, Jr., in Nauvoo, he had personal knowledge of the rights of Joseph Smith III:

I recollect a meeting that was held in the winter of 1843, at Nauvoo, Illinois, prior to Joseph Smith's death, at which the appointment was made by him, Joseph Smith, of his successor. His son Joseph was selected as his successor. . . . He was ordained and anointed at that meeting. Hyrum Smith, the Patriarch, anointed him, and Joseph his father blessed him and ordained him, and Newel K. Whitney poured the oil on his head, and he was set apart to be his father's successor in office, holding all the powers his father held.

Whitehead also stated that this secret ceremony was later ratified by a general meeting at Nauvoo, attended by 3,000 Mormons.¹⁰⁰

There are certain problems with Whitehead's testimony that bear consideration. First, no contemporary minutes of the 1843 ceremony or ratifying meeting are extant. Moreover, no reference to either the 1839 ceremony or the 1843 ceremony has been located in the diaries of the principal men involved, or in the available journals of Joseph Smith's private secretaries. In addition, Whitehead's memory about his own role in Nauvoo seems to have been faulty. Rather than being the only private secretary to Joseph Smith, from 1842 to 1844, Whitehead was a clerk on the Nauvoo Temple building committee and also a clerk in the office of the Trustee-in-Trust. Despite Whitehead's claim that he alone kept Joseph Smith's private journals, letterbooks and correspondence, the journals are in the handwriting of Willard Richards, and the correspondence and letterbooks are in the handwriting primarily of William Clayton, who in fact did serve as the Prophet's private secretary from 1842 to 1844.¹⁰¹ Moreover, in June 1874, Whitehead privately

⁹⁹Letterbook of Lyman Wight, July 1855, RLDS Archives. Although this letter was written to the *Northern Islander*, it was apparently not published in that periodical. Differing from Wight, Joseph Smith III remembered this experience as having occurred while Joseph Smith, Jr., was still in prison. Smith, *History of the Reorganized Church*, 3:506.

¹⁰⁰*Complainant's Abstract of Pleading and 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 Latter Day Saints, Complainant, vs. The Church of Christ at Independence, Missouri* . . . (Lamoni, Iowa, 1893), pp. 28, 33, 37. Another witness, John H. Carter, gave similar testimony on pp. 180-81 concerning the public meeting.

¹⁰¹Journal of William Clayton, 1840-1845, pp. 35, 90, and journals and letterbooks of Joseph Smith, Jr., 1842-1844, Church Archives. See also the records of Trustee-in-Trust land transactions, 1842-1844, taken from civil and ecclesiastical records of Nauvoo, Hancock County, Illinois, in the files of Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., Salt Lake City, Utah. Had Whitehead actually functioned in the inner circle of Jo-

admitted that he did not witness the 1843 ordination of Joseph Smith III, but instead had heard it discussed by others.¹⁰²

Nevertheless, there is circumstantial evidence from the Nauvoo period indicating that Joseph Smith III was designated to be the successor of his father. Rumors about the matter were widespread enough to be included in an 1844 published history of Illinois:

"The Prophet," it is said, has left a will or revelation, appointing a successor; and, among other things, it is stated that his son, a lad of twelve years, is named therein as his successor. Of this, however, there is no certainty.¹⁰³

One of the sources for this vague rumor may have been the patriarchal blessing given to Joseph Smith III by his grandfather, which stated in part: "You shall have power to carry out all that your Father left undone when you become of age."¹⁰⁴ On the other hand, these Nauvoo rumors may have derived from the kind of ordination ceremony described by Whitehead. Although there is thus far no conclusive evidence verifying that Joseph Smith III was ordained and anointed as successor in 1843, a letter of 14 June 1845 by George J. Adams seems to refer to such an event:

i have suffered much persecution since i left Boston and much abuse because i cant support the twelve as the first presidency i cant do it when i know that it belongs to Josephs Son—Young Joseph who was ordained by his father before his Death.¹⁰⁵

For his opposition to the Quorum of the Twelve (and particularly for his advocating polygamy in New England), George J. Adams had been excommunicated on 10 April 1845.¹⁰⁶

Moreover, when William Smith began rebelling against the rule of the Quorum of the Twelve, it was partly because he felt young Joseph was being supplanted by Brigham Young. As early

seph Smith's activities, it is remarkable that until after 1844 hardly any reference is made to him by those who were unquestionably involved in the lesser-known developments of Nauvoo: Willard Richards, Thomas Bullock, William Clayton, and the apostles.

¹⁰²Diary of William W. Blair, 17 June 1873, RLDS Archives.

¹⁰³Henry Brown, *History of Illinois* (New York: J. Winchester, 1844), p. 489.

¹⁰⁴Blessing of Joseph Smith III, given by Joseph Smith, Sr., in Kirtland, written by Lucy Mack Smith from memory in 1845, Church Archives; also in *Saints' Herald* (Lamoni, Iowa), 65 (28 July 1909):702.

¹⁰⁵Adams to A. R. Tewkesbury, 14 June 1845, Church Archives. A possible acknowledgement of this alleged ordination appears in a letter of Samuel H. B. Smith to George A. Smith, 10 July 1860: "We visited Nauvoo and saw the young Prophet, for I suppose that is the name he goes by, having been ordained by his Father previous to his death and called by the Spirit (of late), he steps forth to do a work. . . ." Photocopy of original, Brigham Young University.

¹⁰⁶*The Prophet* (New York), 10 May 1845.

as 20 August 1845, he wrote letters asserting that Joseph Smith III was the Prophet's successor.¹⁰⁷ When he was removed as Presiding Patriarch and Apostle by action of a general conference of the Church on 6 October 1845, he retaliated by publishing a pamphlet that stated in part:

. . . this Brigham Young was pampering the church with the idea that although little Joseph was the rightful heir to the priesthood and office of his father as a prophet, seer, and revelator, that it was not prudent to mention this for fear of the little child's life.¹⁰⁸

As noted earlier, the Twelve Apostles excommunicated William Smith on 19 October for publishing this tract.

If, in fact, an actual ordinance was performed by Joseph Smith, Jr., ordaining his eldest son as successor, the attitudes of those allegedly familiar with the ceremony are curious. James Whitehead, who later claimed personal knowledge of the ordination of Joseph Smith III as successor, followed Brigham Young even after Brigham was sustained as President of the Church. As late as April 1848, Whitehead accepted a mission from President Young to act as an agent in gathering the Saints from the eastern United States for the journey to Utah. Although Whitehead said: "I withdrew from the Church there [Winter Quarters] on account of its wickedness," he actually remained on this mission until he was disfellowshipped on 5 November 1848 for moral misconduct.¹⁰⁹ While George J. Adams in June 1845 referred to the ordination of Joseph Smith III, he was able a year later to write the following concerning James J. Strang:

I now testify to all the world, that he is a Prophet, Seer, and Revelator, appointed and chosen of God, to stand in the place of brother Joseph; to give the word of God and hold the keys and power that is to bear off this last dispensation.¹¹⁰

William Smith's frequently expressed assertions about Joseph Smith

¹⁰⁷Rudd, "William Smith," p. 123; see also his letters to Lewis Robbins, 5 October, 7 November 1845, and 27 January 1846, Church Archives.

¹⁰⁸*Warsaw Signal* (Warsaw, Illinois) 29 October 1845, pp. 1, 4. No copy of the original pamphlet can be located at present, but it was reprinted in full in this issue of the *Warsaw Signal*.

¹⁰⁹Recommend and Appointment of James Whitehead, Winter Quarters, Camp of Israel, 17 April 1848, James Whitehead Papers, Church Archives; Pottawattamie High Council Record, 5 November 1848, Church Archives; Letter of Orson Hyde to Orson Pratt in *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star*, 11(1 January 1849):27. Cf. *Complainant's Abstract*, p. 35.

¹¹⁰*Voree Herald* (Voree, Wisconsin), 1(July 1846). The original letter is document 195 in the Strang Manuscripts, Yale University.

III's rights of succession never mentioned any ordination, but argued the lineal rights of the young boy from scripture and precedent. Moreover, William Smith supported James J. Strang's appointment as Joseph Smith, Jr.'s, successor,¹¹¹ and his periodic willingness to accept Brigham Young's leadership in Utah has been mentioned. When Strang suggested that William Smith be appointed chief patriarch and Joseph Smith III be appointed counselor and patriarch, William Smith not only objected, but virtually denied that Joseph Smith III had a claim of presidential succession: "Joseph is but a boy and will not defend his rights whatever they are (if he has any)."¹¹² As far as Joseph Smith, Jr., the Prophet, is concerned, on 16 July 1843 he publicly proclaimed Hyrum, not his son, as successor.¹¹³ Moreover, if the ordination of Joseph Smith III occurred, then his mother's attitude is curious. In April 1845, Emma Smith told her son's tutor that William Marks should succeed Joseph Smith, Jr., because Marks was the "individual contemplated by him for his successor."¹¹⁴ It is evident that in the crisis of succession that began in 1844, none of these sometime advocates of Joseph Smith III maintained a consistent position with reference to his unilateral right of succession. If Joseph Smith III had indeed been ordained or anointed to be a successor, the significance of that event was at times ambivalent even to his most knowledgeable supporters.

Even for Joseph Smith III, the ordinances described by Lyman Wight and James Whitehead had less than conclusive significance with reference to succession. In 1846, William Smith wrote that Joseph Smith III had related a childhood vision that supported the claims of James J. Strang.¹¹⁵ Even after becoming president of the RLDS Church, Joseph Smith III repeatedly maintained that he had not been officially "ordained" by his father as the successor, but rather was "blessed" by his father in 1839 and in 1843 to hold that office at some future date. His objection to the word "ordination" in regard to the events of 1839 and 1843 was based on his conviction that a person could not be "ordained" President of the Church at the same time someone else occupied that position. Young Joseph nevertheless solemnly affirmed that he had received

¹¹¹Ibid. "Documents: William Smith's Acknowledgement of James J. Strang's Claims," *Courage* 2(Summer 1972):539-40.

¹¹²William Smith to James J. Strang, 25 December 1846, document 27b in Strang Manuscripts, Yale University.

¹¹³Journal of Willard Richards, 16 July 1843.

¹¹⁴Journal of James Monroe, 24 April 1845.

¹¹⁵Statement of William Smith in *Voree Herald* 1(July 1846).

such priesthood blessings in 1839 and 1843, and that those prophetic designations were dependent upon worthiness and required eventual ordination by those properly qualified.¹¹⁶

Although automatic succession did not apply to Joseph Smith III, there is evidence to indicate that Brigham Young acknowledged a future role of the sons of Joseph Smith, Jr., in the Church. When asked about young Joseph on 28 February 1860, he said that "blessings will rest upon the posterity of Joseph Smith the Prophet."¹¹⁷ Brigham Young is also alleged to have acknowledged privately and publicly prior to 1860 that Joseph Smith III had a right to preside in the Church.¹¹⁸ Not only Brigham Young, but many Mormons in the Great Basin seem to have anticipated that one day Joseph Smith III would become a leader in the Church perpetuated by the apostles.¹¹⁹ It was with wonderment that they learned he had become the president, on 6 April 1860, of a church formed by dissidents from numerous sects established after the death of Joseph Smith, Jr. Joseph Smith III was ordained president of the RLDS Church by four men: two had never belonged to the Church prior to his father's death, one had been out of favor with his father in 1844, and was dropped from office for supporting Rigdon's claims, and the last had followed the Twelve Apostles until they led the main body of the Church to Utah.¹²⁰ The immediate reaction of the Mormons of Utah was indicated in the letter of William H. Folsom, informing Brigham Young of the ordination: "A strange affair indeed, the Lesser has ordained the greater."¹²¹

Despite the action of Joseph Smith III, Brigham Young continued to hope that the young man or one of his brothers would reconsider and return to the church he had led in apostolic succession for sixteen years. Three months after Joseph Smith III had

¹¹⁶Smith, *History of the Reorganized Church*, 3:506-07, 5:361; and *Complainant's Abstract*, pp. 79-80.

¹¹⁷Brigham Young Office Journal, 28 February 1860.

¹¹⁸John D. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled; or the Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop, John D. Lee* (St. Louis, Missouri: Bryan, Brand & Co., 1877), pp. 155, 161-62, 164; statement of John H. Carter, *Complainant's Abstract*, p. 181.

¹¹⁹Ibid. Also, letter of George Miller in *Northern Islander* 5 (September 1855):4.

¹²⁰The men were William W. Blair, Samuel Powers, William Marks, and Zenas H. Gurley. For discussion of the history of these men, see Smith, *Origin of the "Reorganized" Church*, pp. 86-93, and Smith, *History of the Reorganized Church*, 3:721-31, 737-48. For examples of William Marks' disaffection from Joseph Smith and sympathy with William Law's 1844 reformation of the Church, see Nauvoo City Council Minutes, 3 and 4 January 1844, Nauvoo Collection, Church Archives; and Journal of Joseph Fielding, April 1844, p. 27.

¹²¹William H. Folsom to Brigham Young, 20 April 1860, Brigham Young Collection, Church Archives.

become president of the RLDS Church, Brigham Young stated in public meetings:

*What of Joseph Smith's family? What of his boys? I have prayed from the beginning for sister Emma and for the whole family. There is not a man in this Church that has entertained better feelings towards them. Joseph said to me, "God will take care of my children when I am taken." They are in the hands of God, and when they make their appearance before this people, full of his power, there are none but what will say—"Amen! we are ready to receive you."*¹²²

As Joseph Smith III demonstrated increasing hostility to the church in Utah, Brigham Young expressed hope that the martyred Prophet's youngest son, David Hyrum Smith, would one day merit his rightful place as president of the LDS Church. On 1 September 1861, the wife of Lucien Woodworth (a member of the Council of Fifty) reported to the LDS Church Historian that Joseph Smith had pronounced special promises on his unborn son, David H., and she also stated that President Young "announced the fact that in Joseph's posterity the keys of the Priesthood should rest and that upon young David the blessing should descend."¹²³ At October conference 1863, President Young publicly stated that Joseph Smith III would never preside over the LDS Church, but affirmed:

Long before his death Joseph [the Prophet] ~~had told~~ said to me, ~~all about this son he should~~ I shall have a son born to ~~him~~ me, and his name should shall be called David; and on him, in some future time, will rest the responsibility that now rests upon me." This is Joseph's declaration to me and others, sometime before his death. I can produce plenty of witnesses to the truth of this, if necessary.¹²⁴

On that occasion President Young further indicated that he would welcome a lineal heir to be president of the LDS Church, if that person conformed to the revelation of God and received that office humbly through the constituted apostolic authority that directed it at present. Brigham Young reaffirmed that view more explicitly during the general conference of 7 October 1866:

I am looking for the time when the Lord will speak to David [H. Smith]; but let him persue the course he is now persueing,

¹²²JD, 8:69 (discourse delivered 3 June 1860). Italics added.

¹²³Historian's Office Journal, 1 September 1861, Church Archives. Italics added. John D. Lee also said Brigham Young claimed that David H. Smith would be the President of the Church one day. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled*, p. 162.

¹²⁴Manuscript minutes of sermon, 7 October 1863, recorded by George D. Watt, Brigham Young Collection, and Journal of Robert McQuarrie, 6 [sic] October 1863, both at Church Archives.

and he will never preside over the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in time or in eternity. . . . It would be his right to preside over this Church, if he would only walk in the true path of duty.¹²⁵

President Young's hopes that the sons of Joseph would enter the Church and assume their anticipated role were never fulfilled. All of Joseph Smith's living sons, including David H. Smith, repudiated the Church in Utah and became leaders of the Reorganized Church.

The difficulty concerning the sons of Joseph Smith centered in the years of their estrangement from the Church after 1844. After the Prophet's death, Emma Smith became suspicious of the ascendancy of the apostles and fearful that her sons would not receive their proper status in the Church led by the apostles.¹²⁶ By the time William Smith had been excommunicated, Emma had resolved no longer to unite her life with the Church. In November 1844 it was rumored in the non-Mormon press that "Mrs. Joe Smith, it is said, has lost all confidence (if she ever had any) in the Mormon faith."¹²⁷ That charge may have been anti-Mormon invective, but as early as 25 December 1846, William Smith wrote that Emma Smith "would not let him [Joseph Smith III] have anything to do with Mormonism at present."¹²⁸ A year later Emma married a non-Mormon, and in January 1848 she applied for membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church.¹²⁹ She remained in Nauvoo, and did not teach her children the doctrines and practices of her late husband. As one RLDS historian has noted, Joseph Smith III sought to preside over the church his father founded, "ignorant of much of its earlier history and its doctrines."¹³⁰

For Joseph Smith III a compelling reason for not uniting with the Mormons in the Great Basin was his revulsion at the practice of polygamy.¹³¹ The official policy of the RLDS Church which he

¹²⁵Manuscript minutes of sermon, 7 October 1866, recorded by George D. Watt, Brigham Young Collection.

¹²⁶Emma M. Phillips, *33 Women of the Restoration* (Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1960), p. 24; Margaret Wilson Gibson, *Emma Hale, the Elect Lady* (Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1954), pp. 212-15, 218-26.

¹²⁷*Upper Mississippian* (Rock Island, Illinois), 2 November 1844.

¹²⁸William Smith to James J. Strang, 25 December 1846, document 27b, Strang Manuscripts, Yale University.

¹²⁹Letter of Almon W. Babbitt to Heber C. Kimball, Nauvoo, 31 January 1848, Heber C. Kimball Papers, Church Archives.

¹³⁰Alma R. Blair, "The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints: Moderate Mormonism," in *Restoration Movement*, p. 218.

¹³¹The feelings of Joseph Smith III against polygamy were so intense that on one occasion, while in company with one of his polygamous cousins in Utah, he became physically ill when observing one of the plural wives in the household. On another occasion, he remarked that if he learned that his father had actually been a polygamist,

developed not only repudiated polygamy, the temple ordinances, the political-economic role of the Church, and many of Joseph Smith's doctrinal developments during the Nauvoo period, but he also denied that these had ever been part of Mormonism. As RLDS historian Robert Bruce Flanders has noted concerning these developments fostered by Joseph Smith during the last four years of his life:

Members of the Reorganized Church, for example, have always had difficulty interpreting the Nauvoo experience, because its meaning is ambivalent to them. . . . Many of the details, such as celestial marriage, the politicizing of the church, Smith's temporal roles in Nauvoo, Mormonism as a vehicle for the immediate revolutionizing of society, and the real meaning of the Nauvoo temple, they have tended to reject or deny.¹³²

Joseph Smith III and his brothers could not accept the doctrines, practices, and world view developed by their father, nor would they allow themselves to believe that these Nauvoo developments occurred by their father's direction.

The sons of Joseph Smith, Jr., had priesthood opportunities in the Church by virtue of his acknowledged intentions for his posterity and perhaps also by actual priesthood ordinance (whether called ordination, blessing, or designation). The Presidency of the Church, however, had never been restricted to the family of Joseph Smith. The Prophet himself had ordained David Whitmer and Oliver Cowdery, both removed from patrilineal succession, to be his successors. Each of them had rebelled against him and the directions in which he was leading the Church and thereby lost the right of successorship he had conferred upon them. The sons of Joseph Smith, Jr., forfeited their rights in a similar manner.

The LDS Church headquartered in Salt Lake City, Utah, was the ecclesiastical, political, economic, theological, and philosophical legacy of Joseph Smith, Jr. No less an opponent of Brigham Young and an authority on early Mormonism than Sidney Rigdon affirmed this in a letter of 1858:

That society like all others, in its organization and progress developed a history, and it is those developments, only, which constitute its history. From 1830 to 1840 those developments

it would make no difference to his personal campaign against the practice, but would be one more burden he would carry with him to the grave. Inez Smith Davis, *The Story of the Church* (Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1938), p. 367.

¹³²Robert Bruce Flanders, "Dream and Nightmare: Nauvoo Revisited," in *Restoration Movement*, p. 156.

created an unbroken chain of history. In 1840 it culminated and its history tended in a different direction and found its level in the order of things which now exist in Utah.¹³³

In a sense the Church had been held in trust by the apostles for the sons of Joseph eventually to preside over, but his sons rejected Mormonism and established themselves as the leaders of a church that repudiated much that their father had instituted as divine during the last five years of his prophetic office. As Joseph Fielding Smith has stated, if the posterity of the Prophet Joseph Smith are to receive their lineal rights of succession, they must conform to the full order he established.¹³⁴

THE SUCCESSION OF 1844: A WATERSHED

Joseph Smith had at different times by precept or precedent established eight possible routes of legitimate succession to his place as President of the Church and of the High Priesthood on earth. As two recent analysts of LDS succession have observed: "In the first years of church government, the law of succession was in embryo stage. It seems that even in the Prophet Joseph Smith's mind, just who would succeed him at any given moment was not always clear. There was a gradual evolution of succession principles."¹³⁵ Whether through oversight or as a means to test the faithful, Joseph Smith's neglect to make explicit to the general membership an undisputed mode of succession caused thousands¹³⁶ of his followers to falter, wander, and ultimately to reject the Church headquartered in Utah, which was the continuation of all that Joseph Smith, Jr., had finalized at Nauvoo, albeit often in secret or private counsels. In areas such as Philadelphia, where the crosscurrents of the succession crisis were severe, as many as forty percent of the members of the Church rejected the apostolic succession.¹³⁷

¹³³Rigdon to William H. Payne, 9 July 1858, Sidney Rigdon Papers, Church Archives.

¹³⁴Smith, *Origin of the "Reorganized" Church*, pp. 56-57.

¹³⁵Durham and Heath, *Succession*, p. 117.

¹³⁶The statement "thousands" is not extreme in view of the fact that two thousand followers supported Strang at his zenith in the 1850s. At the same time other schismatic leaders (Alpheus Cutler, William Smith, Lyman Wight, James C. Brewster, Charles B. Thompson, and even Sidney Rigdon and David Whitmer), each had followers numbering from 100 to several hundreds. Added to this likely estimate of more than 3,000 schismatics in the early 1850s, were an inestimable number of Mormons who had become disaffected altogether because of the conflicting claims.

¹³⁷The membership records of Philadelphia, the largest branch of the LDS Church in the eastern states from 1841 to 1844, indicate that 95% of the excommunications that can be dated occurred between September 1844 and 1847, virtually all of them for rebellion against the authority of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. If that

Those who knew most accurately the directions in which Joseph Smith was leading the Church were persons who gained that knowledge in the privacy of upper rooms or isolated retreats. In fact there was a pathetic quality to the apologetical arguments published by Strang, Rigdon, William Smith, and others who focused almost entirely upon the published revelations of the Doctrine and Covenants to assert their various claims of succession. During the life of Joseph Smith, Jr., the published revelations were selections for general information from a larger corpus of written revelations and inspired utterances. The publication process was often years behind the flow of his revelations and the exercise of his priesthood keys. The schismatics defended themselves from an ignorance or a defiance of what Joseph Smith had entrusted by word and action to close associates in the leadership of the Church.

Ultimately it was Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, and their associates, who knew the directions in which Joseph Smith had led the LDS Church and the future he anticipated for it. They were loyal to Joseph Smith and to his prophetic office, but their success in continuing his work required the support of the ninety-nine percent of the Latter-day Saints who knew nothing of the crucial instructions Joseph Smith gave at Nauvoo regarding succession, priesthood, the endowment, marriage, the political kingdom of God, and numerous other doctrines and practices. It is hardly less than miraculous that the general membership of the Church were persuaded that what had transpired without publicity under the direction and action of Joseph Smith was to be perpetuated by the only ones holding the priesthood keys: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. The LDS succession crisis of 1844 therefore was resolved at the price of requiring the acceptance of authority conferred upon a select group of individuals without previous public announcement or approval. The heritage of the crisis of 1844 is found in the LDS schisms that have used and continue to use the precedents of the succession crisis of 1844 as pretexts for their own claims.

proportion is applied to the excommunications where no date or cause is specified, then it appears that of the 334 Mormons who were listed as members of the Philadelphia Branch on 31 August 1844, 40% were excommunicated for rejecting apostolic succession. See Records of the Philadelphia Branch, 1839-1854, RLDS Archives.

Letter to a Four-Year-Old Daughter

Linda Sillitoe

The days you instill in me only exhaustion,
reverberating from living room walls,
leaping, hanging, hurling as you instruct,
“Listen but don’t look—tell me what this hits!”
I force my eyes to look calmly at a coloring book,
stained-glass with fifty colors patched on a waxy duck,

and send you off to sing, riding breakneck
on your toy horse to rhythms of “I am a child
of God”, leaving me penitent in my fatigue.
As you compose, “Joseph Smith was a good prophet . . .”
I recall with renewal the day at your insistence
you learned how he was murdered. Refusing evasion,

you required whole truth, scorning attempts
at explanation, tolerance, and a happy ending
in heaven; you choked down scrambled eggs, weeping,
“But they didn’t have to kill him,” and again
at bedtime, “they didn’t have to kill him.”
Like Porter Rockwell, one of few, you inquired,

“Who were they, what were their names?”
Now, horse providing percussion, you end your song,
“It was so long ago, we don’t know their names,
don’t know their names.” In a sudden double-exposure
I glimpse a hounded man—a prophet—and a blond head
bowed for blood that shines from a newly found grave.

Mormonism and Revolution in Latin America

LaMond Tullis

I was thinking this past week that politics and religion—the general focus of my remarks today—in many ways are like the weather. They not only make good conversation, but are things about which everyone knows a lot and, aside from that, frequently has strong opinions. In fact, on occasion men have even fought wars about them. On that count I have already had a preview. About a month ago I asked fourteen of my colleagues to review a paper I thought would form the basis of my speech today. And I requested their response in several critical areas. In one of these I had simply asked: “Regardless of what I think *I* am saying, what will the forum audience think I am saying?” Well, I got *fourteen* different opinions!

So I changed the paper—several times, in fact. And now if *your* opinions and interpretations of what I will be saying are still as varied as were those of my colleagues and friends who kindly reviewed successive drafts of this speech, I hope that those opinions and interpretations will nevertheless all be correct.

A WORLDWIDE CHURCH

Now, as our discussion today unfolds I also hope you will see that one aspect of church and state—what I have called the interfacing of Mormonism with Latin American social ferment and revolution—is especially challenging and provocative. By *provocative* I mean not that the matter should exasperate or incense you, but that it should make you want to learn how to be arm in arm with Mormonism as it meets the challenge of the twenty-first century. The seeds of that challenge are now germinating in the world about you as well as in your own hearts and minds and you will,

A forum address delivered at Brigham Young University, 8 April 1975.
LaMond Tullis is associate professor of political science at Brigham Young University.

in spirit and action, and for benefit or blame, gather much of the harvest in your own lifetime.

I refer in part to your experience abroad—or perhaps those of your children. “By 1990, seventy thousand missionaries in the field at any given time,” President Kimball has said. Upwards of a third of them may well serve in Latin America, where even today the membership growth rate is of staggering proportions. Indeed, some have said that the Spanish language will one day rival English as the mother tongue of new members of the Church.

To go to another land under any circumstances is both stimulating and challenging. To go as a missionary is even more so, partly because a missionary is supposed to *know* something about religion and religious commitment in general, but also because he is expected to tell others about his own particular religion and religious commitments. If he has found it difficult in his own language, he may find it positively unnerving in someone else’s. A personal example—one that I would like to forget but somehow cannot—illustrates. One day I was ordaining a Latin-American brother to the priesthood. But rather than say *ordenar*, which means to ordain, I said *ordeñar*, which means “to milk a cow,” or even a goat, for that matter!

It was in the 1950s that President David O. McKay noted that it was time to develop a truly worldwide church. Accompanying that decision was a formidable commitment. It was no less than to take what some have called the “Mormon continental pueblo” out to the non-European-world—to take it across languages, nations, and cultures as never before and to meet head-on the attendant problems of transcultural communication between societies with vastly differing value systems. And one area to receive a renewed and redoubled emphasis was Latin America.

In the ensuing twenty years we have found, and are continuing to find, that becoming a worldwide religion in spirit as well as in organization is much more than building organizations and translating documents and scriptures and sharing them with other peoples in their own languages. Now we see that if we Mormons are to experience the universal brotherhood we seek, then all of us must make some alterations in our views of one another. This will mean an increased giving and taking—one that is as psychological and material as it is spiritual. We will need to increase our empathy and cross-cultural sensitivity, and progressively discard prejudices incompatible with brotherhood.

To accomplish these things without compromising the basic tenets of our religion will be difficult. As far as I know, no other religion has succeeded in doing it. Some people say it therefore cannot be done. The more likely truth is that it can be done, but not without a great desire and expenditure of considerable effort—as much for the givers as for the receivers of the message. Many of us, for example, will be startled when we must finally separate the gospel from cultural and other preferences we sometimes confuse with it. And that time will come because the prophets have already said that it will. At some point, therefore, we—or our descendants—will find it necessary to extricate ourselves from the confusion because the future will one day *be* the present. Should the future that is foretold lie in the time span of our own lives, we can reduce our *own* discomfort by getting clearly in our minds what it is that we should be taking across national and cultural boundaries when we go with the gospel. We may thereby see that a true Mormon brotherhood could be possible *with our help* rather than being brought to pass in spite of us.

My task today, therefore, is to explain *why* we should clearly distinguish the gospel of Christ from our own cultural, economic and political preferences. I will also make some concrete suggestions of ways we might individually get in step with the destiny of the Church on this matter. And I shall do so using Latin America as my frame of reference.

LATIN AMERICA TODAY

Within the last twenty years a new heartbeat has become clearly detectable in Latin America. It emerged with the rapid social and economic changes of the last three decades that reflected an erosion or breaking of major clusters of old social, economic, and psychological commitments. People willingly and anxiously began to adopt new ideas and life patterns. The heartbeat first became noticeable with the massive introduction of Western medicine, which reduced the death rate by more than half; it found expression in schools as the literacy rate soared to unprecedented heights; and it now beats unrestrainably in societies that are rapidly urbanizing, industrializing, and developing means of mass communication that reach into the smallest hut and the most isolated village.

But this process of rapid change, called for years the “revolution of rising expectations,” has been labeled lately by some as “the revolution of rising frustrations.” For many people, hopes once

cherished have been shattered; wants remain unmet; governments are as oppressive as ever. Nevertheless, now there is a big difference, and it lies in the fact that Latin Americans are less fatalistic about their existence. And they are striking out at some of the causes of their frustrations.

Many Latin Americans are angry that their thirst for a life free from excessive want, dictatorial and oppressive governments, international exploitation, and class brutality remains unquenched after so long. Kindled decades ago, that anger now flames in the hearts and minds of a new generation. Sometimes it has exploded with firestorm fury, jumping class and ideological firebreaks with abandon and threatening to consume as it were even the fire fighters themselves. At other times it sputters and spits, waiting for an opportune time to fully ignite. But always it is there. Paradoxically, it motivates Latin Americans more than ever to seek an existence that encompasses human and national dignity and therefore the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Several years ago I was motoring through a Latin American country with my family and parents. As we rounded a bend in the road we were forced to the shoulder by a convoy of ten-wheeled, U.S.-made military trucks crammed with men, women, and children, all under heavy armed guard. I later inquired about the matter. It seems that the people—peasants they were—had joined a cooperative union set up by some Catholic fathers and local university students. The peasants' experience in that union had raised their feelings of self-worth, dignity and hopes for the future. And they had responded by building schools for their children and hiring teachers to teach in them, and forming purchasing and marketing cooperatives so as to bypass what can only be described as substantial exploitation by local moneylenders and merchants. Finally, they had attempted to bargain with local plantation owners, for whom they did seasonal work, for better remuneration and working conditions. Sixty-five U.S. cents for a ten-hour workday was too little, they said. In response, the landowners had called out the national guard (*guardia civil*) for a crackdown.

In discussing this matter with a Utah Mormon living in the country, I found that it was part of their army's counterinsurgency program—heavily supported by the United States—to relocate Indians from combat and infiltration zones, first for their own protection, second to help them understand the menace of Communism. He reasoned further that it was in the best interests of the United

States to support such programs because they promoted stability and protected American business interests in the country.

Now the "combat" he talked about had started out, in fact, as a nonviolent struggle between two opposing forces. On the one hand there were the Catholic priests, university students, and peasants who were trying to raise heads and hopes from the mind-dulling, backbreaking, and dehumanizing life of subsistence living. On the other hand there were the landowners and local politicians who served them, both resisting an alteration in established social relations. Now that was understandable, for the existing relations worked to the distinct advantage of the landowners and their friends. But because priests and students had brought a new vision to the peasants and helped them to organize for its realization, they had created an obvious threat. So the landowners and politicians felt obliged to take action.

When the army entered the "combat zone" it indeed became one, for the confrontation quickly became violent. The peasants lost the struggle—some of them their lives—and those who remained were under heavy armed guard, packed like sardines in Army trucks, being transported to who knows where.

The role of the Catholic fathers in this episode was substantial, and we should know more about them. They belong to one of three new reformist wings of the Catholic clergy in Latin America. What these reform priests are deeply concerned with is establishing social justice on every front—a concern quite different from that of the traditional Catholic church in Latin America. The philosophy of these new priests is to bring what they call the "first great revolutionary" (by whom they mean Christ) to the people. They say it is an alternative to Marxism as an instrument of needed social reform, and they are working to bring it to pass—peacefully if they possibly can, violently if they must.

It is a curious paradox that these priests should react with violence as a means to what they call Christian ends. In light of our own revolutionary tradition, however, Americans should be able to understand how a person would seek to justify such drastic action. After years of what the American colonists considered insensitive and calloused treatment from Great Britain, some of them threw down the gauntlet and raised arms. Now, after centuries of abuse, exploitation and frustrated revolutions, many Latin American peasants and their allies fear that they may be pushed to similar means to achieve their own liberation. The rifle-bearing patriots of the

American Revolution created paradoxes in their own time, no less so than have rifle-bearing priests and peasants in some parts of Latin America today. When forced to the wall, men will do many things to protect the welfare of their wives and children, especially if they ever get the idea that they have a God-given right—not a gift, but a right—to aspire to “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” The new heartbeat in Latin America has convinced people as never before that they have that right. Now they are struggling to make it a reality.

In the struggle, Latin Americans are often attracted to new political religions. The contemporary ones derive, in part, from the priestcraft and legacy of Marx, Mao Tse-tung, Castro, Guevara, Trotsky, Perón and perhaps others, all seeking to reformulate the world by organizing for social warfare and using sophisticated analyses, ideology, organization, gunpowder, and opportunism as their chief weapons. Their message is also extraordinarily persuasive to many young men and women who, although not always in agreement with the respective ideologies or confrontation tactics, find that the angry people “tell it like it is.”

In addition to the Utah Mormon with whom I spoke, I also mentioned the army-truck episode to a young local Mormon elder, bright and well-educated. His reaction to the story was quite different from that of his North American brother. Perhaps his response, although some will think it abrasive and aggressive, will nevertheless help us to understand why some Latin Americans feel the way they do about the matters I have raised. “What you Americans call stability in my country is really gangsterism,” he said, “a national terrorism perpetrated by an outdated oligarchy for its own benefit and funded by the United States for selfish and misguided reasons.” Later, he continued: “You are our brothers in the gospel and thus we love you. But your *country* has made us prisoners in our own land; it has robbed us of our national dignity and has delayed our emergence as a modern nation. Our struggle is a difficult one, and because of your country’s foreign policies, we have suffered.” (That, of course, implicates many of us here today even though we may be innocent bystanders to an incomprehensible drama.) Then, almost with embarrassment, he added: “Please forgive me, brother. I did not mean to be offensive.”

Then, there was Martín, a South American student I came to know well in one of my classes here several years ago. Perhaps he can also help us to understand a perspective that is more and more

in vogue in Latin America. On one occasion we had just reviewed a foreign-policy statement by President Lyndon B. Johnson explaining why it was necessary for the United States to land twenty-thousand marines in the Dominican Republic for combat duty. It was necessary, the president said, to preserve economic stability and protect United States interests there. Martín responded by saying: "What you Americans should do is get on the receiving end of Latin America's traditional economic system for a while. You'd soon respect a different point of view from the one you now have. In our countries, most traditional employers and landlords have been selfish and sometimes even brutal. And they have used their money and power to oppress and exploit us."

Martín does admit that things have improved in recent years, however, because several Latin American countries are now tightening up on laws that reduce "people exploitation." We know, of course, that "people exploitation" has been and still is an endemic problem in the world. Yet to have a brother in the gospel associate it directly with the foreign policy of our own country is jolting indeed. Apparently the matter is much more complex and less open to simplistic judgments than some of us may have thought.

While that may be our problem, I was interested to find that President J. Reuben Clark, Jr., certainly understood the matter. At a 1946 banquet attended by businessmen and bankers he must have startled his listeners by warning them that an unbridled pursuit of profits was fraught with social and political danger unless the welfare of the working man was well considered. "I have not approved and do not approve," he told them, "of capital's weapons—the blacklist, lockouts, and grinding out of the maximum returns for the minimum of wage outlay, even the imposition of starvation wages that too often have been capital's means of dealing with labor in the past. These have worked great injustices that must not be repeated," he said. President Clark emphasized that they must not because otherwise, free-enterprise capitalism—which, when moderated, he considered superior to other economic systems—would soon come to an end. And then only the Communists and socialists would benefit.¹

When tempered and carefully balanced, free-enterprise capitalism seems to be the best all-around economic system we know of.

¹J. Reuben Clark, Jr., "American Free Enterprise," Address delivered Friday evening, December 6, before the Allied Trades Dinner of the Mountain States Travelers in the Newhouse Hotel (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1946).

But where social structure is rigid and mobility low, as has traditionally been the case in much of Latin America, the fruits of capitalism foster neither freedom nor human dignity. In fact, they legitimize servitude rather than encourage initiative and productivity within a framework of personal choice. That is the capitalism the peasants were experiencing. And that is why Martín was so outspoken about what *he* saw and experienced in Latin America. What the Martíns of Latin America are trying to do is bring, in a peaceful way if they possibly can, some of the legitimate economic freedoms to their own countries that most Americans began to win for themselves a half century ago through national legislation that updated the promises of the American Revolution and brought them into line with the expectations of an urbanizing and industrializing society.

Thus, in spite of the new heartbeat, many Latin American Mormons believe they must help forge a clearing in a temporal wilderness if their people are to flourish and grow in the gospel. As forests, sagebrush, and greasewood were cleared by the axe and hand-drawn ribbon saw in the American West, the temporal wilderness in Latin America will also be cleared. But there it will be done by breaking down ancient economic, social, and political traditions incompatible with human dignity and freedom. There will be resistance from many governments and vested interests. There will be persecution. And there will be those representing contrary value systems who will approach our people and say, "Come, do it our way." The temptation for some will be great because those systems focus clearly and articulately on the elements that block individual progress and development, and they prescribe how the wilderness should be cleared. That their prescriptions are, in many cases, anti-Christian makes our challenge a very great one indeed.

Let me back up a little. We Anglo-American Mormons tend to believe that if we just develop our personal talents and skills we will progress. And because that is the way it has always been for most of the present generation, we are generally ignorant of some very real opportunity blocks that impinge on the lives of many Latin American Mormons and their countrymen. Because our Church members there generally do not belong to favored groups or classes—and that really makes a difference in Latin America—they do not have the wide range of freedoms and opportunities for personal development that we enjoy here. Counter value systems such as Communism recognize fully the existence of artificial opportunity

blocks and focus on removing them. Consequently, if we ignore the existence of those same blocks or, worse yet, help to maintain them, we shall hinder or destroy communication with our Latin American brothers and sisters and in so doing shall aid and abet the enemy by in fact helping to deliver those brothers and sisters into his arms.

When we stop to think about this matter a little, we clearly see that our Mormon brothers and sisters in Latin America are either participants in, or are affected by, the drama I have just described. They *and* their countries are alive with a spectacular newness. Everywhere people are working, searching, striving. Thoughts and hopes that have incubated for generations are suddenly hatching and taking their place amidst the abundant religious and political excitement visible in nearly every country. And in addition to the revolutionary political and economic ideas of Marxism and socialism and the new concern for human dignity from the Catholic Left, the revolutionary spiritual ideas of the restored gospel are rapidly spreading throughout the land. Gospel ideas are revolutionary for this life as well as the next because they embody hope for those who have despaired, and they promise opportunity for those who have lacked it.

Thus the frequent news releases in the United States that make Latin America appear as usual—unstable, romantic, and undisciplined—demonstrate only the transparent fallibility of conventional-wisdom commentators. They are as out of touch with Latin America as are some of our own traditionalists with the destiny of the worldwide church. True, in some parts of Latin America the surface characteristics appear the same. Nevertheless, it is certain that underlying them are volcanoes of unprecedented proportions. The new heartbeat has seen to that, and therefore even the quiet parts of Latin America will not be quiet much longer. Nor will the Latter-day Saints, for they have hopes and aspirations not only for the Church but also for the dignity and integrity of their respective fatherlands.

Here, therefore, we drive head-on into the problem that I have raised. Frequently the attempts that many Latin American Mormons make to achieve dignity and integrity at home will bring them into direct conflict with the international politics of the United States. So when we Anglo-American Mormons support a foreign policy that injures our Latin American brothers and sisters—assuming outright that it is true, or right, or just, because it is “ours”—you can see what happens to some Mormons on the receiving end. They

are hurt. More and more a worldwide Church with headquarters in the United States will have to cope with that problem. If in the pursuit of our own nationalistic foreign policies we impede the development of a worldwide Church, should we not pause and take note? Whatever our decision, we will, I believe, eventually become convinced that the needs of the worldwide Church should be carefully considered.

Aside from these problems there are others—a thousand examples could be raised—in cultural areas as well as international politics. When my generation went to Latin America as emissaries for the Church, for example, sometimes we appeared to be as curious as we were incomprehensible. Especially was this true when we got overly vocal in our national and cultural pride, thereby projecting ourselves less as ambassadors of Christ than as ambassadors of America. Now we see that for members of the Church in Latin America the gospel is also rooted in the soil of *their* national homeland and in the dignity of the whole man as he stands before God—where he is. That is part of the concept of “Multiple Zions” enunciated by President Harold B. Lee.² Thus people are joining the Church in spite of feelings they may have about the international politics of the Church’s motherland or the culture of those native to it.

So why is it to our advantage to make a distinction between the gospel we profess and our own political, economic, and cultural preferences? It is simple. If we do not, we cannot become a worldwide church in spirit even though we may do so in organization. A diverse people cannot have brotherhood if one of its segments insists on being always right, all the time, on everything. The gospel is transcendent truth. But man-made political and social institutions are not. So in social, cultural, and political areas we cannot expect that widely divergent peoples should adhere to the same specific perspectives. It is certain that some aspects of culture, ideology, and political practices are more compatible with gospel principles than others, and from that point they are temporarily preferable. But only the principles of the gospel constitute eternal truth.

Without, I hope, belaboring this point, I refer again to politics. Politics is a process by which men get power and distribute valued

²See also Martin B. Hickman, “The International System and the Missionary Church,” *Commissioner’s Lecture Series, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Church Educational System* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1973).

goods. The process may be evil or benign. It may work to our advantage or not. We may win or we may lose. But, as Brother Hugh Nibley has so eloquently argued in the Autumn 1974 issue of *BYU Studies*, all of it is strictly a matter of this world.³

In the days of Brigham Young there was one "politics" which seemed to work best for the Saints. That was Brigham Young's politics. Later he thought it would be to the members' advantage, and that of the Church, if the Saints belonged to competing national political parties. So, I am told, at a general conference he pointed his finger down the center aisle of the Salt Lake Tabernacle and announced that from that time forth those sitting on one side would be Republicans and those on the other Democrats. And while I cannot verify the authenticity of this incident, it does give an interesting insight into what some Mormons think one aspect of our political history to have been like. Aside from that, we have the image of the brotherhood of Saints entering partisan national politics by authoritative fiat, whether by the Tabernacle episode or some other arrangement. Whatever, the decision was made in the highest councils to enter partisan national politics. Having made that decision, however, I am sure that the brethren did not consider half their people to be wrong and the other half right!⁴

RESPONSIBILITY OF CHURCH MEMBERS

So where do we go from here?

A church worldwide in spirit as well as in organization does not just happen. Nor, unlike the creation of organizations and erection

³Hugh Nibley, "Beyond Politics," *BYU Studies* 14 (Autumn 1974):3-29.

⁴Stewart L. Grow and J. Keith Melville have advised me that the Brigham Young episode, like so many others about the man, is in fact apocryphal. Grow and Melville affirm, however, that the political dimensions raised are certainly on target. In the quest for statehood, a bitter political controversy erupted between "Saints" and "Gentiles" as regards who would control the Territory of Deseret if it were ever admitted to the Union as a state. Thus the People's Party (the political arm of the Church) and the minority Liberal Party vigorously sought faithful constituents. At the same time, the Democratic and Republican parties were looking for a base in Utah as a means to enhance their own national position in the event Utah obtained statehood. The Republicans, especially the radical ones who were fresh from their conquest of America's South, generally took the side of the Liberal Party and were making grim reality out of equally grim threats—outlawing polygamy, disincorporating the Church, disfranchising Utah's women, and so forth. Confusion, anxiety, and frustration abounded among the Mormons in Utah.

For the Church's part, how could it come out of the struggle with the least adverse from among universally adverse positions offered it? Diffuse the national competition for political power, its leaders thought. So there was a move in 1890-1896 to divide the Church's People's Party among Democratic and Republican national political parties. Some oldtimers did, in fact, report that they were "called" to the Republican party—in view of the fact that it was so difficult to get members

of buildings, will it be brought about by authoritative fiat. General Authorities cannot do it for us. Only *we* can, because a church worldwide in spirit—whatever else it is—reflects the minds and hearts of its individual members. It requires members who are sensitive to other people's sensitivities; members who share psychologically and materially with each other as well as in a common transcendent vision; members who are empathic and therefore capable of putting themselves in their brothers' shoes; and above all, members who do not confuse their personal preferences with the gospel of Jesus Christ.

While these attributes do not come as a gift from anyone, they do emerge from the hearthstone of the Mormon home. This is so because children tend to recreate the attitudes and values of their parents. So in the interest of what happens in the next generation, here are some things you can do now:

First, become acquainted with Mormons from other lands and learn something about their societies and cultures. While you are enrolled at this university, take advantage of the rich opportunities that are afforded herein to do so. There are classes, clubs, and chances for informal associations. We pride ourselves in being cosmopolitan, but we need to work harder to make that cosmopolitanism a reality. We enjoy a diversity of national and ethnic origins, but that diversity must allow us to resonate with and mutually understand each other if it is to be part of a worldwide church in spirit.

(As an aside, I have often thought what a waste it is not to combine Priesthood and Relief Society meetings on this campus one day a month when the sisters present their lessons on Mormons in Peru, Thailand, the Philippines, Japan, Mexico, and so forth. Those lessons have helped me. And they could help others.)

But now my *second* point. If you receive a mission call, know that you must acquire the spiritual conviction and integrity that

to join it. Accommodation with America was forced on Utah and the Church, and joining national political parties by ecclesiastical persuasion, and sometimes by authoritative fiat, was one way the Church's authorities tried to deal with the problem.

Interesting and authoritative discussions on these related episodes may be found in Gustive O. Larson, *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1971); Richard D. Poll, "The Political Reconstruction of Utah Territory, 1866-1890," *Pacific Historical Review* 27 (1958): 111-126; Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958); Stewart L. Grow, "The Development of Political Parties in Utah," *Western Historical Quarterly*, vol. 16, supplement; see also Grow's unpublished doctoral dissertation, "A Study of the Utah Commission 1882-1896," (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1954).

preaching the gospel requires. There is no substitute for that. And there is no way to fake it. But after acquiring that conviction and integrity, and after establishing spiritual contact with a prospective member, also know that the communication problems remaining are about fifty percent a language problem and fifty percent a problem for *other* modes of communicating with people. Talking machines alone do not preach the gospel very well, and when we know little more about other people than the rudiments of their language, we are only slightly better than talking machines. Frequently we are worse. To resonate with the hopes and fears, the aspirations, the high ideals and spiritual convictions of another people; to understand the heartbeat of a new land; to feel pain and happiness as others feel it—that is to know them. And to know them is a basic ingredient of successful communication. So expand your awarenesses in these areas through study and by personal associations. And when you go on your mission, do not confine yourselves on your “days off” to the American ghettos. Whatever else they may be, it is certain that they are sanctuaries of the weak and the blind. Immerse yourselves in your new land in all legitimate ways. My experience, and that of others I have known, assures me that you will be less a curiosity and more a brother to those whom you meet.

Third, as I have emphasized, we need to make a clear distinction between our cultural and other preferences and the gospel of Christ. The gospel has flourished and has been blessed and sanctioned by God under numerous kinds of governments and economic and cultural systems. There must be some compatibility, of course, between these preferences and systems, and the gospel. Referring to the political area again, one key is freedom. Freedom unfettered by practices that limit the exercise of religious conscience or that relegate classes of citizens to servitude or bondage or to oppression and exploitation, is freedom compatible with the gospel. Governments which actively foster freedom of conscience and opportunity and protect it for all its citizens are Mormonism’s implicit friends. This is so whether they happen to agree with the foreign policy of the United States or not. Learn, therefore, something about freedom of conscience and opportunity and extend your understanding beyond the parochial interests of any given country or class of people within it. The Church is beyond the nation state because no state is an official representative of God.

Fourth, do strive to be openhearted, understanding and devoid of prejudice incompatible with the gospel. Studies show that in

some areas we Anglo-American Mormons are no more socially prejudiced than is the mainstream of American society. But that is small comfort because the same studies show that we are no less so.⁵ Yet we should be. And that is a personal challenge to us if we are to become a worldwide church in spirit.

Finally, with respect to the Church in Latin America, and in order to help build a bridge between the temporal world and spiritual self, do reflect on the relevance of Brigham Young's understanding for the modern day—and extend yourselves accordingly, because opportunities abound now as never before.

Brigham Young set up schools, universities, farms, factories, banks, cooperatives, and credit unions—and yes, colonization companies, and mining enterprises—right along with chapels, tabernacles, and temples. And, just like our forefathers, Latin American Saints who have similar temporal needs have taken the hopes and visions that the gospel gives them and are now striving for temporal as well as spiritual development. Both you and they may find yourselves becoming practitioners of Brigham Young's temporal arts and his spiritual virtues. In numerous countries our leaders have already established Church-sponsored schools. Now the call is out for medical missionaries, agricultural technicians, teachers, and entrepreneurs to help in areas of literacy, nutrition, preventive medicine, and manpower training.

The First Presidency, echoing Joseph F. Smith's belief that a religion which cannot save a man temporally cannot hope to save him spiritually,⁶ announced as early as 1968 that "The historic position of the Church has been one which is concerned with the quality of man's contemporary environment as well as preparing him for eternity. In fact, as social and political conditions affect man's behavior now, they obviously affect eternity."⁷ And as this is so, substantial numbers of young men and women will be called to labor for the temporal welfare of the Saints as well as for their spiritual welfare.

The gospel is not undermined by such cooperative pursuits; it is simply made more complete. There is now a chance for those of us who are temporally well off and often in need of the Spirit

⁵Armand L. Mauss, "Moderation in All Things: Political and Social Outlook of Modern Urban Mormons," *Dialogue* 7 (1972):57-69.

⁶William E. Berrett and Alma P. Burton, eds., *Readings in L. D. S. Church History*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1958), 3:364.

⁷The First Presidency, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "Citizens Obligations," *Deseret News*, 7 September 1968 (with correction of 11 September).

to unite with brothers and sisters who can teach us much that we still need to learn about ourselves. And we can extend our hand to help them. This is an expression of brotherhood, one most completely realized when people from different lands and cultures can find mutual acceptance of one another in their hearts as well as in their evening prayers. There is no doubt that it will cost more. There is no doubt that it will take more of our time. And it will demand more of us in every way. But it will help to weld us into a true Christian brotherhood.

The future is not painless. As far as I know, there was never a promise that it would be. But, even so, just as great men and women in ages past changed the course of world history, so also can you now. And as you rise to the challenge of the twenty-first century, many of you will not only help give tone and temper to the revolutionary landscape in Latin America, but I believe that you will also reap a harvest of benefit rather than blame from the seeds of brotherhood that you sow this day. And perhaps in *your* lifetime you will thereby see a part of the promised brotherhood of Jesus Christ rise to meet its prophetic destiny. Should that be our happy lot, I am certain that we will rejoice with the heavens in having learned at last to live Christ's second great commandment: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Matthew 22:39).

Eliza R. Snow and The Woman Question

Jill C. Mulvay

And what is Woman's calling? Where her place?
Is she destined to honor, or disgrace?

—Eliza R. Snow, "Woman"

In the 1830s, contemporary with the beginning of Mormonism, a new woman's movement was stirring in America. A small but vocal group of American women involved in the abolitionist cause had come to a frightening awareness of their own lack of legal and property rights. Increasingly women recognized their ability to organize and speak out for their own cause, and in 1848, with the early woman's rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York, an organized woman's movement was underway. With that movement came the questions that Americans would actively ask until 1920 when the suffrage amendment was finally ratified: What is woman's position? What are her rights? What is her sphere? Feminists concluded that woman's rights had been usurped and her sphere confined. They were eager to break down the established order that had so long kept woman under what Elizabeth Cady Stanton termed the "absolute tyranny" of man.

Women converted to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the years following its 1830 organization, however, were not concerned with breaking down an existing order, but rather with establishing a new order—the Kingdom of God. As that kingdom grew, the sphere of Mormon women was enlarged. Sisters were early encouraged to exercise spiritual gifts such as speaking in tongues; later, they participated in baptisms for the dead and temple ordinances; and they administered to the sick by the laying on of hands. Early in the 1830s Latter-day Saint women began vot-

Jill C. Mulvay is an historical associate in the Church Historical Department.

ing in general Church assemblies.¹ In 1842 the Prophet Joseph Smith responded to the women's desire to be organized, and established the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo "to look to the wants of the poor," "to teach the female part of the community," and "to save souls."²

All of this was part of the growing Kingdom, a kingdom directed by the priesthood-bearing hierarchy of the Church. The rights, sphere, and position of Mormon women were determined by the pronouncements of its male prophets, seers, and revelators. But Mormon women themselves distinguished subjugation to man's "absolute tyranny" from submission to the priesthood. They insisted upon defending their role, not defining it. Beginning in the early 1870s, in response to anti-polygamy legislation and a nationwide characterization of Mormon women as "poor and degraded," Latter-day Saint sisters became increasingly vocal about their position as women within the Church.

"Do you know of any place on the face of the earth, where woman has more liberty, and where she enjoys such high and glorious privileges as she does here, as a Latter-day Saint?"³ Eliza R. Snow asked some five or six thousand women gathered in the Salt Lake Tabernacle in January 1870 to protest against anti-polygamy legislation. Zion's poetess and Female Relief Society president would never complain of usurped rights or a confined sphere of activity, and she promised her sisters that no woman in Zion would need to mourn because her sphere was too narrow. Eliza Snow's assertions were not mere rhetoric. During the 1870s the sphere of the nineteenth century Mormon woman was expanding. By the 1880s Mormon women had significant duties and responsibilities inside and outside their homes. At the first meeting of the International Council of Women at Washington, D. C. in 1888, Utah's delegate reported that 400 Relief Societies in Utah held property valued at \$95,000, many societies owning the halls in which they met.⁴ Mormon women published their own biweekly

¹For a detailed discussion of woman's position in the pre-Utah Church, see Ileen Ann Waspe, "The Status of Woman in the Philosophy of Mormonism from 1830 to 1845" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1942), especially pp. 81-136.

²Relief Society General Board Minutes 1842-1914, 17 March 1842, microfilm of holograph, Library-Archives, Church Historical Department. Hereafter cited as Church Library-Archives. In these unpublished minutes and those cited hereafter, spelling and punctuation have been standardized.

³Eliza R. Snow address, "Great Indignation Meeting," *Deseret News Weekly*, 19 January 1870.

⁴"The Women of Utah Represented at the International Council of Woman, Washington, D. C.," *Woman's Exponent*, 1 April 1888.

newspaper titled the *Woman's Exponent*. The Relief Society managed a hospital with a woman as resident surgeon. And the women of Zion had contributed significantly to the territory's economy through their participation in silk production and their mercantile cooperatives promoting home manufacture.⁵ By the turn of the century Mormon women had made political, economic and social gains within their own culture comparable to gains made by their more vocal national colleagues in the larger American culture.

This host of Utah women was for more than twenty years captained by Eliza Roxcy Snow, "presidentess" of all Latter-day Saint organizations for women. Designated by her sisters an "elect lady," she was said to have precedence "in almost everything pertaining to woman's advancement among her people."⁶ Not only was she an able administrator, she was an eloquent enunciator who proclaimed Church doctrine to her sisters in poetry, prose, and oratory that would fill volumes. Add to these distinctions the eminence of being a wife, consecutively, of both Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, and the aura of spiritual gifts such as speaking in tongues and healing, and it is not difficult to understand why this poetess-presidentess-priestess-prophetess was probably the most widely heard and widely heeded woman in nineteenth century Mormondom.⁷ What is woman's position? What are her rights? What is her sphere? Eliza R. Snow certainly influenced (if not sometimes dictated) both practical and theoretical responses of Mormon women to the woman question.

The focal point of late nineteenth century women's issues was suffrage. In that matter Mormon women were for some years ahead of women involved in the national suffrage movement, women in Utah receiving in 1870 the franchise for which their Eastern sisters would battle for the next five decades. They had staged no demonstrations and apparently circulated no petitions. The signature of Eliza R. Snow headed fourteen signatures on a memorandum to acting territorial governor Stephen Mann praising his "liberality and gentlemanly kindness" in signing the bill granting suffrage. But Eliza never would have led her sisters in an effort to take the right of suffrage by storm. She distrusted "that class

⁵See Leonard J. Arrington, "The Economic Role of Pioneer Mormon Women," *Western Humanities Review* 9 (Spring 1955):145-64.

⁶Annie W. Cannon, "Women of Utah," *Woman's Exponent*, 15 July 1888.

⁷See Maureen Ursenbach, "The Eliza Enigma: The Life and Legend of Eliza R. Snow," lecture delivered for the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 24 October 1974, manuscript on file in the office of the Church Historian, Church Historical Department.

known as 'strong minded,' who are strenuously and unflinchingly advocating 'woman's rights,' and some of them at least, claiming 'woman's sovereignty' vainly flattering themselves with the idea that with ingress to the ballot box and access to financial offices, they shall accomplish the elevation of woman-kind." She explained, "Not that we are opposed to woman suffrage. . . . But to think of a war of sexes which the woman's rights movement would inevitably inaugurate, . . . creates an involuntary shudder!"⁸

In 1872, while Susan B. Anthony was being arrested in Rochester, New York for her attempt to register and vote, Eliza R. Snow encouraged Mormon women to cast their more easily secured ballots. She possessed enough political acumen to see the advantages of female suffrage, especially in Utah. "Your vote counts as much, weighs as heavily, as President Young's, Brother G. A. Smith's or Brother D. H. Wells's, hence you should consider yourselves important on election day," she counseled her sisters. She told Ogden Relief Societies, "[God] has given us the right of franchise," and it is "as necessary to vote as to pray." With Illinois and Missouri persecutions vivid enough in her memory, she advised, "Unless we maintain our rights we will be driven from place to place."⁹

As a political force the women of Utah were destined to create controversy. When their votes strengthened the Church-dominated People's Party, the anti-Mormon Liberal Party complained that "the female dupes of the priesthood" were "arrayed at the polls against them."¹⁰ Consequently, liberal forces lined up against female suffrage, while generally conservative Church authorities and women rose in its defense. In the struggle Eliza R. Snow, who had earlier polemicized against "female conventionists," called Mormon women together in suffrage meetings to garner support for the proposed "Anthony Amendment" which guaranteed that the right to vote in federal or state elections would not be denied on the basis of sex.

The alliance with the national suffrage movement was tenuous at best, and under the leadership of Sister Snow Mormon women did not become closely involved with national suffrage leaders.

⁸Eliza R. Snow address, "Celebration of the Twenty-fourth at Ogden," *Deseret News Weekly*, 26 July 1871.

⁹Salt Lake Stake, [General or Cooperative] Retrenchment Association Minutes 1871-1875, 19 July 1873, Church Library-Archives; Weber Stake, Ogden City Wards Joint Session [Relief Society] Minutes 1879-1888, 6 February 1879, Church Library-Archives.

¹⁰"The Woman Suffrage Law," *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 23 December 1877.

By 1882 Mormon women had attended only two of the annual woman's suffrage conventions, indicating as one sister put it, that they had been "so busily engaged in cleaning up the House of Zion . . . that seemingly the fact has not been considered that there might be safety in having a few sentinels stationed on the towers afar off."¹¹ In Utah the major battle for suffrage took place after the disfranchisement resulting from passage of the anti-Mormon Edmunds-Tucker Bill in 1887, and Eliza died before that year was out.

Perhaps Eliza R. Snow unintentionally prepared the field for the suffrage struggle in other ways, especially in organizing the Relief Societies which became the focal point for the activities of Mormon women. She had served as secretary of the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo, and with prophetic hindsight she later recalled: "When Joseph organized the sisters in Nauvoo I saw different positions for women to occupy besides tending to their household duties as wives and mothers."¹² Having dutifully kept minutes for the Nauvoo meetings—minutes Joseph Smith said would be the constitution and law of the society—Eliza brought them across the Plains to Salt Lake City. Such a constitution became useful when Brigham Young commissioned Eliza to assist bishops in organizing ward Relief Societies, and eventually called her to preside over all Relief Societies.

In 1868 the Relief Society was erecting its first hall in the Fifteenth Ward and at the same time Brigham Young was suggesting classes through the University of Deseret "giving ladies a thorough business education, qualifying them for bookkeepers, accountants, clerks, cashiers, tellers, payers, telegraphic operators, reporters, and other branches of employment suitable to their sex."¹³ Eliza backed him up with the words of her first and best-loved Prophet: "Joseph Smith counseled the sisters to do business."¹⁴

More than once Eliza Snow helped Brigham Young in his requests for women to meet specific community needs. In 1873 when the President asked women to help with printing, Eliza made up her mind "to go from house to house if required to procure

¹¹Romania B. Pratt, "Woman Suffrage Convention," *Woman's Exponent*, 1 March 1882.

¹²Park Stake, First Ward Relief Society Minutes 1870-1893, 26 November 1874, Church Library-Archives.

¹³General Epistle, January-February 1868, p. 25, Brigham Young Circular Letters, Church Library-Archives.

¹⁴Box Elder Stake Relief Society Minutes 1878-1890, 10 September 1878, Church Library-Archives.

young ladies to learn.”¹⁵ President Young suggested that young ladies volunteer to study obstetrics and nursing, and to become physicians. “We want sister physicians that can officiate in any capacity that gentlemen are called upon to officiate. . . . Women can occupy precisely the same footing that men occupy as physicians and surgeons,” declared Eliza.¹⁶ Small groups of women began their own classes in physiology and anatomy, and several women went East to study medicine, some with financial aid from their sisters. By 1879, plans for a hospital were underway, and in 1882, under the direction of Eliza R. Snow, president of its founding association, the Deseret Hospital opened its doors and an LDS woman was installed as resident surgeon.

The first issue of the *Woman's Exponent*, a paper, “owned by, controlled by and edited by Utah ladies,” appeared in 1872. In several early issues the editor described the purpose and terms of the paper, including this note: “Miss Eliza R. Snow, President of the entire Female Relief Societies, cordially approves of the journal, and will be a contributor to it as she has leisure from her numerous duties.”¹⁷ Eliza’s official sanction was crucial to any Mormon woman’s enterprise. In the hundreds of issues of the *Exponent* printed before her death, Eliza R. Snow’s name was connected with every major movement among Mormon women from retrenchment to publication of Edward Tullidge’s *Women of Mormonism*.¹⁸ Few, if any, of the movements originated with her, but many benefited from her phenomenal executive skill, and all—home industry, silk production, ladies’ commission stores, physiology classes, grain storage, MIAs and Primaries—received her personal endorsement as she traveled by train and wagon to every settlement in the territory.

With the coming of the railroad which brought foreign goods within easy reach, and Retrenchment Associations whose purpose was to curb the appetite for Eastern finery, came Brigham Young’s push for home industry. Support home industries, Eliza emphasized, “in accordance with the requirements of the Priesthood.”¹⁹

¹⁵Salt Lake Stake, [General or Cooperative] Retrenchment Association Minutes 1871-1875, 19 July 1873.

¹⁶Ibid., 13 September 1873.

¹⁷“Woman’s Exponent, A Utah Ladies’ Journal,” *Woman’s Exponent*, 1 June 1872.

¹⁸Edward W. Tullidge’s *The Women of Mormonism* (New York: n.p., 1877) was financed through shares purchased by ward Relief Societies. Eliza R. Snow collected sketches of Mormon women for the volume and read and revised the manuscript. See Emmeline B. Wells, “Pen Sketch of an Illustrious Woman,” *Woman’s Exponent*, 15 August 1881.

¹⁹“Notice to the Officers and Members of each Branch of the Relief Society . . .,” *Woman’s Exponent*, 1 April 1875.

Sustain home straw manufacture and "if we can get sufficient encouragement, we shall make hats for men and boys, women and girls."²⁰ Eliza considered "each successful Branch of Home Manufactures, an additional stone in laying the foundation for the up-building of Zion," and she considered a woman who stepped forward and assisted efficiently in home industries (including silk culture, straw weaving, tailoring, and home canning) to be "doing just as much as an Elder who went forth to preach the Gospel."²¹ Sister Snow did not preach idly. She and her sisters in the Fourteenth Ward commenced a Cooperative Tailoring Establishment to "fill orders for men and boys' clothing, on short notice and at low prices."²²

In 1876, President Young asked the women to "form an association to start business in the capacity of disposing homemade articles, such as are manufactured among ourselves."²³ Eliza Snow was elected president of the Relief Society Woman's Mercantile Association and the women opened their store in the Old Constitution Building on Main Street in Salt Lake City. Because they had no capital to commence their enterprise, they sold on commission and the project came to be known as the Woman's Commission Store. The first year of operation Eliza superintended the store from eight in the morning until six at night, carefully looking after the minute details—evidently quite capably. Once, refusing to let one of Brigham Young's clerks dictate the terms of commission on Young's goods, Eliza haughtily wrote the President: "Although we are novices in the mercantile business, we are not green enough for that kind of management."²⁴

"Presidentess" Snow told the Brigham City Relief Society, "Sometimes I think we can do more than the brethren."²⁵ For years the men had tried unsuccessfully to store grain, but Brigham Young finally assigned grain storage to the Relief Society. Individual

²⁰Ibid.

²¹E. R. Snow to Mrs. L. G. Richards, *Woman's Exponent*, 15 April 1875; First Ward Relief Society Minutes, 7 June 1877, in *Woman's Exponent*, 15 November 1877. Daniel H. Wells, second counselor to Brigham Young, told the Relief Society: "Any man or woman engaged in any of these callings [building, manufacturing, agriculture] with pure motives, is just as much on a mission as if teaching the gospel." "Dedication of the Kaysville Relief Society," *Woman's Exponent*, 1 March 1877.

²²"Tailoring Establishment," *Woman's Exponent*, 1 May 1875.

²³President Young to the President and Members of the Relief Societies, 4 October 1876, in *Woman's Exponent*, 15 October 1876.

²⁴Eliza R. Snow to Brigham Young, 10 February 1877, Brigham Young Collection, Church Library-Archives.

²⁵Box Elder Stake [old] Relief Society Minutes 1875-1884, 6 November 1877, Church Library-Archives.

ward Relief Societies built their own granaries and by 1880 their holdings were strong enough that John Taylor was advising the women that their sisters had voted at general conference to lend their respective bishops "so much wheat as they may consider requisite to meet the necessities of the deserving poor," and at the same time admonishing the bishops to pay back their loans in full.²⁶

As Retrenchment Associations grew up among the young ladies, many recognized the need for similar associations for the young men. Eliza told her sisters, "I have suggested that the boys be organized but of course we ladies cannot dictate."²⁷ Dictate she did not, but campaign she did. In 1875 she traveled to Lehi and held a meeting for the young ladies and instructed them to bring their beaux. She later reported:

I asked the young men to vote and told them I wanted them to sustain the young ladies in their positions; and also if they did not leave off their drinking and tobacco where were the young girls to get husbands? The young men did not wish the young girls to be in advance of them. I heard the next morning that the young men had been after the Bishop to organize them before night.²⁸

The same year, President Young called Junius Wells to head the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association. "We ladies cannot dictate," Eliza admitted, but the Prophet Joseph Smith had told the women at that first meeting of the Relief Society in Nauvoo that they might "provoke the brethren to good works."²⁹

By the mid-1880s Mormon women had achieved with distinction. Relief Societies, Mutual Improvement Associations, and Primary Associations had been established throughout the territory, largely through the efforts of women under the direction of Eliza R. Snow.³⁰ Women's efforts in these organizations, in home industry and grain storage, and their willingness to be trained in skills

²⁶John Taylor, "Circular," *Woman's Exponent*, 1 May 1880.

²⁷Park Stake, First Ward Relief Society Minutes 1870-1893, 5 September 1872, Church Library-Archives.

²⁸Salt Lake Stake, [General or Cooperative] Retrenchment Association Minutes 1871-1875, 1 May 1875.

²⁹Relief Society General Board Minutes 1842-1914, 17 March 1842.

³⁰The concept of a Primary Association, an organization to train young children in the teachings of the Church, originated with Aurelia S. Rogers, who with the support of Eliza R. Snow and under the direction of her bishop, organized the first Primary Association in Farmington, Utah, in 1878. Sister Snow and other women immediately took up the task of organizing Primaries throughout the territory. See Aurelia Spencer Rogers, *Life Sketches of Orson Spencer and Others, and History of Primary Work* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1898), pp. 210-23.

meeting specific needs of the growing Kingdom made theirs a contribution in no way inferior to that of their brethren.

Certainly by the standard of gentile crusaders for women, the "poor, degraded women of Utah," were making significant contributions. Topics discussed at the first meeting of the International Council of Women held in Washington, D. C. in 1888 indicate that Mormon women were engaged in many of the same activities as their gentile counterparts: "Women in Journalism," "Women as Educators," "Women in the Trades," "Women in Medicine," "Hospitals Managed by and for Women," "How to Reach the Children," "Woman as Missionary," "Constitutional Rights of Women of the United States," "The Moral Power of the Ballot."³¹ Apparently nineteenth century feminists and Mormon women expanded their responsibilities and influence in similar directions.

But however similar their directions, their points of departure were diametrically opposite. Feminists attacked a male-dominated society; Eliza R. Snow defended it. Miss Anthony decried "woman's utter dependence on man"; Eliza Snow deemed it essential to woman's salvation. Mrs. Stanton attacked established religion for placing women in an inferior position; "Presidentess" Snow, the most influential woman in a sect yet unbound by centuries of tradition, acknowledged man's superiority and never ceased to defend it doctrinally. Eliza R. Snow seemed to advocate every tenet radical feminists were working to uproot.³²

Eliza did not ignore the woman question, but rather attempted to synthesize an assortment of Mormon doctrines into a neat package that would provide for the eternal expansion of woman's role. For Eliza, woman's earthly position had been unalterably determined. Aware of feminist campaigns for equality, she asserted, "We have no occasion to clamor about equality, or to battle for supremacy. We understand our true position—God has defined

³¹"International Council of Women," *Woman's Exponent*, 15 March 1888.

³²As early as 1869 the national suffrage movement was split along radical-conservative lines into the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony were leaders of NWSA, the more radical of the groups. Though the NWSA alienated many religious American women, the AWSA made an effort not to lose the influence of the churches, and though Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony would have disagreed violently with the doctrine Miss Snow propounded, some of that doctrine was traditionally Christian and would have been accepted by many of the American women working for woman's suffrage. See Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (New York: Atheneum, 1973), pp. 151-55.

the sphere of woman wherever His Priesthood is acknowledged.”³³
 Woman

. . . led in the transgression, and was plac’d
 By Eloheim’s unchangeable decree,
 In a subservient and dependent sphere:—³⁴

“Order is heaven’s first law,” Eliza instructed, “and it is utterly impossible for order to exist without . . . gradation.”³⁵ In that gradation, men and women did not occupy the same position. Apostle Orson Hyde, in 1857, addressed his audience “Brethren and sisters,” rather than “Ladies and gentlemen,” because, he said, “the order of heaven places man in the front rank; hence he is first to be addressed. Woman follows under the protection of his counsels, and the superior strength of his arm. Her desire should be unto her husband, and he should rule over her.”³⁶ Countless times in her travels, Sister Snow enlarged upon that doctrine for her sisters. In the beginning, she explained, male and female were addressed as one, but the Fall brought about a change, and thus the “curse of Eve” rested upon all womankind. Regarding that curse, Brigham Young stated, “I do not know what the Lord could have put upon women worse than he did upon Mother Eve, where he told her: ‘Thy desire shall be to thy husband.’ . . . I would be glad if it were otherwise.”³⁷

Elizabeth Stanton’s 1848 Declaration of Sentiments included her outrage that “the history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of men toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of absolute tyranny over her.”³⁸ However, Latter-day Saints felt that man’s unrighteous dominion over woman was not only a result of his wickedness, but a result of the curse that woman’s desire should be to her husband. George Q. Cannon explained:

Why, women, in their yearning after the other sex and in their desire for maternity, will do anything to gratify that instinct of their nature and yield to anything and be dishonored even rather than not to gratify it.³⁹

Woman’s degradation was a fact. For gentile women the only

³³Snow address, “Celebration of the Twenty-fourth at Ogden.”

³⁴Eliza R. Snow, “The New Year, 1852,” *Deseret News*, 10 January 1852.

³⁵Snow, “Celebration of the Twenty-fourth at Ogden.”

³⁶Orson Hyde, Sermon, *Deseret News*, 18 March 1857.

³⁷Brigham Young in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1855-1886), 16:167.

³⁸Elizabeth Cady Stanton, quoted in Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, p. 75.

³⁹George Q. Cannon in *Journal of Discourses*, 13:207.

tried to accomplish. She was advocating not passivity, but righteous submission. "As sure as the sisters arise and take hold of the work," she exclaimed, "the brethren will wake up, because they must be at the head."⁴⁷ Relief Society president Willmirth East wrote Eliza from Arizona concerning her bishop's objection to frequent Relief Society visits from sisters to members. Sister Snow replied that the bishops might not be "properly informed relative to the Teacher's visits," and that it might be well for the sisters "to explain to him, but not oppose his wishes." She concluded her response with her consistent instructions to all Relief Society sisters: "We will do as we are directed by the Priesthood."⁴⁸

Sarah Grimké and other leaders in the nation's woman's movement had asserted that whatever was right for a man to do was likewise right for a woman to do. Perhaps this sentiment was present among some Mormon sisters. Evidently as women became increasingly active in Church positions of leadership and responsibility they became confused regarding their status and authority. Church President John Taylor in 1880 explained that sisters "ordained" to Relief Society positions were not ordained to the priesthood. Subsequently, to avoid confusion women were "set apart" for these positions, rather than "ordained." As enthusiastic sisters organized MIAs and Primary Associations, some question arose regarding woman's authority to organize and reorganize Relief Societies. Eliza R. Snow, with twenty years of experience, was called upon to clarify woman's role. At a Sevier Stake conference she

spoke on the subject of organization; said there were some societies which women had a right to organize, such as the Y[oung] L[adies'] and Primary Associations, but they had no right to organize a Relief Society; but they could *assist* the priesthood in doing so . . . Sister Eliza explained that she had been given a mission to *assist* the priesthood in organizing the Relief Societies; hence, some had conceived the idea that she organized.⁴⁹

Lest Relief Society sisters think that the strength of their accomplishments entitled them to strike out on their own, against the wishes of bishops and stake presidents, John Taylor admonished them: "While we appreciate the labors of our sisters, it must not

⁴⁷Salt Lake Stake, [General or Cooperative] Retrenchment Association Minutes 1871-1875, 30 August 1873.

⁴⁸Eliza R. Snow to Willmirth East, 23 April 1883, photocopy of holograph, Eliza R. Snow Papers, Church Library-Archives.

⁴⁹Sevier Stake Relief Society Minutes, 24 and 25 October 1880, in *Woman's Exponent*, 15 November 1880.

be forgotten that the man holds the Priesthood, and is the head of the woman, as Christ is the head of the Church.”⁵⁰

Women should be helpmeets to the priesthood, and they should assist their brothers, in Eliza’s imagery, “like the devout and steadfast Miriam in upholding the hands of Moses.”⁵¹ Unlike her national contemporaries, Eliza was not even anxious to give woman the last word. Happy to see the brethren at Relief Society meetings and conferences, she invited them to speak last. Relief Society president Margaret T. Smoot from Provo explained, “Sister Snow says it is proper for us to speak first, and let the stronger follow the weak, that if we say anything that needs correcting it can be corrected.”⁵²

The accomplishments of Eliza R. Snow and Mormon women in general are not reduced in light of this absolute submission to the priesthood. They did not consider themselves slaves; they were stewards. The many who were faithful in their assignments epitomized the wise stewards who in the parable of the talents doubled the talents for which they were held responsible and were given more. Stewards relieve their masters of certain tasks and in that process make decisions of consequence. Just so, the purpose of the Relief Society was to relieve the bishop and Eliza advised, “Do not run to him with every trifle.”⁵³ “If possible we should relieve the Bishops instead of adding to their multitudinous labors.”⁵⁴ Stewardship is not passivity and the steward who fearfully hid his talent in the earth was condemned. “Many of the women of Zion [have gone] astray with the idea that they [have] no time to attend meetings, or to give to the culture of their minds, but that their whole being and time must be given to the drudgery of life.”⁵⁵ But, “Do we realize our responsibilities? And that we have as much to do with the salvation of our souls as the brethren? They can not save us, we must save ourselves.”⁵⁶ She counseled, “It is a choosing time and we should do the choosing ourselves.”⁵⁷

⁵⁰Juab Stake Relief Society Minutes, 20 April 1879, in *Woman's Exponent*, 1 June 1879.

⁵¹Snow address, “Great Indignation Meeting.”

⁵²Provo Stake Relief Society Minutes, 27 May 1881, in *Woman's Exponent*, 1 July 1881.

⁵³Sugar House Ward Relief Society Minutes, 20 July 1868, in *Woman's Exponent*, 1 May 1891.

⁵⁴E. R. Snow Smith to the branches of the Relief Society, *Woman's Exponent*, 15 September 1884.

⁵⁵Provo City Relief Society Minutes, 17 June 1875, in *Woman's Exponent*, 15 July 1875.

⁵⁶Ephraim Relief Society Minutes, 25 June 1875, in *Woman's Exponent*, 15 August 1875.

⁵⁷Nineteenth Ward Relief Society Minutes, 18 August 1875, in *Woman's Exponent*, 1 October 1875.

Eliza Snow was speaking to thousands of Mormon mothers with children. What would she, a childless "mother in Israel," have them choose? "Let your first business be to perform your duties at home."⁵⁸ "The sisters in Zion are required to form the characters of the sons who are to be rulers and bishops in the kingdom of God."⁵⁹ This "is a mother's first duty, but it is not *all* her duty."⁶⁰

Inasmuch as you are wise stewards, you will find time for social duties, because these are incumbent upon us as daughters and mothers in Zion. By seeking to perform every duty you will find that your capacity will increase, and you will be astonished at what you can accomplish.⁶¹

The wise stewards did find time for other duties, and there were not only presidents and counselors for Relief Societies, MIAs and Primaries, but also storekeepers, printers, telegraphers, silk growers, surgeons and hospital directors.

Feminists taught women that through asserting themselves they could achieve social, political, and economic equality with men. Eliza R. Snow consistently held that only through obedience, and faithfulness in her stewardship, would woman change her sphere:

Inasmuch as we continue faithful, we shall be those that will be crowned in the presence of God and the lamb. You, my sisters, if you are faithful, will become Queens of Queens, and Priestesses unto the Most High God. These are your callings. We have only to discharge our duties.⁶²

In the parable of the talents, a promise was given the stewards who discharged their duties: "Thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things" (Matthew 25:23). Or, in the words of Zion's Poetess who penned these lines so carefully for her sisters:

What we experience here, is but a school
Wherein the ruled will be prepared to rule.
.
.
.
And thro' obedience, Woman will obtain
The *power of reigning, and the right to reign.*⁶³

⁵⁸"An Address by Miss Eliza R. Snow . . . August 14, 1873," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 36 (13 January 1874):21.

⁵⁹Ephraim Relief Society Minutes, 25 June 1875.

⁶⁰Weber Stake Relief Society Minutes, 9 June 1882, in *Woman's Exponent*, 1 July 1882.

⁶¹"An Address by Miss Eliza R. Snow . . . August 14, 1873," p. 21.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Snow, "Woman," p. 178.

The Image of Mormonism in French Literature: Part II

Wilfried Decoo

The first article in this study of the image of Mormonism in French literature concentrated essentially on the period 1850-1866, a time of intellectual fervor in France during which the historians and the philosophers dissected Mormonism in "scientific fashion." We also touched upon Mormonism as it appeared in the popular tradition of the time and in travel accounts, which form a literature that continued more or less irregularly until the end of the nineteenth century.¹ Although the Mormon theme is rare in French publication from 1900 to 1919, it is worthwhile to mention briefly certain interesting works of this period. In 1904 the journalist Jean d'Entraigues, after a visit to Salt Lake City, published a very laudatory article about the Mormons, using an amusing style to denounce the historical prejudices against the Latter-day Saints.² In 1907, in a voluminous account of a journey across the United States, Jules Huret devoted no less than five chapters to Mormonism. These chapters contained interesting interviews with President Joseph F. Smith and with a number of distinguished Mormon women, all belonging to polygamous families.³ Also worth noting are two scholarly articles, one on Utah by L. Gallois, and another on the siege of Nauvoo by the historian George Tricoche.⁴ But it is the decade from 1920-1930 that gives us several works of considerably greater significance.

Wilfried Decoo is professor of education at the University of Antwerp.

Translated from the French by Elouise M. Bell, assistant professor of English, Brigham Young University.

¹Wilfried Decoo, "The Image of Mormonism in French Literature: Part I," *BYU Studies* 14 (Spring 1974):157-75.

²Jean d'Entraigues, "La Ville des Mormons," *Le Monde Moderne* 20 (1904): 44-45.

³Jules Huret, *En Amérique: De San Francisco au Canada* (Paris: E. Fasquelle, 1907), pp. 106-63.

⁴L. Gallois, "L'Utah," *Les Annales de Géographie* 22 (1913):185-96; George Nestler Tricoche, "Le Siège de Nauvoo ou la Bataille des Maladroits (épisode de l'histoire des Mormons)," *Revue historique* 119 (1915):5-16.

SECOND PERIOD—THE TIME OF A FEW GREAT NAMES (1920-1930)

Whereas the first period of serious French literary interest in the Mormons (1850 to 1866) is characterized by the number of works and the variety of attitudes, the ten years from 1920 to 1930 are noteworthy more for the importance of several authors who wrote about the Mormons—including Guillaume Apollinaire, Pierre Benoit, and André Maurois.

GUILLAUME APOLLINAIRE: *La Femme Assise*
(*The Seated Woman*) (1920)

Guillaume Apollinaire, primarily known as an avant-garde poet and the inventor of the word "surrealism," stands a good chance of becoming one of the great names of French literature, thanks to the support of his faithful friends and the continuing interest of the academic critics. However, the few prose works of this poet are still little-known, and, among these *La Femme Assise* is fortunate if scholarly studies devote two or three lines to it. Moreover, many critics, including even Apollinaire's most fervent defenders, claim that he was not truly a storyteller. Too much attached to the pure image, to the light of intuition, and to the disparity and ambiguity of ideas, Apollinaire could not sustain a strong plot line throughout an entire book, subordinating secondary actions to it. The novels which he projected in interviews, and even in pamphlets, never saw the light of day, but miscarried in the early stages while still no more than notes scattered about in desk drawers. We have the titles of several of these projected works, among which is *La Mormone et le Danite* (*The Mormon Girl and the Danite*). Then in 1917, we suddenly find the poet feverishly putting together a collection of segments from these incomplete novels and of odds and ends previously published in the *Mercure de France*. The result was *La Femme Assise*, which did not appear until 1920, after the death of its author. A second version, only slightly less disjointed, came out in 1948.

The beginning of the novel unfolds the activities of a young lesbian, Elvire Goulot, through her Parisian and Russian environs, which are debauched and decadent in the extreme. Thereafter follows a rather long depiction of the world of the artists and scoundrels in the Montparnasse of 1914. At this point, a totally artificial thread permits Apollinaire to include in his novel a hundred pages about the Mormons. Elvire Goulot has a copy of an 1851 letter

from John Taylor to Brigham Young, written from Paris. It concerns the conversion of her grandmother, Pamela Monsenergues, to Mormonism. Elvire reads this letter to Otto Mahner, the great-uncle of a friend, who grew up in Salt Lake City. Since Otto had known Pamela there, he recounts to her granddaughter Elvire the events of Pamela's life as a Mormon, focusing on fantasized descriptions of public events: The arrival of emigrants to Salt Lake City, the assembly of the Saints, and a sermon by Brigham Young on that occasion, the ritual procession following the proclamation of the revelation of polygamy, and a party in the Social Hall. In all of this, Pamela's story occupies only a secondary position: after a period of hesitation in the home of Brigham Young, the French girl agrees to become the fifteenth wife of Elder Lubel Perciman, only to run off with a Danite the day after the wedding, and head back to France. After the chapters on Mormonism—which comprise the core of the book—Apollinaire returns to events of the First World War, pausing from time to time to recount the military deeds of a number of great ancient and medieval warriors. At this point also he resumes the shuffle through Elvire's amorous adventures.

Apollinaire's interest in the Mormons dates back before World War I, according to the accounts of several friends.⁵ He had plans for *La Mormone et le Danite* as early as 1912.⁶ Busy with the re-editing of old books of erotica in the series "Les Maîtres de l'Amour," ("Masters of Love"), Apollinaire rummaged day after day in the "hell" of the National Library of Paris, and brought forth from obscurity the work of John Cleland and of the Marquis de Sade.⁷ Doubtless it was during the course of these bibliographic researches that he began to be interested in the Mormons. What must have enticed Apollinaire was the strangeness of the sect, the allegedly bizarre mores, and especially the accusation of sensuality, centering in polygamy. In the image of the Latter-day Saints which was current in France, the writer found interwoven two themes which predominate in his work—on one hand, the picturesque life

⁵Thus André Billy in the preface to Guillaume Apollinaire, *Oeuvres poétiques*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Paris: Gallimard, 1967), p. xl; Paul Dermée, "Apollinaire," *Apollinaire* (Paris: Eds. de l'Esprit nouveau, n. d.), unpagged; Hubert Fabureau, *Guillaume Apollinaire: Son oeuvre, portrait et autographe* (Paris. Eds. de la Nouvelle Revue Critique, 1932), p. 75.

⁶Cf. Pierre-Marcel Adéma, *Guillaume Apollinaire, Collection Les Vies perpendiculaires* (Paris: Eds. de la Table Ronde, 1968), p. 303.

⁷Cf. René-Guy Cadou, *Guillaume Apollinaire ou l'Artilleur de Metz* (Nantes: Chiffolleau, 1948), pp. 41-51.

of the outlaw, the exile, and on the other hand, eroticism. Apollinaire's fascination with the persecuted, estranged, hero radiates from the pages of *L'Hérésiarque et Cie* (*The Heresiarch and Co.*) and *Le Passant de Prague* (*The Passerby from Prague*). His obsession with sexual themes is evident except to the reader who knows Apollinaire only from *Le Pont Mirabeau* (*The Mirabeau Bridge*). When we remember, moreover, that the apollinarian eroticism often surfaces in a biblical context, used to shock and scandalize the reader, we are not surprised that the libertine found useful materials in the history of the Latter-day Saints. Clearly Apollinaire used his talents to the utmost to render the Mormon milieu as strange and exotic as possible. If he bases his writings chiefly on names and historic facts which he found in the works of Jules Rémy,⁸ he distorts them by exaggerating hazardous elements or by adding others foreign to Mormonism. For example, he does not hesitate to introduce among the Mormons the rolling, jerking, and shouting associated with certain fundamentalist sects.⁹ Whole pages are devoted to a description of a congregation of Mormons in a hallucinatory delirium. The following paragraph gives only an incomplete idea of the tenor and content of this passage:

Their arms flailing, the pregnant women laughed so wildly that, no longer able to support the weight of their shaking bellies, they fell to the floor. Unearthly chants arose and the Indians uttered guttural noises that sounded like funeral knells. Then came tortured cries from women on the gentile side of the room, and not a few men, fraught with terror, trembled and sobbed. The raucous cries of the Mormons became howls, and people began to faint, first letting out a piercing cry which resounded like the sinister call of a bird of ill-omen. Next a frenzy jolted the entire assembly. The fit seized the people as one body. Those who had not fainted threw themselves on all fours and, raising their heads, looked Brigham Young in the face and began to bay like wild dogs. The sermon continued, and the voice of the Prophet, rolling forth words of revelation, surmounted the yelpings of the men and screechings of the women. He cried out with all his might; eyes

⁸Jules Rémy, *Voyage au Pays des Mormons: Relation, Géographie, Histoire naturelle, Histoire, Théologie, Mœurs et Coutumes*, 2 vols. (Paris: E. Dentu, 1860). Professor Guiette appears to be wrong in choosing the *Mémoires d'un Mormon* by Louis Bertrand (1862) as the primary source of *La Femme Assise*. Cf. Robert Guiette, "Notes sur La Femme Assise," *Revue des Sciences humaines* 84 (1956):457-60.

⁹Rémy mentions these details in connection with other religious groups in America (*Voyage*, 1:1xix-1xv). In his article on the Mormons, Prosper Mérimée had also conjured up a burlesque revival scene, insinuating that it referred to the Mormons. Cf. Prosper Mérimée, "Les Mormons," in *Mélanges historiques et littéraires* (1855; rpt. Paris: M. Lévy, 1867), pp. 18-19. It is therefore not surprising that Apollinaire combined the particulars in his account.

upturned to heaven, his tall hat on the back of his head, his swollen neck popping the button of his wide collar, his tie skewed to one side of his neck, his shirt opened and the prophet's goiter sprawled out on his chest like a cow's dug. He spoke with a voice of thunder, and he bent forward now to look his barkers in the eye, as they approached him on all fours, growling and showing their teeth.¹⁰

If the composition of the book as a whole seems very confused—and several critics have rather mercilessly underlined this weakness¹¹—one cannot deny that throughout the book runs a certain thematic unity. As in many of his poems and stories, Apollinaire concerns himself with the problem of the meaning of love, particularly from the point of view of the woman's function. He thus contrasts very forcefully two extremes of sexual attitude—on one hand, the debauched and sterile affairs of Elvire (and to a lesser degree those of Pamela), and on the other hand the marriage and the fecundity of the Mormon women.

For Apollinaire, tormented by the ravages of the war, the theme of fecundity became obsessive.¹² His famous surrealist play, *Les Mamelles de Tirésias* (*The Breasts of Tiresias*), presented in 1917, sent forth a call, both grotesque and tragic, for Frenchmen to multiply more abundantly. It was in Mormonism, synonymous with polygamy, that Apollinaire found "a way to give back to France the population which she needs to remain a great nation."¹³ Doubtless it is not necessary to take seriously the justification of a matrimonial system which France rejected as barbarian or absurd: The author of *La Femme Assise* most likely wished to shock his public by presenting Mormonism as a possible solution to the problem of depopulation. The arguments that he advances are nevertheless valid, taken directly from the testimony of a Mormon woman whom Rémy had interviewed.¹⁴ Apollinaire even hurls this trenchant variation

¹⁰Guillaume Apollinaire, *La Femme assise: Chronique de France et d'Amérique* (1920; rev. ed. Paris: Gallimard, 1948), pp. 83-84.

¹¹Thus Emmanuel Aegerter and Pierre Labracherie, *Guillaume Apollinaire* (Paris: Julliard, n.d.), p. 217; Claude Bonnefoy, *Apollinaire*, Classiques du XXe siècle (Paris: Eds. Universitaires, 1969), p. 101; Fabureau, *Guillaume Apollinaire*, pp. 74-77.

¹²Cf. Billy, Préface, pp. xxxvi and xl-xliv; Robert Couffignal, *L'inspiration biblique dans l'oeuvre de Guillaume Apollinaire*, Bibliothèque des Lettres Modernes, No. 8 (Paris: Minard, 1966), pp. 64-71; Mihaïlo Pavlović, "La Repopulation et *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*," *Revue des Lettres Modernes* 166-169 (1967):133-50.

¹³Apollinaire, *La Femme assise*, p. 39. Thus there is no reason to consider *La Femme assise* as "one of Apollinaire's most pessimistic works," as Scott Bates claims in *Guillaume Apollinaire* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1967), p. 137.

¹⁴Cf. Rémy, *Voyage*, 2:82-92. Apollinaire, *Le Femme assise*, pp. 60-61, 78-79, 91-93.

of the scripture: "Let he who is not polygamous in Europe cast the first stone at the Mormons!"¹⁵ Mormon women are presented as happy, living calm and natural lives, without jealousies or vicissitudes.¹⁶ By contrast, Elvire Goulot, whose adventures envelope the Mormon episode, practices a kind of "reverse Mormonism": tied to several lovers, she wishes nonetheless to "remain sterile in a time when defense and social honor calls for a particular fecundity from women."¹⁷ Elvire, thus, is a false woman, and it is in this sense that the title of the book receives a first explanation: Elvire resembles the seated woman on the Swiss five-franc coin, counterfeits of which were circulating at this time.¹⁸ But there is also a Mormon counterpart to this symbol of falseness, notably an enormous mannequin representing a seated woman, which the Mormons parade on a chariot of sorts during a ritual procession. This woman symbolizes the *true woman*, that is to say, natural and thus fertile.¹⁹ A third explanation of the title is found at the very end of the novel, citing the relationship between the sexes in a more purely social context: "Woman seated in the time when men are on the move."²⁰

In summary, Apollinaire's novel, of which we have indicated only the major outlines, has a thematic richness which merits a more in-depth analysis and which can illuminate other of the poet's works. Historical sidelights are abundant in the materials devoted to the period 1910-17. The Mormons are in the tapestry as a pretext for gaudy descriptions and as a justification for preposterous fertility by the subterfuge of polygamy. Finally, if one must recognize the pen of an author as fertile as the Mormons, one must also smile at his wild imagination. But the smile of true Mormons will dissipate rather quickly when they learn that the author of an "objective" study of the Church cites in his bibliography *La Femme Assise*.²¹

¹⁵Apollinaire, *La Femme assise*, p. 96.

¹⁶In this respect it is worth noting that the revival scene is discordant with the tone of the work as a whole. This is probably due to the fact that Apollinaire developed the theme of "glorious fecundity" during the war, considerably after the early pages, which were more unusual and perhaps more satiric. M.-T. Goosse thus is wrong to compare polygamy with the convulsion scene and to assume a frenetic and bestial love among Apollinaire's Mormons. Cf. Marie-Thérèse Goosse, "Une lecture du 'Larron' d'Apollinaire," *Archives des Lettres Modernes* 112 (1970):39-41.

¹⁷Apollinaire, *La Femme assise*, p. 147.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 156.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 103.

²⁰Ibid., p. 156.

²¹Thus the clergyman Charles Brüttsch in *Les Mormons ou Saints des derniers jours*, Coll. Connaissance des Sectes (Neuchâtel: Eds. Delachaux et Niestlé, 1960), p. 83.

PIERRE BENOIT: *Le Lac Salé* (Salt Lake) (1921)

Pierre Benoit, a member of the French Academy, clearly merits the titles given him by Marcel Girard: "manufacturer of adventure novels" and "facile magician."²² Each year for forty years, Benoit gave his many readers a new book. These works were sound, even though they were brought forth with little effort and always modeled upon a clearly defined pattern: everything proceeded logically from premises established in the first few pages. The characters follow their passions relentlessly, these passions most often being pride, greed, or love. Such is the case with the novel *Le Lac Salé*, published in 1921, which Benoit himself cites as a model of the narrative pattern found in all his other books.²³ The variety of each book was assured by the choice of settings, which Benoit made highly exotic: Utah and its inhabitants gave him such a setting, remote and original. Like Apollinaire, Benoit owes the geographical and historical background of his novel to Jules Rémy. Rémy had devoted part of one chapter to the Mormon War of 1857, which he documented with precision.²⁴ Benoit has his novel begin the very day the federal troops enter Salt Lake City. Rather than an analysis of the book, we shall give you here a quick summary.

Annabel Lee is the very young widow and heiress of an Irish Colonel who grew fabulously rich in the new mining companies of the West. Having come to Salt Lake City in 1857 to settle the affairs of her late husband, Annabel has not yet managed to leave the territory when the story begins: first because the hostilities prevented safe travel, then because of an affair with a federal officer who was billeted with her. In addition to the officer, a Jesuit priest lives with Annabel, one Philippe d'Exiles, missionary to the Indians, who had promised Colonel Lee to watch over the interests of his wife and above all, to see that she returned East as soon as possible. But a new obstacle to her return to civilization has emerged in the person of a young Methodist minister, Jemini Gwinett, dashing and shamelessly hypocritical. Gwinett, in league with the ambitious Mormon woman Sarah Pratt, is secretly "converted" to Mormonism. Then, in order to get his hands on Annabel and her wealth, he arranges, with the help of a toxic potion, to fall gravely ill in her

²²Marcel Girard, *Guide illustré de la littérature française moderne de 1918 à nos jours* (1949; rpt. Paris: Seghers, 1954), p. 163.

²³Pierre Benoit and Paul Guimard, *De Koenigsmark à Montsalvat: Quarante années, quarante romans* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1958), p. 62.

²⁴Rémy, *Voyage*, 1:400-419.

home. The young widow, now feeling useful and happy in her role as nursemaid, gives up all plans for returning East. After Father d'Exiles leaves, heeding the call of missionary duty to Idaho, Annabel falls completely into the clutches of the diabolical Gwinett. The minister, concealing his conversion to Mormonism and his marriage to Sarah Pratt, finally convinces Annabel to marry him. On the day of the marriage, Annabel, totally entangled in the minister's cunning web, believes she is going to be married in a Protestant ceremony. The ceremony, which Benoit took in full from the facts supplied by Rémy, comes off without incident.²⁵ But the next day, Annabel discovers to her horror that she has become Mrs. Gwinett Number Two!

Her attempts at divorce and escape are foiled by Gwinett and even by Governor Cumming, who wants no trouble with the Mormons. Wretched and ashamed, Annabel is overcome by an illness which does not quite succeed in putting her out of her misery. Father d'Exiles, learning of the plot, returns to Salt Lake City to try to free Annabel. His meeting with Brigham Young is one of the most vivid episodes of the novel: it is the encounter of two superior minds, jousting with great skill for intellectual superiority. By blackmail—he knows about the existence of secret funds Brigham Young has stashed away in New York—the Jesuit obtains the prophet's permission to whisk Annabel to safety. However, Annabel's shame and incomprehensible love for Gwinett are stronger than her desire to flee, and she refuses to follow the Jesuit. He will go to die, a willing martyr, among the Ute Indians. The epilogue, a final scene set in 1882, shows us Gwinett as Brigham Young's successor and Annabel "a miserable human vegetable," locked up in an asylum.

Since a rather large part of the French population has read and still reads the novels of Benoit, it is not surprising that Frenchmen often think of *Le Sac Salé* when they hear of the Mormons. However, the history of Annabel Lee contains very little information about the Latter-day Saints. The author is so caught up with his heroine and her fatal passions that the background remains hazy, and neither Mormon society nor theology is depicted. Only one theme of the traditional literature about Mormons is clearly in evidence, which is the concept that Mormonism is directed by men of superior intellect but without faith or scruples. But the ecclesiastical criticism in this book is not directed specifically against individual

²⁵Ibid., 2:111-12.

Mormons: Gwinett, who behaves so vilely out of ambition and greed, is a Protestant minister; Father d'Exiles, who is in love with Annabel and who commits suicide, is a Jesuit. As far as the Mormon environment in the book is concerned, Benoit has only rendered the classic picture of the literature of Mormonism, probably convinced that he was describing reality. In a recent study on his own heroines, the novelist indicated that he had received postcards showing him the present-day Salt Lake City. Naively he regrets that the "sinister Mormon city" is no longer what it was in the time of Brigham Young. According to him, the city at that time was

. . . more picturesque with its extraordinary and grotesque profession of secret societies, its Danites, its Angels of Destruction, its Thrones, its Virtues, its Dominations, the extravagant panoply with which these people loved to adorn themselves on the great celebration days, the Urim, the Thummim, the Seal of Solomon, the pigskin apron embroidered with fig leaves, the cloaks of white linen, the sashes and fantastic decorations. . . .²⁶

Such is the image of historic Mormonism held by a member of the French Academy scarcely ten years ago. Obviously, as concerns the French literary milieu, it was Apollinaire who did more than his share to forge this vision of a phantasmagoric world in the Rocky Mountains.

ANDRÉ MAUROIS: *La Vie de Joseph Smith*
(*The Life of Joseph Smith*) (1927)

Another member of the French Academy, rather more illustrious than Benoit, will also, in the eyes of Mormons, rank as more sacrilegious. In 1927 André Maurois, under his real name, Emil Herzog, published a life of Joseph Smith that Voltaire himself would not disown. It is a strange little book, this casual biography—satiric, cheap, most often ignored by the critics, and altogether out of place among the other works which Maurois produced during this same period: the famous novels *Bernard Quesnay* and *Climats*, *La Vie de Disraeli*, and *Les Etudes Anglaises*.

It is true that *La Vie de Joseph Smith* was not written for the general public: only a hundred copies were printed, each numbered and signed, the book intended only for Edouard Champion and his friends—"les Ronins." One is rather surprised that Maurois, a disciple of the great moralist and aesthetician Alain, chose to write

²⁶Pierre Benoit, *Mes héroïnes, d'Aurore à Aïssé* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1965), p. 37.

the biography of so obscure and ridiculous a figure as Joseph Smith was in his eyes. Evidently the nature of the "farce," the "gross mystification"—for such did Maurois consider the founding of Mormonism—beguiled this versatile author, for we must not forget that Maurois had a weakness for Anglo-Saxon humor and American history.²⁷

La Vie de Joseph Smith is only sixty-some pages long. The story follows chronology faithfully, from the First Vision in 1820 to the death of the Prophet in 1844. Four pages of a so-called epilogue are supposed to recount for us the rest of the Mormon story, but Maurois amuses himself instead by describing at length some technical details of the Salt Lake Temple. The style of the book is extremely simple, almost childish, thereby emphasizing rather forcefully the supercilious irony and at the same time, the archness of the author.²⁸

Very much in the manner of Voltaire, Maurois satirizes in particular the divine aspect of Joseph Smith's calling. For example, the revelation concerning plural marriage is explained with this facile sentence:

He [Joseph Smith] had always felt, each time he saw a pretty woman, feelings so violent it seemed unthinkable to him that they did not come from the Lord.²⁹

And polygamy itself merits this treatment:

But the prophet was too respectful of divine messages not to obey them. From this day forth, he married all the women for whom the Lord inspired righteous desires in him. Ultimately, he mortified himself to the point of possessing twenty-eight women.³⁰

By the very nature of its publication, *La Vie de Joseph Smith* did not attract much notice. Moreover, the book is now extremely rare. But a study such as this one cannot neglect to point out that Joseph Smith merited the attention, albeit malicious, of a writer such as André Maurois.

²⁷Cf. *Les Silences du Colonel Scramble* and *Histoire des Etats-Unis*. Note that in this latter work, Maurois writes more objectively and positively about the Mormons.

²⁸G. Lemaître, one of the few critics of Maurois who mentions *La Vie de Joseph Smith*, has not quite understood the vehemence of Maurois' irony. Cf. Georges Lemaître, *Maurois: The Writer and His Work* (New York: F. Ungar, 1968), p. 58.

²⁹André Maurois, *La Vie de Joseph Smith*, Les 49 Ronins du Quai Malaquais, No. 6 (Paris: Edouard Champion et ses amis, 1927), p. 26.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 35.

OTHER WORKS OF THE PERIOD, 1920-1930

Apart from the "Mormon writings" of these three notable figures, Apollinaire, Benoit, and Maurois, the decade 1920-1930 produced nothing very original. The various novelty pieces of the sort we examined for the period 1850-1866 were still around, pretty much hollow echoes of a bygone day.

Occasionally, amateur historians and moralists would publish once more the old saws about the history and theology of Mormonism and especially about polygamy. For example, in his little book, *La Polygamie aux Etats-Unis: Les Mormons*, Raymond Duguet claims that the Latter-day Saints do not uphold the *Manifesto* but continue instead to sanction polygamous unions. Even though the author is convinced that the Mormon missionaries "will scarcely succeed in Latin countries, especially here," he nonetheless considers it necessary to put his fellow Frenchmen on guard against Mormonism, which "tries to carry off, by conversion, some loved one whom you will never see again."³¹

An article in much the same vein turns up by René Guénon: "Les Origines du Mormonisme." Here the author resurrects the whole Spaulding theory concerning the Book of Mormon. His conclusion places the Mormons in the larger perspective of a credulous and extravagant America: Mormonism was "the rather alarming symptom of a mental unbalance that threatens to become widespread if not carefully watched."³² But the positive judgments are not lacking either in this literature that seeks to be "objective"—confirming thereby the ambiguous character of the French attitude towards the Mormons.³³ One author whose attitudes are predominantly favorable is Charles Cestre, professor of American literature and civilization at the Sorbonne. Professor Cestre maintains an excellent relationship with the leadership of the French Mission, recently relocated in Paris.³⁴ His great work on the United States of America contains pages highly laudatory of the Mormons, in which polygamy is defined as "a moral idea not without grandeur."³⁵

³¹Raymond Duguet, *La Polygamie aux Etats-Unis: Les Mormons* (Paris: Eds. du Nouveau Mercure, 1921), pp. 8 and 98.

³²René Guénon, "Les Origines du Mormonisme," *Revue politique et littéraire* 64 (1926):541.

³³Cf. Decoo, "Image of Mormonism," pp. 157-59.

³⁴Cf. Gary Ray Chard, "A History of the French Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1850-1960" (Master's thesis, Utah State University, 1965), p. 80.

³⁵Charles Cestre, *Les Etats-Unis* (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1927), p. 270.

Popular literature, in which category we can place Benoit's novel, is not dead either. In 1857, Paul Duplessis published a mediocre adventure novel about the Danites.³⁶ He had his counterpart in 1930: in a book called *L'Oeil de l'Utah* (*The Eye of Utah*), George Sim sends a young French girl and her fiancé to Utah to claim the inheritance from a gold-mining uncle. The Mormons, who have created for themselves strange ghettos in a West we would not recognize, do all in their power to thwart the hero and heroine and to seize the treasure. Needless to say, the villains are foiled by the intrepid pair. This novel, published as part of a popular series of adventure tales, has no literary merit.³⁷

Finally, we find occasional travelers, rather less common in this difficult post-war period of economic crisis, bringing back to France their extremely favorable impressions of the Mormons. A famous example is that of the journalist René Puaux, who made a tour of the United States by means of a Carnegie endowment, and returned with "an admiring respect" for the works of the Mormons. To the Latter-day Saints he renders the classic travelers' homage: "What was formerly nothing but a terrifying desert has been transformed into a land of milk and honey by a messianic vision, to which a ferocious energy and a magnificent industrial effort have happily given a material base."³⁸

But, as we have seen, it is not in this commonplace truism of such a positive nature that the great names found their Mormon inspiration. Apollinaire, Benoit, and Maurois—for it is to them that any conclusion of the period 1920-1930 must return—saw Mormonism solely as a source of original and strange raw materials. According to their personal tastes and the current needs of their literature, they deformed the Mormon society, so malleable because so little known. From this point of view, the surrealistic vision of the Latter-day Saints that Apollinaire gives us, the intrigues of *Le Lac Salé*, and Maurois' satiric pamphlet do not constitute malevolence towards the Mormons. We cannot remind ourselves too often that the French writers remained detached from all religious controversy: They were simply amusing themselves at the expense of a multifaceted tradition.

³⁶Cf. Decoo, "Image of Mormonism," p. 170.

³⁷Georges Sim, *L'Oeil de l'Utah*, Collection du Livre National, Bibliothèque des Grandes Aventures (Paris: J. Tallandier, 1930).

³⁸René Puaux, *Découverte des Américains* (Paris: Fasquelle, 1930), p. 61.

Measure for Measure: Tragedy and Redemption

Paul James Toscano

INTRODUCTION

If there is anything that the great tragedies of the world seem to have in common, surely it must be unhappy endings. Do not the lovers die? Does not the king lose his crown? Are not the heroes doomed to wretchedness and defeat? And he that exalted himself, is he not abased? For most people, the word "tragedy" is synonymous with pessimism and despair. It conjures up vague remembrances of stormy plots, with sad and often violent conclusions. However, as surprising as it may seem, many critics, playwrights, actors, and theatergoers have managed to see piercing through the midnight darkness of tragic drama, such optimistic themes as faith, hope, resolution, and regeneration—all shining with the splendor of bright stars in a black, cloudless sky.

Herbert Muller, for example, points out that tragedy began as a literary device of individual expression "concerned with the most vital civic issue . . . the spiritual survival of the community."¹ Tragedy, he says, grew out of an annual religious celebration in honor of the Year Daemon, a god whose ritual conflict, death, and resurrection were seen by the ancient Greeks to hold some spiritual relation to the rejuvenation of nature, the regeneration of man, and the continuance of life and fertility. In time the God so honored was replaced by an individual of heroic proportions—a mythical or historical figure who loomed large in the minds of the people.² Whoever or whatever this hero was, he—like the Daemon—struggled in the press of destructive forces that he may have pulled down upon himself. And like the Daemon, his struggles led not *to* pessimism and despair, but *through* pessimism and despair to resolution

Paul James Toscano is a law student at the J. Reuben Clark, Jr. Law School.

¹Herbert J. Muller, *The Spirit of Tragedy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), p. 32.

²*Ibid.*

and regeneration—if not for himself, then for his fellows or his cosmos, but especially for all those sensitive witnesses of his plight.

Whether in old Athens, London, or New York the best tragedies have been, as William McCollum says, a “means not merely of catharsis, but of spiritual regeneration. . . . Like the rituals of the dying god, they represent death in order to promote life.”³ However, this movement from darkness to light, from evil to good, from defilement to purification in tragedy has usually been very subtle, at least subtle enough that certain critics have been hard pressed to find it in such black tragedies as *Macbeth*, for instance. Nevertheless, the regeneration theme is there. It is what the story is all about. The whole thrust of the last scenes is to drive home the point that “cheaters never prosper.” The murderer is punished. The evil he unleashed finally destroys him. Because Macbeth is damned, Scotland is cleansed; the stage is swept of villainy, and goodness rings down triumphant to the thunderous applause of a grateful, if not purified, public.

Although, in *Macbeth*, the resolution springs, Phoenix-like, from the damnation of the hero, it may just as well have sprung from his purification as it does in *King Lear*, where, says Irving Ribner, “Shakespeare’s emphasis is upon the process of . . . penance and expiation for sin . . . [and where] the suffering Lear and Gloucester are presented with all the immediate intensity of which Shakespeare is capable in order to emphasize that the process is a purgatorial one.”⁴ Though Lear’s tragic mistake precipitates the loss of all his earthly honors, temporal possessions, and worldly power, his fall is counterbalanced by his spiritual maturation. In the last scenes, we sense that his soul has been purged and his sins forgiven him.

Both Macbeth and Lear are tragic heroes, both make tragic mistakes, both take tragic journeys, both suffer and die. But *Macbeth* is the story of a man who loses everything in this world and the next and whose tragic journey ends in damnation. Lear, on the other hand, is a man who forfeits all he holds dear in this world to atone for his tragic flaw and tragic mistake; his journey ends in purgation. If some tragedies are resolved in damnation and others in purgation, is there no room in the genre for a play in which the tragic heroes journey through gloom, fear, wretchedness, and despair, but are in

³William G. McCollum, *Tragedy* (New York: MacMillan, 1957), p. 34.

⁴Irving Ribner, *Patterns in Shakespearean Tragedy* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1960), pp. 116-17.

the end snatched from death and hell? Is there no room for a tragedy that ends in redemption?

To this question many critics have answered no. Although tragedies are historically associated with themes of regeneration, critics have often objected to the idea of redemption tragedy because, as Karl Jaspers sees it, redemption is a Christian doctrine, and "Christian salvation opposes tragic knowledge. The chance of being saved destroys the tragic sense of being trapped without a chance of escape. Therefore, no genuinely Christian tragedy can exist."⁵ Because Christ took the sting out of death, "no loss is permanent," says Richard Sewall, "no injustice without heavenly recompense."⁶ D. D. Raphael notes that "tragedy is only possible to a mind which is for the moment agnostic. The least touch of any theology which has a compensating Heaven to offer the tragic hero is fatal."⁷ Harold Wilson believes that the Christian Providence will turn all evil to good and thus all tragedy to comedy.⁸ Clifford Leech summed up this view when he said, "the tragic picture is incompatible with the Christian faith."⁹

According to these critics, no explicit resolution to tragedy is allowed. Thus *Macbeth* is a tragedy because we are not allowed to see the explicit triumph of justice in Scotland. Hamlet qualifies too; for although Fortinbras is introduced as a symbol of regeneration, we are not allowed to see that regeneration played out upon the stage. We see evil run its course. We see it purged or damned. We receive a statement that the kingdom of justice is at hand, but we never see that kingdom. Alfred Schlesinger observed that we are never allowed to see "the cosmos, the social order, the city state, bettered." We do not see the heroes in triumph.¹⁰ Only as long as the resolution is implicit, as long as it is vague, as long as it is left unstated in the play, is it admissible.

Particularly repugnant to these critics is anything that savors of Christian redemption, which, they feel, detracts from the horror, pas-

⁵Karl Jaspers, *Tragedy is Not Enough* (London: Gallancy, 1953), p. 38.

⁶Richard B. Sewall, *The Vision of Tragedy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), p. 50.

⁷D. D. Raphael, *The Paradox of Tragedy* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1959), p. 38.

⁸Harold S. Wilson, *On the Design of Shakespearean Tragedy*, Text no. 5 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 12.

⁹Clifford Leech, "The Implications of Tragedy," in *Tragedy: Modern Essays in Criticism*, ed. Laurence Michel and Richard B. Sewall (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963), p. 222.

¹⁰Alfred Cary Schlesinger, *Boundaries of Dionysus* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 8.

sion, and significance of the tragic spectacle. How, they ask, can the hero suffer tragically if he believes he will be rewarded for his troubles?

In answer to this question, Laurence Michel notes that even if the hero triumphs in the end, his "victory will not be won without spiritual anguish. His voyage will be that of an imperfect man in an imperfect world."¹¹ For the Christian tragic hero this voyage becomes doubly dangerous, for his salvific vision merely intensifies his tragic experience. He must live with the dreaded possibility of displeasing God, falling from grace, and incurring his wrath in hell. Sewall correctly saw that the Christian hero is "presented with a great, new dilemma; to believe or not to believe"; to cast off the old creature and be born again, or to languish in corruption. "This means suffering of a new kind," requiring a consciousness of sin unknown to ancient Greece. "It remained for the Christian tragedy to give full dramatic treatment to the guilty and remorseful soul."¹² He further observed that Christianity,

instead of negating tragedy or taking man in one leap of faith "beyond tragedy," . . . in actual practice, historically, has provided a matrix out of which has come, since the beginnings of the Renaissance, a prodigious amount of tragic expression. . . . It is the religions of the east, whose direction is toward nonbeing, the denial of the individual and of the reality of suffering and death, that have proved inhospitable to tragedy. . . . Though the Church is witness to a joyous miracle, it never blinked at the hard and bitter struggle of daily living.¹³

Michel observed that Job's story comes closest to a complete tragic action:

It is uncompromisingly grounded in religion, it is about religion. All Job's physical and material evils are correlatives to his vision of spiritual evil: he knows that his Defender liveth, his piety is strong and ardent, the spirit of God is in his nostrils, and yet the arrows of the Almighty are in him. God keeps away and will not answer him.¹⁴

The most outstanding classic example of this kind of suffering is Prometheus, whose triumph is morally absolute. But he pays

¹¹Laurence Michel, "The Possibilities of a Christian Tragedy," in *Tragedy: Modern Essays in Criticism*, ed. Laurence Michel and Richard B. Sewall (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963), p. 222.

¹²Sewall, *Vision*, pp. 51-52.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 53.

¹⁴Michel, "Christian Tragedy," p. 222.

heavily in bodily pain. Oscar Mandel tells us that the tragedy of Prometheus is consummated "regardless of what follows after. Only if angels interfered in time to prevent the suffering would tragedy be averted."¹⁵ Both Job and Prometheus are tragic figures, and yet each in his own way knows he is immortal.

The question, "How can a tragic hero suffer *tragically* if he knows he will be rewarded for his troubles?" is a loaded one, predicated on an assumption (ringing with nihilistic overtones) that the catastrophe and agony of tragedy stem not from the flaw, fall, and suffering of the tragic hero, but from the imminent approach of oblivion—from the sense that all experience, both good and evil, is actually meaningless. But doesn't this assumption place too much importance on the hero's fate after death and not enough on his actual tragic sufferings in this world? A man suffers tragically not because he must eventually face hell, heaven, or oblivion, but because he must willingly pit his strength and will against terrible forces (that he may have unleashed upon himself) and endure mental or physical anguish. The belief of the Christian hero that his sufferings will end in heaven does as little to lessen this tragic experience as does the belief of the agnostic hero that his pains will end in the grave. It is well to remember that though Macbeth is extinguished and Orestes redeemed, both are tragic heroes.

What has resulted then from Greek, Hebraic, and Christian tradition is the idea of Christian tragedy, with its own peculiar tensions and stresses. The Christian must very often act on his own. He is often, as Michel observes, "perplexed in the extreme, and he must pay heavily for his transgressions, . . . because the whole scheme is being worked out in the world and in time; [because] there can be no abiding solution, there is room for the tragic response."¹⁶ The Christian tragic hero believes that the world may ultimately be redeemed, but for the present he expects evil to abound. Michel sees in the world the inherent seeds of "destruction, danger, and hardship, but somehow, at the end there is life abundantly, blessedness, and rest. And this is a view of things in which the tragic sense of life can flourish."¹⁷

Tragedy, the spectacle of man seeking his own well-being, wittingly coming to grips with evil and with suffering, and fearing

¹⁵Oscar Mandel, *A Definition of Tragedy* (New York: New York University Press, 1961), pp. 155-160.

¹⁶Michel, "Christian Tragedy," p. 221.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 217.

and trembling in the press of mysterious cosmic forces, depends not on the damnation, purgation, or redemption of the tragic hero, but on the nature of his dilemma and the way he comports himself as he seeks to extricate himself from it. If the tragedy is resolved in redemption, it will not lessen the tragic experience of the Christian hero, who must still move through glooms of despair and horror toward his apotheosis. Mandel points out that the saintliness of the tragic hero may

. . . entail a daily struggle and a daily wretchedness. If the good in him conquers, it does so like Antigone's exacting as its price all earthly happiness. True, such tragedies are invariably followed by the gathering-up of the soul to paradise, but these are post-tragic redemptions.¹⁸

"Tragedy and religion are not incompatible," says Michel, because "both insistently concern themselves with man's urge and desire to become god-like, . . . both feed on piety; both ultimately find the key to all problems in immortality; both come to terms with death."¹⁹

Embodied in *Measure for Measure* is a tragic action which ends in redemption for the tragic heroes. The first half of the play moves fast toward an unhappy ending. But at the moment when all seems lost, the catastrophe is averted, though Angelo, Isabella, and Claudio, the major tragic heroes, are allowed to believe the damage has been done and thus go through a period of tragic suffering wherein they learn the full implications of their flaws. Through this suffering, they are humanized and purged. When the humanization is complete and they are thoroughly prepared to meet their destiny, they learn that the catastrophe has been averted and, unlike Lear or Oedipus, they are redeemed both spiritually *and temporally*. They are snatched from death and hell so that the resolution of their tragic conflict is explicit and complete.

Critics have remarked upon the seemingly unorthodox mixture of comic and tragic in *Measure for Measure*. E. M. W. Tillyard, for example, says, "the play is not of a piece, but changes its nature half way through."²⁰ Act III, scene i, line 152 marks the division between the two halves of the play. From this point what has promised to be an "absorbing tragedy, dissolves into a comedy of in-

¹⁸Mandel, *Definition of Tragedy*, pp. 111-12.

¹⁹Michel, "Christian Tragedy," pp. 222-23.

²⁰E. M. W. Tillyard, *Shakespeare's Problem Plays* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1950), p. 123.

trigue."²¹ The tragic action is altered by the workings of an omniscient, omnipotent, and benevolent force in the person of the Duke. Roy Battenhouse points out that "by classical standards its art form is neither pure comedy nor pure tragedy, but an unorthodox blending of the two."²² The first half of *Measure for Measure* sustains an unmistakable tragic structure leading toward the damnation of all the characters we value, save the Duke and Escalus. However, because we have been made aware of the secret presence of the Duke who is on hand "like power divine," to avert the disaster, we are assured "that a supreme power of good yet watches over this world; that evil has a line drawn around it and will be contained."²³ Yet Angelo, Isabella, and Claudio do not possess our vision; they do not know that their tragic dilemma exists within the confines of an overarching divine comic structure. They are examples of the Christian tragic hero. They possess a tragic spirit; they see themselves in a tragic light. For them the conflict, the anguish, the horror, and the impending doom exist unopposed by any merciful power. Resolution and redemption are merely afterthoughts. Angelo, Isabella, and Claudio must move through glooms of despair and horror toward their salvation.

But because Shakespeare has informed us, the spectators, that the tragic action takes place under the eyes of the benevolent Duke, because there is a "gap between our awareness and the participants,"²⁴ we can observe the early tragic development of *Measure for Measure* with a detachment and objectivity which elude all the persons of the drama except the Duke. Thus, though we are denied the full impact of the tragic effect, we are allowed, instead, to see a greater vision: *the kingdom of evil exists, controlled and limited, within a larger kingdom of good.*

ANALYSIS

In the early tragic action of *Measure for Measure*, attention is primarily centered on Angelo, Isabella, and Claudio. The Duke's role is subordinated during this half of the play where the main

²¹William John Roscelli, "Isabella, Sin, and Civil Law," in *University of Kansas City Review* 23(March 1962):221.

²²Roy Battenhouse, "Measure for Measure and the Christian Doctrine of the Atonement," *PMLA* 61(1946):1030.

²³Bertrand Evans, "Like Power Divine: Measure for Measure," in *Shakespeare's Comedies* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960), p. 189.

²⁴Ibid., p. 186.

²⁵Gerald Gould, "A New Reading of Measure for Measure," *English Review* 36(1923):232.

characters are fast led toward catastrophe. Speaking of Angelo, Isabella, and Claudio, Gerald Gould said that the flaws are not in the play, but in the characters.²⁵ In fact, these very flaws precipitate their tragic fall.

Angelo, as some have noted, does not know himself.²⁶ He refuses to recognize that he has repressed desires. He will not acknowledge that his blood is more than "snow broth."²⁷ He takes inordinate pride in his outward gravity. His reputation means much to him; he has a Pharisaic concern for outward appearance. He does not see the "hidden depravity" within.²⁸ He is well suited to governing by the letter of the law. He is capable of monstrous tyranny and abuse of power. His love of virtue is narrow, rigid, and unappealing.

Isabella's love of purity is possessed of a spirit devoid of "understanding, tolerance, compassion, [and] love."²⁹ To her, chastity is more an obsession than a virtue. She is an Hippolytus. When compared to the warm Mariana or the humane Juliet, Isabella seems to have little affinity with humankind. She is a merciless pleader for mercy whose harshness and selfishness alienate her from her fellows.

Her brother, Claudio, on the other hand, is all too human, too much in love with living. His fault does not rest so much in his transgression, but in his overweening fear of death. Had he been willing to die, the catastrophe would have been averted. In fact, had any of these characters repented of their mistakes in time, then the catastrophe would have been avoided, and, of course, the impact of *Measure for Measure* would have been lessened. But it is Shakespeare's playing of one flawed character against another that leads to the tragic deadlock of Act III, scene i.

This is the most critical point in the play. Shakespeare has thrust his characters into a dilemma from which they cannot possibly extricate themselves. Angelo, at the first "prompture of the blood" (II, iv, 173)³⁰ gives his "sensual race the rein" (II, iv, 160) and demands Isabella's body for Claudio's life. And though he recognizes the evil within him, he cannot turn back; he lacks all clear-

²⁶G. Wilson Knight, "Measure for Measure and the Gospels," *The Wheel of Fire* (London: Methuen & Co., 1949), p. 85.

²⁷Edward L. Hart, "A Mixed Consort: Leontes, Angelo, and Helena," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, no. 1 (Winter 1964), p. 76.

²⁸Evans, "Like Power Divine," p. 191.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 199.

³⁰William Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, in *Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, ed. G. B. Harrison (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968), p. 1103.

headedness. To repent would mean to abdicate, and his inordinate concern for appearances would not allow him to do that. Isabella's rigid chastity will not allow her to succumb to his demands. And so, it seems that Claudio has become an unfortunate pawn, caught between uncompromising demand and unyielding refusal.

It is fairly clear to the observer that this situation is far from comical. It is, in fact, tragic. If Isabella refuses to submit to Angelo, Claudio will be executed—a harsh punishment for the crime he has committed. Moreover, Angelo would be morally guilty of murder (albeit clothed in the robes of justice), for he would be executing the man to revenge himself upon the unwilling Isabella. On the other hand, if Isabella submits, she would be shamed; Angelo would be culpable before the laws of both man and God, and Claudio would forever bear the onus of having been liberated at the price of his sister's chastity. What is to be sacrificed? Isabella's virtue or Claudio's life?

There is only one way out of the dilemma: Angelo, Isabella, and Claudio must each repent. Angelo must conquer his lust for Isabella; he must be purified; he must learn to live life on a higher plane. Isabella must also learn humanity; she must somehow obtain a more compassionate view of the world. And Claudio must learn that slavery is worse than death and that the readiness is all.

However, the characters are powerless to act wisely. They need help. They need to suffer the tragic remorse and pain which comes as a consequence of their flaws without putting themselves beyond redemption. They need to be humanized by the buffetings of evil without being damned. In Act III, scene ii, Shakespeare begins to manipulate his characters through a tragic-in-divine-comic structure so that they may undergo just such an experience.

At the moment of greatest alarm, when disaster seems inevitable, the friar-Duke appears on the scene and begins taking an active part in the drama. We know that somehow he will avert the catastrophe and save the characters from each other and from themselves. However, the characters are aware of none of this; for them the tragedy continues. From this point, the spectator is watching tragic action taking place within an enveloping, divine-comic structure.

At the beginning of the play we learn that the Duke is concerned about Vienna, for the laws go unobserved and "athwart goes all decorum" (I, iii, 30-31). Something, he feels, must be done to rectify this intolerable situation. He has decided to abdicate for a

time in favor of Angelo, his deputy, who is well suited to letter-of-the-law rule:³¹ "We have with a leavened and prepared choice/Proceeded to you, therefore, take your honors" (I, i, 52-53). The Duke, then, retires hastily, leaving the tragic developments to run their course. But rather than quitting the city, he remains to observe secretly the actions of his deputy and of his subjects. Although he plays no active part in the play until Act III, his passive presence is a constant reminder that the tragic action of the early scenes takes place in a divine-comic setting.

After Isabella's thundering denunciation of Claudio's weakness in Act III, the Duke, who had been eavesdropping on their quarrel, sets in motion the divine-comic operations that will lead to the humanization and redemption of the tragic heroes.

Evans notes that "the Duke entails the practice by which multiple ends can be accomplished, . . . [Claudio] saved . . . [Isabella's] honor untainted . . . and the deputy scaled."³² The Duke also intends to purify Angelo and Isabella by providing them with an experience designed to purge them of their flaws without endangering their souls. In addition, the Duke wants "to prove that mercy is superior to retributive justice."³³ Because the Duke has a gentle nature and is incapable of harshness, he chooses to rehabilitate rather than to punish. His subjects have abused his mercy and ignored his laws, but he does not abandon them. They remain all-important to him. He is in no way irresponsible. By abdicating for a time, he allows justice a chance to gain the upper hand, but he stands nearby to see that it does not subvert mercy and grace.³⁴

By keeping Isabella ignorant of Claudio's salvation from death, the Duke is able to teach her charity and put her to the test by asking her to forgive the man whom she thinks has killed her brother. By allowing Claudio to believe that he must face the executioners, the Duke teaches him courage and resolve in the face of death. By allowing him to think he has deflowered Isabella and murdered Claudio, the Duke provides Angelo with the tragic experience by which he learns to know himself. By allowing justice to have full power in Vienna, the Duke proves that his policy of mercy is best, though mercy cannot be allowed to rob justice. It is the Duke who

³¹Robert Ornstein, "The Human Comedy: *Measure for Measure*," *University of Kansas City Review* 24(1957):21.

³²Evans, "Like Power Divine," p. 200.

³³John Wasson, "Measure for Measure: A Play of Incontinence," *Journal of English Literary History* 27(1966):2.

³⁴Ornstein, "The Human Comedy," p. 19.

initiates the tragic development within the comic structure to provide a learning experience for his deputy and his subjects. For as both D. L. Stevenson and J. A. Bryant have noted, *Measure for Measure* is the story of man, who "falls from grace, comes to know himself under the dispensation of the Mosaic Law, and finds redemption under the dispensation of grace with the return of the Lord in the full light of morning."³⁵

The methods the Duke employs to save the tragic figures are remarkably similar to the ways in which Christ saves his subjects. Though the Duke does not himself act as a scapegoat, he thwarts sin and death by means of scapegoats, namely: Mariana, who had legal rights to Angelo's bed, but whom Angelo rejected after her dowry was lost at sea; and Ragozine, a pirate who, fortunately, died in prison just prior to Claudio's scheduled execution. By substituting Mariana in the place of Isabella and by substituting the head of Ragozine for the head of Claudio, the Duke prevents the loss of Claudio's life, Isabella's chastity, and Angelo's soul. Robert Ornstein observes that "in the denouement the intricate pattern of devious substitutions reverses itself until all identities are restored and Vienna returns to its customary habits and business."³⁶

The Duke's scapegoat-like substitutions are not the only developments in the comic structure which bear a relationship to the idea of Christian atonement. The Duke, himself, is a symbol of divine power.

By his condescending act at the beginning of the play, he sets in motion the whole of the action. He is the creator of the dramatic structure. He manipulates the plot so that the tragic-in-divine-comic design brings about the humanization he desires. He, like Christ, tests his subjects. He is called "Your Grace," an obvious pun. He tells Claudio to think more on death than on life; for, as Christ has said, he that seeks his life shall lose it, but he that loses his life shall find it. Claudio responds to the Duke's advice with a paraphrase of the scripture: "To sue to live, I find I seek to die,/And, seeking death, find life. Let it come on" (III, i, 42-43). The Duke rebukes Lucio (Lucifer?) the disbeliever and cynic. He hears confession. He forgives sin. He is the embodiment of Church and State. He makes a surprise appearance at the end of the play analogous to the second coming. He performs a final judgment in the

³⁵J. A. Bryant, Jr. as quoted in D. L. Stevenson, *The Achievement of Measure for Measure* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966), p. 107.

³⁶Ornstein, "The Human Comedy," p. 16.

last act wherein he tempers justice with mercy. He prevents the triumph of sin and death (i.e., the seduction of Isabella and the execution of Claudio). He provides opportunity for his subjects to mature and progress, and he ultimately restores order to the chaotic state of Vienna. In addition, he visits the spirits in prison; he replaces Angelo's Mosaic code with a law of grace, and, finally, he caps off the action with the announcement of his intended marriage to Isabella which, in a way, suggests the metaphorical union of Christ, the Bridegroom, (i.e., the Duke, himself) and the Church, the Bride, (i.e., Isabella) at the consummation of all things. Of the Christian motif in *Measure for Measure*, Wilson Knight commented that "there is no more beautiful passage in all Shakespeare on the Christian redemption than Isabella's lines to Angelo":³⁷

Alas, Alas!
Why, all the souls that were forfeit once,
And He that might the vantage best have took
Found out the remedy. How would you be
If He, which is the top of Judgment, should
But judge you as you are? Oh, think on that,
And mercy then will breathe within your lips
Like man new-made. (II, ii, 72-81)

CONCLUSION

Measure for Measure reflects the true human predicament from a Christian viewpoint; man's life is tragic because he lacks vision and cannot perceive the divine-comic structure of the universe. He is subject to sin and death. And though he can be made more deeply spiritual through his suffering, he cannot, through his sufferings alone, make a complete and satisfactory restitution for the effects of his sins, nor can he conquer death. Like Angelo, Isabella and Claudio, he seems trapped in a dilemma from which he cannot extricate himself. It is only through the instrumentality of a superior power (like the Duke) that man may be saved from his weakness and mortality.

When viewed structurally, *Measure for Measure* is clearly not a comedy at all, not even a tragi-comedy, but a tragedy within a divine comic structure. As Dante journeyed through hell and purgatory to heaven, so Shakespeare journeyed through different, though related, dramatic structures. Since damnation, or even purgation, is unacceptable from a Christian standpoint, because both fall short of satisfying man's need for inner purity and outward perfection,

³⁷Knight, "Measure for Measure and the Gospels," p. 75.

Shakespeare, in *Measure for Measure*, has exploited, if not created, a tragedy-in-divine-comedy in which man is led through conflict and pain to an explicit spiritual-temporal redemption.

When the structure of *Measure for Measure* is recognized for what it is, some of the major "problems" of the play begin to evaporate. The division between the two parts of the play is not a mistake, but is part of the tragic-in-divine-comic structure. We begin to see that Angelo, Isabella, and Claudio are flawed, not because of the dramatist's oversight, but because they are tragic figures with tragic flaws, who make tragic mistakes and work toward their own defeats. We can understand why the Duke is passive in the early tragic scenes of the play. We can appreciate more fully the intrigues by which he humanizes his subjects and allows them to suffer tragically while carefully leading them to triumph. We can more easily accept the minor difficulties which perhaps may have caused Shakespeare to strain a little in the areas of characterization and motivation so that the all-important tragic-in-divine-comic structure could be maintained throughout the play. We see that the bed-trick, so objectionable to some critics, proves to be a masterful transition, binding the tragic and the divine-comic elements of the play. This little ruse on Angelo not only sets in motion an action which saves Claudio's life, advantages Mariana, softens Isabella, redeems Angelo, and restores a mercy-tempered justice to Vienna, but it also reflects, in microcosm, the scapegoat theme that forms a major part of the Christian tradition so intrinsic to the play.

Because we know the Duke is on hand to avert the catastrophe, we are prepared for the deliverance of the characters in the final scene. The denouement in Act V merely fulfills the promise of redemption received at the beginning of the play. The ending is not a *deus ex machina* because we know the Duke was working toward this end all along.³⁸

Measure for Measure is a tragedy with an explicit resolution for which we are prepared from the beginning. The tragic structure of the play is couched comfortably in a large, enveloping divine-comic context. And though some critics might object to the wedding of tragedy and comedy in *Measure for Measure*, it is this very union which affords us the pleasure of witnessing both the tragic humanization and the divine-comic triumph of its characters. What Shakespeare has given us in this play is a measure of tragedy for a measure of comedy.

³⁸Ornstein, "The Human Comedy," p. 21.

Book Reviews

ALLEN, JAMES B., AND THOMAS G. ALEXANDER, eds. *Manchester Mormons: The Journal of William Clayton 1840-1842*. Vol. I in the Classic Mormon Diary Series. Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1974. 248 pages. \$8.95.

Reviewed by William Mulder, professor of English, University of Utah.

Like the Puritans of New England, the early Mormons were compulsive diarists. Both indulged in a kind of spiritual bookkeeping. Awakened to a new life in the gospel, but hardly changed from sinner to Latter-day Saint overnight, Mormon converts were preoccupied, sometimes morbidly, with their salvation and anxious about God's purposes. Anyone interested in what William James called "the varieties of religious experience" finds such personal narrative fascinating, despite often the trivia and repetition, or possibly because of them, because they betray a pattern of concern and values significant to the behavioral scientist, however disappointing to the historian, who would like more chronicle and less introspection, more "life and times" in the flesh, less whining of the spirit. Mormon diaries fall somewhere between St. Augustine and Boswell: they abound in concrete, often unconsciously colorful detail about the daily round at the same time they search the corners of the soul.

William Clayton's journal of his labors in the Mormon congregation at Manchester in 1840 and of his emigration to Nauvoo with the second company of Mormons to leave England, is typical and a happy choice to start Peregrine Smith's Classic Mormon Diary Series. There is a ready-made interest in Clayton as the man who kept the journal of the first pioneer company and wrote "Come, Come, Ye Saints." Now in *Manchester Mormons* (an apt and catchy title), we go back beyond these landmarks for an eyewitness account of Mormonism's earliest activity in England and the scene at Nauvoo. It is a pristine period, Joseph Smith's era, the age of Primitive Mormonism before the schisms, as yet unconditioned as Mormon memory would be by the exodus and the saga of settle-

ment in the West. It is a time when the Mormons, to paraphrase what Edmund Burke once said of the Americans, were still in the gristle, not yet hardened in the bone. The diary is dotted with the names of the makers and shapers of the early movement, the proselyters, the future pioneers, the rising prophets of Mormondom—Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, and Brigham Young, Clayton's contemporaries in England, and, in America, Joseph Smith himself. In the hands of the editors, trained historians Allen and Alexander, the diary grows in interest and significance as they put England, Manchester particularly, and early Mormon doctrine, practice, and expectation in context.

The editorial apparatus, and it is considerable, admirably serves this end: a general introduction, the text of the diary itself with extraordinarily thorough footnotes following each entry and explaining every allusion, an annotated alphabetical list of identifiable persons appearing in the diary as an appendix, and a very detailed name and subject index. Editorially the work is evidence of the new professionalism that is becoming the hallmark of Mormon historiography. Of the few editorial slips that occur in the book, only one, the scrambled bibliographical details of Orson Hyde's tract, *A Timely Warning*, seems of any substance.

The editors are no stylists and they lack narrative talent: their summary, in the introduction, of Clayton's career and the action of the diary is economical and informed but lacks drama and momentum, though the diary itself has novelistic moments. Their strength lies in notation and analysis, as in their painstaking reconstruction of the social and economic scene in industrial Manchester and their section "The Urban Saints: A Social Profile." Such data are a boon to the serious reader, though perhaps a weariness, when presented without verve and color, to the general one. The difficulty lies precisely there: it is a question of audience, a question to be resolved not by the editors of this volume so much as by those determining guidelines for the series: are they publishing for the general reader or for other historians? And for a Mormon or a non-Mormon audience? *Manchester Mormons* tries to please both, but the divided point of view puts the explanations of Mormon doctrine and practice out of focus: what the non-Mormon reader will surely find diverting (saluting with a holy kiss, the internal ministering of anointing oil, the wine- and coffee-drinking, the use of the collection box, the practice of open confession for transgression, the foot-washing, the speaking in tongues, the readiness to excommunicate

or disfellowship among the early Mormons) becomes the occasion for solemn over-explanation for the benefit of the Mormon reader, to lessen the shock, presumably, of differences in Mormon outlook and behavior between then and now. It's a matter of tone; but if edited Mormon manuscripts are to win their way outside Church circles a certain sophistication of language will have to accompany the sophisticated historiography which the editing of *Manchester Mormons* does indeed display.

To their great credit, the editors do not flinch in delicate matters; they are frank, for example, as they pursue the implications of young Clayton's "special feelings," though he was a married man, toward Sarah Crooks, an attractive member of his congregation: "The Lord keep me pure, and preserve me from wrong doing," he confides. Such entries, showing Clayton struggling to understand the new faith and his own calling, with many a conflict of duty and desire, show the human side of Mormon history. If we are sometimes irritated by the self-deprecation, the display of human pettiness and contentiousness, the antics of the holy, we are as often moved by the desire to reform, the longing to become worthy, the trials of embattled spirits and afflicted bodies, the heroics of the humble. No commentary need enhance entries such as "The child will die," "I was very footsore," "Some are not saints who profess to be," and, when Clayton's company sails for Zion, "We are on our way home."

Thanks to the meticulous and comprehensive aids the editors provide, the useful cross references to the manuscript history of the Church and journals kept by Clayton's contemporaries, we get unexpected bonuses in Mormon history: when Clayton records, "Read the vision to some of the sisters," the editors speculate that this is a reference, very likely, to the First Vision, an account "not widely circulated in the early years of the Church, and . . . not included in any missionary literature, or any publication, for that matter, prior to 1840." Of a very different order is the entry about young sisters flirting with the sailors, indeed drinking wine with them, on the voyage to America, and returning "very indifferent answers" when reprimanded, saying "they could take care of themselves." An unexpected emancipation!

Besides the pleasures of the diary itself, *Manchester Mormons* affords an aesthetic pleasure: it is a nice piece of bookmaking: the half-binding with a period photo of Clayton on the cover, the end papers showing Clayton's missionary labors and the emigration route,

the oval engravings which head each section and invoke an antique atmosphere, the type and quality paper—all have been coordinated by Keith Montague into a singularly harmonious design. The press-work, unfortunately, is uneven, with some page impressions alternately light and heavy and too many “high risers,” lines of type that are markedly darker than the rest, an irritation to the reader. The publisher, so bent on excellence, must feel like the farmer whose cow put her foot in the milk. One peccadillo about mechanics: the footnotes are numbered consecutively so that by the time we reach the end of the volume we are up to footnote number 252. Since the footnotes immediately follow each diary entry the convention of assigning each page, or each entry, its own series, would have been simpler.

Unhappily, Peregrine Smith has announced that because of economic pressures, the Classic Mormon Diary Series will not be continued beyond *Manchester Mormons*. We can only hope that the other two diaries announced for the series—the journals of Charles L. Walker and Thomas Bullock—will be printed by other publishers.

HARRIS, JOHN STERLING AND L. DOUGLAS HILL. *Barbed Wire: Poetry and Photographs of the West*. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1974. 73 pp. \$5.95.

Reviewed by Clarice Short, professor of English, emeritus, University of Utah.

The term “barbed wire” has several connotations: impediment to a charging infantry in wartime, the fringe along the top of prison walls, or simply the taut strand marking boundaries and the end of the freedom known to an unfenced world. But the photograph on the dust jacket of the book *Barbed Wire: Poetry and Photographs of the West* with its leaning posts, its tangled strands of barbed wire, and the clutter of what appears to be baling wire around what might have been corner posts or gateposts suggest desolation. Whatever use the fence originally had, it has lost.

This picture, like most of the others in the book, has the paradoxical quality of dealing gently with harsh materials. There is a kind of poignancy about the broken fences, the machines left to rust away, and the iron fences around the graves in the neglected cemetery. For the most part, the pictures are impressions rather than il-

illustrations. The effect produced by the book results from the combining of the two arts. The two reinforce each other. The effect is not earthshaking, but gains strength from the fact that both poetry and pictures are close to the earth.

The poetry gives the impression of being composed by a person who recognizes the limits of his range and stays within them. Mr. Harris almost invariably adopts the right tone and knows when to stop. Some of the poems, such as "Rock Pile," are almost purely descriptive, but the descriptions are accurate and fresh. One sees the lichen creeping toward the top of the newest rock. It would be difficult to find more precise words to describe the death of a cottontail than Harris uses in "Hawk." The poems dealing with the pathos of the human situation avoid sentimentality. "Hay Derrick" describes an accident which takes the life of one who is probably the oldest son and mainstay of a farm family. The poem is carefully constructed in unrhymed quatrains, the first of which ends with the symbolic "low stack/ Of hay against the pale sky." The last stanza is a superb example of understatement:

They left the stack unfinished
To bleach in the summer sun,
And the autumn winds stirred the hay
Like unkempt hair on the head of a boy.

There is enough humor to balance the pathos, and in several poems there is only a delicate line separating the two tones. One of the most memorable passages in the book occurs in the poem called "The Assassination of Emma Gray." Old Jerome, kneeling in the mud to ask forgiveness of Emma, a very fat, very old sow, for butchering her is not ridiculous; he is akin to all the men of the earth who recognize their brotherhood with all living things and ask pardon of the tree that is felled and the deer that is shot.

In a collection of poems almost entirely devoid of classical allusion, the one that is used in "Tag, I. D." is particularly striking and apt. Harris calls the identification tag of the soldier the "Stainless steel coin/ For the boatman."

Pictures and poems taken together, this would be a hard book not to enjoy.

LANGLEY, HAROLD D., ed. *To Utah With the Dragoons and Glimpses of Life in Arizona and California, 1858-1859*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1974. 230 pp. \$8.50.

Reviewed by Richard D. Poll, professor of history, Western Illinois University, Macomb.

The most interesting single chapter in this collection of letters which appeared originally in the Philadelphia *Daily Evening Bulletin* is the last, "In Search of a Soldier" (pp. 188-204). Here the editor, who is presently Associate Curator of the National Museum of History and Technology at the Smithsonian Institution, reports the first-class piece of historical detective work by which he reached a tentative identification of the author of twenty-five dispatches from a soldier-journalist-goldseeker which appeared in 1858 and 1859 over the pseudonym "Utah."

Harold D. Langley has convinced this reviewer that "Utah" was Henry W. Fischer (or Fisher), a German immigrant who had some journalistic experience in Pennsylvania before he enlisted in the Second Dragoons in March 1858 at the age of twenty-seven. As one of the reinforcements for the Utah Expedition who were recruited while the fate of General Albert Sydney Johnston's forces at Camp Scott was still uncertain, he received a few weeks training at Carlisle Barracks before moving to Fort Leavenworth, from which his first published letter bears the date 28 May. He marched (or rode horseback) from Kansas to Utah, arriving in August after Thomas L. Kane, Alfred Cumming and the "peace commissioners" had brought the "Mormon rebellion" to an end. Fischer—if "Utah" was Fischer—spent several months at Camp Floyd before being given a disability discharge as the result of a wound received in a skirmish with the Ute Indians. He then journeyed to southern California and to the gold diggings on the Gila River in what was then New Mexico Territory. Illness forced him back to Los Angeles and after a last letter dated 23 May 1859, "Utah" dropped out of the Philadelphia *Bulletin* and out of history.

The letters justify republication, "Utah" being a remarkably literate and entertaining observer and commentator on many of the events of which he was aware. Quotations from English and American poets and pundits share space with pro-Republican comments on the national political scene. James Buchanan is no favorite of "Utah" (or of the *Bulletin*, which may be one reason why the dispatches were printed). The character and courage of the Utah

Expedition's officers, with a few exceptions, do not impress "Utah," nor does the overall caliber of the enlisted personnel. Drunkenness, desertions and discipline—the last usually lax but sometimes brutal—draw critical comment, though individuals are praised and the combat potential of the common soldiers is held in high regard. Brief descriptions of Forts Leavenworth, Kearney, Laramie, Bridger and Floyd are supplemented by contemporary sketches supplied by the editor; the scenery of the Overland Trail, Utah and the Southwest, about which "Utah" is often ecstatic, is similarly treated. Descriptions of the Indians from Kansas to California are more sympathetic than one might expect from a soldier on the frontier. "Utah" strongly sympathizes with the Utes at Spanish Fork in their early troubles with the United States Army.

Langley has done a generally good job of editing the letters, and the University of Utah Press has made them attractively available, with contemporary illustrations, photocopies of some of the military records relevant to "Utah's" identification, and maps which are mildly anachronistic in that they locate the routes and place names of the 1850s on the states as their boundaries are today. Footnotes identify almost all of the people mentioned in the letters and many of the events mentioned by "Utah" are informatively explained. The fifteen-page introduction concentrates on the background of the Utah troubles and the recruitment and training of the 1858 reinforcements. The style is clear but a bit choppy; one might argue with the way a few details are handled, but the treatment is basically accurate.

To Utah With the Dragoons is weakest in those parts which are probably of greatest interest to the readers of *Brigham Young University Studies*. "Utah" apparently never had more than superficial contact with the Mormons, although the conventional anti-Mormon bias of his first dispatches gives way to a very sympathetic view of the LDS people as he meets them on the Overland Trail and among the workmen at Camp Floyd. If he ever went into Salt Lake City or Provo, it is not indicated in his letters, and his perspective on the controversies among Governor Cumming, General Johnston, Judge Eckels, et al., is that of a reader of newspapers and listener to barracks rumors. He reports seeing Brigham Young when the Mormon president visited the camp on several occasions, and being once introduced by the bricklayer-bishop with whom "Utah" was at the time working as a hod carrier. He expresses emphatic

admiration for Young as a man, but not for his doctrines; nor does he think much of the 1858 editorial policies of the *Deseret News*.

Langley's notes, too, are disappointing with regard to Utah affairs. Although he identifies the LDS leaders mentioned in the letters, the editor adds nothing to the dispatch references to Mormons involved in building and operating Camp Floyd, nor does he provide context for "Utah's" cryptic and pro-Cumming references to the troubles among the gentile authorities in the occupied territory. Mexican politics, to which tangential references are made in the California dispatches, receives more attention in the footnotes than Utah politics in connection with the letters from Camp Floyd.

This collection of letters makes informative and often entertaining reading. The chapter, "In Search of a Soldier," might be used with profit in an undergraduate seminar on historical method.

MATTHEWS, ROBERT J. *"A Plainer Translation" Joseph Smith's Translation of the Bible; A History and Commentary*. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1975. 468 pp. \$12.95.

Reviewed by Richard P. Howard, Church Historian, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Missouri.

The scholarly community bears a sizable debt to Robert Matthews for his monumental work on the "New Translation" of the Bible commenced by Joseph Smith in 1830 and published by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in 1867. The term "monumental" is used in the sense that Matthews has consulted every possible source in his effort to set forth the chronology of events surrounding Smith's work on his "New Translation." With meticulous care Matthews has compiled, as no one before him, the myriad references from primary and secondary sources bearing directly and indirectly on the work of the "New Translation." His book traces not only the intricate and sometimes sketchy course of Smith's MS work, 1830-1844, but also the history of the text as published and edited by the Reorganized Church since 1867.

Matthews' interest in this subject dates back to the early 1940s when his first articles appeared in the *Improvement Era*. Since then he has labored tirelessly to help the membership of his church ap-

preciate Smith's biblical "translation" more fully, and to understand the basis on which it was produced. An aid to this effort, beginning in 1969, was the availability of the original MSS, held in the Reorganized Church Archives in Independence, Missouri. These had been inaccessible prior to that time awaiting satisfactory photoduplication. Matthews' research in the original MSS has unearthed a number of heretofore unnoted facets of the relationship between those MSS and the work as published (1867) and revised (1944) by the Reorganized Church.

A Plainer Translation has three parts: (1) the story of how the "New Translation" came into being, its publication and revision, its relationship to other documents and publications, its place in doctrinal developments, and its position as a restoration of lost original texts; (2) the doctrinal contributions of the "New Translation"; and (3) appendices.

Part I begins with introductory material showing the rationale behind Smith's decision to produce a biblical revision. In this Matthews relies heavily on certain Book of Mormon passages which in his judgment represented for Smith a mandate to revise the Bible in terms of restoring lost texts. Then follows a collection of statements by Joseph Smith and others on various topics related to the preparation of the MSS and the efforts to publish it. Matthews affirms, on the basis of Section 45 of the Doctrine and Covenants, that a major purpose of the "New Translation" was the education of Joseph Smith himself, i.e., in the process of "translation" Smith was to gain a "spiritual education" (p. 53).

One of the most lucid and helpful chapters is the third, in which Matthews describes the sources for the "New Translation" and explains the intricate relationships between the MSS and the marked Bible with which Smith worked. In addition he gives several examples of how Smith worked and reworked specific passages after either a first revision or an initial indication that no revision was necessary. A close reading of this chapter alone would enable one to conceptualize the *modus operandi* of Smith and his scribes.

One issue placed clearly in focus is the difficulty of establishing the sequence of two of the Old Testament MSS. In my book (*Restoration Scriptures*, 1969) OT MS #1 was the label given to a 16p. fragment in John Whitmer's hand and extending to Genesis 7:85 of the published text. OT MS #2 described a longer, and what appeared to be a more refined writing of OT #1, extending the

text forward to Genesis 24:42a. Matthews (pp. 67-72) presents strong arguments for reversing these designations, and although I am nearly persuaded to his conclusions in this regard, what is needed is a thorough collation of the two MSS and a more definitive examination of all internal and external evidences before a final conclusion can be drawn.

Chapter 4 sets forth the history of the original MSS and the marked Bible and traces the circuitous route by which they came into possession of the Reorganized Church from various members of the Smith family during the period 1866-1942. This is followed by a very brief chapter introducing the uninitiated to the concept of textual criticism.

Chapters 6-9 form a unit in which Matthews discusses the value and meaning of the John Bernhisel copy of the original MSS, the printer's MS produced by the Reorganized Church in 1866-67, and the various RLDS publications of the text since 1867, and analyzes textual variants between the MSS and the RLDS editions. Matthews correctly judges the 1944 "New Corrected Edition" to be superior to the 1867 edition, noting that the latter is for the most part more faithful to the intent of the combination of the marked Bible and the original MSS.

Chapters 10-13 survey evidences bearing on whether the "New Translation" was finished sufficiently to enable publication; the relation between the Pearl of Great Price and the "New Translation"; whether the latter could be called a "restoration of original biblical texts" lost through mistranslation; and the contributions of the "New Translation" to LDS scripture and doctrine. On the issue of whether the "New Translation" is a restoration at all points of original biblical texts, Matthews attempts to show that the claim of Joseph Smith to divine inspiration, if accepted, leads one more nearly in the direction of assuming the work to have been a restoration rather than a theological commentary. This of course confronts one with the problem of twelve Old Testament books, for example, that remained completely untouched by Smith's "translation" activity. Some of these books, as modern exegetical studies have shown, come to us in the KJV in a very corrupt form, much in need of revision in light of later manuscript discoveries. Clearly the issue here is the nature of divine revelation and inspiration, and the role played by the human instrument in recording interpretations of metaphysical experiences. It is at this point that LDS

scholarship needs a more adequate and comprehensive development and exposition. Matthews' book is illustrative of that need.

Part II of the book is perhaps the most controversial, in that it proceeds to examine the doctrinal contributions of the "New Translation." The controversial nature of this section (chapters 14-19) derives largely from the faith assumptions of the author. He brings to his task a basic framework that tends to minimize the value of what might otherwise have been a truly enlightening learning experience for the reader. The overriding presupposition of this part of the book is, in one form or another, "The Prophet, being a seer and revelator, would be given by the Lord certain information. . . ." Starting as he does from that premise, Matthews was relieved of the obligation to examine and appreciate the insights afforded within the vast stores of biblical scholarship that have accrued since the days of Joseph Smith. Such activity has blessed Christendom with a clarity of exegesis that simply must be in view when examining the significance of Joseph Smith's modifications of the King James text: we can truly understand the implications of Joseph Smith's changes only if we understand what the KJV really says.

Examples of the difficulties Matthews gets into in trying to defend, rather than trying to analyze and interpret, could be multiplied at great length. Romans Chapter 7 is an apt illustration. The composite effect of many historical, theological, and exegetical studies on this profoundly intricate subject of the relationship between sin and the Law is to show that the Christian struggles throughout his whole life to perceive and appropriate into his being and relationships the meaning of the forgiving grace of God. This is sharply contrasted to, for example, Romans 7:14-17 in which Smith emphasizes the importance of good works in winning the favor of God and avoiding God's condemnation. At this point, it appears to me, Smith is accommodating Paul's radical gospel of grace to a works-righteousness gospel more nearly akin to the Old Testament and the Book of Mormon. In this sense, then, Smith needs not to be defended (and, thereby Paul misunderstood), but to be understood as offering his people an alternative theological interpretation given under the inspiration of God, not in an absolute sense, but, as he, Joseph Smith, understood and interpreted that inspiration. In short, LDS scholarship in areas of biblical exegesis and interpretation, needs to do its homework, taking more seriously the fruit of centuries of Christian scholarship and reflection.

Part III of *A Plainer Translation* offers appendices that are extremely useful to the student who wants to deal with textual variants among various MSS sources and published editions. Used with chapters 6-9 a whole new array of textual studies could come forth, further clarifying the basic nature and purpose of Joseph Smith's "New Translation" of the Bible, and its enduring values for our time.

MELVILLE, J. KEITH. *Conflict and Compromise: The Mormons in Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Politics*. Provo: Printed for the Political Science Department by the Brigham Young University Printing Service, 1974. 121 pp. \$3.95.

Reviewed by Jan Shipps, assistant professor of history and religious studies, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis.

The fresh title notwithstanding, Melville's *Conflict and Compromise: The Mormons in Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Politics* is not a new work. A sketchy survey of the political events in early territorial Utah has been added, but in substance, this book is a reprint—apparently from the very same plates—of the author's *Highlights in Mormon Political History* which was originally published in the Brigham Young University Merrill Monograph Series in 1967. I was not aware that this was the case when I agreed to prepare a review for *BYU Studies*, and this unanticipated duplication places me in a somewhat awkward position since I reviewed the work in its earlier form for *Dialogue* (3 [Winter 1968]:103-104). Upon discovery of this situation, my first impulse was to suggest that, because the new book is essentially the same as the earlier one, this fact could be noted and the readers directed to the earlier reviews of the work. However, as I reread the account of "The Mormons in the Frontier Politics of Iowa" and the discussion of "The Mormons and the Compromise of 1850" and read the added section on "The Infant Steps of Territorial Government" for the first time, I realized that 1968 assessments of Professor Melville's work will not serve in 1975. For one thing, the world of Mormon history has changed since this monograph was prepared. For another, a virtual revolution in methodology has occurred in the whole general area of political history in the intervening years. The standards by which a work of this nature must

be judged have changed dramatically, and—evaluated with modern criteria in mind—*Conflict and Compromise* simply fails to measure up as useful scholarship.

The second (and longest) section of the book purports to explain, for example, how and why the U. S. Congress provided the Mormons in the Great Basin with a territorial rather than a state government. Yet the analysis is entirely based on Mormon sources and the public debates recorded in the journals of the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives. The author has made no real effort to place the question in the full context of the complicated national political situation of the time, and has been content, instead, to narrate the story almost precisely as John M. Bernhisel, the Saints' Washington lobbyist, related it to the LDS Church Presidency. Moreover, while Holman Hamilton's *Prologue to Conflict* was published in 1964, no reference is made to this standard work on the Compromise of 1850. Also, no notice is taken of Thomas B. Alexander's *Sectional Stress and Party Strength: A Study of Roll-Call Voting Returns in the United States House of Representatives, 1836-1860* or any of the other works in which congressional roll calls have been "scaled" or "clustered," even though the importance of roll-call analysis in the explanation of the behavior of legislative bodies has been amply demonstrated.

Since the circumstances were less complicated, the fact that the Iowa episode which is described in the first section of the book is likewise presented primarily from the Mormon standpoint does not matter quite so much. Still, this is a twice-told tale which needed telling only once. As for the final section, the one on which the "expanded form" statement in the "Preface" is based, over forty-five percent of it is devoted to maps, reproductions of letters, and other direct quotations. So much emphasis has been placed on supplying material which would give readers "a feel for the original drama involved" (p. vii) that the author's contribution turns out to be little more than a précis of standard historical accounts of Utah in the 1850s.

In the pages of this journal last year Chad Flake complained about the lack of tough reviews of works on Mormonism written by Mormons. He suggested a number of valid reasons for this situation, but he failed to mention that criticizing the work of another student of Mormon history, whether he is a Saint or whether he is not, can be an exceedingly unpleasant task. Nevertheless, someone has to point out when the emperor's clothes are missing. Frankly,

in this instance, I cannot understand why the political science department at a major university would sponsor the reissuing of a work as dated and superfluous as this one.

TANNER, ANNIE CLARK. *A Biography of Ezra Thompson Clark*. Introduction by Obert C. Tanner. Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund of the University of Utah Library, 1975. xi + 82 pp. \$8.50.

Reviewed by Thomas G. Alexander, professor of history and associate director of the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University.

Our image of nineteenth century Mormonism has been conditioned by impressions of the cooperative movement, the Law of Consecration and Stewardship, and the United Orders. Twentieth century Mormonism has moved away from a communitarian orientation, and Ezra Thompson Clark's life may have been a harbinger of this transition. The antithesis of the average Mormon of nineteenth century lore, Clark was capitalistic, he refused to join the cooperative movement, and on two occasions he found excuses for refusing to accept the call to a colonizing mission which might have inconvenienced his business enterprises.

Born in 1823 in Lawrenceville, Illinois, Ezra Clark moved to a number of cities in Illinois before joining the Mormon Church and settling with the Saints in Missouri. After being driven from Missouri, the family moved to Illinois and then to Utah, where Clark established himself in Farmington.

Thereafter, Clark's life was filled with service to himself, his family, and the Church. In addition to developing his own farms and businesses, Clark filled five preaching missions. With the exception of the Bear Lake colony, however, his efforts in colonizing missions consisted of providing transportation and supplies for others and securing someone else to go in his place. In the case of Bear Lake, he established a separate home which served as summer pasture for his cattle, while maintaining his permanent residence in Farmington.

His devotion to the Church as he understood it is unquestioned. He spent a term in prison for practicing polygamy, served as a member of the Davis Stake High Council, and officiated as a patriarch. His love for his family was genuine, deep, and reciprocated.

Two chapters of this book deal with Clark's business dealings and his personal philosophy, both of which were individualistic rather than communitarian. Mrs. Tanner attempted to justify Clark's refusal to have anything to do with the United Order by taking the view that Clark organized a cooperative within his own family. She presented an oft-quoted statement from Brigham Young that he too refused to join the United Order until he could "find someone to manage my affairs better than I can" (p. 53). (Actually, according to Dean May, who is currently at work on a book-length study of the United Orders, Brigham Young belonged to United Order No. 1 in Salt Lake City which was a sort of businessmen's order and it is probable that at least part of Brigham Young's property in St. George was included in the United Order there.)

On a more general level, this reviewer is a bit perplexed to understand how this volume fits into a general series whose stated purpose is to publish volumes "based upon their intellectual appeal as accurate history, and their emotional interest as good literature." The book is well written and interesting, but it is little more than an uncritical effort by a devoted daughter to eulogize her father. If an attempt had been made to look at the warts as well as the beauties of his life, and to put his views in the general context of Mormon historical development, the volume might have been an excellent historical study. Mrs. Tanner, however, seems to have lacked the detachment necessary for this task. In her autobiography, *A Mormon Mother*, this personal and rather passionate attachment was a virtue. Furthermore, it was balanced by an unusually perceptive introspective capacity. In the present study the personal commitment to the subject makes a balanced treatment impossible, and the failure to substitute critical analysis for the introspection of the earlier volume is unfortunate.

The Historians Corner

JOHN HYDE, JUNIOR—AN EARLIER VIEW

Edward L. Hart

John Hyde, Jr., is familiar to most students of Mormon history as one of the most famous apostate writers of the early Utah period. Having joined the Church in England, he spent a short time on a mission to France and the Channel Islands. After migrating to Utah, he was called on a mission to the Sandwich Islands during the Conference of April 1856 and set out on his journey. On the way, he decided to renounce Mormonism and to work against the Church in the Islands and in California. He was the author of an anti-Mormon book in which he reports that he was excommunicated by motion of Heber C. Kimball in Salt Lake City on 11 January 1857.¹

Hyde's career in opposition to the Church is well known, but his activities of an earlier date, while still a member, are less known, as is the fact that he had been in severe difficulties with the Church even before going to Utah. It is with this earlier period that I shall deal here. Most of this new information comes from James H. Hart's journals, seven of which were recently deposited in the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University.

The careers of Hyde and Hart come together in the journals for the first time in the entry for 3 June 1851. On that date the Channel Islands Mission was transferred from the British to the French Mission, as the Islands were considered "a convenient place from which to obtain and send forth Elders who were somewhat familiar with the language and manners of the French nation."² Elder John Taylor (a member of the Council of Twelve Apostles) and Elder Curtis E. Bolton had earlier been set apart in Salt Lake City to open the French Mission. Hart wrote the following in his

Edward L. Hart is professor of English at Brigham Young University.

¹John H. Hyde, Jr., *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs* (New York: W. P. Fetridge, 1857), pp. 24-26.

²*Millennial Star* 13(15 July 1851):218.

journal: "On Thursday 5th met at Bro. Bray's with Elders [John] Taylor, [John] Pack, [Curtis E.] Bolton, MacNaughton, and [Philip] De la Mare; rec^d an appointment by a vote of the above Council—with Bro. Hyde Jun^r—to join the French Mission."

James H. Hart had been engaged in missionary activities in England since his conversion in 1849. After the London conference he returned to Birmingham to finish up his activities there and proceeded to Jersey, where he arrived 21 June and met in council in the evening with John Taylor, John Hyde, Arthur Stayner, and Philip de la Mare. From there the missionaries scattered to their various assignments, and we do not hear of Hyde again until the end of December 1851.

The time between the opening of the French Mission and the end of 1851 was a period of great turmoil in France. The *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon took place on 2 December 1851. James H. Hart, who had proselyted for some time in Jersey and had then gone on to Havre as branch president, was summoned by Bolton to a conference in Paris by means of a letter received on 18 December. The Paris conference was held in secret (because of political turbulence) on 20 December, at which time Curtis E. Bolton was made president of the Mission, with Louis A. Bertrand and James H. Hart as his counselors. The day following the conference Taylor and Hart left for Jersey, again with great secrecy. It was later learned that orders had gone to the police to apprehend John Taylor and take him back to Paris for questioning regarding his writings in some pamphlets and in a paper he had been editing.³

After a delay at Portbail, however, Taylor and Hart secured passage to Jersey and a reunion with the Saints there, including Hyde. This reunion may be better told in the words of James H. Hart.⁴

We found John Hyde, Jun., on the Island, but not in the happiest mood. The Channel Islands conference had been held, he was present on the occasion, but the presidency had failed to appreciate his merits and make him president, but had appointed the writer to fill that position. He clung to President Taylor very tenaciously during his stay on the island and endeavored to persuade him to appoint him on some well-defined mission; but being told that he would labor under the presidency of the writer, who would direct him in his labors, he felt wounded. He was appointed soon after to labor in Havre. . . .

³The *Étoile du Deseret* had been published in Paris since May 1851 and it was continued until April 1852.

⁴James H. Hart, "Early Reminiscences," *Juvenile Instructor* 18(1 March 1883): 77; 18(15 March 1883):93-94.

After the departure of John Taylor, James H. Hart continued his missionary work in the Channel Islands and spent five weeks proselyting across the peninsula of Brittany, returning to Jersey on 22 July 1852 in time for a conference with Bolton, Stenhouse, and others and the celebration of the Twenty-fourth of July with a procession of carriages around the Island of Jersey. All had been going well with the Mission, he was told. "I felt glad to hear these things," he wrote in his journal, "particularly as his [Bolton's] mind had been perturbed or prejudiced against us by conversation and letters from Bro. John Hyde, Jun., the first intimation of which I rec^d in a letter from Bro. Bolton dated Paris, June 25th, '52." James H. Hart then copied into his journal the following extract from Bolton's letter:

I rec^d a letter from Bro. Hyde Jun. some weeks since (2 or 3) stating that the work in the Jersey Conference was not in the best condition possible. This grieves my soul, for I love every creature that dwells upon the earth and wish they would all do right and be saved; and so does God, and it increases my grief when I hear that those that have come out from the world and made a solemn covenant with the Lord to quit their evil ways and live unto God in righteousness should forget that sacred covenant and for some foolish, vain, momentary pleasures sell themselves, soul and body, to the Devil to become his servants & handmaids. I do wish from the very bottom of my soul that it was possible for me to come among them. I feel as though I could have power to stay the torrent of sin that is sweeping away some of the poor souls whose salvation would be precious to them; but I cannot imagine how I can possibly do so for awhile. I have been for some time negotiating and urging upon [the French] Gov^t my right, as an American citizen, to hold public meetings, and I do not feel to leave that unfinished; otherwise, I would propose to change places with you for a month, which I know would prove a great blessing to the Saints here. They really need some one to pull their ears a little, and I have not the time to do it.

Continuing in his journal, still under the date of 26 July 1852, Hart reacted to Bolton's letter.

The above caused me considerable surprise, as also my Counselors Francis Kerby & Richard Treseder, two most worthy and excellent men. It not only excited surprise but indignation. We felt ourselves calumniated and injured—and the Saints under our charge, knowing we did not deserve such a character. We each wrote the same night to Bro. Bolton. I posted it at 2 o'clock on the following morning, so anxious were we to disabuse the mind of Bro. Bolton of the false impressions he had of us—as well to

inform him that I had sent him 5 pounds sterling some 3 or 4 weeks previous to the time he wrote me—in answer to which I rec^d a week afterwards the following, without date.

The letter that follows is thereupon copied into the journal:

Dear Bro. Hart:

I have not rec^d the letter and money you speak of; I am sitting in Messrs. Mallet & Frere's counting room making the necessary inquiries relating to it. . . .

I do not regret having written what I did about what I heard! It has elicited the letters which cause me to rejoice exceedingly. When I see you I will explain. The money has not been paid to anybody.

God bless you, &c.,
Curtis E. Bolton

By some means, matters seem to have been cleared up for a time. At any rate, in his entry for 17 August 1852 James H. Hart, then en route from London to Paris, recorded a meeting with Hyde at Havre: "Called to see Bro. Hyde and the Saints—I left so abruptly last Dec. Spent 2 hours with them. Bro^s Hyde [and the] Henriod's two brothers, to whom I am much attached, accompanied me and 2 fellow passengers to the railway station, bidding an affectionate adieu." A month later, however, the situation had deteriorated, as we see from Hart's journal: "About this time Bro. John Hyde, Jun. wrote a letter to Bro. Bolton. . . . I will therefore insert it here. It was put in my hand a week ago by Elder Kerby, who read it to me and wished me to keep it. I have resolved to copy it and then to send it or give it to Bro. Bolton." Hyde's remarkable letter, which has certainly never been published before, thereupon follows in the journal. Hyde's problem seems mainly to have been with women, as was indicated earlier by Hart's comments upon another letter sent by Hyde to Bolton. The projection upon others of his own weaknesses, the rationalizations, the desire to participate in deceptions and the sycophancy in the tone of Hyde's letter speak for themselves:

My Beloved Brother and President:

I feel deeply impressed to write to you. I should have written to you a long time ago, but I had anticipated of seeing you en route for Paris. I am glad, however, that you allow yourself a little repose from the Saints at Jersey; you greatly needed it. I wish, God knows how fervently I wish, that I had some good news to communicate. I increase the number of my acquaintance, I preach, teach, lend tracts, but all at present without any great prospect of

success; but methinks I hear you say, All is well, Bro. John Hyde; it is the Lord's work, not ours, &c., &c. . . . [Here as elsewhere in the transcription of this letter, ellipsis periods indicate a hiatus in the manuscript of the journal itself rather than my omission.]

Bro. Hart came through Havre like a meteor & hardly passed an hour with us. He was en route for Paris. I am glad you sent him rather than go yourself, for you want rest, and you ought to rest. I presume by this time Hart is married. [The purpose of his trip to London had been to marry Emily Ellingham; the ceremony had taken place in Clapham, a suburb of London, on 24 August 1852. Bolton lost his way but arrived shortly after the ceremony. Emily accompanied her husband as far as Jersey, where he had provided a house for her.]

Henri [Henriod] passed through Havre. Forgive me, dear Bro., if what I am about to say be wrong. I am sorry almost he ever went to Jersey. The purity of his mind is awfully shaken. His faith in the purity of the Church has more than once tottered; and worse than that is that he has not the wisdom to keep to himself these things. He blurted out to Eugene [Henriod, his brother] tremendous tales about [John] Pack, [Philip] De la M[are]., & Jas. Hart. I know that while at Jersey I followed examples set before me and have therefore nothing to boast of, but God knows how sincere has been my repentance of my folly there and how resolute is my determination not to do so again, but Henri is much weakened in his faith. As to experience, the experience he has gained in Jersey is not at all commensurate with the amount of injury sustained. It was high time for him to be removed. I cannot but express the unbounded pleasure I felt at his removal; it was a move inspired by the Spirit of God. I would rather a young man go any where than to Jersey for experience, rather that he be shut in among a dozen people on a desert island; but you can realize all my thoughts, for before this time, no doubt, you have seen what necessity there was in your presence and what my reasons for desiring you to go there, for Henri has told me. I am sorry I went there; I wish I had never gone. I could say from my experience that the Saints were pure, but I cannot say so now. I reasoned with him [Henri]; I showed him that principles were independent of men, that the principles are pure, but that until the weeding time the wheat and tares grow together. His mind is tainted, & more than tainted, with S - p - 1 M - e doc^e [spiritual marriage doctrine]. He asked me some questions about it: Why did J[ohn]. P[ac]k take S[acrament].? & Dela M[are]. take S.? I averted the questions. He has shown me several passages in the Bible about it, and especially Isaiah 4th [4:1]. I am glad he is away from the F[rench]. Mission, for otherwise you could not say that the thing was unknown. Happily Henri has not said anything about this thing here. I threatened most positively if he did to cut him off if he dares to do it. I showed him by the Doc[trine]. & Cov-

[enants]. the purity of the principles of truth. I continually hope he will not open his lips about it in Suisse [Switzerland], for a little leaven leaveneth a whole lump. I told Stenhouse⁵ in passing about it, & he has promised to look after him. I am therefore a little sorry he went to Jersey; but after all, all is right, no doubt.

Happily Eugene [Henriod] is convinced of the iniquity of Pack's proceedings and regards with horror such actions & with terror as to their inevitable consequences & will remain so, I hope. I am very glad you are in Jersey; I anticipate great results from your opportune visits. I anticipate that that thing will be almost dead, buried, and mouldered away before you leave. It ought to be, as I told you when talking to you on the jetty here about it. All of us have been pretty evenly splashed with the same mud, but calm reflection will only make men regard it with sorrow & disgust: and sorrow that chains so forged should have so fettered our spirits. I have no doubt that my name comes up along with the rest sometimes; but if any one ever speaks of it, tell them they speak of a John Hyde of 1851 & do me the justice to believe there exists a great difference in the feelings of that person and the John Hyde, Jun., of 1852. A year's thought and experience: the contact & example of men of a resolute purity instead of a determined profligacy as those who presided over me in '51, have operated no little change of mind, & I feel sad, very sad, to have seen Henri splattered with the same mud as that in which I wallowed in '51.

Not that I ever did any thing that would make me blush before the Throne of God. But if kissing and embracing the sisters was the high road to it, then as I told you months ago in Havre, we were all on the road & there was pretty much of a muchness between us all, from the President to his council. I do not know any who were exempt, but I look back with horror on the time & constantly pray that I may never so stray again; & if at any time question might be made of me remember, dear Brother, these are my feelings. I regard such men as unworthy of holding the Priesthood, who lay it at the feet of the girls & who let the women rule them. I regard the Priesthood as much bound to manifest a pure example as pure precept: that the man who preaches purely and acts impurely is a liar & a hypocrite & that the world & the Saints will disregard his preaching but follow his example. I feel that the officer who first led a pure man away into impurity will have to render no small account. . . . The man who never kisses will never do anything else; but if Samsons of power lay their heads upon the necks or bosoms of Delilas, their secret will slip out, and they will lose their virtue and power.

I am not a Samson of strength nor an ascetic of coldness, so I feel not to put myself in such positions; for though we are

⁵T. B. H. Stenhouse went to Geneva to publish *Le Reflecteur* in French after the *Étoile du Déseret* had been terminated.

as strong as Samsons, we can resist no more than he. These are my feelings now. Whatever have been my ideas then, they are changed & I hope eternally. No man, however, can kiss & pull the girls about without feeling he is doing wrong, that he is ruled by his passions and not by the Spirit of God. And now if he feels at all, he realizes this. I know I did, but I shut my ears and would not hearken and closed my eyes and would not see. This is the case with many—I may say *all*—& defy a man to say otherwise. . . . It may do good to read this in Council or any where else or to any body. You may do with it as you please. . . . Let not the Saints excuse themselves by saying Bro. Hyde did this or that. If Brother Hyde set them an example & it was a bad one, they are fools for wishing to burn their fingers because I wished to burn mine.

I regard you as my brother & my friend & believe me,

Yours very truly,
John Hyde, Jun.

Date of postmark, Sept. 24th [1852]
Havre

Following his copy of the letter in his journal, James H. Hart wrote: "I regard the above as another effort on the part of John Hyde, Jun., to blacken my character and that of the Saints under my charge. But thank God Brother Bolton has been here and knows it is false." The time was approaching for Bolton to leave the presidency of the French Mission, to be replaced by Andrew L. Lamoreaux, but before he left he wrote to Hart:

And be assured, my beloved Brother, you enjoy the largest share of my love, esteem and confidence; and I can assure you it is no small sense of satisfaction to me to know that when I take my departure the Saints of Jersey & Guernsey will still be watched over by their beloved President, who has their entire confidence, faith, & prayer, &c.

C. E. Bolton.

The last mention of Hyde in James H. Hart's journal is this:

I feel it unnecessary to extract more from his [Bolton's] letters, but insert verbatim a letter of Elder Bolton to Bro. John Hyde (which will suffice upon this subject) dated Jan. 2nd, 1853.
J[ohn]. Hyde, Jun.

Dear Brother:

I received your letter by due course of mail and have delayed answering it to give me time to try more fully the workings of the Spirit. I must say your letter surprised me considerably, but not so much as had I not known you as I do. The fact is, Bro. John, you have been of but very little service to the French Mis-

sion because of your time being spent in your rooms instead of moving about and making acquaintance. The Church has supported you a year and a half on the French Mission, and what have you done for the Mission? I leave you to answer.

Your great fault is your idea of your own knowledge over the generality of your fellows—and an inordinate desire to put those ideas into print. It would be better to keep your mind within the bounds of your mission that is given you and leave the rest of the world to those who are sent to them. As to the situation of the French Mission, it is just bursting forth into vigor, and had I three or 4 elders who would not know how to write but confine their minds, thoughts, and wishes to the advancement of that Mission, there would be a great field open to them. The Mission had never a brighter prospect, and I feel that much good will be done if I get men whose hearts are exclusively in France.

I feel, Bro. John, willingly to give you up into the hands of Elder S[amuel]. W. Richards [president of the British Mission], and relieve you for the present from the French Mission, which I do in the Name of the Lord. And now you will look to Bro. Richards for counsel. Bro. John, you may think this letter severe, but it is not. I tell you of your faults in order that you may mend, and should but do my duty. If I did not do so, how should I feel that I loved you and were your friend? It will not advance the French Mission much to take young Elders and send them to France to learn French and prepare to be useful there, and as soon as they begin to talk a little, get lovesick and run away and forget all they learned.

I wish you well, Bro. John, & wish you humility, good sense, firmness, and intelligence. I believe crossing the ocean and prairie will do much in your schooling.

Yours affectionately,
C. E. Bolton

Bolton's severe reprimand and dismissal of Hyde conclude the information available concerning the latter's experience in the French Mission. In the book he published in 1857 Hyde passes over the period very rapidly, saying merely, "I remained employed in the French Mission till January, 1853: a portion of which time I was in the Channel Islands, and a portion I spent at Havre-de-Grace."⁶ Since, at the time he wrote these words, he was intent on doing the Church as much injury as possible, it is likely that if he had actually known of anything to discredit the Church, he would have reported it. In any case, his apostasy was no surprise to his former associates in the French Mission. As James H. Hart later wrote, "That John Hyde, Jun., should subsequently apostatize and deny the faith was no more than any person acquainted with him anticipated."

⁶Hyde, *Mormonism*, pp. 18-19.

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY STUDIES is a voice for the community of Latter-day Saint Scholars. Contributions dealing with LDS thought, history, theology, and related subjects will receive first priority.

BYU STUDIES is a serious venture into the study of the correlation of revealed and discovered truth. Dedicated to the conviction that the spiritual and the intellectual are complementary avenues of knowledge, BYU STUDIES welcomes articles from all fields of learning. They should be written for the informed nonspecialist rather than the specialized reader in the technical language of the field. Creative work—poetry, short fiction, drama—are also welcomed.

Except for unusual cases, *contributions should not exceed 4,000 words* (approximately 15 double-spaced, typewritten pages). Manuscripts should conform to the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style*, and footnotes should be placed on a separate page at the end of the article.

Each author will receive 20 off-prints and three copies of the number in which his contribution appears.

Send manuscripts to Brigham Young University, Dr. Charles D. Tate, Jr., Editor, BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY STUDIES, 283 JKBA, Provo, Utah 84602.

Brigham Young University Studies is being listed in *Current Contents: Behavioral, Social and Management Sciences*