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The Priesthood Reorganization of 1877: Brigham Young's Last Achievement

William G. Hartley

Death knocking loudly at his door, President Brigham Young labored restlessly in his last five months of life to reorganize the Church's government structures. His priesthood reorganization of 1877, thorough and massive, involved every stake, 241 wards, hundreds of quorums, and more than a thousand leadership positions. But this final achievement is underrated or ignored by historians, unknown to Church members, and so far is a missing entry on his leadership balance sheet.

His contributions as colonizer, economic director, immigration organizer, preacher-teacher, defender of the faith, and family man are explored in various scholarly probes. But what of his priesthood labors? As head of the fast-growing Church for thirty-three years, he worked through priesthood channels. Thanks to studies by Leonard Arrington, Dale F. Beecher, and Donald G. Pace, we know something about how he utilized ward bishops. Michael Quinn introduces us to some of the inner workings of the then Church hierarchy. James N. Baumgarten's excellent thesis at least opens the door on what we need to know about the seventies, then led by Brigham's brother, Joseph. Gary L. Phelps's and my own research shed light on the work of ward and Aaronic Priesthood teachers. But other priesthood offices and units and their historical developments await researchers' attention, including such fundamental matters as the role and function of the presiding bishopric, of stakes and stake presidents and high councils, of high priests, patriarchs, wards, elders, priests and deacons, of basic priesthood ordinances, and of various meetings. Among published histories and biographies about the Brigham Young era, only *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* attributes

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much importance to Brigham's 1877 reorganizings. Other accounts skip the topic entirely or else merely list the stakes affected.[1]

This study describes and analyzes the reorganization itself. It provides one more building block which historians can use to analyze Brigham Young's use of power and to generalize about how the Church historically has handled the dynamics of change.[2] Offering a deep look at inner Church operations, we assume a familiarity on the readers' part with basic Mormon terminology regarding priesthood matters. To understand what happened in 1877, we examine the reform in terms of what changes were needed, how the program was implemented, and what resulted.

The reorganization institutionalized both conservative and innovative elements. As a devoted student and disciple of the Prophet

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[1]See bibliography in James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976), for discussion of the basic books about President Young; also see Dean C. Jessee, ed., *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1974); and special issues devoted to Brigham Young of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Summer 1977) and of *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Spring 1978).

Priesthood studies include Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), and *From Quaker to Latter-day Saint: Bishop Edwin D. Woolley* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976); Dale F. Beecher, "The Office of Bishop: An Example of Organizational Development in the Church," *Task Papers in LDS History,* No. 21 (Salt Lake City: Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1978); D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Hierarchy, 1832–1932: An American Elite" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1976); James N. Baumgarten, "The Role and Function of the Seventies in L.D.S. Church History" (M.A. thesis, BYU, 1960); Gary L. Phelps, "Home Teaching: Attempts by the Latter-day Saints to Establish an Effective Program During the Nineteenth Century" (M.A. thesis, BYU, 1975); William G. Hartley, "Ordained and Acting Teachers in the Lesser Priesthood, 1851–1883," *BYU Studies* 16 (Spring 1976):375–98, and "The Priesthood Reform Movement, 1908–1922," *BYU Studies* 13 (Winter 1973):137–56; and Donald G. Pace, "The LDS Presiding Bishopric, 1851–1888: An Administrative Study" (M.A. thesis, BYU, 1978).

Among standard biographies of 1877 participants which fail to discuss the movement meaningfully are those for Wilford Woodruff, Erastus Snow, Charles C. Rich, Franklin D. Richards, Orson Hyde, Edward Hunter, John Taylor, William Budge, and Joseph F. Smith. Of Brigham's biographers only Susa Young Gates and Leah D. Widtsoe in *The Life Story of Brigham Young: Mormon Leader, Founder of Salt Lake City, and Builder of an Empire in the Uncharted Wastes of Western America* (London: Jarrolds, [1930]) recognized Churchwide significance for the 1877 reorderings.

Among standard Church or Utah histories, those by B. H. Roberts and Orson F. Whitney identify the stakes involved but fail to sense the vastness of the movement; the seminary and institute Church history texts, Russell R. Rich, *Ensign to the Nations: A History of the Church from 1846 to the Present* (Provo: Brigham Young University Publications, 1972), and William E. Berrett, *The Restored Church: A Brief History of the Growth and Doctrines of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* 10th ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1961), ignore the matter entirely; Eugene Campbell's chapter on ecclesiastical developments in Joel E. Ricks, ed., *The History of a Valley: Cache Valley, Utah-Idaho* (Logan, Utah: Cache Valley Centennial Commission, 1956), and Lynn M. Hilton, ed., *The Story of Salt Lake Stake, 1847–1972* (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Stake, 1972), two of the best stake studies ever written, fail to explore the local impact of the movement; of all the books written about the period, besides *The Story of the Latter-day Saints,* only James R. Clark, ed., in *Messages of the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1965) properly credits the 1877 movement with "turning point" significance, 2:295 (see also pp. 283–95).

[2]The Mormon History Association *Newsletter* for 7 December 1978 contains a summary of the critiques this paper received when it was read at the MHA session of the Western History Association meetings at Hot Springs, Arkansas, on 12 October 1978.

Joseph Smith, President Young knew well the priesthood revelations and also the explanations of those by the revelator himself.[3] After Joseph's death, few, if any, understood priesthood matters better than the Vermont painter-glazier. Part of his 1877 effort therefore was to bring priesthood practices into closer harmony with the revelations.

But practical application of those revelations required creativity and innovation. The revelations said *what* but not always *how.* Implementation therefore required new approaches at times, as Apostle Orson Pratt explained it in 1877:

> To say that there will be a stated time, in the history of this Church, during its imperfections and weaknesses, when the organization will be perfect, and that there will be no further extension or addition to the organization, would be a mistake. Organization is to go on, step after step, from one degree to another, just as the people increase and grow in the knowledge of the principles and laws of the Kingdom of God, and as their borders shall extend.[4]

Brigham's failing health by 1877 made needed priesthood reorderings urgent. That April he confessed, "I feel many times that I could not live an hour longer." Knowing the Twelve would succeed him, he became very anxious to put the Church in excellent order organizationally for them. Earlier, in June 1875, he took a major step in this direction by assigning proper seniority to members of the Twelve, making John Taylor quorum president instead of Orson Hyde. Then in 1876 he took another step, clarifying the interrelationship of stakes, by announcing—to the surprise of many leaders—that Salt Lake Stake held no "center stake" authority over other stakes, that all stakes were equal and autonomous relative to each other. By 1877 he wanted the Twelve freed from local assignments—half the quorum served as stake presidents—to assume general leadership again.[5]

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[3]D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844," *BYU Studies* 16 (Winter 1976):187–233; also, Ronald K. Esplin's forthcoming Ph.D. dissertation (BYU, 1980) will demonstrate strong continuity between Joseph Smith's and Brigham Young's presidencies.

[4]Orson Pratt sermon, 20 May 1877, in *Deseret News Weekly,* 18 July 1877.

[5]Brigham Young sermon, 6 April 1877, *Journal of Discourses,* 26 vols. (London: Latter-Day Saints' Book Depot, 1855–1886), 18:357 (cited hereafter as *JD*); Reed C. Durham, Jr., and Steven H. Heath, *Succession in the Church* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1970), pp. 73–77; Minutes of Bishops Meetings with the Presiding Bishopric, 1849–1884 (cited hereafter as Bishops Minutes), 19 October 1876, MS, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter cited as Church Archives); Salt Lake Stake to that point had jurisdiction over Salt Lake, Tooele, Davis, Morgan, Summit, and Wasatch counties, or one-third of Utah Church membership.

Rapid Church growth, another causative factor, created serious administrative problems by 1877. A quarter of a century earlier President Young presided over but 12,000 Saints in the Rockies (1852), yet now the region held 100,000 due to immigration and the number of children born into the Church. To find work and homes, people moved farther and farther away from the main cities.[6] Like an adolescent boy going through a quick growth spurt, the Church had literally grown out of its organizational britches. More "concentrated and localized" units were needed. "The organizations of the stakes of Zion on account of their rapid growth have become somewhat loose," Elder Taylor told Utah Stake that June. "Many things have been left apparently at loose ends," observed Elder Pratt, adding: "The Lord is about to 'right up' the people; and he has inspired him who presides over us, to organize us more fully." Another apostle, Elder Franklin D. Richards, noted that some priesthood instructions in the revelations had "not been generally observed" in some areas.[7]

What were some of these loose ends? At the stake level some presidents lacked counselors, some presidencies were not properly ordained and set apart, and in six of the thirteen stakes apostles presided as stake presidents: Charles C. Rich (Bear Lake), Brigham Young, Jr. (Cache), Erastus Snow (St. George), Orson Hyde (Sanpete), Lorenzo Snow (Box Elder), and Franklin D. Richards (Weber). Some stakes lacked high councils, some had seventies serving on the high council, not all had properly functioning elders quorums, and the holding of quarterly conferences, "a standing revelation which has not been generally observed," had given way to "occasional Conferences in some places." The time had come, the President decided, for a more substantial and mature organization in the stakes of the Church.[8]

Another unorthodox practice, although not without historical precedent, was having local presiding bishops. Early in 1877 no less

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[6]The 1852 census is found in "Report of Bishops in Utah Territory," 6 October 1852, MS, Church Archives; 1877 data based on Table Two in text; see William G. Hartley, "Coming to Zion: Saga of the Gathering," *The Ensign* 5 (July 1975):14–18; see Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*; see Milton R. Hunter, *Brigham Young the Colonizer* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940); see Richard Sherlock, "Mormon Migration and Settlement After 1875," *Journal of Mormon History* 2 (1975):53–68; *Deseret Evening News,* 14 May 1877.

[7]Utah Stake Historical Record, 2 June 1877, MS, Church Archives; Orson Pratt sermon, 20 May 1877, in *Deseret News Weekly,* 18 July 1877; Franklin D. Richards sermon, *Deseret News Weekly,* 25 August 1877.

[8]Mention of seventies serving on high councils is found in Bear Lake Stake Historical Record, 25 August 1877, MS, Church Archives; Erastus Snow sermon, 13 October 1877, in *JD,* 19:130; Davis Stake Historical Record, 20 June 1877, MS, Church Archives.

than fifteen presiding bishops served various areas. In Bear Lake, for example, Bishop William Budge presided over sixteen communities, handling tithing and exercising some ecclesiastical leadership over local leaders. But "things did not move smoothly and pleasantly by a long way," John Taylor admitted. So the prophet announced in 1877: "There was no such thing as a presiding bishop" other than *the* Presiding Bishop, Edward Hunter.[9]

At the ward level there was widespread need "to introduce the more perfect system of the Aaronic Priesthood," meaning properly ordained bishoprics, because "many irregularities" had developed. In Weber Stake, the fifth largest stake in Utah, "they did not have Bishops to watch over the people, but had Presidents." Some places had acting bishops who needed either proper ordination or replacement. During the reorganizings, one Paysonite noted that "our bishop has never had the privilege of choosing councillors. It is presumed he will now have that privilege." Some bishops had but one counselor. In a few cases seventies served as bishops counselors without being ordained as high priests. Some bishops counselors had moved away and had never been replaced. The critical problem posed by these irregularities was that without three high priests, properly ordained and set apart, no bishopric legally could serve as a Church court. As a result "all kinds of little differences" went to high councils for resolution, normal difficulties "which ought to be taken to the Bishops Court." "There is a law regulating these things," Elder Taylor cautioned, "which we hope to comply with."[10]

Critical for the health of a ward was the contact which teachers and priests—the home teachers of that generation—had with the families. These officers were responsible for monitoring conduct, dealing with iniquity, and settling disputes between members. While many wards had strong Aaronic Priesthood units, too many did not. Without Aaronic Priesthood workers, wards and stakes were incomplete. Brigham's deathbed concern was that bishops see that the teachers be diligent.[11] But staffing Aaronic Priesthood quorums was not easy—

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[9]For a list of the fifteen presiding bishops see *Deseret Evening News,* 3 July 1877; a life sketch of William Budge is found in Journal History of the Church, 5 January 1877, MS, Church Archives; Brigham's statement is in Parowan Stake Historical Record, 18 April 1877, MS, Church Archives; John Taylor's is in Bishops Minutes, 24 January 1878; see also Pace, "The LDS Presiding Bishopric, 1851–1888," pp. 58–66.

[10]Orson Pratt sermon, 13 May 1877, in *Deseret News Weekly,* 30 May 1877; Salt Lake Stake General Aaronic Priesthood Minutes 1857–1877, 6 March 1875, MS, Church Archives; Isaiah Moses Coombs Diaries, 5 June 1877, microfilm, Church Archives; *JD,* 19:53.

[11]Bishops Minutes, 6 September 1877; Hartley, "Ordained and Acting Teachers."

they preferred using men rather than boys then–as Elder Richards explained to Bear Lake Stake:

> Stated how the Aaronic Priesthood seemed to be overstepped by members being advanced at once to the higher or Melchizedek Priesthood, and that there did not seem to be enough in the Church who did not possess this higher priesthood to fill up the quorums of the lesser, hence it became necessary to appoint Elders and Seventies to act as Priests, Teachers, and Deacons. . . . No stake organization would be complete without them.[12]

Another reason stakes lacked Aaronic units was the hazy concept, erased only in 1876, that officers of Salt Lake Stake's quorums, because they were sustained in general conference, were like General Authorities to their priesthood counterparts in other stakes. Only by April of 1877 were all stakes fully informed that each stake, in order to be completely organized, must contain three Aaronic quorums, each with a separate presidency.[13]

Another matter needing attention was the large number of Saints not officially enrolled in any ward. Saints migrating out from settlements in search of work cut themselves off from ward participation. Brigham called them "the scattering sheep of Israel in these mountains who acknowledge no particular fold." He wanted all members enrolled in a ward, accounted for, visited, labored with, and their religious conduct monitored.[14]

Why did the reorganization not come before 1877? One possible answer is that population pressures did not reach the breaking point, the unmanageable point, until 1877. Another is that Brigham's health did not become precarious until then. A third reason involves the St. George Temple. It is no coincidence that the priesthood reorganization began immediately after the first fully functioning temple was completed at St. George. Priesthood and temples are directly interrelated. Leaders in that generation firmly believed that priesthood on earth was but a small extension of heavenly priesthood, a twig on the great heavenly priesthood tree. Because temples are meeting points between earth and heaven, the opening of the St. George

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[12]Bear Lake Stake Historical Record, 27 August 1877.

[13]Bishops Minutes, 19 October 1876; Bear Lake Stake Historical Record, 26 August 1877; Salt Lake Stake's high council handled trials for other stakes until the 1877 changes reduced the case load greatly, according to Anders W. Winberg, "Aeldste A. W. Winbergs Autobiografi," *Morgenstjernen* 4 (1885):157–60.

[14]Brigham Young to Willard Young, 23 May 1877, Brigham Young Letterbook 14, typescript, Church Archives (cited hereafter as BY Letterbook).

Temple made leaders more conscious of the need for earthly priesthood to mirror more fully the heavenly one. Elder Taylor was one who constantly preached that heavenly priesthood patterns, explained in the revelations, must be copied in the earthly Church.[15]

One of Joseph's teachings in 1842, not forgotten by Brigham, was that "the Church is not fully organized, in its proper order, and cannot be, until the Temple is completed, where places will be provided for the administration of the ordinances of the Priesthood." Perhaps the connection between temples and stakes went beyond the dedication of two new temple sites during 1877 and the assignment of all the stakes to the Logan, Manti, or Salt Lake temple districts to move construction along. In 1884 Elder Erastus Snow said, possibly referring to 1877: "Seeing the different stakes of Zion that were being organized we perceived the idea, possibly, of as many temples."[16]

Like the temple connection, the reorganization of 1877 had a connection with the United Order movement. As Church President, Brigham Young constantly labored to increase temporal and spiritual unity among the Saints. We have no evidence that by 1877 he had changed this conviction voiced in 1862: "I have had visions and revelations instructing me how to organize this people so that they can live like the family of heaven, but I cannot do it while so much selfishness and wickedness reign in the Elders of Israel." In 1874–1875, he supervised the implementation of more than 150 United Orders throughout the region. Their serious problems and short lives hurt him deeply, no doubt pointing out to his observant mind many leadership and organizational weaknesses at ward and stake levels. "We are starting in on some things," said John Taylor in November 1876, "to try to get us united on temporal affairs," noting that recently "the spirit of God has been operating upon President Young."[17] Possibly his statement means that plans to reorder the priesthood were then being formulated.

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[15]*JD,* 7:82–86; 18:81; 19:55–56, 81, 124.

[16]Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* ed. B. H. Roberts, 2nd ed. rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1932–1951), 4:603; *JD,* 25:31.

[17]*JD,* 9:269; Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God: Community & Cooperation among the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976); more than half of the presidents or bishops listed in *Building the City of God* as being in charge of United Orders in 1874–1875 became or continued as bishops in 1877, indicating no general repudiation of United Order leaders; Brigham Young, Jr., Diary, 7 April 1877, MS, Church Archives, and *JD,* 18:283.

During 1877 the prophet still advocated United Orders. When initially instructing the Twelve about their role in the upcoming reorganizings, he specifically told them to preach temporal and spiritual unity in every stake. He warned general conference attenders that April that "we have no business here other than to build up and establish the Zion of God. It must be done according to the will and law of God, after that pattern and order by which Enoch built up and perfected the former-day Zion."[18] Elder Pratt preached that the reorganizings were part of "a plan which the Lord has revealed that will entitle the Latter-day Saints to greater blessings and privileges through which that union will be brought about which we have long desired in our hearts."[19] October conference attenders, six weeks after Brigham's death, heard Elder Lorenzo Snow emphatically state: "There is no salvation for us only in the United Order. This principle is not going to die out because Pres. Young is gone. We must carry out that principle if we wish salvation."[20] In fact, during the months before his death, Brigham explained the linkage he saw among United Orders, temple building, and the nearly completed priesthood reorderings:

> In consequence of tradition and the weakness of our human nature, we could not bring our feelings to obey this holy requirement [Order of Enoch]. The Spirit had prompted him to see if the brethren would do anything by way of an approach to it, and hence we had commenced to build Temples, which was a very necessary work and which was centering the feelings of the people for a still further union of effort. . . . He said that after something had been done towards Temple-building, the same Spirit whispered to perfect the organization of the Priesthood.[21]

But temporal and spiritual unity of a group requires individual righteousness. Reduced to its root purpose the 1877 reorganization was designed to increase righteousness among leaders and members. The Church exists to perfect the Saints, so by improving Church structure the Saints in turn ought to be better influenced to improve themselves. Brigham expected the reorderings to produce "a radical change, a reformation, in the midst of this people." If anyone asks why the reorganizings, he wrote to his son Willard:

> We will answer, to more completely carry out the purposes of Jehovah, to give greater compactness to the labors of the priesthood, to unite the Saints, to care for the scattering sheep of Israel in these mountains who acknowledge no particular fold, to be in a position to understand

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[18]Brigham Young, Jr., Diary, March–April 1877, MS, Church Archives; *JD,* 18:356.
[19]Orson Pratt sermon, 13 May 1877, in *Deseret News Weekly,* 30 May 1877.
[20]Isaiah Coombs Diary, 5 October 1877.
[21]Salt Lake Stake Historical Record Book, 11 August 1877, MS, Church Archives.

> the standing of everyone calling himself a Latter-day Saint, and to consolidate the interests, feelings, and lives of the members of the Church. There are some of the reasons why we are now more fully than heretofore organizing the holy Priesthood after the pattern given us of our Father in Heaven.[22]

Beyond internal causes for the 1877 reorderings, there may have been an external, political one. The 1870s boiled with Mormon-gentile conflict. Skimpy evidence, involving Tooele and Beaver counties, suggests politics did influence the 1877 effort to some degree. The gentile minority in Tooele controlled election machinery and by invalidating Mormon votes controlled elective offices. President Young sent in a county outsider, Elder Francis M. Lyman, who as the new stake president worked hard to win back Mormon political control there. In Beaver the General Authorities feared a repeat of the Tooele problem, so they used the 1877 reorganizing conference in Beaver to terminate Mormon political handholding with gentiles. If other counties faced similar problems, perhaps President Young's goal to create one effective stake per county was some kind of short-term or long-term political defense effort. Assessment of political motives behind the 1877 movement, however, is not possible until we have detailed political studies of the twenty Utah counties and their communities.[23]

Records do not tell us when President Young first contemplated the large-scale reorganization. But as early as 20 January 1877, he had in mind at least a few changes. That day he wrote to Presiding Elder A. K. Thurber in Richfield, responding to Elder Thurber's lament that in all of Sevier County "there is no permanent organization in the Stake except the High Council." Brigham replied that "in all the settlements" in that county there would be "ordained Bishops as soon as we can get to it." Meanwhile, he said, appoint local leaders temporarily "till we direct otherwise."[24]

By the time of the St. George Temple dedication during April conference, the reorganization plan was ready and launched. First, on 30 March and again on 4 April the prophet explained the plan to the Twelve and instructed them "to travel and organize stakes of Zion in all the vallies of the mountains." To start the movement, he personally presided over the reorganization of St. George Stake on 4 and

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[22]*JD,* 19:43; Brigham Young to Willard Young, 23 May 1877, BY Letterbook 14.

[23]Francis M. Lyman Diary, Book 8, summer and fall 1877, photocopy, Church Archives; Beaver Stake Historical Record, 25 July 1877, MS, Church Archives.

[24]Brigham Young to A. K. Thurber, 20 January 1877, BY Letterbook 16.

TABLE 1
1877 Stake Organizing Conferences Schedule*

Date	Stake	Location	Visiting Authorities														
			BY	BY	AC	JY	GC	LS	DW	OH	OP	JT	WW	CR	ES	FR	JS
Apr 4–5	St. Geo	St. Geo	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Apr 17–18	Kanab	Kanab						X			X	X			X		
Apr 22–23	Panguitch	Panguitch						X			X	X			X		
May 12–13	Salt Lake	Salt Lake	X			X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	
May 19–21	Cache	Logan	X			X	X	X	X		X	X		X		X	
May 26–27	Weber	Ogden	X			X	X	X	X		X	X			X	X	
Jun 2–3	Utah	Provo	X			X	X					X			X	X	
Jun 16–17	Davis	Farmington	X			X	X					X			X	X	
Jun 23–25	Tooele	Tooele					X	X				X			X	X	
Jun 30–1	Juab	Nephi	X	X		X	X			X					X		
Jun 30–1	Morgan	Morgan						X								X	
Jul 7–9	Sanpete	Manti	X			X	X			X					X		
Jul 7–9	Summit	Coalville						X				X				X	
Jul 14–15	Sevier	Richfield								X					X		
Jul 14–15	Wasatch	Heber										X				X	
Jul 21–22	Millard	Fillmore											X		X		
Jul 25–26	Beaver	Beaver											X		X		
Jul 28–29	Parowan	Parowan											X		X		
Aug 18–19	Box Elder	Brigham City	X			X	X		X	X			X			X	
Aug 25–26	Bear Lake	Paris				X			X				X			X	
TOTALS			9	2	2	9	9	11	5	3	6	13	4	4	14	12	1

*Sources: Stake Manuscript Histories and Historical Records, MSS, Church Archives.

5 April. Then on 7 April he surprised Fillmorite Francis M. Lyman by privately telling him to "get ready" to move to and preside as stake president over either Davis or Tooele counties–two areas not then stakes. Thus, without fanfare and without announcement that all stakes would be reorganized, the movement had quickly commenced (see Table 1).[25]

The schedule for reorganizing the stakes was not worked out all at once but developed as the spring and summer months wore on. During April, three southern stakes were visited and reorganized by General Authorities. But only when Salt Lake Stake was reorganized in mid-May was public announcement made that *all* stakes would be visited and put in order, including Cache and Weber on the next two weekends. At Logan on 20 May, the Twelve met and "decided on appointments for the next 2 months." By the end of May, a nine conference schedule for June was announced and President Young projected that "there will probably be some twenty-one stakes [twenty were created] in the valleys of Israel." By early June the work was "engaging the greater portion of the time and attention" of the Twelve, "assisted as far as their duties will permit by the First Presidency." By mid-June, conferences were scheduled for Juab and Sanpete counties, but "further than this we have not decided on," leaving Sevier, Morgan, Summit, Wasatch, Millard, Beaver, Parowan, Box Elder, and Bear Lake conferences yet to be called.[26]

Reorganizings moved too slowly, so by the end of June two or more teams of General Authorities, instead of one, went out to do the work. "We have thus to divide," Brigham said, "or we shall not get through with the organization of the stakes in time to commence the quarterly conferences in those that were first organized." In July three teams organized nine stakes. Then in August the last two stakes had their turns. No other stake was organized or reorganized until the next January when the distant Lower Colorado colonies became the Church's first stake in Arizona.[27]

President Young, despite health fluctuations, conducted nine of the twenty reorganizing conferences. "My own health is excellent," he wrote in late April; "the pain which I have so frequently suffered in my stomach after speaking to large congregations, has troubled

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[25]Franklin D. Richards Diary, 30 March and 4 April 1877, microfilm, Church Archives; Francis M. Lyman Diary, Book 8, 7 April 1877.

[26]*Deseret Evening News,* 14 May 1877; Franklin D. Richards Diary, 20 May 1877; Brigham Young to Willard Young, 23 May 1877, BY Letterbook 14; Brigham Young to Joseph F. Smith, 6 June 1877, BY Letterbook 14; Brigham Young to Wilford Woodruff, 12 June 1877, BY Letterbook 14.

[27]Brigham Young to D. W. Jones, 28 June 1877, BY Letterbook 14.

me but very little of late." But the workload took its toll, and by 1 June he was too feeble to attend part of the Provo conference. Two weeks later he admitted that "in my anxiety to see the house of God set in Order that I have some what overtaxed my strength." His namesake son said that Brigham was "pale," "worn," and "very tired" on 20 June. During the summer months he "seemed to be anxious and restless until he had thoroughly organized the Church," said George Q. Cannon, his counselor, and "was so hurried, was so urged in his feelings concerning the organization of the people; pressing matters forward, anxious to get the Priesthood organized and the Stakes everywhere set in order." On 6 August Brigham felt "much joy and satisfaction in our labors" and believed that "much good will result."[28]

Overtaxed, he rested in late June in Cache Valley. But in early July he made a hot and dusty circuit into Juab and Sanpete counties. After a six-week break, he reorganized Box Elder Stake on 18–19 August. A week later he learned that the twentieth and last stake, Bear Lake Stake, was reorganized. During the following week he died, very pleased with the knowledge that the basic reorganization work was complete and machinery set in motion to fully reorder wards and quorums at the local levels.

Planning and conducting twenty decision-loaded conferences required much physical and spiritual energy from the Brethren. Once dates were set, local arrangements had to be made. A letter, telegram, or verbal instruction from the First Presidency usually informed local authorities to publicize the conference and notify local Saints to be there. Two weeks before the Tooele meetings, for example, local leaders learned from the First Presidency:

> We will hold meetings in Tooele City, for the organization of a Stake of Zion, on Saturday and Sunday, the 23d and 24th inst. Please notify the various wards and settlements in the County of this fact. We also desire that a statement should be prepared, for that meeting, of the number of Seventies, High Priests, Elders, and members of the Lesser Priesthood in the County.[29]

Two to ten general authorities attended a stake's conference. Travel was relatively easy between the rail terminals at Franklin, Idaho, and York, a few miles south of Payson. Beyond those railroad

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[28]Brigham Young to William C. Staines, 11 May 1877, BY Letterbook 14; Franklin D. Richards Diary, 1 June 1877; Brigham Young to Wilford Woodruff, 12 June 1877, BY Letterbook 14; Brigham Young, Jr., Diary, 20 June 1877; Brigham Young to W. E. Pack, 6 August 1877, BY Letterbook 15; *Deseret News Weekly,* 3 September 1877.

[29]Brigham Young to "Dear Brother," 9 June 1877, BY Letterbook 14.

lines, however, travel posed problems, as President Young's itinerary in Sanpete County shows:

> After holding meetings in Nephi we shall proceed to Sanpete County. I shall take a carriage with me on the cars to York, but I shall want you to supply me with a good, solid team, (as the carriage carries six passengers), to convey me from the terminus of the railroad to Sanpete and return. If I should conclude to bring my own team I will let you know in good season by telegraph.[30]

John Taylor's party, to reach Bear Lake Stake, left the train at Franklin and travelled in three carriages twenty-two miles to Mink Creek. There they camped and were met by Bishop Budge. On the road the next day they were met in Emigration Canyon by Apostle Charles C. Rich–the Bear Lake Stake president–and others. The party arrived at Paris, Idaho, at 3:00 p.m. the day before the conference opened. Elder Richards, covering a Wasatch Mountain circuit, took trains to Morgan City and to Coalville, but to reach Heber City from there he travelled by carriage. The return trip lasted from 5:00 a.m. to 5:40 p.m. According to his diary that night, his three weeks of conferences and travels made him "very worn tired weary."[31]

A large, accessible city in each stake hosted its conference. Tabernacles housed the meetings in Salt Lake, Parowan, Logan, Ogden, and St. George stakes. Local meetinghouses served the purpose in Farmington, Panguitch, Tooele, Heber, and elsewhere. At Fillmore they met in the statehouse. Either no meetinghouse was big enough or else summer heat made meetinghouses unbearable, so boweries were used at Brigham City (2500 capacity but many had to stand outside), Coalville, Manti, Richfield (built for the occasion), Morgan City (one hundred feet square, built the day before), and Paris, Idaho ("windy and somewhat unpleasant"). Arriving authorities sometimes received colorful greetings, like the "brass band, a concourse of citizens, and a host of Sunday School children" which met Brigham at the Brigham City depot.[32]

The conferences had specific purposes. First the extent of the stake was defined by designating which wards, old and new, it included. Apparently President Young wanted one stake per county, a goal that was all but met: twenty counties and twenty stakes, Iron County having two and sparsely settled Paiute County none (see

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[30]Brigham Young to Joel Grover, 14 June 1877, BY Letterbook 14.
[31]*Deseret Evening News,* 29 August 1877; Franklin D. Richards Diary, 10–16 July 1877.
[32]Bear Lake Stake Historical Record, 25 August 1877; *Deseret Evening News,* 20 August 1877.

map). Most of the new stakes had been operating more like independent districts than like parts of old stakes anyway, so their births caused very little confusion.

Tooele illustrates how a new stake was born. Until 1877 all settlements in the county were branches supervised by Presiding Bishop John Rowberry, about like a district of the Church today. An April 1876 census shows 3000 Saints there. Annual county Church conferences were held in previous years. When the area received stakehood in 1877, the six branches became wards, ranging in size from 27 families and 124 individuals at Vernon to 200 families and 1195 souls at Tooele. Later, new dependent branches were formed, each with a presiding priest in charge.[33]

Population and geography determined where new stakes should be. (See Table 2, p. 27.) The seven new ones, ranging in membership size from Davis with 4500 to Morgan with 1500, were about the same population as the seven smallest existing stakes, and the average size of wards was about the same in the seven new stakes (333) as in the comparison stakes (329). Branches became wards where possible. Otherwise, they were attached to an existing ward as dependent branches.[34]

Another vital conference purpose was to select new stake and ward officers or resustain those already in office. President Young usually determined who would be stake president. An exception occurred in Sevier County, where a priesthood council made nominations from which the two visiting apostles made the final selection. Brigham personally appointed Francis M. Lyman as Tooele Stake president. He wanted John Murdock, if he agreed to quit cooperating with gentiles, retained as Beaver Stake's presiding officer. At Cache Stake he asked the outgoing stake president, who was his apostle-son Brigham, Jr., and others of the Twelve for nominations for stake leaders. They declined: "Make your own appointments, Brother Brigham, and we will vote for them." So he chose Moses Thatcher to be the new stake president. At the Juab conference, prior to the 2:00 p.m. Sunday meeting, General Authorities present sustained Brigham's choice of George Teasdale of Salt Lake City as the new stake president.[35]

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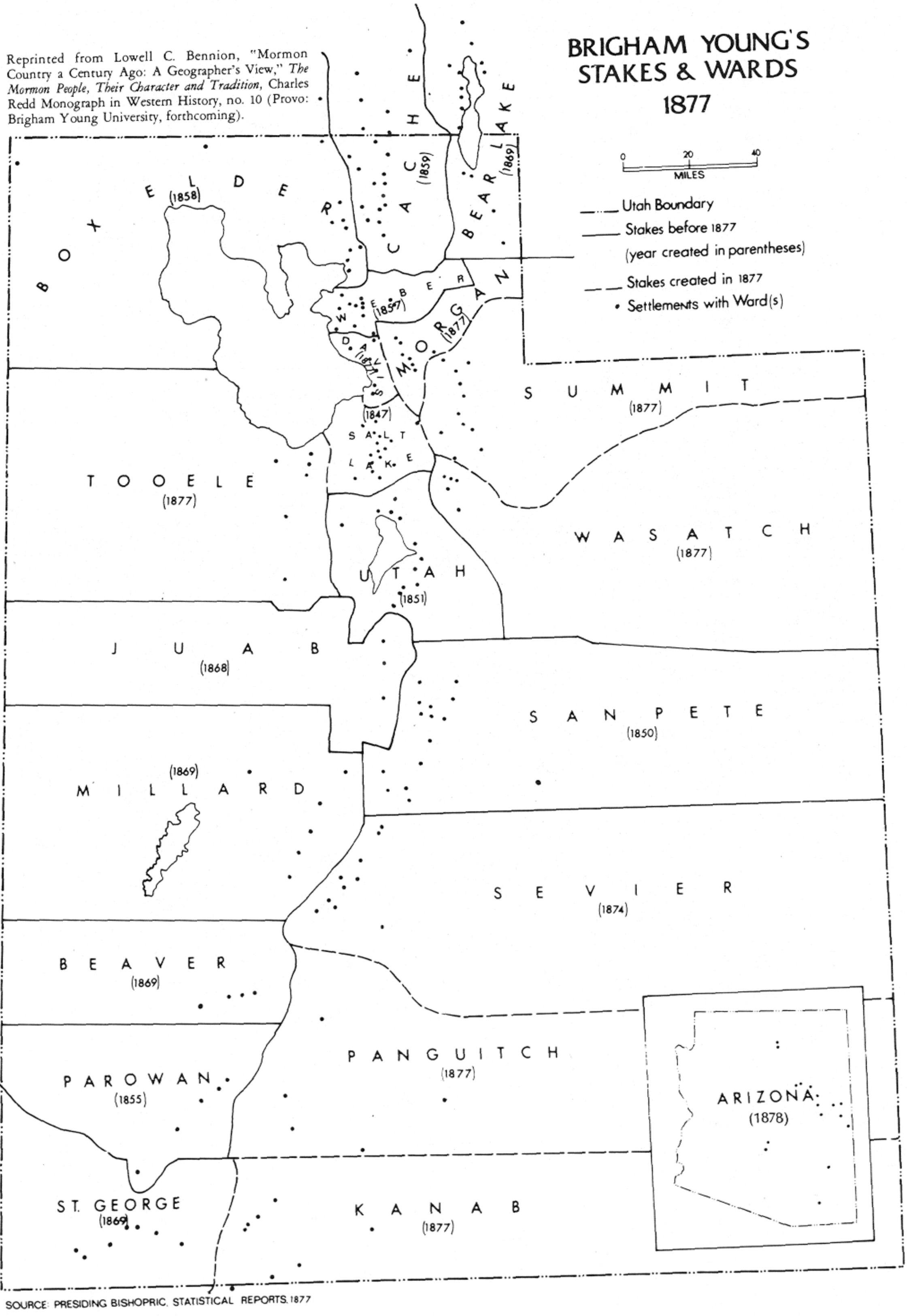
[33]Tooele Stake Historical Record and Manuscript History, MS, Church Archives.

[34]See Table Two; Ogden Ward boundaries, established by President Young, "causd a great deal of dissatisfaction" and were readjusted in December 1878 (Weber Stake Manuscript History, 8 December 1878, MS, Church Archives).

[35]Sevier Stake Manuscript History, 14 June 1877, 14 July 1877, MS, Church Archives; Brigham Young General Minutes Collection, 21 May 1877, typescript, Church Archives; Brigham Young, Jr., Diary, 1 July 1877.

Reprinted from Lowell C. Bennion, "Mormon Country a Century Ago: A Geographer's View," *The Mormon People, Their Character and Tradition*, Charles Redd Monograph in Western History, no. 10 (Provo: Brigham Young University, forthcoming).

BRIGHAM YOUNG'S STAKES & WARDS 1877



SOURCE: PRESIDING BISHOPRIC, STATISTICAL REPORTS. 1877

What happened to presidencies in the thirteen existing stakes? In the six stakes where apostles stepped down from being stake presidents, strong local leaders replaced them. In the seven other stakes four incumbents continued as presidents and three were released: Joel Grover (Juab) became a local bishop, Thomas Callister (Millard) became a stake patriarch, and Albert K. Thurber (Sevier) became a first counselor in the stake presidency. Their places were taken by strong local leaders except at Juab where Salt Laker George Teasdale was selected.

Seven stakes were new. In them three of the new presidents had been serving the region as presiding bishops: Willard G. Smith (Morgan), Abraham Hatch (Wasatch), and William W. Cluff (Summit). In three other new stakes prominent local men received the call. And in one new stake, Tooele, outsider Francis M. Lyman was installed.

Nearly every stake–seventeen of twenty–received new counselors at the conference. High councils too were created, continued, or reorganized in all stakes. About half the stakes immediately called presidents for the high priests and for an elders quorum; other stakes waited until after the conferences. Only two stakes sustained patriarchs at first, but within a year most had at least one called. Only about one-fourth of the stakes sustained priests, teachers, and deacons quorum presidents at the conferences.

Local priesthood councils participated in nominating other stake and ward officers. The council at Sevier Stake nominated four men for stake president, two dozen for high council, and at least one for each settlement for bishop, including four for Richfield and four for Monroe. Elders Orson Hyde and Erastus Snow and the Sevier council decided on officers all the way down to elders presidency and priests presidents.[36] In Wasatch Stake, Elders Franklin D. Richards and John Taylor did not question that acting Presiding Bishop Abraham Hatch was to be the new stake president. They met with him Friday afternoon and poured over names of Melchizedek Priesthood men, "receiving suggestions as to the fitness of men for various offices." Then, next afternoon, in priesthood council they "determined most of the officers for the Stake."[37]

In Tooele Stake at a Saturday evening priesthood council, Apostle John Taylor "called upon any and all who wished to make nominations of men, who were honest, sober, truthful Latter Day

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[36]Sevier Stake Manuscript History, 14 June 1877.
[37]Franklin D. Richards Diary, 13 and 14 July 1877.

Saints, so they may have plenty of good names to choose from for High Councillors, Bishops and their Counsellors and presidents of Quorums." The next morning the new stake president met with the Twelve "when names were canvassed to fill the various offices of the Stake." During a lunch break President Lyman met again with the Twelve "when the names of parties to fill the various offices were further discussed and decided upon." At the afternoon session Elder Taylor presented the selections for sustaining votes.[38]

Nominations and sustainings went smoothly, according to available records. "The Spirit seems to fully approve of our labors and selections," wrote Elder Richards, regarding the Tooele slate. There were several cases of dissent, however. When Brigham proposed to Parowan Stake members that William Dame be replaced by Jesse N. Smith as their stake president, "a number of the people objected," and the stake reorganization was postponed from April to July, when William Dame and Jesse N. Smith were sustained as co-presidents. In Salt Lake's Third Ward the members voted down Elder George Q. Cannon's proposal that their long-time bishop be replaced. As a result President Young appointed a priest that August to preside, and not until December was former Bishop Jacob Weiler put back into his office. Kanab could not unite behind a nominee for bishop until that December.[39]

Sustained, the new officers needed ordinations and settings apart, ceremonies which usually followed the last conference session. Only General Authorities could ordain stake presidents and bishops, but stake presidents handled all other ordinations and settings apart.

Beyond determining boundaries and officers, the conferences had other purposes. One was to instruct. Sermon subjects ranged from the need for temporal and spiritual unity to temple building, children's educations, and duties of priesthood officers. Specific local problems also received comment.

Beaver Stake's unique problems, for example, drew fire from Apostles Erastus Snow and Wilford Woodruff. They called a special priesthood meeting which excluded anyone not "vouched for" by those present. They first dressed down two LDS county judges who threatened Utah's future by issuing questionable divorces to out-of-state parties. Then they chastized the stake president for going "heart and hand with the gentiles," thereby giving gentiles too much local

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[38]Francis M. Lyman Diary, Book 8, 23 and 24 June 1877; Franklin D. Richards Diary, 25 June 1877.

[39]Franklin D. Richards Diary, 25 June 1877; Parowan Stake Manuscript History, 18 April 1877, MS, Church Archives; Salt Lake Stake Historical Record Book, 1877 section on ward reorganizations; Kanab Stake Historical Record, Book A, 8 and 9 December 1877, MS, Church Archives.

political power. Brigham's instructions were that if President John Murdock were not repentant about this he was to be replaced. He repented and was resustained. Then members themselves were criticized for selling and drinking liquor dispensed at the LDS co-op store. Warned Elder Snow: "I advise you sisters to get together in the capacity of a Relief Society, and gut the store of every drop of liquor in it, and spill the liquor on the ground." Finally, the apostles cancelled out county central committee nominations for the upcoming election and substituted another man as their hand-picked nominee for the legislature. Immediately following the conference, twenty-five of the newly sustained officers were rebaptized, including the stake presidency.[40]

On 11 July, after fourteen of twenty stakes were reorganized, the First Presidency issued a lengthy, historic epistle to the Church.[41] It explained the purposes of the reorderings, expounded on priesthood principles to be followed when wards and quorums were organized, and listed a wide range of instructions regarding Church government and duties of officers and members. It served then much like bishops and stake presidents handbooks serve today and was carefully and often referred to by local leaders. It represents the constitution of the 1877 movement, the guidebook, the codification of priesthood principles necessary to operating stakes, wards, and quorums. It was the most comprehensive policy statement about priesthood practices since the Doctrine and Covenants was first published. In summary form, the epistle's most important statements include:

> Stake presidencies are responsible for all church matters in their stakes.
>
> Bishoprics, to be properly organized, must have three high priests.
>
> There will be no more local presiding bishops.
>
> All members are to be enrolled in a ward or branch, visited regularly, and brought to repentance when necessary. If these conditions are not met, leaders share in their sins.
>
> A priest, teacher, or acting priest presides over branches.
>
> Branches and wards should maintain Sunday Schools and Sabbath meetings.
>
> High priests are a stake quorum with unlimited numbers and are not to meet on a ward basis.

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[40]Beaver Stake Historical Record, 25-27 July 1877.
[41]"Circular of the First Presidency, July 11, 1877," in Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency,* 2:283.

Seventies meet only for missionary purposes; otherwise they should meet with high priests or elders quorums.

No more high priests or seventies will be ordained without First Presidency approval.

Quorums must have scriptural minimums in order to organize: no less than ninety-six elders, forty-eight priests, twenty-four teachers, and twelve deacons. Wards should combine if necessary to create quorums with those minimum enrollments.

Melchizedek Priesthood men can serve in lesser priesthood jobs when needed.

Stakes will hold quarterly conferences which General Authorities will visit.

Stakes and wards will compile quarterly reports and submit them to the First Presidency.

Careful transcripts of all bishops courts must be kept.

Members, when moving, must obtain letters of recommendation from previous wards.

Youths should be given some priesthood office; experienced teachers should take along young men during their home visits to train them in priesthood work.

Bishoprics should administer sacrament weekly to Sunday School children.

Parents should instruct their children and send them to Sunday Schools.

Tithing should be paid promptly to aid temple construction.

Every settlement should have YMMIAs and YLMIAs.

Home industry is to be encouraged and developed; grain must be stored.

Stake presidencies should travel through wards frequently and call men as home missionaries to help them preach in the wards.

Local leaders read this epistle publicly and discussed it with local priesthood groups. In August Brigham added two instructions. Raising donations to support temple laborers became the bishops' responsibility rather than the quorums'. Also, stakes were to hold monthly priesthood meetings on the first Saturday of each month. These, like the epistle's instructions, were quickly complied with. Three more additions to the reform plan came right after Brigham's death: bishops were instructed to hold weekly ward meetings with their Aaronic Priesthood quorums, dates were published for stake

conferences for the next six months, and Deseret News Press published forms for ward and stake reports.[42]

The twenty stake reorganizing conferences were but the first phase of the 1877 reorganization movement. The second phase was the post-conference part which reordered priesthood work at the ward and quorum levels. If President Young dominated the first phase, the stake presidencies and ward bishops dominated the second. It involved installing bishops counselors not already installed; calling and setting apart quorum presidents for elders, priests, teachers, and deacons units; and calling males to fill up the new quorums. Stake presidents made two or three circuits through the wards in order to complete this phase of the reorganization, sometimes assisted by resident General Authorities.

Salt Lake Stake, with a quarter of all Mormons in Utah, clearly illustrates how the second phase was implemented:[43] Conferences were held in virtually all nineteen city wards and six county wards. Ten new wards were created and staffed. Of thirty-five total wards, fifteen received new bishops; and five acting bishops and twelve acting counselors were ordained and/or set apart. Of seventy total counselors for the thirty-five wards, forty-seven were newly called. Of 105 total bishopric personnel in the stakes, 62 or 59 percent were newly ordained because of the reorganization. These changes came during the stake presidency's first circuit in June and July.

A second circuit did not begin until November. During the lull two major developments occurred. First, in August when the prophet asked stakes to hold monthly priesthood meetings, he specifically instructed Salt Lake Stake to erect a new priesthood hall to house those monthly gatherings. As a result, the Old Tabernacle was razed and laborers commenced the stately Assembly Hall, which Brigham helped design. Second, at October stake conference the stake presidency called thirty-five men as home missionaries to serve as preachers in the wards. Finally, the stake's 3 November priesthood meeting initiated the stake presidency's second circuit of the wards. It was time to create quorums.

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[42]Bishops Minutes, 23 August 1877; "Epistle of the Twelve Apostles and Counselors, to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in All the World," September 1877, in Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency* 2:301–302.

[43]Salt Lake Stake Historical Record Book, August through December 1877; Bishops Minutes, 9 August 1877; *Deseret Evening News,* 28 December 1877; Salt Lake Stake General Aaronic Priesthood Minutes, 6 May 1876; Bishops Minutes, 31 August 1877; Salt Lake Stake Manuscript History, 21 November 1877.

The stake needed new elders quorums. Until 1876 one quorum served the two dozen wards, its presidency being sustained in conferences. When Brigham asked in 1876 for quorums to support laborers for the Salt Lake Temple, quorum president Edward W. Davis set up branch elders units in some of the county population pockets. This loose collection of elders groups, belonging to the one stake quorum, changed radically during the second phase. For the stake's thirty-five wards, fifteen elders quorums were formed. Quorums needed ninety-six members minimum, an impossibility for most wards, so multi-ward quorums were formed. The First Ward, for example, with twenty-nine elders, and the Tenth Ward with seventy-nine, combined to become the Second Elders Quorum, joined shortly by elders from Sugarhouse Ward. Only four quorums were one-ward quorums. For the rest it took from two to five wards to supply enough elders to create a quorum. By December the *Deseret News* published the new quorum numberings and a list of the fifteen new presidencies.

The stake likewise needed more Aaronic Priesthood quorums. Prior to 1877 there had been a stake deacons, a teachers, and a priests quorum, whose presidencies were sustained at each general conference. Wards often had deacons quorums but none for the teachers and priests. They did have groups of ward teachers, but these were not considered Aaronic Priesthood teachers quorums. The ideal continued to be to call mature men into these quorums, but in practice such men received the Melchizedek Priesthood, and the Aaronic quorums were plagued with vacancies. The only solution was to call boys into the work, a solution implemented by the 1877 reorganization.

A September survey showed only 170 Aaronic Priesthood bearers in the Salt Lake Stake. Conscious of quorum minimums, stake leaders in early November doubted the stake had enough ordained teachers to form even two quorums and knew "there were only enough Priests in the whole city to organize one quorum." By 31 December dozens of new teachers were ordained and three quorums formed: one for nine wards with nineteen teachers, one with nineteen teachers from eight wards, and a third with twenty-two teachers from four wards. Thirty-seven priests were ordained so the stake could have one priests quorum. By contrast, deacons units were easy to fill. Most wards could come up with twelve deacons. During November and December, 354 new deacons were ordained in the stake, so that all but two of the thirty-five wards had a quorum, and four wards had

more than one. Mill Creek Ward alone set up five. By the year's end, the stake had forty-one deacons quorums.

Other stakes implemented the second phase similarly. Between September and February, Box Elder Stake's Aaronic Priesthood numbers nearly doubled (from 182 to 352). Bear Lake Stake's deacons increased in a few months from thirty-seven to eighty-nine. It took Morgan Stake until February to create one priests quorum. Juab needed until January to start its one elders and two deacons quorums. Beaver Second Ward ordained "a number of young men" as priests and deacons that fall. Sevier Stake created two new elders quorums by its first quarterly conference. A Cache Stake report in December showed one priests quorum had been created ("mostly boys"); one ward said it filled a deacons quorum with "small boys"; one bishop reported his ward had fourteen priests ("mostly young boys"), a full deacons quorum, only one ordained teacher, and a quorum of acting teachers ("older brethren"); and another ward had ordained a number of "young men as teachers to labor with experienced Acting Teachers." Three circuits by the Weber Stake presidency saw them organize or reorganize six elders, six priests, twelve teachers, and eleven deacons quorums by October. By the year's end most stakes had completed their stake, ward, and quorum organizations; and leaders expressed great satisfaction at the changes and improvements made.[44]

Threats to prune the ungodly from the Church were not fulfilled. At least we find no evidence that excommunications escalated in the wake of the reorganizings. This disappointed some, like Isaiah Coombs of Payson who expected a "reformation." Paysonites in August, he wrote, talked much about "the proposed cleansing of the Church by cutting off all dead branches, which it is hoped will soon be inaugurated." Brigham, sounding severe in public on the matter, on his deathbed privately told Elder Cannon that "offending members should be carefully looked after and attended to but not dealt rashly with." Erastus Snow's instructions to bishops were similar: they should manifest "that fatherly love, tenderness and anxiety that parents feel for their offspring," a policy which seems to have been followed.[45]

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[44]Box Elder Stake Historical Record, August to December 1877, MS, Church Archives; Bear Lake Stake Historical Record, August to December 1877; Morgan Stake Historical Record, 17 February 1878, MS, Church Archives; Juab Stake Manuscript History, 19 and 20 January 1878, MS, Church Archives; Beaver Stake Historical Record, 27 October 1877; *Deseret Evening News,* 7 December 1877; Cache Stake Historical Record, 20 December 1877, MS, Church Archives; *Deseret News Weekly,* 24 October 1877.

[45]Isaiah Coombs Diary, 13–15 August 1877; Bishops Minutes, 6 September 1877; *JD,* 19:131.

But members were forced to repledge their allegiance or declare their disloyalty when offered the chance to be rebaptized. Many Saints had been rebaptized in 1874–1875 during the United Order movements, but many had not. So both types were given a second chance to be rebaptized in 1877, and hundreds of Saints were rebaptized. Elder Richards, installing a new bishopric in Davis Stake, had them "rebaptized, reconfirmed, and ordained and set apart." South Bountiful Ward reported on 8 September that 117 of its 400 members had been rebaptized. On 5 July, Bishop Frederick Kesler supervised his ward's rebaptism and then assisted in confirming fifty-nine persons at fast meeting. Part of Wasatch Stake's reorganizing conference included a Sunday morning rebaptismal service. At Fillmore on 21 July two apostles counselled Saints there "to renew their covenants by baptism" and twenty-two responded. At the Beaver Stake reorganization twenty-five were rebaptized, including the new stake presidency; then ward rebaptisms followed, totalling over 400 by November. Parowan members were asked 12 August "to go and renew their covenants" if they had not done so already. When Tooele Stake organized Quincy Branch, twenty-one were rebaptized there. November third reports in Sevier Stake listed forty-eight rebaptisms for four wards. Woodruff Ward reported 80 percent of its 336 souls were rebaptized. Summit Stake in November questioned what course to take regarding "some that had not renewed their covenants," but no answer is noted. The 116 rebaptisms at Nephi that fall made one St. Georgean think that a "silent reformation" was under way. The main reason for rebaptisms, counselled Elder Erastus Snow, was "to draw the Saints more closely together and to separate the wheat from the chaff."[46]

As instructed by the July letter, stake presidents began visiting all their wards on a regular basis. During the first stake quarterly conference, most stakes also called home missionaries to visit and speak regularly in ward sacrament meetings. To cite a few examples, Tooele and Millard stakes called twenty, Morgan sixteen, Cache twenty-two, and Utah twenty-four. Some stakes, like Weber, used high councilmen as home missionaries. Others called seventies. A

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[46]Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God,* pp. 154, 171, 215, 269; Franklin D. Richards Diary, 24 July 1877; Davis Stake Historical Record, 8 September 1877; Journal of Frederick Kesler, Book 4, 5 July 1877, MS, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City; Franklin D. Richards Diary, 11 and 15 July 1877; Millard Stake Historical Record, 21 July 1877, MS, Church Archives; Beaver Stake Historical Record, 26 July and 29 September 1877; Parowan Stake Historical Record, 12 August 1877; Francis M. Lyman Diary, 23 October 1877; Sevier Stake Historical Report, 3 November 1877; Summit Stake Historical Record, 11 November 1877, MS, Church Archives; St. George Manuscript History, 14 October 1877, MS, Church Archives; Beaver Stake Historical Record, 26 July 1877.

few home missionaries received specific assignments to work with language groups such as the Germans, Swiss, or Indians. By December, two-thirds of the stakes had their missionaries called and operating.[47]

Quarterly conferences began in all stakes, replacing the annual, semi-annual, and random conferences of the past. With rare exceptions, every quarterly conference, starting that fall, was visited by members of the Twelve or First Presidency. At each stake's first quarterly conference, the officers called in previous weeks to complete the organizations were sustained and set apart. At these quarterly conferences wards turned in reports so that the stake could compile quarterly reports to give to the visiting authorities. In Table 2 is compiled a Church census for the stakes, based on the fall and winter quarterly conference reports, which shows the approximate size and officer range of stakes in late 1877.

By the second quarterly conference, if not the first, nearly every stake reported it was fully organized at the stake, ward, and quorum levels. The reorganization of 1877 was completed, and stakes thereafter settled down to operating with their new machinery, to letting their new officers and units serve, to doing the everyday work of ecclesiastical leadership and followership.

Like a train going through a tunnel, the Church entered, passed through, and exited from the 1877 reorganization. What difference did it make? What changes did it produce? Was the Church any better because of the passage? Brigham's counselor George Q. Cannon delivered an October assessment which painted Brigham's reorganization work in heroic proportions:

> He set the Priesthood in order as it has never before been since the first organization of the Church upon the earth. He defined the duties of the Apostles, he defined the duties of the Seventies, he defined the duties of the High Priests, the duties of the Elders and those of the lesser Priesthood, with plainness and distinction and power–the power of God–in a way that it is left on record in such unmistakable language that no one need err who has the spirit of God resting down upon him.[48]

Using Elder Cannon's statement as the frame for judging President Young's last achievement, we now examine each priesthood office in terms of how the 1877 reorganization affected it.

A. Glen Humphreys, "Missionaries to the Saints," *BYU Studies* 17 (Autumn 1976):74–100; Historical Records and Manuscript Histories for the various stakes.

[48] *Deseret News Weekly*, 3 September 1877.

TABLE 2
Stake Statistics from Early Quarterly Reports Following the 1877 Reorganizings[a]
(Stakes Ranked According to Size of Membership)

Stake	Date of Report	Wards	Families	Members	High Priests	Seventies	Elders	Priests	Teachers	Deacons	Averages from the stake statistics: Families (Ward)	Members (Ward)	High Priests (Ward)	Seventies (Ward)	Elders (Ward)	Priests (Ward)	Teachers (Ward)	Deacons (Ward)	Average Size Family
Salt Lake	12/77	35	4021	19798	493	1134	1617	145	166	595	115	566	14	32	46	4	5	17	4.92
Utah	12/77	17	2658	13731	439	631	1149	214	141	280	156	808	26	37	68	13	8	17	5.17
Cache	2/78	24	2155	12022	380	361	1214	257	275	404	90	501	16	15	51	11	12	17	5.57
Sanpete	11/77	18	1623	8760	326	394	791	155	148	153	90	487	18	22	44	9	8	9	5.40
Weber	3/78	16	1494	7904	139	402	691	121	186	155	93	494	9	25	43	8	12	10	5.29
Box Elder	12/77	15[b]	998	5341	192	183	562	113	73	127	67	356	13	12	38	8	5	9	5.35
St. George	12/77	14	816	4592	150	195	453	28	20	75	58	328	11	14	32	2	1	5	5.63
Davis	3/78	8	832	4593	132	274	357	45	53	73	104	574	17	34	45	6	7	9	5.52
Sevier	3/78	11	649	3530	121	85	383	31	90	84	59	321	11	8	35	3	8	8	5.44
Bear Lake	1/78	16	592	3418	82	97	346	14	14	89	37	214	5	6	22	1	1	6	5.77
Tooele	3/78	6	589	3064	97	110	218	23	55	73	98	511	16	18	36	4	9	9	5.20
Millard	5/78	8	489	2501	79	115	215	38	9	71	61	313	10	14	27	5	1	9	5.11
Summit	11/77	10	482	2448	100	65	214	26	46	36	48	245	10	7	21	3	5	4	5.08
Wasatch	2/78	6	392	2296	90	40	162	16	33	34	65	383	15	7	27	3	6	6	5.86
Parowan	3/78	7	373	2122	58	136	153	3	5	16	53	303	8	19	22	.5	1	2	5.69
Juab	3/78	4	318	2014	71	121	84	46	32	61	80	506	18	30	21	12	8	8	6.33
Kanab	3/78	6	259	1669	59	52	135	4	19	73	43	278	10	9	23	1	3	12	6.44
Beaver	12/77	5	275	1590	75	25	139	21	6	29	55	318	15	5	28	4	1	6	5.78
Morgan	3/78	9	248	1541	67	35	126	26	16	64	28	171	7	4	14	3	2	7	6.21
Panguitch	3/78	5	170	859	27	22	75	3	13	17	34	172	5	4	15	1	3	3	5.05
TOTALS FOR REPORTING UNITS		240	19433	103793	3177	4477	9084	1329	1400	2509	81	432	13	19	38	6	6	10	5.34

[a]Sources: Stake Historical Reports 1877–1880; Presiding Bishopric, 1 March 1878 Statistical Report of the Stakes, MS, Church Archives.
[b]Box Elder Stake began with sixteen wards but disorganized Corrine Ward by December.

The Twelve. Six of the Twelve were released as stake presidents because Brigham felt they now must work "in a wider and more extended sphere," in "a larger field than a Stake of Zion." He gave them an "increase of responsibility and jurisdiction" for which they would be held to "a stricter accountability" than before.[49]

He expected the movement to give the Twelve a spiritual shot in the arm; in starting the movement he said, "The Twelve must take a different course—that is some of them—or they would lose the crown and others would take what they might have had." Table 1 shows much involvement by the Twelve in the stake reorganizing conferences. They conducted meetings, interviewed, ordained and set apart, preached, met members, and gave private counsel. These were tasks which built them up spiritually, if Elder Franklin D. Richards's diary is representative. He recorded there, as mentioned, how he felt the Spirit confirmed the choices of Tooele Stake's officers. Then in late July he recorded how John Taylor and he spent time "in searching revelations and sayings of Joseph Smith in Church history on the subject of Priesthood." For part of another day he "read diligently in revelations and history of Joseph Smith." After his Brigham City sermon on priesthood duties, he recorded his spiritual feelings: "I thank Thee O lord for the measure of thy Spirit to aid me in my labors in the ministry and for increasing my knowledge in the Gospel of the Holy Priesthood."[50]

A new and major assignment given the Twelve was to visit quarterly stake conferences, something they started doing that fall. Elder Taylor, aware that the Twelve's duties now more than ever made it impossible for them to "pay any attention to their own private affairs," won approval in October conference for the Twelve to receive for the first time "a reasonable recompense for their services" from Church funds.[51]

The Seventies. Unlike the Twelve, the First Council of the Seventy gained no new responsibilities. Rather, they and their six dozen quorums generally lost importance. Seventies needed reorganizing to put their quorums on a strict geographic basis rather than struggling to retain the no-matter-where-you-live-you-belong-to-your-original-quorum situation. That change came six years later, initiated by a

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[49]Ibid., and "Epistle of the Twelve Apostles," September 1877, in Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency,* 2:300.

[50]Brigham Young, Jr., Diary, 1 April 1877; an entry for that same date in Charles Walker Diary (microfilm, Church Archives) says the Twelve would "lose their crown and others be appointed" if they did not embrace the United Order; Franklin D. Richards Diary, 25 June, 28 July, 2 and 19 August, 1877.

[51]*JD,* 19:122.

revelation to John Taylor. But, as James N. Baumgarten noted, "It seems strange that more definite steps for organization were not taken" during the Brigham Young era. Perhaps strong positions taken by Brigham and by Joseph Young regarding the authority and status of seventies required both of their deaths before change could come; we need to know much more about the relationship between these Young brothers. But 1877 clearly added to or created situations which made the 1883 changes necessary.[52]

The reorganization set the seventies back in a number of ways. First, if Joseph Young said in 1876 that seventies could ordain high priests and bishops, 1877 realities shattered that theory. The First Council played no meaningful role in the movement, and all seventies called to presiding positions in wards and stakes were first ordained as high priests and then set apart to particular positions–their seventies' authority was not sufficient.

Second, like a reaping machine in a grainfield, the movement took seventies by the hundreds–Joseph Young said almost a thousand total–and made them high priests to preside in wards and stakes. Seventies quorums were emptied. Said Brigham to Joseph at Logan, "Your quorums are depleted, but no matter, when the Lord has new positions, take them and you will be destined to enjoy all the blessings. It will make no difference whether we are deacons or elders if we are doing our duty."[53]

Third, the depleted ranks were not soon filled. Ending the seventies' practice of freely recruiting new members, Brigham ordered that no more seventies would be ordained without First Presidency permission, a position taken specifically to reduce the number of new seventies. Even men called on missions that October were not ordained as seventies as had been customary.[54]

Fourth, seventies were told not to meet as quorums unless they had specific missionary business to conduct; otherwise they should meet with elders or high priests.

Fifth, seventies vigorously responded in 1876 to the call to provide men and to pay them to work on the temples, feeling that assignment gave their quorums needed meaning in Zion; but 1877 instructions took away the fund-raising task and gave it to the bishops.

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[52]"A Revelation given through President John Taylor, April 14, 1883," in Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency,* 2:354. This revelation ratified instructions regarding seventies reorganizations given the day before (ibid., pp. 352–54), and Baumgarten, "Role and Function of Seventies," p. 43.

[53]Quoted by Joseph Young, First Council of the Seventy Minutes, 21 November 1877, MS, Church Archives.

[54]First Council of the Seventy Minutes, 31 August 1877.

Slight solace came from the fact that, despite losing men and purpose, seventies in a few cases were called upon by stake presidents to serve as home missionaries.

Stakes and stake presidents. In early Utah, Salt Lake Stake played a vital role, much like its predecessors in Kirtland, Missouri, and Nauvoo. Salt Lake Stake, because of its size–one-fourth of the Church members in 1877–and the heavy concentration of General Authorities living there, served as the main stake, like a center stake of Zion. But as more and more stakes were born, the general role of stakes in church government needed to be clearly identified. The most important product of 1877 was making stakes meaningful governing units between the wards and the General Authorities. This was done by creating new stakes, calling new officers in almost every stake, and giving them more responsibility. Statistically, 1877 did this:

Old stakes reorganized	13
New stakes created	7
New stake presidents	16
New stake counselors	18 sets
New presidency members	53 out of 60

Presidents were made responsible for every person and every program, except seventies' work, within their stake boundaries. Diarist Jens Weibye noted new duties given stake presidents in 1877 that impressed him: "to preside wherever they go in Sanpete Stake, also in High counsils, Relief society, Quorum Meeting, Sabbath School, etc. One of the Presidency of the Stake should be present, in every High Council Meeting, when there is any Busines."[55] Ended in 1877 was a practice, at times common, to have a high council president who was not the stake president. Stake presidents participating in the second phase of the reorganizings benefited from having to preach, instruct, meet members, and seek spiritual guidance. One counselor, after visiting many wards, "was satisfied that the Lord approved of it, for, while engaged in that labor, he realized the power and Spirit of God to a remarkable degree."[56] Such experiences now could happen to these men regularly because of their new assignments to develop quarterly conferences, to conduct monthly priesthood meetings, to visit and speak regularly in the wards, and to keep all their wards properly organized and staffed.

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[55]Jens C. A. Weibye Diary, 9 July 1877, MS, Church Archives.
[56]Joseph E. Taylor of Salt Lake Stake presidency, Bishops Minutes, 29 November 1877.

Most stakes created new high councils, bringing more than a hundred new men into those positions. Stakes also established many new Melchizedek Priesthood quorums. They sent home missionaries to wards to speak in and hopefully improve sacrament meetings. They eliminated the office of local presiding bishops; new bishops agents served instead. The 1877 movement also introduced the Church's "first uniform system for keeping records," involving among other things a ward "Long Book" for members' records and a new "Stake Quarterly Report" book. These were "the first formal instruments used by the Church to measure enrollment and ordinance data," and they continued in use until 1900. The 1877 program called for reliable monthly and quarterly reports and statistics from the wards; it also started quorum records books and other historical records. Researchers using the Church Archives today know that for many Church units, regular records date from 1877, even for many units organized well before then.[57]

Salt Lake Stake's reorganizing included building the Assembly Hall for stake priesthood meetings. Other stakes, evidently, undertook similar building projects too. During the next seven years tabernacles were begun in each city which in 1877 hosted a stake reorganizing conference in a bowery (Morgan, Coalville, Manti, Richfield, and Paris–Brigham City began its tabernacle probably before the reorganizings) and in Cedar City, Provo, Moroni, Panguitch, Wellsville, and Smithfield.[58]

High priests. Seventies reaped by the 1877 movement were bundled into the high priests quorum, vastly expanding the high priests population. But, like the seventies, high priests had to swallow a humility pill. If 1877 was their report card, they failed. Their units, theoretically schools for preparing future leaders, produced very few of the leaders called in 1877, a fact which bothered Elder Taylor, who noted

> how little prepared the High Priests were to take upon themselves the duties of their office, in presiding over Stakes, Wards, etc. We have had to take hundreds from the Quorums of Seventies and Elders. . . . If the High Priests had understood and performed their duties, we should

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[57]Dennis H. Smith, "Formal Reporting Systems of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1925" (M.A. thesis, BYU, 1976), pp. 38, 40, 120–21. Ward splits did "derange" ward records in Salt Lake Stake (Stake Historical Record Book, 11 August 1877).

[58]"Most of these buildings followed the lead of the Assembly Hall by adapting elements of the Gothic Revival and other Victorian styles in their architecture, in contrast to the earlier tabernacles which were more in the tradition of the earlier Georgian, Federal, and Greek Revival Styles," Paul L. Anderson, "Mormon Tabernacle Architecture: From Meetinghouse to Cathedral," unpublished lecture, Utah Heritage Foundation Lecture Series, Assembly Hall, 12 April 1979.

> not have been in the position we were and compelled to go outside these quorums to find men suitable for presiding.[59]

High priests were reminded that theirs was a stake quorum, so no ward level meeting should be held. They would continue to have their own president, someone other than the stake president. They could not freely recruit new members as they had in the past.

Elders. Elders units, previous to 1877, lacked organization and purpose. That year they at least multiplied dramatically and were properly organized and officered. No new duties were identified other than holding regular meetings and answering all calls made by their ward bishop.

Bishops and wards. Like a train exiting a tunnel with more cars than it entered with, the Church in 1877 added three new wards for each two it already had and added four new bishops for each one that continued in office:

Old wards	101
New wards	140
Old bishops retained	56
New bishops called	100
Acting bishops or presiding elders called as new bishops	85
Total newly ordained or set apart	185 out of 241 (3 out of 4)

Although incomplete, records show that well over half of the 482 counselors were newly ordained or set apart. Those new leaders had to learn to function with their ward members, and the members with them. New wards were either former branches or parts split off from existing wards. Branches that became wards had the advantage in most cases of their branch president becoming their bishop and of keeping their same meeting place and meeting schedule, with the addition of quorum and perhaps auxiliary meetings. Wards taken from other wards had the harder adjustment: new leaders, new meeting location, and new organizations to staff. Often they had to construct new meetinghouses.

Bishops, old or new, assumed new duties. They were expected to strictly account for their ward members, keep Aaronic units in their ward or their section of the stake staffed, attend weekly Aaronic Priesthood meetings, attend monthly priesthood meetings, operate an effective ward teaching program, conduct the sacrament in Sun-

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[59] *JD*, 19:140–41.

day School, turn in monthly and quarterly reports, keep accurate trial records, take over from the priesthood quorums the task of supporting temple laborers, and hold proper Sabbath meetings. Virtually all new bishoprics were properly ordained as high priests and set apart to their callings, thus qualifying as proper Church tribunals.

Priests, teachers, and deacons. The 1877 changes revolutionized Aaronic Priesthood work by stipulating that all youth receive some priesthood instead of just a few youth having that privilege. Youth were the solution to the long-standing dilemma of how to keep lesser priesthood quorums staffed when capable men were recruited away from them to the higher quorums. The new policy was for experienced teachers to take youths with them while ward teaching. The second phase created scores of new Aaronic Priesthood units, most filled with boys. Some boys became deacons at age eleven. Weber Stake ordained "all the boys above fourteen years not already ordained." Reactions to this new youth priesthood were strongly favorable. An October report from Ogden noted the "great good that had already resulted from organizing the Lesser Priesthood, the young men responding to the call they received in such a manner as enkindled new life and spirit in the hearts of their parents and older members of the Church generally." A Cache bishop said that "a source of strength had been opened up through the organization of the Aaronic Priesthood, the young men acquitting themselves creditably." The Salt Lake Stake presidency "felt especially blessed in ordaining the young to positions in the Priesthood."[60]

The duties of priests and teachers to ward teach, and deacons to care for meetinghouses, were not new. But with more and better supervised quorums, the work was accomplished more effectively. And it was done by youths, giving them some priesthood training before adulthood so that, presumably, they would make better Melchizedek Priesthood bearers.

Members. The movement did cause a reformation among many Saints. Published epistles and sermons, better stake and ward organizations, closer apostolic supervision, more visiting by acting and ordained Aaronic Priesthood bearers, and clearer instructions and expectations helped members toe the line a little better. Probably more than a thousand members received new ward and stake positions through which to grow and serve. Wards lacking Sunday Schools,

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[60]Weber Stake, Hooper and West wards, Elders Quorum Minutes, 1875–1886, 23 September 1877, MS, Church Archives; *Deseret News Weekly,* 24 October 1877; Cache Stake Manuscript History, 3 and 4 November 1877; Salt Lake Stake Manuscript History, 29 November 1877.

TABLE 3
New Units and Leaders*

Old Stake and Founding Date	Old Stake Pres. New Stake Pres.	Counselors	Total Wards	New Wards	Old Wards	Old Bishops	New Bishops Who Were Acting Bishops or Presiding Elders	New Bishops
Bear Lake (1869)	Apostle C. C. Rich	None	16	15	1	1	12	3
	William Budge	2						
Beaver (1869)	John Murdock	None	5	0	5	3	1	1
	Same	2						
Cache (1859)	B. Young, Jr.	None	24	11	13	10	7	7
	Moses Thatcher	2						
Box Elder (1856)	Apostle L. Snow	1	16	14	2	1	7	8
	Oliver G. Snow	2 new						
Juab (1868)	Joel Grover	2	4	3	1	0	0	4
	Geo. Teasdale	2 new						
Millard (1869)	Thos. Callister	None	8	7	1	0	5	3
	Ira Hinckley	2						
St. George (1869)	Apostle E. Snow	2	14	1	13	3	4	7
	J. D. T. McAllister	2 new						
Parowan (1855)	Wm. Dame	1	7	1	6	3	2	2
	Same	1 same						
Sanpete (1860)	Apostle O. Hyde	None	18	11	7	4	3	11
	Canute Peterson	2						

Sevier (1874)	A. K. Thurber (acting)	None	11	8	3	0	6	5
	Franklin Spencer	2						
Utah (1852)	A. O. Smoot (acting)	None	17	2	15	13	2	2
	Same (ordained)	2						
Salt Lake (1847)	Angus Cannon	2	35	10	25	15	5	15
	Same	2 same						
Weber (1851)	Apostle F. Richards	None	16	16	0	0	10	6
	David H. Peery	2						
TOTALS	9 New	3 same						
	4 Continued	28 new	191	99	92	53	64	74
NEW STAKES								
Davis	Wm. R. Smith	2	8	2	6	2	0	6
Kanab	L. J. Nuttall	2	6	5	1	0	4	2
Morgan	Willard G. Smith	2	9	9	0	0	1	8
Summit	Wm. W. Cluff	2	10	9	1	1	5	4
Tooele	Francis M. Lyman	2	6	6	0	0	4	2
Wasatch	Abraham Hatch	2	6	6	0	0	2	4
Panguitch	Jas. Henrie	2	5	4	1	0	5	0
TOTALS		14 New	50	41	9	3	21	26
GRAND TOTALS		241	140	101	56	85		100

*Sources: Ward and Stake Historical Records, Manuscript Histories, and Minute Books; Andrew Jenson, *L.D.S. Biographical Encyclopedia* and *Encyclopedic History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*; and various biographical sketches.

Mutuals, and Relief Societies organized them to aid and bless their members. Many men had priesthood meetings to attend now that they did not have before. Members not previously part of any ward or branch were now enrolled and at least noticed by some authorities. Sunday School children started to receive the sacrament weekly. Despite strong talk of "lopping off the dead branches," records show no notable increase in Church trials or excommunications. The reorganization movement "has had the influence of Waking Some up that were way off the line of their duty," noted a bishop's counselor in a tiny ward, who then added: "Nearly all the Branch has been rebaptized." Rebaptisms gave members opportunities to repent and reorder their living patterns.[61]

The 1877 reordering was the single most important priesthood analysis and redirecting since the priesthood restorations of forty-eight years earlier. Church history records but few major retoolings of priesthood operations. Those identified include the calling of the first ward bishops in Nauvoo in 1839, the multiplying of seventies units in 1844, the structuring of wards and quorum work in Salt Lake City in 1849, the systematizing of quorum work in 1908, the correlation effort of 1928, and modern correlation programs commenced in 1961. Only the last one compares with the comprehensiveness and magnitude of the 1877 changes.[62]

The reorganization of 1877 was a final testament by Brigham Young, who sought all his life to follow accurately Joseph Smith's teachings as to how priesthood ought to function in the Church. "The Church is more perfectly organized than ever before, perhaps with the exception of the general assembly at Kirtland, but in some things now we are more stable and complete than we were even then," observed John Taylor that September. The semi-gothic Assembly Hall, built 1877–1880, still stands on Temple Square as an impressive granite-and-wood memorial of President Young's 1877 priesthood reorganization, his last major achievement as a prophet on earth.[63]

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[61]Utah Stake Historical Record, 3 June 1877; Journal of Benjamin H. Tolman, Jr., film of MS, December 1877, Church Archives. In a number of wards and stakes only the rebaptized were called to positions. In Beaver, "teachers should not be taken from among those who have not been rebaptized" (Beaver Stake Historical Record, 27 October 1877).

[62]Baumgarten, "Role and Function of Seventies," pp. 31–33; Beecher, "Office of Bishop," p. 14; Bishops Minutes, 25 March 1849; Hartley, "The Priesthood Reform Movement, 1908–1922," pp. 137–56; Richard O. Cowan and Wilson K. Andersen, *The Living Church: The Unfolding of the Programs and Organization of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints during the Twentieth Century* (Provo: BYU Publications, 1974), pp. 214, 541–66; Richard O. Cowan, "The Priesthood-Auxiliary Movement, 1928–1938," *BYU Studies* 19 (Fall 1978):106–20.

[63]*JD,* 19:146; "Epistle of the Twelve Apostles," September 1877, in Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency,* 2:298.

Years, Passing

Christie Lund Coles

Down tumble days
into weeks, and months;
Into years that pass
almost imperceptibly,
except for the greying hair,
the greater tiredness,
and the long loss
of those
who have gone before.

Christie Lund Coles, of Provo, Utah, has received awards from the National Poetry Society, Utah State Poetry Society, and the League of Utah Writers.

Nostalgia

Ann Best

Mushrooms on the lawn
Umbrella headed, cool
And moist, tempting to touch,

Mushroom like nostalgia,
Rooted, waiting for something
To nudge them awake: darkness

And rain intoxicating
The soil, a betraying face
Sudden and unexpected.

Crush one mushroom, another
Blooms in a corner, brazenly
Drunk as memories are.

Ann Best, a teaching assistant in the English Department, Brigham Young University, is working toward a degree in English.

Persons for All Seasons: Women in Mormon History

Leonard J. Arrington

It is an honor to be invited to be here, and it is a special pleasure to know that you find, as I do, the study of women's history to be a fascinating and illuminating introduction to civilization in general, and to Utah and Mormon history in particular. And let me also express personal thanks to a number of very bright and energetic women historians who have helped the Church History Division: Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, Jill Mulvay Derr, Carol Cornwall Madsen, Becky Cornwall, Moana Bennett, Susan Oman, Claudia Bushman, Grethe Peterson, and others, I'm sure, who could be named. I am grateful to all of them. I also wish to acknowledge the opportunity of looking through a nearly completed volume on the writings of women significant to Mormon history, edited by Audrey and Ken Godfrey and Jill Derr, which is scheduled for publication later this year by Deseret Book Company. Some of the accounts I've used in this paper are drawn from that interesting and delightful collection.

Two or three years ago, when Davis Bitton and I were finishing our book of Mormon history, *The Mormon Experience,* a book published by Alfred Knopf, we were told that our chapter on Latter-day Saint women lacked focus. We went to Maureen and Jill and Carol and asked them to help us out. They suggested that throughout Mormon history women members have perceived themselves as having a triple identity: They are *daughters*—individual children of God responsible for making choices and actualizing potential. They are also *mothers*—partners in the bearing and rearing of the spirit children of God. And third, they are *sisters*—essential contributors to the Kingdom of God upon earth. While at any moment all three identities have been acknowledged and recognized both privately and officially, there were periods when one or the other was given particular

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Leonard J. Arrington, director of the History Division of the LDS Church Historical Department, delivered this address 21 March 1979 at Women's History Conference, Brigham Young University, sponsored by Women's History Archives and Utah Women's History Association. The responses of the commentators Elizabeth Shaw and Helen Candland Stark are scheduled to be printed in a forthcoming issue of *Dialogue.*

emphasis because of the condition of the Church and Saints and because of different interests and inspiration of those who directed the affairs of the Kingdom. But all three identities have coexisted from the beginning to the present day and represent the triple identity of Mormon women.

For this paper I have divided Mormon history into seven periods and have attempted to suggest the principal theme of each period and the major role models of women during that period. I attacked this assignment with gusto and ended up with a paper of forty pages–far too much to present. So I'll use primarily the first half of the paper–the first three periods of Mormon history. Perhaps, if this has any merit, I shall have an opportunity sometime in the future of presenting the other half.

1830–1845

The early years, 1830 to 1845, were years when Mormon leaders were very young. In the early 1830s Joseph Smith was still in his twenties. Others still in their twenties included Oliver Cowdery, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, and, indeed, most other leaders of the Church. Considering the ages of these persons, it is perhaps natural that they should have given greatest emphasis to the role of women as mothers. Great reverence was shown, both formally and informally, to Lucy Mack Smith, mother of the Prophet, and Elizabeth Whitmer, mother of the Whitmer brothers, who were among the earliest leaders of the Church. These were the primary role models for women, but others included women of the Bible: Sarah, the wife of Abraham and mother of Isaac; Ruth, the wife of Boaz and grandmother of David; and Mary, the wife of Joseph and mother of Jesus. There was no clear portrayal of a mother in the Book of Mormon that might be used as a role model, but there were inevitable references to the mothers of the two thousand young Lamanites who followed Helaman in Alma (56:46 and 57:21), who taught their sons to have faith in the Lord.

We should emphasize that Joseph Smith thought highly of women. He respected their interests and status and thought they should participate actively in church meetings and ordinances. One of the reasons for this, no doubt, was his respect for his own mother and her important role in the Smith family and for his wife Emma, a woman of spirit who, from all the evidence, was a full partner with the Prophet in their marriage–a business partner, a trustworthy spokeswoman, a person he regarded as worthy of being consulted

and of occupying a leadership position. And of course this was ratified when she became president of the Relief Society when it was organized in 1842. Her associates regarded her as a gracious, intelligent, and effective leader.

The women in the early Church, it appears, had access to church programs primarily through the men in their lives—their husbands, brothers, and fathers. Let me give two examples. The first is Sarah Melissa Granger Kimball, who was fifteen years old when her family went to Church headquarters in Kirtland, Ohio.[1] There her inquisitive mind was stimulated by explications of the doctrines and revelations of Joseph Smith which she read in the Mormon newspapers and magazines, the *Evening and Morning Star* and the *Messenger and Advocate.* Sarah eagerly discussed some of this reading with her father and, at his invitation, she attended the School of the Prophets, a gathering of the priesthood-bearing elders to study the gospel and gospel-related topics. In later years she proudly reminded her sisters that she had attended that school, perhaps to underscore the importance she placed upon doctrinal study among LDS women.

A second example is Caroline Barnes Crosby, a native of Massachusetts, who was baptized there in 1835 at the age of twenty-seven.[2] She and her husband migrated to Kirtland in the next few months, and there her husband was ordained to the Melchizedek Priesthood and was often called upon to preach. He was invited to attend the Kirtland School of the Elders, which succeeded the School of the Prophets, and there learned Hebrew, theology, geography, and other subjects. At Caroline's urging he brought home all of his books, including Bibles, grammars, and lexicons, and Caroline studied these and became herself a well-educated person. This becomes very evident in her diary, which is that of a highly literate woman.

One interesting item is an editorial by Apostle Parley P. Pratt in the *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star,* published in Liverpool in 1840, on "Duties of Women."[3] This was written in response to a letter of a certain elder who was disturbed that some early women members were "a little disposed to get out of order." In his response, Elder

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[1]See Jill C. Mulvay, "The Liberal Shall Be Blessed: Sarah M. Kimball," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (Summer 1976):205–21.

[2]See the Journal of Caroline Barnes Crosby, MS, Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Church Office Building, Salt Lake City, Utah. Hereafter cited as Church Archives. Also Ann Gardner Stone, "Louisa Barnes Pratt: Missionary Wife, Missionary Mother, Missionary," in Vicky Burgess-Olson, ed., *Sister Saints* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), pp. 43–59.

[3]"Duties of Women," *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star* (Liverpool), 1 (August 1840):100–101. Parley P. Pratt was the editor.

Pratt quoted from the Apostle Paul, who admonished women to "marry, bear children, and guide the house"; to "submit to their husbands, as unto the Lord"; to be sober; to "teach good things"; to love their husbands and children; and to be discreet, chaste, and obedient. Then Parley P. Pratt commented: "And while the brethren are watching the sisters very closely to see that they do not get out of order, we hope they will notice some of the gentle admonitions to themselves."

Many of the things Parley P. Pratt and the Apostle Paul described are precisely what the early Relief Society became involved in: care of the poor, improvement of the household, and participation in various programs of the Church. There was considerable emphasis on the family, as indicated by the inauguration of ceremonies for sealing and adoption, and the ordinances for dead family members. The letters and diaries of the women of the time suggest that they were particularly grateful for the opportunity of doing things for their families, such as baptisms and sealings for dead children, dead husbands, and dead parents and grandparents.

The indisputable role of Lucy Mack Smith, mother of the Prophet, is indicated in the minutes of a conference of the Church held in Nauvoo on 8 October 1845. On that day, according to the minutes, "Mother" Lucy Smith, as she was referred to, made the following remarks:

> I raised up 11 children, 7 boys. I raised them in the fear of God. When they were two or three years old I told them I wanted them to love God with all their hearts. I told them to do good. I want all you to do the same. God gives us our children and we are accountable. . . . I presume there never was a family more obedient than mine. I did not have to speak to them only once. . . . I want you to teach your little children about Joseph in Egypt and such things, and when they are four years old they will love to read their Bible. . . . Set your children to work; . . . Don't let them play out of doors. . . . Remember that I love children, young folks, and everybody. . . . I call you brothers and sisters and children. If you consider me a Mother in Israel, I want you to say so.

According to the minutes, Brigham Young then arose and said, "All who consider Mother Smith as a Mother in Israel, signify it by saying yes." There were loud shouts of yes, according to the clerk.[4]

1846–1869

We now come to the second period, the exodus and post-exodus years, 1846 to 1869, when the Saints were driven from Nauvoo and

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[4]Conference in Nauvoo, 8 October 1845, General Minutes Collection, MS, Church Archives.

migrated to the Salt Lake Valley and elsewhere in the West. During these difficult years, circumstances dictated that stress would be placed upon community survival and building the basis for the Kingdom. So the primary emphasis was the role of women as sisters, and the primary role models were women who were leaders among the sisters in preserving unity, reinforcing faith, and assisting the cause of the Kingdom–such women as Eliza Snow, Patty Sessions, and Sarah Kimball. These women were leaders of the special spiritual sessions held by women; they were the ones who led out in performing ordinances. They organized the Indian Relief Societies in the middle 1850s and directed the organization of the Relief Societies in all the wards and settlements beginning in 1867. The comments of Brigham Young and other members of the First Presidency suggest also the use of the ancient Hebrew woman of Proverbs (31:10–31) and the Puritan mother as role models, for they were women who did not waste, who were self-sufficient, who were resourceful, and who were loyal to the programs designed to make the Lord's work succeed and prosper.

The sisterly support system of the exodus and post-exodus years included both kinship and community responsibilites. In fact, Maureen Beecher has a splendid paper appropriately entitled "Sisters, Sister Wives, and Sisters in the Faith" which delineates these functions. The diaries and reminiscences of three women–Mary Haskin Parker Richards, Patty Sessions, and Lucy Meserve Smith–illustrate these sisterly themes: their closeness to their sister wives and sisterly associates in the cause of the Mormon people. For example, the diary of Mary Haskin Parker Richards, who had a close relationship with her husband's brother's wife, Jane Snyder Richards, shows the way women strengthened themselves through the women in their families. Mary migrated from Great Britain to Nauvoo in 1841, lived with her parents until 1846 when, on the eve of leaving Nauvoo, she married Samuel W. Richards, nephew of her missionary friend in England, Willard Richards. Samuel was called on a mission to Great Britain a few months later, leaving Mary in the care of his parents. She adopted the whole Richards family, refers to her mother-in-law as Mother and her father-in-law as Father, and frequently notes spending a day or an evening with Samuel's Aunt Rhoda, Uncle Levi, and Uncle Willard and his wife Amelia. Much of her time was spent with Jane Richards–"Sister Jane," as she always refers to her–the wife of Samuel's brother Franklin, who was also serving a mission in Great Britain. Mary and Sister Jane sewed, washed, and visited together, and commiserated over the absence of their husbands.

Singly and together, they visited many other women who were also lonely. Illustrations of the sisterly theme are furnished in regular entries in their diaries. For instance, the following are typical entries for December 1846, when Mary and Jane and several thousand of their sisters were in Winter Quarters, Nebraska, preparatory to migrating west:[5]

> Thursday 17th [December 1846]. A cold day. Was writing in my letter. Evening, Jane came to stay with me, I being alone. She was writing a letter to Franklin, and I was writing in my Journal. She read me her letter, and I read her most of mine.
>
> Sunday, 27th [December 1846]. The weather pleasant. . . . Had a good meeting. Came home and read a while in the Book of Mormon, and helped mother get supper, after which Elcy Snyder called to go to singing school with me. On our way there we called on Abigail [Smith] Abbott, and took her with us. Bro Goddard led the choir for the first [time] since the dedication of the [Nauvoo] Temple. We had a good sing. Enjoyed ourselves much. Went and slept that night with Sister Jane.
>
> Tuesday 29th [December 1846]. The weather cold. Spent the day with Jane sewing. In the evening was reading until 8 oclock. Then Jane, Elcy, and myself spent about two hours trying to see which could compose the best poetry. Then retired to bed.

On Tuesday, 26 January 1847, Mary went to a house and quilted for a few hours, then to a party at the Council House or community hall where she and others "praised God in the dance," as she expressed it. When the first figure was formed,

> Bro Rockwood being at the head, according to order, we all kneeled down and he offered up a prayer. We then arose and danced the figure, and so praised God in the dance. . . .
>
> About 11 oclock [she wrote], every man took his partner or partners and marched three times round the room. We were then dismissed with the blessings of God.

Patty Bartlett Sessions, our second example, was a remarkable blend of things temporal and spiritual.[6] Perhaps because she was a midwife who daily ushered new spirits into life, she had a gift for tying together heaven and earth. Having lost six of her nine children, Patty might, in all seriousness, ask a dying friend to take word to her six children in heaven and then, an hour later, join with other Saints in community dancing. As Jill Derr commented, Patty was as

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[5]Journal of Mary Haskin Parker Richards, MS, Church Archives. I have taken a few minor liberties with abbreviations, spellings, and punctuation.

[6]Susan Sessions Rugh, "Patty Bartlett Sessions: More Than a Midwife," in Burgess-Olson, *Sister Saints,* pp. 303–22.

comfortable prophesying in tongues as she was in planting horseradish.

Born in Maine, Patty was only seventeen when she married David Sessions. They were baptized Latter-day Saints in 1834 when she was thirty-nine, after which they joined the Mormons in Missouri, where David was a farmer and stockraiser. Because of anti-Mormon persecutions they lost their property and moved to Nauvoo. There Patty became known as "Mother Sessions," an experienced midwife whose assistance was to be in demand among Saints for several decades. In connection with her midwifery, Patty was skilled in the medicinal use of herbs and served, in that sense, as one of the few "doctors" accompanying the Saints westward. Her journal, particularly poignant during the Winter Quarters period, focuses on the sisters-in-the-faith aspect, with its account of what she called blessing meetings.[7]

> Thursday 4 [February 1847]. My birthday, fifty-two years old. . . . In the Camp of Israel, Winter Quarters. We had brandy and drank a toast to each other desiring and wishing the blessings of God to be with us all and that we might live and do all that we came here into this world to do. Eliza Snow came here after me to go to a little party in the evening. I was glad to see her. Told her it was my birthday and she must bless me. She said if I would go to the party they all would bless me. I then went and put James Bullock['s] wife to bed. Then went to the party. Had a good time singing, praying, and speaking in tongues. Before we broke up I was called away to Sister Morse, then to Sister Whitney, then back to Sister Morse and put her to bed [at] 2 o clock.
>
> Friday 5. This morning I have been to see Sister Whitney. She is better. I then went to Joanna [Roundy]. She said it was the last time I should see her in this world. She was going to see my children. I sent word by her to them. I then went to a Silver Grey party [Old Folks' party]. Eliza Snow went with us. Mr. Sessions not being well, I danced with Br Knowlton. Joanna died this evening.
>
> Friday 23 [April 1847]. We visited the sisters and brethren all day. In the evening David went to a party. They prayed and danced and prayed again. Sylvia, her Father, and I with a few more sisters met at Brother Leonard's. He was gone but Mr. Sessions presided and we had a good time. We prayed and prophesied and spoke in tongues and interpreted and were refreshed. . . .
>
> Saturday May 1st [1847]. Sylvia and I went to a meeting to Sister Leonard's. None but females there. We had a good meeting. I presided.

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[7]Journal of Patty Bartlett Sessions, MS, Church Archives. I have taken a few minor liberties in making the entry more readable.

> It was got up by E. R. Snow. They spoke in tongues. I interpreted. Some prophesied. It was a feast.

The accounts of Mary and Patty suggest that the nuclear family during the exodus often merged into an extended family and even community family. Mary's accounting of the dances and the time she spent with other men, women, and children reveal that she found outside the limits of her own home a family in which she was treated as a *sister.* Patty traveled to various homes, healing and blessing, often in the company of both men and women.

Insight into sister-wife relationships and also sisterhood in the community through work as well as in the early Relief Societies is also found in the journals of Lucy Meserve Smith.[8] Baptized as a Latter-day Saint in Maine in 1837, Lucy worked in a cotton factory in Lowell, Massachusetts, became a skilled weaver, and earned enough money to migrate to Nauvoo, Illinois. There she married George A. Smith, an apostle of the Church and cousin of Joseph Smith. She ultimately shared George A. with five other wives. When she first arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in 1849, she lived in her wagon, cooked and washed for ten persons, looked after the baby of a sister wife, and after she had given birth to a stillborn son nursed another sister wife's baby for six months. Each winter she taught some fifty-six pupils in the Salt Lake Seventeenth Ward School. She later moved to Provo and remained there seventeen years helping to raise two boys of a deceased sister wife. Her journal tells how she helped get up parties, dances, suppers, and other entertainments. She wrote:

> When things got a little more plenty, [a number of us] took our spinning Wheels and went to a large room in the seminary [ward schoolhouse] and tried our best to see who could reel off the greatest number of knots from sunrise to sunset. Sister Terrill reeled one hundred knots. Sister Holden not quite so many but better twist on hers. Sister [Hannah] Smith and I made the best yarn [but we also had fewer knots]. . . . On the whole we concluded we all beat. We had refreshments four times during the day. We took solid comfort in our day's labor, and our association together.

Lucy then tells of being set apart and blessed to preside over one of the Provo ward Relief Societies. The most memorable test of their effectiveness, she wrote, was helping the handcart immigrants who arrived in the late fall and early winter of 1856—those who, while in

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[8]Journal of Lucy Meserve Smith, MS, Church Archives. Some corrections in spelling and punctuation.

the Wyoming mountains, suffered from freezing because of an early winter. News of the handcart immigrants' plight came during the opening session of the October 1856 general conference. Upon hearing the news, she wrote, President Young dismissed the conference and asked all to do what they knew had to be done. Men and teams were prepared to carry clothing and provisions to the beleaguered Saints. "The sisters," Lucy wrote, "stripped off their petticoats, stockings, and everything they could spare, right there in the Tabernacle, and piled them into the wagons to send to the Saints in the mountains." And when she got back to Provo, Lucy and the other sisters got together so much clothing and quilts and food that, to use her words, "the four bishops could hardly carry the bedding and other clothing we got together. . . . When the handcart companies arrived, the desks of the seminary were loaded with provisions for them. . . . We did not cease our exertions till all were made comfortable." She went on, "My counselors and I wallowed through the snow until our clothes were wet a foot high to get things together. . . . We pieced blocks, carded bats, quilted, and got together I think twenty-seven quilts [for the needy in just that winter], besides a great amount of other clothing."

Close on the heels of that effort was supplying the army of defense called out to meet the threat of the Utah Expedition, the federal army under the command of Albert Sidney Johnston, on its way to punish the Mormons for their allegedly rebellious behavior. Lucy's Relief Society provided bedding, socks, and mittens for the Mormon soldiers. She wrote: "We sat up nights and knitted all that was needed till we made out a big load with the quilts and blankets which we sent out into the mountains to the brethren."

The next project, wrote Lucy, was supplying a "nice flag" for the Provo Brass Band.

> They chose a committee, and sent to me, desiring me to boss the concern. I said to the sisters, "Let's go to the field, glean wheat and pick ground cherries to pay for material and make the Band a Flag." No sooner said than done. We paid br. Henry Maiben part dried ground cherries and the balance in money for the gilding. Part of the silk was donated. The rest we paid for in wheat, which we had gleaned. The middle of the flag was white lutestring silk, with an edge of changeable blue and green, let in the shape of saw teeth, and a silk fringe around the edge of that. Sister Eliza Terrill embroidered the corners with a hive and bees, butterflies, roses, etc.
>
> The gilding was imitation of two sax horns crossed in the middle or centre and gold letters across the top of the flag: "Presented by the Ladies of Provo to the Provo Brass Band. United We Stand." Our flag took the prize in the big territorial fair.

She then tells of manufacturing carpets for the new Provo Tabernacle, organizing a Sunday School, and other similar activities.

It is obvious from Lucy's and other diaries and reminiscences that, through the Relief Society, women were called upon to work along with the men in a mutual cause. That the sisters were aware, to use Brigham Young's phrase, of their "equal usefulness," along with the brethren,[9] is suggested in the remarks of Relief Society leaders. In her address at the "Great Indignation Meeting" in Salt Lake City in January 1870, at which several thousand women met to protest the Cullom Bill which was being considered for passage by the national Congress, Eliza Snow, general leader of the Relief Societies, stated:

> We . . . speak because we have the right, [because] justice and humanity demand that we should, and . . . [because we are] women of God–women filling high and responsible positions–performing sacred duties–women who stand not as dictators but as counselors to their husbands, and who, in the purest, noblest sense of refined womanhood, [are] truly their helpmates.[10]

Clearly every person, male and female, adult and child, was important to the survival of the community. And this led inevitably to an emphasis on the individual, which is the underlying theme of the next years, which we might call the *Exponent* years after the name of the magazine the women all read and supported.

1870–1900

By 1870 the railroad had been completed, Zion was prospering, and the physical basis of the Kingdom had been established. Greater emphasis could now be given to self-fulfillment, self-realization, and cultural and social development, and so the primary emphasis was on the role of women as daughters. Brigham Young organized the Retrenchment Society, which was converted into the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association, with this kind of purpose in mind. The young women felt free to use their own initiative in advancing causes helpful to themselves as well as to the Kingdom. Romania Pratt, Margaret Shipp, Ellis Shipp, Martha Hughes Cannon, Alice Louise Reynolds, Susa Young Gates, and others went east to study medicine, literature, home economics, and other subjects. Lula Greene (Richards), only twenty, founded the *Women's Exponent* and

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[9]Brigham Young remarks at the dedication of the Fifteenth Ward Relief Society Hall, *Deseret News,* 5 August 1869: "In their sphere they can be equally as useful as the brethren in theirs."

[10]A full report on the meeting is in *Deseret News Weekly,* 19 January 1870.

after five years as editor turned it over to Emmeline B. Wells, who made it more explicitly an advocate of women's causes. This is the period when women agitated for and received many rights: the right to serve as principals of coeducational schools, the right to attend political conventions, the right to serve on juries, the right to vote, and the right to serve on the boards of trustees of coeducational institutions. This is the period when women engaged in the development of cooperative stores and sericulture; when they contributed reams of poetry and wrote the first novels of Mormon life; when they engaged in political activities; when they actively participated in the national women's suffrage organization; when they came into their own as administrators of domestic, farm, and business enterprises. These are "sisters" functions, of course, but the emphasis here was more on personal development than on group survival. This is illustrated in the diary entry of one sister about the new political freedom brought about by the granting of the franchise to women in 1870:

> I attended a meeting today for electing delegates to the County Convention. Political meetings are something new to me. There were several ladies present, and we said "aye" sometimes by way of exercising our rights, and went home feeling the importance of our positions.[11]

Role models during this period were virtually all women who made contributions outside as well as inside the home: Eliza R. Snow, Emmeline B. Wells, Romania Pratt, and Ellis Shipp—women who achieved in an individual or personal sense, and who provided inspiration and encouragement to the young women of the Church.

Eliza Snow sounded the keynote of this era in a talk to the junior and senior Retrenchment Societies: "What do I want to retrench from? [she asked]. I want to retrench from my ignorance and everything that is not of God."[12] The junior group, as I mentioned, evolved into the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association, and you are all aware of the kinds of activities they engaged in. The senior group met together semi-monthly until at least 1914, and they studied physiology, politics, Mormon theology and spent many hours discussing woman and woman's sphere and responsibilities.

That Brigham Young agreed with this new emphasis on womanly self-reliance and independence there can be no doubt. In an 1867

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[11]Diary of Mary Jane Mount Tanner, MS, Church Archives, entry for 28 January 1878.

[12]General Retrenchment Minutes, Salt Lake Stake Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association, 20 February 1875, MS, Church Archives.

letter to a sister interested in setting up a class for midwives, he declared that she must not hesitate to do it independently—on her own:[13]

> Dear Sister: The plan which you suggest in your letter for fitting up a suitable house for sisters to be confined in, and for the teaching of midwifery, is without doubt a good one. If you could get your friends to assist you, and a house that would suit you, it would be a very good plan to have such an establishment. But for myself I have so many calls and so many duties, which are more pressing, to attend to that you must excuse me from doing anything in the matter.
>
> Your Brother,
> Brigham Young

This is consistent with his statement in a General Epistle in 1868.[14] The Church has opened the University of Deseret to regular classes for young men and women, the Epistle declared. The courses for the young ladies are designed to give them

> a thorough business education. . . . There are already some one hundred scholars. . . .
>
> We are much pleased that ladies are privileged with admission to this school, for, in addition to a knowledge of the elementary branches of education and a thorough understanding of housewifery, we wish the sisters, so far as their inclinations and circumstances may permit, to learn bookkeeping, telegraphy, reporting, typesetting, clerking in stores and banks, and every branch of knowledge and kind of employment suited to their sex and according with their several tastes and capacities, that they may be competent to participate in and promote every interest within their power, and thus, by enlarging their sphere for usefulness, release [their] brethren—the Elders of Israel—to the more arduous labors and appropriate duties devolving upon them. Thus trained, all, without distinction of sex, will have an open field, without jostling and oppression, for acquiring all the knowledge and doing all the good their physical and mental capacities and surrounding circumstances will permit. . . . We hope an early opportunity will be given for instruction in anatomy, surgery, chemistry, mineralogy, geology, physiology, the practice of midwifery by the sisters, the preservation of health, and the properties of medicinal plants.

Some of the latter, of course, came to fruition with the opening of the Deseret Hospital in 1882. The hospital was initially managed by a female board of directors and was staffed by female Mormon doctors trained in Eastern medical schools. Funded through the contributions of the Relief Societies, Young Ladies' Mutual Improve-

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[13]Brigham Young to Nicoline Olsen, Second Ward, 15 August 1867, Brigham Young Letterbooks, MS, Church Archives.

[14]General Epistle, January–February 1868, in Brigham Young Circular Letters, MS, Church Archives.

ment Associations, and Primary Associations, the Deseret Hospital treated sick and injured persons and handled difficult obstetrical cases. With its classes in nursing and midwifery, it became the first nurses' training school in Utah.

Brigham Young also was pleased with the role which women increasingly played in the educational, social, and political affairs of the territory. He would have approved of an editorial which Emmeline B. Wells published in the *Women's Exponent* four years after his death. The editorial is entitled "Self-Made Women."[15] We have heard many times the term "self-made men," she wrote. But who has ever supposed that there may also be "self-made women"? She was rather tired, she wrote, of hearing people talk of self-sacrificing women, as if self-sacrifice was inevitably synonymous with woman's state. "Woman," she went on, "has really undertaken to do her own work, to make her own record. . . . Man begins to acknowledge . . . her individuality and power of active thought." This being obvious, "man [now] approaches her as a being of understanding, one who has pronounced opinions of her own, and who is free to choose, if need be, her own vocation, and can, when needful, 'eat her own bread and wear her own apparel,' " as the expression goes. Her attitude, and Brigham's attitude during this period, was expressed very movingly by our beloved Camilla Kimball, wife of President Spencer W. Kimball, in a talk to BYU women here a few months ago. Her talk was entitled "A Woman's Preparation," and she said: "I would hope that every girl and woman here has the desire and ambition to qualify in two vocations—that of homemaking, and that of preparing to earn a living outside the home, if and when the occasion requires."[16] After pointing out that some women must support themselves because they are single, that others are forced to do so because of the illness or death of their husbands, and still others must be prepared to fulfill a vocation because not all of their lives are completely filled with the demands of a family, home, and children, she concludes: "Keeping mentally, physically, and spiritually growing constantly is the way to continue the happy, useful life." This wise counsel echoes the spirit of this period of womanly achievement.

For reasons which are perhaps obvious, Latter-day Saint women in the last third of the nineteenth century expressed their personal feelings with less reticence and embarrassment than in earlier periods. And they wrote more. The *Exponent* certainly encouraged this, as did

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[15]"Self-Made Women," *The Women's Exponent* 9 (1 March 1881):148.
[16]Camilla Kimball, "A Woman's Preparation," *The Ensign* 7 (March 1977):58–59.

the *Young Woman's Journal.* By 1900 Mormon women had published more than three dozen books of poetry, autobiography, and history. These, plus the hundreds of interesting autobiographical essays, some still not published, contributed to women's sense of self and demonstrated a rising sense of awareness of womanhood and a willingness to engage in introspection. In a diary entry Emily Dow Partridge Young wrote: "The organization of the Relief Societies are for a purpose; not merely to feed and clothe the poor, but to administer to the mind."[17] At a General Relief Society Conference in 1892, Sarah M. Kimball stated: "One of the speakers has said that he honors the First Presidency of the Church, the Twelve Apostles, and the priesthood of God. Well, we my sisters, must do this," she said, "but we must also honor women."[18]

Two women's diaries which exemplify the emphasis on self-realization are those of Mary Jane Mount Tanner and Emmeline B. Wells. Mary Tanner, a Relief Society president and mother of J. M. Tanner, president of Brigham Young College, Utah State University, and later the Church-wide Commissioner of Education, and the grandmother of Obert Tanner, our famous Utah philosopher and philanthropist, found self-fulfillment in poetry and submitted her poems regularly to the *Exponent.* Then she worked up the courage to consider publishing them as a book. Here is her diary entry for 5 May 1878, the day she closed the deal:

> We got the work done up and I made myself tidy and sat down to rest. Looking out I saw Messrs Tullidge and Brandel, publishers from Salt Lake. They had promised to call and inspect my writings. . . . I read them my poems with which they were very much pleased, and strongly urged me to publish; selecting such pieces as seemed to them suitable. They said I had enough to make a book of a hundred pages that were well worthy of publication. It would cost $350 for a thousand copies. I should like very much to publish, but should be sorry to spend so much money and not have the book appreciated. If I could but have a foresight to know how my book would be received I should have more courage to proceed.
>
> I read some of my prose writings which also pleased them very much and they encouraged me to proceed with an article I am writing. They stayed all night. . . . Marion [her son J.M., the future college president] came in and I was proud to introduce him. He conversed with them to good advantage. They talked of science and religion and I was pleased to see him so well informed. I thought he was better than a

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[17]Journal of Emily Dow Partridge Young, entry for 12 August 1877, MS, Church Archives.

[18]"Relief Society Conference," *Women's Exponent* 20 (1 May 1892):157. I have put it, as she would have uttered it, in the present tense.

> book and if I did no other work, the honor of having such a son is more pride and pleasure than a dozen books.[19]

Mary Jane did indeed publish her *Book of Fugitive Poems* (Salt Lake City, 1880), as she titled it, and even today it is regarded as a jewel.

Emmeline B. Wells, the second example of a woman growing into self-realization, was a remarkably intelligent and accomplished woman. General president of the Relief Society and long-time member of the general board, she was also president of the Utah Women's Club, editor of the *Women's Exponent,* chairman of the Women's League of the Republican Party, candidate for the state legislature, and officer of the National Council of Women.

It comes as a surprise to learn that Emmeline was not always so self-confident and assured. On one occasion she made the following entry in her diary: "I was alone today, feeling too gloomy even to write–crying most of the time, and my heart nearly bursting. . . . O how hard it is to endure unto the end; I am not sure if it be possible for me. Sometimes I think I have too much to bear."[20] This from a woman who did indeed endure to the end–lived to be 93 and received, in her last years, an honorary Doctor of Letters from BYU, the first honorary doctorate given by that university.

In 1876, according to Carol Madsen, Brigham Young called Emmeline to his office and announced that he wished her to lead the women of the Church to save wheat against a day of famine. "I felt very timid, and was just about trembling, when I went to talk the matter over with President Wells [her husband]," she recalled. "I told him what President Young had said, and added: 'You will have to help me.' He replied, 'I am not going to help you; you can do it yourself.' " Emmeline also went to Sister Eliza R. Snow but she too "said she couldn't help me–it was given to me to do." Despite her initial hesitation, the pages of the *Exponent* were soon replete with admonitions to buy, glean, and harvest wheat and with instructions on "How to Build a Granary on Nothing."[21] A diary entry for 1878 shows that within two years of her call from Brigham Young she had developed her own independence to the point that she was insisting on similar independence for her five daughters as well:

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[19]Diary of Mary Jane Mount Tanner, 5 May 1878.

[20]Diary of Emmeline B. Wells, MS, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo. See also Patricia Rasmussen Eaton-Gadsby and Judith Rasmussen, "Emmeline Blanche Woodward Wells: 'I Have Risen Triumphant,' " in Burgess-Olson, *Sister Saints,* pp. 455–78.

[21]See Rebecca Anderson, "Emmeline B. Wells: Her Life and Thought" (Master's thesis, Utah State University, 1975).

> I feel very sad indeed [she wrote in her diary]. My husband's affairs are very complicated indeed and we are obliged to practice the most rigid economy. I am determined to train my girls to habits of independence so that they never need to trust blindly but understand for themselves and have sufficient energy of purpose to carry out plans for their own welfare and happiness.[22]

As general president of the Relief Society, Emmeline began the Society's first uniform plan for weekly lessons in the newly founded *Relief Society Magazine,* was the first to assume responsibility for making and distributing temple and burial clothing, and supported the United States government during World War I by buying bonds and selling Relief Society wheat. This tiny woman, who enhanced her white hair by wearing pastel dresses with long flowing scarves and chains at her neck, was a woman of stubborn determination—a lovely confirmation of the fact that Mormonism could develop spirited and independent women and that they flowered during the two generations that followed the coming of the railroad to Utah.[23]

Let me close the discussion of the *Exponent* years by reading a verse from just one of the songs in the *Utah Woman's Suffrage Song Book,* a verse which demonstrates their spirit and awareness as daughters of Zion. One can picture the sisters in their own Relief Society hall, singing this, directed by Lucy Smith, Susa Gates, or Emmeline Wells. This is to the tune of "Hope of Israel," and I think I'll try to sing it. The words, incidently, were composed by Lula Greene Richards, who founded the *Exponent.*[24]

> Freedom's daughter, rouse from slumber;
> See, the curtains are withdrawn
> Which so long thy mind hath shrouded;
> Lo! the day begins to dawn.
>
> Chorus:
> Woman, 'rise, thy penance o'er,
> Sit thou in the dust no more;
> Seize the scepter, hold the van,
> Equal with thy brother, man.

Well, you get a little of the flavor of the raising of consciousness that occurred in the Church in the years from 1870 to 1900. We now go through a similar cycle of emphases in the twentieth century, with the emphasis on women as mothers from 1902 to 1916, on women as sisters from 1917 to 1945, and on women as daughters

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[22]Wells Diary, 7 January 1878.
[23]See Eaton-Gadsby and Rasmussen, "Emmeline Blanche Woodward Wells."
[24]*Utah Woman Suffrage Song Book* (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1870), p. 5.

from 1946 to 1964. These are the three periods that I'm going to mention only very briefly, with a more extended treatment of the "modern" period.

1902–1964

The fourth period, running from 1902 to 1916, may be called the period of motherhood training because motherhood training was the featured course of study in Relief Society—these were the years of very large families and also the years family home evenings came to be officially sponsored as a Church program. The *Relief Society Magazine* carried an open-ended series entitled "Mothers in Israel," in which outstanding mothers were the subject of lead articles. This is when lesson writers developed the image of the spiritual self-sacrificing mother exemplified by Mary Fielding Smith, the mother of the Church president during these years. Characteristic of this theme is the lead article in the *Relief Society Magazine* for May 1920, which reports the final achievement of woman's suffrage. The article is entitled "Suffrage Won by the Mothers of the United States." Suffrage was not achieved by the women, you will note, but by the mothers! Susan B. Anthony, you may turn over in your grave!

The fifth period covered the years of World War I, the depression of the 1920s and 1930s, and World War II, and so the emphasis of the Relief Society and conference sermons and Church periodicals was on women as sisters working to build better wards, better communities, a better society. Role models included Amy Brown Lyman, Louise Y. Robison, Priscilla Evans, each of whom had given many years to community service. During the years of the sixth period that followed, the emphasis, once more, was on the achievement of personal, spiritual, and intellectual growth.

1965–1979

Finally, the seventh period covers the recent years 1965 to 1979, when women have played a greater variety of roles, perhaps, than in earlier periods. There have been so many influences pulling in opposite directions: the racial unrest, student agitation, anti-war riots, popularization of the counter-culture, and militant women's liberation movements. This is the period of intense concern about the decline of the family, rise in the divorce rate, breakdown in moral standards, disregard of the rights of children, and so on. The Church has responded with an unmistakable emphasis on strengthening the family. There have been strongly worded sermons from General Authorities, re-emphasis on family home evening, and the increasing

discipline which has come about as the result of the institution of correlation. The role models furnished in Church publications have been women whose primary activity has been in the home—wives of General Authorities, mothers of General Authorities, and mothers of large families.

But the years since 1965 have also been years of heightened "woman awareness," both in the Church and in the larger society of which we are a part. The impact on Latter-day Saint women, particularly young women, has been all the greater because of the large number of them who have attended universities. Further strengthening this influence has been the large proportion of women who have worked, and have expected to work, for wages. Something like 35 to 40 percent of active Latter-day Saint women now work part time or full time outside the home. Studies have shown even greater percentages of earning women in some wards in Utah and California.

Grappling with these diverse influences, and the problems they have created, some of the more "aware" of our women published *Exponent II,* a tabloid-like magazine which has offered as desirable role models for women today the women of the original *Exponent* years, along with similar career women and mothers of today—women like Belle Spafford, Lenore Romney, Florence Jacobsen, Elaine Cannon, Carol Lynn Pearson, and Emma Lou Thayne. The women who were most active in *Exponent II* also published *Mormon Sisters: Women in Early Utah,* a book which strengthened the images of early Mormon women. This was followed by some splendid biographical essays of nineteenth century women in *Sister Saints,* edited by Vickie Burgess-Olsen and published by BYU Press.

Thus, in recent years one seems to find a bifurcation of women's roles within our culture. On the one hand, women's primary role is in the home; on the other hand, not entirely: women are also daughters and sisters, and one can be comfortable with an expansion or heightening of these aspects of women's identity. If younger Latter-day Saint women seem a little confused, it is surely a result of pressures from many directions. Life is complex, individuals are different, and varying circumstances and personalities produce various life-styles.

The dominant theme in LDS publications for women, obviously, is the importance of the woman as wife and mother. The insistence on this as the number one priority began with Harold B. Lee's talk to the Relief Society Conference of October 1964, which was entitled "The Place of Mothers in the Plan of Teaching the Gospel in the Home." The importance of the mother, President Lee emphasized, is

pinpointed by the person who said: "When you teach a boy, you are just teaching another individual, but when you teach a woman or a girl, you are teaching a whole family."[25] Motherhood and mother-teaching was to be not just one dimension of woman's life, but *the* dimension. The prime purpose of the Relief Society, the Church magazines proclaimed, is to help build homes.

As stated by the late President Hugh B. Brown at a Relief Society conference:

> Our concept of heaven itself is little more than a projection of the home and family life into eternity. . . . The family is the central pillar of the Church, the key to the arch of civilization. . . . The government in the home is the basis of all successful government. . . . The mother is the principal disciplinarian and teacher in early life, and her influence determines, in a great measure, the ability of her children to succeed in manhood and womanhood in the larger responsibilities in Church and State. She is initially the instrument in the hands of providence to shape and guide the destinies of nations, because she trains the children while they are young and sends them out to accomplish the duties that are to devolve upon them.[26]

This is capsulized even more briefly by the late President Joseph Fielding Smith in a Relief Society conference in 1970: "To be a mother in Israel in the full gospel sense," he said, "is the highest reward that can come into the life of a woman."[27]

But, as I have suggested, from their own tradition and their sense of our history, some LDS women—some of you—have given this message a broad interpretation. On the one hand women are honored in their capacity as mothers; on the other hand honor is also bestowed on women who achieve professionally—women who become judges, like Christine Durham; women who become writers and editors, like Maureen Beecher and Moana Bennett; women who become educators and politicians, like Stella Oaks and Lucille Reading and Algie Baliff; and so on—all of whom, of course, manage to be good mothers as well.

My own prediction is that in the years to come neither women as individual daughters nor women as exclusively mothers will win out—that the role model which will be most honored in future years will be women as sisters. As the Church grows internationally, women will be called upon to help build the Kingdom in a variety of

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[25]Harold B. Lee, "Place of Mothers in the Plan of Teaching the Gospel in the Home," *Relief Society Magazine* 52 (January 1965):8.

[26]Hugh B. Brown, "The Exalted Sphere of Woman," *Relief Society Magazine* 52 (December 1965):885–88.

[27]Joseph Fielding Smith, "Mothers in Israel," *Relief Society Magazine* 57 (December 1970):883.

ways. Women will assist their sisters in Mexico, in Latin America, in Asia and the South Pacific, in Africa, and in the central cities of the United States, to help build little Zions around the world–to help improve the lives of their sisters who need guidance in doing so. And in this effort hopefully they will be partners with their fathers, husbands, sons, and brethren.

These are difficult years and the role of women–and indeed the role of men as well–is in a state of flux. There are ambiguities in the goals of nearly all of us. The irony of one position is perhaps best expressed by a former neighbor of ours who told his wife, with some vehemence, "Stick to your washing, ironing, scrubbing, cleaning, and cooking, honey; no wife of mine is going to work!"

THE FUTURE

Whatever the pattern of the future, Mormon history suggests that the combination of the doctrine of eternal marriage and the law of eternal progression requires equal emphasis on the development of the individual and on the strength of the family and community. Women, as well as men, have played significant roles in putting their shoulders to the wheel as teachers, presidents, board members, and executives on the ward, stake, and general levels of different church auxiliaries and activities. Women, as well as men, have been anxiously engaged in good causes and have been creative and inventive in suggesting and trying new approaches and programs. Women, as well as men, have sought and received the help of Deity in their different callings. And incidentally, men, as well as women, are subject to the counsel of those who are charged with directing the affairs of the Church.

Several years ago Dr. Thomas O'Dea, prominent Roman Catholic sociologist and acute observer of Mormon history and culture, wrote that he had been impressed with the intelligence, vitality, and ethical concern of the Mormon people. The flexibility of Mormonism, he wrote, and its viability under the most adverse conditions, augurs well for its future.[28] Our oral history interviews with Mormon women of today suggest that in every important respect they are fully as worthy and valiant as the Mormon mothers, sisters, and daughters of the generations that are past.

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[28]See Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), chap. 10, pp. 258–63.

The Brodie Connection: Thomas Jefferson and Joseph Smith

Louis Midgley

Years ago, as a graduate student at Brown University, I visited Stephen Crary, then chairman of the Religious Studies Department there. I had sent him a long letter in which I presented a detailed outline of my proposed doctoral dissertation, indicating my intention to show the fundamental and fatal weaknesses of the theology of Paul Tillich–at that time perhaps the most famous Protestant philosophical theologian in America. I faced something of a problem with the venerable Mr. Crary, for his own dissertation had been on Paul Tillich, and I was proposing to attack not only the great Tillich himself but also some of Mr. Crary's strongly held opinions.

When I entered Mr. Crary's plush office, one thing became immediately apparent: he had done some homework on Midgley. Mr. Crary's desk was bare except for one book, which was placed in the center of the desk, the title facing me. Now the point of this story: that book was none other than Fawn McKay Brodie's *No Man Knows My History,* a biography of Joseph Smith, which since its publication in 1946 had attained the status of an authoritative work. I told Mr. Crary that Fawn Brodie's book was a bad one. He replied that someone who apparently had Mormon connections had enthusiastically endorsed it and that the entire scholarly world had embraced it. I responded with some of Hugh Nibley's objections to the book. He rejoined by pointing out that, whoever this Hugh Nibley was, he was obviously a Mormon and therefore biased in favor of Joseph Smith–and therefore incapable of an objective assessment of Fawn Brodie's work. This remark ended our dialogue over my religion, but eventually Mr. Crary consented to sign what I thought was a refutation of his.

I learned from this experience a lesson that frequently has been reaffirmed: those outside the Church often think they have the objective explanation for Joseph Smith in Ms. Brodie's book. Mormons' complaints about her treatment of the Joseph Smith story are

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either unknown or brushed aside as biased special pleading. Fawn Brodie has built a career on the fame she gained among scholars who were troubled by Joseph Smith and the Mormons and who wanted to see them put in their place.

But recently something has happened that has called into question Ms. Brodie's previously towering reputation as a scholar: she has written another book which has turned into an academic scandal. Ms. Brodie has traveled a road leading from Nauvoo to Monticello, and it is with Monticello that the non-Mormon world has learned what certain Latter-day Saints had known way back when she started with Nauvoo.

I.

Fawn M. Brodie's *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate Biography*[1] has now received enough critical attention that we may begin to draw some conclusions about the quality of her recent scholarship. Where reviewers know something about Jefferson and his times, she fares very poorly. Only where the reviews are short, unsigned, or obviously written by those whose business it is to promote book sales does she receive the standard "well done."

Even those reviewers whose response to *Thomas Jefferson* is favorable agree that her "psychohistorical" approach depends as much on invention as on facts. Ms. Brodie arrives at her conclusions, in the words of one reviewer, Alan Green, by "applying intuition to scholarship and employing the methods of modern psychology."[2] To Green, she does prove her allegation about Jefferson's sexual involvement with Sally Hemings, a mulatto slave, a major point of the book, but she does so "less by any single unqualified historical fact than by a fine web of subtle references. . . . She proves it also by noting strange omissions in the record–most often the record Jefferson kept. It is a web of circumstance, but it is various and compelling."[3] Edward Weeks refers to Ms. Brodie's work as "literary psychoanalysis" based on the "questions arising in his [Jefferson's] domestic and emotional life."[4] Alfred Stern calls the book "a psychoanalytic history of Jefferson's complex mind and motivations . . ., a compelling, compassionate case history of the 'inner' Jefferson."[5] Frank

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[1]Fawn McKay Brodie, *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate Biography* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1974).

[2]Alan Green, "The Inner Man of Monticello," *Saturday Review/World* 1 (6 April 1974):23.

[3]Ibid., p. 24.

[4]Edward Weeks, "The Peripatetic Reviewer," *Atlantic* 233 (April 1974):118.

[5]Alfred Stern, *Literary Journal,* 14 April 1974, p. 1122.

X. J. Homer, writing in *America,* says "her methods are those of the 'psychohistorian,' techniques that, in her words, 'look for feeling as well as fact, for nuance and metaphor as well as idea and action.' "[6] "Psychohistory in the hands of an amateur," Homer goes on to say in his warmly favorable review, "is capable of gross distortion," but, he assures, Ms. Brodie "has done her homework well."[7]

But has she?

Most of the reviewers of *Thomas Jefferson,* and particularly those who are historians themselves, would say no, Ms. Brodie has not done her homework well. Richard B. Morris, holder of the Gouverneur Morris Chair in American History at Columbia University, writes,

> At times, in fact, her historical slips are embarrassing. She confuses the vote on and the signing of the Declaration of Independence. She says Jefferson turned down the offer to serve as a peace commissioner, but the record shows that . . . he accepted the appointment.[8]

Holman Hamilton states that

> the book contains many errors of fact or of judgment involving a wide historical spectrum. These range from an unsupportable statement–which would be important if true–about Abraham Lincoln (p. 23) to giving Jefferson Davis a strange name, "Thomas Jefferson Davis" (p. 469). Mrs. Brodie confuses "Light Horse Harry" Lee with Richard Henry Lee (p. 125) and with "Black Horse Harry" Lee (p. 444). She calls Edward M. House the "president-maker" of Woodrow Wilson (p. 301). And so forth.[9]

"Brodie is convinced," according to E. M. Yoder, "that Jefferson was a sly, lusty lady's man who after the early death of his wife (in 1782) scandalized his young daughters by carrying on an affair in Paris with the English artist Maria Cosway, and in Paris and at Monticello with . . . Sally Hemings. . . . These alleged amours, for which the evidence is slight and circumstantial, form the centerpiece" of the book.[10] Mary-Jo Kline writes that, aside from Ms. Brodie's reinterpretation of Jefferson's "inner life,"

> the most important new piece of evidence advanced [in support of Jefferson's fathering Sally Hemings's children] is an 1873 newspaper interview with Sally's son Madison. (Since the Hemingses had as much to

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[6]Frank X. J. Homer, *American,* 1 June 1974, p. 439.
[7]Ibid.
[8]Richard B. Morris, "The Very Private Jefferson," *New Leader* 57, no. 11 (27 May 1974):25.
[9]Holman Hamilton, book review in *Journal of Southern History* 41, no. 1 (February 1975):108.
[10]Edwin M. Yoder, Jr., "An Unshaken Hero," *National Review* 26, no. 19 (10 May 1974):542.

gain by claiming descent from Jefferson as did the President's legitimate heirs by denying that relationship, one must ask whether the testimony of Madison Hemings is any more disinterested than the disavowals by the Randolphs.) This interview, with many factual errors and obvious rewritings by the interviewer, asserts that Madison's mother became Jefferson's "concubine" in France and continued in that role at Monticello.

Unfortunately, Mrs. Brodie does not stop here. With no shred of testimony from Jefferson or from Sally Hemings, she goes on to argue that the affair was a deep, mutual commitment, "a serious passion that brought both parties much private happiness over a period lasting thirty-eight years." Once committed to this view, Mrs. Brodie allows it to distort the closing third of her book.[11]

"Psychohistorical frills apart," one reviewer states in the *Economist,* "Mrs. Brodie's 'findings' lack the novelty which their prominence in her pages would suggest." The rumors of Jefferson's liaison with "Black Sally" originated with "a scandal-mongering journalist, James Callendar. . . . The allegation was not proved then and has not been proved since."[12] Paul F. Boller, Jr., writes,

> [Her] evidence for Jefferson's miscegenation: James T. Callendar's allegations . . . ; the fact that Jefferson and Sally were in the same places (Paris and Monticello) nine months before the births of each of Sally's seven children; and the memoirs of two former Monticello slaves. . . . The evidence is of course purely hearsay and circumstantial and . . . it is important to remember that her evidence would scarcely hold up in a court of law. For the tenderness of Jefferson's relations with Sally she has of course no evidence whatsoever.[13]

Holman Hamilton points out that Madison Hemings "erred at least four times in ten lines in that part of his reminiscences reproduced near the bottom of p. 472. On the basis of this portion of his story, is it possible for anyone to know whether other segments were similarly inaccurate?"[14]

In addition to the inaccuracies in Ms. Brodie's book and her manipulation of shaky evidence, various reviewers have pointed out other scholarly problems in *Thomas Jefferson.* Possibly the most common complaint among reviewers is Fawn Brodie's lack of depth in her understanding of Jefferson's times. In discussing some of Ms. Brodie's

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[11]Mary-Jo Kline, book review in *New England Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (December 1974):624.
[12]Eyre Methuen, book review in *Economist* 255, no. 6874 (24 May 1975):104.
[13]Paul F. Boller, Jr., "Two Democrats: Aristocratic and Democratic," *Southwest Review* 59 (Summer 1974):323.
[14]Hamilton, p. 108.

"questionable speculations," Lois Banner writes, "One wishes ... that Brodie had steeped herself as fully in studies of eighteenth-century rhetoric and social custom as she has in twentieth-century psychology."[15] According to Mary-Jo Kline, "She often forgets that Jefferson lived in another culture and another age."[16] Winthrop Jordan claims she is guilty of "impos[ing] our century upon his [Jefferson's]],"[17] and Max Beloff holds that Ms. Brodie has imposed her own ideals on Jefferson: "It is because of Mrs. Brodie's own clear commitment to ideals of racial equality that she wishes to depict Jefferson as setting the tabu [against miscegenation] aside."[18]

Winthrop Jordan, historian at the University of California at Berkeley, accuses Ms. Brodie of "bad 'psychology.' "[19] Bruce Mazlish, psychohistorian and MIT professor, says, "Brodie's analysis of the psychological situation is simply not convincing–[she] ... takes as bedrock what is still the shifting sands of speculation."[20]

Another charge commonly leveled at Ms. Brodie is that she is more concerned with Jefferson's "intimate life" than with his historical contributions. "Nor is Brodie of much help with the larger questions of how Jefferson's private life affected his public positions,"[21] states Richard B. Morris. The *Economist,* listing the amount of space she devotes to each aspect of Jefferson's life, notes,

> Her Jefferson is not the author of the Constitution of Virginia (three quarters of a page) or of the Declaration of Independence (two pages), the Secretary of State (scattered references), the architect of the Louisiana Purchase (one paragraph) or even (his own proudest boast) the author of the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom (one line). He is the would-be seducer of Betsey Walker (a chapter), the lover of Maria Cosway (another chapter), the father of five mulatto bastards by Sally Hemings, his slave girl (all or most of seven chapters, as well as an appendix.)[22]

After a discussion of the truth or falsehood of the Sally Hemings matter, Winthrop Jordan concludes: "Most of all, I remain persuaded that it does not much matter."[23]

David Herbert Donald, Charles Warren Professor of American History at Harvard, remarking that Fawn Brodie strives to picture

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[15]Lois W. Banner, book review in *American Historical Review* 80, no. 5 (December 1975):1390.
[16]Kline, p. 623.
[17]Winthrop D. Jordan, book review in *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d ser., vol. 32, no. 3 (July 1975), p. 512.
[18]Max Beloff, "The Sally Hemings Affair," *Encounter* (London) 43 (September 1974):53.
[19]Jordan, p. 511.
[20]Bruce Mazlish, book review in *Journal of American History* 61, no. 4 (March 1975):1090.
[21]Morris, "The Very Private Jefferson," p. 25.
[22]Methuen, p. 104.
[23]Jordan, p. 512.

Jefferson as "a secret swinger," suggests that "she ought to have given her book a better title. Why not 'By Sex Obsessed'?"[24] He goes on to say that Ms. Brodie

> appears to be a disciple of the late A. C. Kinsey and believes that a man ought to be judged by the fullness and frequency of his sex life. Since Thomas Jefferson was a very great man, he obviously could not have been the "somewhat monkish, abstemious, continent, and virtually passionless" figure portrayed by previous biographers. He must have had a string of amatory adventures. *Thomas Jefferson* . . . is Ms. Brodie's heroic effort to restore to Jefferson his full humanity.[25]

Donald examines Ms. Brodie's efforts to find something sexually interesting in Jefferson's associations with four different women. With his wife, Martha Wayles, Jefferson "certainly did not break any . . . records. Nor, despite Mrs. Brodie's enthusiastic exertions, can much mileage be gained from the tale that in his youth Jefferson . . . made an improper advance toward Mrs. [Betsy] Walker."[26] After his wife's death, Jefferson carried on a correspondence with a Maria Cosway. Donald continues: "Nothing in the correspondence indicates that the two progressed beyond an epistolary romance, but Mrs. Brodie, drawing upon 'feeling as well as fact,' upon 'nuance and metaphor as well as idea and action,' is sure what happened."[27] Finally, Ms. Brodie unveils the major episode of her argument–Jefferson's alleged affair with Sally Hemings. "Here at last," writes Donald, "Mrs. Brodie finds Jefferson exhibiting that sexual vitality every great man must have. . . . The fact that no other Jefferson biographer–and all of them have had access to exactly the same sources Mrs. Brodie uses–accepts these tales of his sexual prowess troubles Mrs. Brodie not at all."[28] Donald goes on to comment that Ms. Brodie is not

> bothered by the fact that she can adduce only slim factual support for her tales of what she primly calls Jefferson's "intimate life." Reluctantly she confesses that there is "no real evidence" as to what happened in the Betsy Walker case. And documentation for the liaison with Sally Hemings is "simply unrecoverable." Such absence of evidence would stop most historians, but it does not faze Mrs. Brodie. Where there are documents, she knows how to read them in a special way. . . . Where documents have been lost, Mrs. Brodie can make much of the gap. . . . Mrs. Brodie is masterful in using negative evidence too. . . .
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> But Mrs. Brodie is at her best when there is no evidence whatever to cloud her vision. Then she is free to speculate.[29]

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[24]David Herbert Donald, "By Sex Obsessed," *Commentary* 58, no. 1 (July 1974):98.
[25]Ibid., p. 96.
[26]Ibid.
[27]Ibid.
[28]Ibid.
[29]Ibid., pp. 97–98.

After she has told her readers that "no one can know" Jefferson's sentiments on one occasion, she "then proceeds to reveal in detail what he must have felt."[30] Donald sums up his reactions to *Thomas Jefferson* with the conclusion that the book

> bears less resemblance to any conventional historical work than it does to Ignatius Donnelly's devoted efforts to prove by an ingenious cipher that Francis Bacon wrote the works of Shakespeare. Indeed, in Mrs. Brodie's untiring hands, the whole corpus of Jefferson's writings and records has become a kind of elaborate cryptogram, which she has decoded to reveal his sexual secrets.[31]

The most intensive review of *Thomas Jefferson* is by Garry Wills, historian and writer of a recent book on Jefferson and the Declaration of Independence. Writes Wills:

> Two vast things, each wondrous in itself, combine to make this book a prodigy—the author's industry, and her ignorance. One can only be so intricately wrong by deep study and long effort, enough to make Ms. Brodie the fasting hermit and very saint of ignorance. The result has an eerie perfection, as if all the world's greatest builders had agreed to rear, with infinite skill, the world's ugliest building. . . . She has managed to write a long and complex study of Jefferson without displaying any acquaintance with eighteenth-century plantation conditions, political thought, literary conventions, or scientific categories—all of which greatly concerned Jefferson. She constantly finds double meanings in colonial language, basing her arguments on the present usage of key words. She often mistakes the first meaning of a word before assigning it an improbable second meaning and an impossible third one.[32]

Wills holds that Ms. Brodie's "obsession with all the things she can find or invent about Jefferson's sex life" is the main thing she has "poured into her work. . . . Since that life does not seem a very extensive or active one, Ms. Brodie has to use whatever hints she can contrive. In particular, she reads the whole Jefferson corpus as a secret code referring to . . . Sally Hemings."[33] Wills is especially concerned over the constant use of what he calls "Ms. Brodie's hint-and-run method—to ask a rhetorical question, and then proceed on the assumption that it has been settled in her favor, making the first surmise a basis for second and third ones, in a towering rickety structure of unsupported conjecture."[34] Wills concludes that Ms. Brodie's speculating in *Thomas Jefferson* "involves heroic feats of misunderstanding and a constant labor of ignorance. This seems too high a

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[30]Ibid., p. 98.
[31]Ibid.
[32]Garry Wills, "Uncle Thomas's Cabin," *New York Review of Books* 21 (18 April 1978):26.
[33]Ibid., p. 27.
[34]Ibid., p. 26.

price to pay when the same appetites can be more readily gratified by those Hollywood fan magazines, with their wealth of unfounded conjecture on the sex lives of others, from which Mrs. Brodie has borrowed her scholarly methods."[35]

II

In 1946 this same Ms. Brodie published *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet.*[36] Critics have regularly acclaimed that book as the best study of Joseph Smith and the Mormons. Whenever the subject of Joseph Smith or the Mormons has come up since 1946, Fawn Brodie's book has been considered authoritative.

No Man Knows My History had some things going for it from the beginning. Ms. Brodie characterized Joseph Smith in such a way that his religious claims were seemingly denied for non-Mormon readers. The only people she could possibly offend in her 1946 book were the Mormons; she told everyone else what they wanted to hear.

After her success with her Joseph Smith book, Ms. Brodie went on to publish biographies of Sir Richard Burton and Thaddeus Stevens, which were respectfully if not always enthusiastically received by reviewers. Sir Richard Burton and Thaddeus Stevens are fairly obscure and uncontroversial figures in history—no one was really concerned enough to make a fuss if her accounts of such people were fictional, inaccurate, or distorted. As one reviewer notes, until *Thomas Jefferson,* Fawn Brodie "has made a scholarly specialty of oddballs (e.g., Thaddeus Stevens and Joseph Smith)."[37]

But her reputation was built on the Joseph Smith book. When some Latter-day Saints ventured to challenge her scholarship, their objections were ignored or brushed aside because, after all, they had an obvious vested interest in defending Joseph Smith. But in *Thomas Jefferson,* Fawn Brodie is writing for the first time about a man whose life and character are well known to numerous students and to a number of very eminent scholars.

In 1946, when Hugh Nibley first attempted to challenge Ms. Brodie's scholarship,[38] he was denounced as flippant and his arguments were discounted; but there are some rather remarkable similarities between his objections to *No Man Knows My History* and the

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[35]Ibid., p. 28.

[36]Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946).

[37]Yoder, "An Unshaken Hero," p. 542.

[38]Hugh Nibley, *No Ma'am That's Not History* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1946).

current scholarly criticisms of *Thomas Jefferson,* which complain as Dr. Nibley did of Ms. Brodie's manipulation and tangling of evidence, of her obsession with sex, of her ignorance of the larger background of the subject she is treating, and of her special "intuition" into the minds of people. Perhaps it is time for non-Mormon historians to examine once again Fawn M. Brodie's still-respected earlier work, *No Man Knows My History*; for that book may suffer from the same faults now so painfully evident to the reviewers of *Thomas Jefferson.*

Jerusalem Garrison 34 A.D.

Lynda Mackey

Night is a smoke tonight;
Black, full of poisons
And the spitting of cats.
But I must be the poison–
Nights are born black
And cats have reasons.

*

I'm sick of the talk of the streets.
I have need of a dreamless night.
Curse Jerusalem!
This place is heavy,
More nearly a tomb than a city.
Didn't I come to be free of burdens,
Free from the fevers and ghosts of Rome?
You know what things I ran from.
I begin to fear, friend,
There is no land that frees a man
From his own sullen chains.

*

Oh, I'm tired!
This city was more mad today
With signs and blood
Than I have need of to forget
What I wish to forget.
Its careful Jews have things locked
Behind their sharpened mouths
That are no Roman's business,
And I'm glad of that.
More such days and I'll begin to fear
This bargain I have made is nothing more
Than one blood-lusting zoo

Lynda Mackey is a poet residing in Salt Lake City.

For a market place of lunatics,
Both lovers of a law.

*

Yes, you're right,
Tonight is no night for this.
I am weary past trusting
These half-dreamed thoughts.
At your advice I will forbear
The usual games of hopeless guessing
And sink beneath an ignorant sleep.

*

I see you think there is some educated worm
At work with too much patience in my brain.
No, Paulus,
I have overeaten of ideas,
Been haunted by philosophies–
Now I'm just tired.
And tomorrow I must watch at some new grave.

*

You know then of the Nazarene?
Some Galilean madmen
Have it he is God.
Indeed some careful prefect
Has deemed him worthy of a double-guarded tomb.
But speak not of him!
Oh, how I'm tired!
Morning will I be new
And fit for guarding a poor corpse
In the noble name of Rome.

*

Yes, I heard the man.
Herod was right to fear him.
I almost found myself
Hungry to hear more.
A kingdom, he said,
Where men were made free from themselves,
Where sins and leper's sores alike
Were washed off in his blood.
Is that not madness?
His taxes were of hearts and souls.
He envied Caesar nothing of his gold.
No wonder Rome is jealous.

One day I saw him make a blind girl see.
But enough!
What matters what I thought I saw.
He is nothing. He is dead.
We must goodnight.

*

Wait!
Forgive me one more question.
Friend Paulus–
If you love me–
What are all these thunders do you think?

*

Mobocracy and the Rule of Law: American Press Reaction to the Murder of Joseph Smith

Paul D. Ellsworth

On the warm afternoon of 28 June 1844, a small group of saddened men plodded down the road from Carthage to Nauvoo, Illinois. The significant events of the last few days were winding down now to this silent procession which bore the bodies of two men back to the "holy city" which they had founded and governed. What had seemed impossible to many Mormons had happened–Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and his brother Hyrum were dead.

Stunned by news of the deaths, Latter-day Saints quietly mourned the loss of their beloved leaders. To them, the murders were the bitter climax to years of religious persecution.

Since 1844, this killing of the Mormon prophet has been the subject of extensive historical research by both Mormon and non-Mormon scholars; and yet, we still have had very little information regarding one important aspect of this whole phenomenon, that is, the reaction to the murder by the general public. While some historians have dealt with the response of Illinois newspapers to the incident, few, if any, have closely examined the reaction of the national press to the killing. In order to help fill this gap in Mormon studies, this article will examine the way in which the nation's press reacted to the slaying of Joseph Smith and his brother and will suggest some reasons for the attitude of most newspapers regarding this particular incident.

To understand the attitude the American press adopted toward the Smith killings, it may be helpful to review the events which preceded Joseph Smith's death. From its inception, the Mormon church had attracted opposition. In the fourteen years since Joseph Smith had organized The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, he had been accused of almost every possible crime; he had been arrested, tried, released, and arrested and tried again. His people had

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been driven from New York to Ohio, from Ohio to Missouri, from Missouri to Illinois, and in less than two years after the killing of the Prophet they would be fleeing from Illinois to the supposed safety of the Salt Lake Valley.

The particular circumstances which led to Joseph Smith's death began in early June of 1844 with the destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor,* an anti-Joseph Smith newspaper published by defectors from the Church who considered Joseph a fallen prophet and were determined to expose the immoralities and atrocities they claimed he had committed. The paper's first issue was filled with accusations against the Prophet, claims which he and other Church leaders considered lies and slander. A meeting of the Nauvoo City Council was immediately called by Joseph Smith (who was also the mayor), the *Expositor* was declared a public nuisance, and the press ordered destroyed.

Word of the destruction enraged non-Mormon citizens of the surrounding Illinois towns, who felt that the Mormons had violated the *Expositor*'s right of freedom of the press. Anti-Mormons, capitalizing on public sentiment, demanded the arrest of Joseph Smith and those involved in the incident. The governor of Illinois, Thomas Ford, soon dispatched state militia to arrest the Mormon prophet, and Ford himself hurried to the area in order to supervise personally the capture.

On 24 June 1844, Joseph Smith surrendered himself to Illinois State authorities on condition that he be protected from hostile citizens. Three days later, after he and his brother Hyrum had been incarcerated at Carthage, the county seat, a mob of disguised men rushed the jail, overpowered the guards, and shot and killed the two Smiths.[1]

The murder of the Smiths at Carthage, Illinois, occurred as the nation at large was itself suffering from a wave of lawlessness and rioting; and in this tense atmosphere the mob actions at Carthage were denounced as another sign of nascent anarchy. To most Americans, the incident was not just an isolated case of religious bigotry; it was a not-so-isolated case of mob violence.

The three decades preceding the Civil War were, for America, shot through with episodes of violence. According to Richard Maxwell Brown, an important scholar of American violence, the period of the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s may have been the era of the greatest

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[1]For a more detailed account of Joseph Smith's death see Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1977), pp. 387–418; see also Dallin H. Oaks and Marvin S. Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy: The Trial of the Accused Assassins of Joseph Smith* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), pp. 6–23.

urban violence America has ever experienced.[2] Brown explains that "during this period, at least 35 major riots occurred in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. Baltimore had twelve, Philadelphia eleven, New York eight, and Boston four."[3] For its leading role as a scene of urban violence, Baltimore gained the unpleasant title of "mob town."[4] Another important study of American violence concludes that in the period of the 1830s through the 1850s " 'mob violence not only increased markedly but also became a feature of American life–not urban life, or Southern life, or Western life–but American life.' "[5]

The objects of this violence were many. Mobs actively harrassed Catholics, Mormons, abolitionists, Mexicans, immigrants, gamblers, and prostitutes. In his book *Frontier Violence,* Eugene Hollon attributes the upheaval to "the development of slums, the arrival of millions of Irish and German immigrants, competition for jobs, and poorly trained police forces."[6]

When reporting mob activities, contemporary newspapers almost always denounced them as acts of lawlessness. For instance, on 12 March 1844, the *Louisville* (Kentucky) *Daily Journal* headed an article with the title "Lynch Law." According to the article, a mob had hanged, without even the semblance of a trial, a negro accused of murder, and the *Journal* condemned this act, insisting "there is no sense in such proceedings. The law would have hung him, and they did nothing more. . . . Better, far better, to let the laws take their course."[7]

Of the urban violence which occurred in 1844, the most pronounced and costly stemmed from clashes between Irish immigrants and members of the Native American Party. The Irish had come to the United States en masse during the first half of the nineteenth century to escape the devastating potato famines of Ireland. This

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[2]Richard Maxwell Brown, *Strain of Violence: Historical Studies of American Violence and Vigilantism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 29.

[3]Ibid. Civil disturbances were not restricted to major cities. Brown goes on to quote John C. Scheinder's findings that "at least seventy per cent of American cities with a population of twenty thousand or more by 1850 experienced some degree of major disorder in the 1830–1865 period."

[4]W. Eugene Hollon, *Frontier Violence: Another Look* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 25. Hollon also points out that during this period the ephitat of "mob town" was occasionally conferred upon other cities as well, including Cincinnati, St. Louis, Louisville, and Vicksburg.

[5]Leonard Richards, cited in Hollon, *Frontier Violence,* p. 25.

[6]Ibid., p. 24. According to Hollon, one reaction to the urban violence of the mid-1800s was the development of our modern urban police system.

[7]*Louisville* (Ky.) *Daily Journal,* 12 March 1844, p. 3. Although the word *lynching* has become synonymous with *hanging, lynching* was originally used to refer to any extra-legal actions. The term *lynch law* seems to have originated with a Virginia vigilante group in the 1780s led by a Colonel Charles Lynch; however, the evidence is not clear whether Lynch's group ever went so far as to apply the death penalty. (See Hollon, *Frontier Violence,* pp. 16–17.)

massive migration gave rise to a strong nativist feeling among many Americans, who looked suspiciously upon the incoming foreigners. One of the most pervasive fears of the nativists was that the Irish would use their numbers to form a voting bloc which could control the government. Such fears were encouraged by various Protestant groups which passionately opposed the Irish for their Catholic beliefs.

Social tension and the potential for violence increased when the nativists formed a political party with the avowed purpose of excluding the Irish from politics and keeping them "in line." The party, known successively as the Native American Party and the Order of the Star Spangled Banner, eventually became the Know-Nothing Party due to its secrecy and its members' response of "I know nothing" to inquiry about the party's activities.[8]

In 1844, a presidential election year, the emotions of the "Natives" were at a pitch. Feelings erupted into violence, and press reports of clashes between the groups began to appear early in the year. The 27 April issue of the *Fort Wayne* (Indiana) *Sentinel,* for example, reprinted a *New York Herald* report of rioting in Brooklyn between the Native Americans and the Irish. A few days later *The Indiana State Sentinel* reported that on election night in St. Louis "a serious row occurred between a party of Natives and Foreigners."[9] These skirmishes were subsequently overshadowed by rioting which broke out in Philadelphia again and again from May to July.

On 7 May 1844, the streets of Philadelphia became the scene of intense rioting between the Native Americans and Irish. Reportedly, before the groups could be brought under control, fourteen persons were killed, thirty-nine wounded, and thirty-eight buildings burned to the ground.[10] Accounts of the strife dominated the American press with such headlines as "The Philadelphia Riots" and "The Philadelphia Mob" being common in newspapers throughout the country.[11]

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[8]Hollon, *Frontier Violence,* pp. 29–30.

[9]*Indiana State Sentinel* (Indianapolis), 2 May 1844, p. 4. For other accounts of rioting between the "Natives" and the Irish see the *Southern Patriot* (Charleston, S.C.), 9 April 1844, p. 4; *Louisville Daily Journal,* 11 April 1844, p. 3; and *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), 15 June 1844, p. 2.

[10]*Louisville Daily Journal,* 15 May 1844, p. 3. For further accounts of the May rioting in Philadelphia see *Delaware Gazette* (Wilmington), 10 May 1844, p. 3; *Louisville Daily Journal,* 14 May 1844, p. 3; *Daily Herald* (Newbury Port, Mass.), 14 May 1844, p. 2; *Norwich* (Conn.) *Courier,* 15 May 1844, p. 2; *Rutland* (Vt.) *Herald,* 16 May 1844, p. 2; *Fort Wayne* (Ind.) *Sentinel,* 18 May 1844, p. 2; and *Arkansas State Gazette* (Little Rock), 5 June 1844, p. 1.

[11]*Delaware Gazette,* 17 May 1844, p. 2; *Hawk-Eye* (Burlington, Iowa), 30 May 1844, p. 3. It is important to realize that American newspapers of the early and middle 1800s functioned without national news services such as the Associated Press and United Press International. Subsequently, newspapers of the nineteenth century followed the custom of borrowing newsworthy articles from other newspapers. In this manner, a particular article may have appeared in various newspapers throughout the country.

After several days, the fighting stopped; but what appeared to be an end to the conflict turned out to be only a lull in the battle. In early July, fighting again broke out, this time bloodier than before.

Shocked by the reports of bloodshed and rioting in Philadelphia, the incensed press severely condemned the lawless mob actions which had caused the violence. Newspapers north and south could perceive no justification for the hostile scenes that were reported from Philadelphia. When reports of the July riots reached Portland, Maine, the *Portland Transcript* sadly announced that "Philadelphia has again been a scene of blood and slaughter." The report continued:

> Mobocracy has again run riot. It commenced on the 6th by an attack on a Catholic Church;the [*sic*] excitement continued through the 7th and 8th. A large number of lives were lost and many were wounded. It is said to be worse than the first riot which covered that city with infamy.[12]

Some accounts of the July violence placed the casualties as high as "*one hundred killed, and the same number wounded!*"[13] Such reports stirred the American public. A New York paper wrote that the air was filled with excitement and inquiry regarding the riots at Philadelphia.[14] Indeed, updates on the rioting appeared in the press almost every day throughout the month of July.

In Macon, Georgia, the *American Democrat* expressed a feeling of disgust for the mob actions: "Philadelphia has been again disgraced by the occurrence of the most desperate and bloody riots upon record in this country."[15] The *Louisville Daily Journal* called the riots "disgraceful to the character of the country"[16] and later branded the incident as "one of the greatest and most unprovoked outrages that ever occurred in any community, civilized or barbarian."[17]

This condemnation clearly grew from the fact that the mob violence defied law and order. Americans seemed to have reached the

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[12]*Portland* (Maine) *Transcript,* 13 July 1844, p. 111. More articles on the July riots in Philadelphia may be found in the *Daily Times* (Hartford, Conn.), 9 July 1844, p. 2; *Delaware Gazette,* 12 July 1844, p. 3; *Louisville Daily Journal,* 12 July 1844, p. 3; and in almost any of the nation's newspapers during the month of July.

[13]*Louisville Daily Journal,* 13 July 1844, p. 3. This report is exaggerated but exemplifies the excitement generated by the Philadelphia violence.

[14]*Long Island Democrat,* 16 July 1844, p. 3.

[15]*American Democrat* (Macon, Ga.), 17 July 1844, p. 2. Southern newspapers, being farther away from the scenes of news events such as the Philadelphia riots and the murder of Joseph Smith, tended to print such news anywhere from two weeks to a month later than in the northeastern and central states.

[16]*Louisville Daily Journal,* 12 July 1844, p. 3.

[17]Ibid., 15 July 1844, p. 2.

point at which their concern for the supremacy of the law overshadowed other issues. The 19 July *Kenebec Journal* (Augusta, Maine) articulated the national fear of mob rule which underscored the denunciations of the Philadelphia violence:

> The Philadelphia riots . . . have been grosser outrages and have required the shedding of more blood to appease their ferocity, than any civil broils which have before happened in this country, and this fact, together with the partial triumph of the mob . . . gives a fearful apprehension of what may be to come hereafter. . . . The supremacy of the constitution and the established laws is the only safeguard of a republic from anarchy.[18]

A declaration from the *Delaware Gazette* shows what extremes this emphatic regard for the rule of law achieved. The *Gazette* declared, "*The supremacy of the laws should be acknowledged,* if every violator must be put to death."[19]

Such fanatical commitment to legal order was an expected reaction to this nineteenth-century urban violence. Lynching and rioting were threatening the American form of government, and they could not be tolerated. In this atmosphere of alarm and fear, accounts of the Carthage violence appeared.

In the context of a growing national fear of lawlessness, it is interesting to note that one of the major complaints anti-Mormons made to the American public was that the law was powerless in Nauvoo.[20] They claimed that the Nauvoo City Charter granted by the Illinois State Legislature gave Joseph Smith near-dictatorial powers with which he constantly defied the laws of the land. Significantly, the charge which brought the Prophet to Carthage, the place of his death, was that of riot.[21]

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[18] *Kenebec Journal* (Augusta, Maine), 19 July 1844, p. 3.

[19] *Delaware Gazette,* 12 July 1844, p. 3.

[20] Violence and Mormonism had been made bedfellows in the American press even before the Carthage incident. The press quickly reported any occurrence of "lynch law" at Nauvoo. In April of 1844 articles appearing in a number of papers described an incident of Mormon mob law. One of these articles, printed in New Orleans's *Daily Picayune* of 27 April, was entitled "Lynching at Nauvoo." It read:

> The following shows what a law-abiding people Joe Smith's minions are. A negro was recently found with some stolen goods at Nauvoo, and, to make him divulge the names of those who committed the theft, he was taken by the Mormons to the woods and lynched. They did not succeed, however, in their object.

(*Daily Picayune,* 27 April 1844, p. 4.) In this case the word *lynched* means that the black man was beaten in an attempt to make him divulge the names of the thieves. Variations of this article appear in the *Louisville Daily Journal,* 19 April 1844, p. 3; *Lee County Democrat* (Fort Madison, Iowa), 20 April 1844, p. 2; *Cincinnati Weekly Herald and Philanthropist,* 24 April 1844, p. 2; *Delaware Gazette,* 26 April 1844, p. 3; the *Sun* (Baltimore), 26 April 1844, p. 2; and *Hartford* (Tenn.) *Daily Courant,* 27 April 1844, p. 2.

[21] After Joseph Smith arrived in Carthage, he posted bail on the riot charge and was set free; however, he was quickly charged with treason, arrested, and placed in the Carthage jail. He was awaiting action upon the treason charge at the time of his death.

After some legal and extra-legal maneuvering, in which the riot charge was dismissed, Joseph was imprisoned in the county jail on a second charge, this time of treason; and, on 27 June 1844, while under the protection of the State of Illinois, he and his brother Hyrum were murdered by a mob.

The first accounts of the Carthage killings apparently originated from anti-Mormon sources and placed the Mormons themselves in the role of aggressors. Allegedly, the Mormons had attempted to rescue the Prophet from jail and in the resulting confusion he and his brother were killed. Basing their appraisal of the situation on these erroneous reports, newspapers presumed the Smiths' deaths to be the "just outcome" of Mormon violence.

In Pennsylvania, for instance, the 10 July 1844 *Hollidaysburg Register* declared, "It is unnecessary to say that this blood-thirsty attempt, on the part of the Mormons, was the signal for certain and sure vengence [*sic*]."[22] A letter in Philadelphia's *North American* alluded to the alleged rescue attempt and concluded that the Smiths were not killed in cold blood.[23]

Eventually, however, the facts surrounding the killing became known, and the press (which was now receiving reports of the Philadelphia riots as well) expressed great shock at the news. Cries of "murder" came from the country's newspapers, and condemnation of the Carthage mob actions began as the serious implications of the incident started to sink in.

While the events in Pennsylvania and Illinois clearly differed in nature—at Philadelphia, a riot between two mobs, and at Carthage, the murder of two men by a mob—there seemed to be no question in the minds of newspapermen that the two were related. It may be impossible to determine just how much the lawless spirit of the times contributed to the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, but most editors clearly saw the Carthage slayings as a symptom of a national illness. The combined reporting of the Philadelphia riots and the Carthage murders provided the press with strong evidence that the dread disease of mob law was sweeping the country.

Many articles linked the two incidents and jointly condemned them in print. On 10 July 1844, the New Bedford, Massachusetts, *Morning Register* combined a report of the Carthage and Philadelphia violence under the heading,

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[22]*Hollidaysburg* (Pa.) *Register,* 10 July 1844, p. 2.
[23]*North American & Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), 12 July 1844, p. 2.

DREADFUL RIOT AND MURDERS!
THE PROPHET JOE SMITH KILLED!
MORE RIOTS IN THE CITY OF PENN!

Later Fayetteville's *North Carolinian* announced that civil war "with all its horrors is upon us! It breaks upon us simultaneously from the east, and from the west. Native Americanism in Philadelphia, and Mormonism in Illinois!"[24]

Condemning the Carthage violence, the *New-Hampshire Sentinel* noted: "We seriously fear the death of the Smiths will prove to have been a cold-blooded MURDER; *Lynch Law*; the people the 'real sovereigns,' as in . . . Philadelphia, acting in masses without law, and against law."[25] In New York City the *Working Man's Advocate* declared, "We must deplore the renewed outrages in Philadelphia, and Illinois."[26] Similarly, the *New York Daily Tribune* printed an article lamenting the deaths of Joseph and Hyrum, concluding: "Altogether it is a sad and melancholy business, and will leave a dark spot, side by side with the records of the Philadelphia riots, in the history of these times."[27]

The Philadelphia riots and the Carthage murders, then, each touched a spot already sensitive in the American psyche, and close reading of the reports of the Smiths' killing shows just how severely the mob was condemned for its flouting of governmental authority.

New York City's *Evening Post* felt that the killing of Joseph Smith was "as cowardly and atrocious a murder as was ever committed."[28] In Paris, Kentucky, the *Western Citizen* echoed similar sentiments, claiming the slaying to be "a cold-blooded, deliberate murder."[29] The *Charleston* (South Carolina) *Mercury* printed: "It seems certain by the most recent and authentic accounts, that the Mormon leaders were wilfully and unresistingly murdered in prison. This is horrible."[30]

Reprimanding the murderers, the *Weekly Ohio State Journal* declared, "There can be no excuse for the conduct of the mob."[31] Gettysburg's *Republican Compiler* believed that the act would "consign

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[24] *North Carolinian* (Fayetteville), 13 July 1844, p. 3. Since the Native Americans were blamed for the violence in Philadelphia and the Mormons were originally blamed for the violence which ended in Joseph and Hyrum's deaths, the two groups are here linked as initiators in the civil upheavel.

[25] *New-Hampshire Sentinel* (Keene), 17 July 1844, p. 3.

[26] *Working Man's Advocate* (New York), 13 July 1844, p. 1.

[27] *New York Daily Tribune,* 18 July 1844, p. 2. This article appeared in numerous newspapers throughout the country and originated in the 3 July *St. Louis Republican.*

[28] *Evening Post* (New York), 13 July 1844, p. 2.

[29] *Western Citizen* (Paris, Ky.), 12 July 1844, p. 3.

[30] *Charleston* (S.C.) *Mercury,* 15 July 1844, p. 3.

[31] *Weekly Ohio State Journal* (Columbus), 9 July 1844, p. 1.

the perpetrators, if discovered, to merited infamy and disgrace."[32] At least one report which was distributed throughout the country went so far as to demand public condemnation of the "outrage." This article, printed in Philadelphia's *Public Ledger* of 17 July, boldly asserted that "all men, from one end of the Union to the other, must condemn, most emphatically, the outbreak at Carthage."[33]

While it may be argued that this condemnation grew out of sympathy for the Mormons, or out of respect and liking for Joseph Smith, the nation's press generally found little to like about Joseph or his followers. The *Albany* (New York) *Evening Journal,* for instance, after denouncing the actions of the Carthage mob, went on to label Joseph Smith a "low, coarse, vicious vagabond."[34] Similarly, the *Hampshire Gazette* of Northhampton, Massachusetts, felt little sorrow over the passing of Joseph Smith, but it did mourn the manner of his death.

> We do not lament that this beastly imposter,—Joe Smith—is disposed of. We have no doubt that he has committed crimes, worthy of a hundred deaths; but we deplore *the manner and circumstances* of his death, as eminently wicked, disgraceful, and dangerous in their tendencies.[35]

Such an attitude toward the Mormon prophet suggests that more was involved than the death of a man or even a murder. Indeed, the *Pittsburgh Catholic* (a paper which might have been expected to oppose Joseph Smith on religious grounds) stated, "The enormity of this transaction cannot be palliated by the atrocities committed by Smith, and his arch-imposters."[36] What made this murder such an "enormity" was the "manner and circumstances" of the killing. Like the riots in Philadelphia, the mob actions at Carthage were "dangerous in their tendencies."

Admittedly, not all newspapers enthusiastically denounced the Carthage outbreak. As might be expected, some local Illinois papers quickly came to the defense of their neighbors.[37] The *Belleville* (Illinois) *Advocate* headlined a report of the killing "LET HIM THAT IS WITHOUT SIN CAST THE FIRST STONE."[38] Another Illinois paper

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[32]*Republican Compiler* (Gettysburg), 22 July 1844, p. 1.
[33]*Public Ledger and Daily Transcript* (Philadelphia), 17 July 1844, p. 1.
[34]*Albany* (N.Y.) *Evening Journal,* 10 July 1844, p. 2.
[35]*Hampshire Gazette* (Northhampton, Mass.), 16 July 1844, p. 3.
[36]*Pittsburgh Catholic,* 13 July 1844, p. 8.
[37]Some Illinois papers seemed to feel that it was unfair for those who did not understand the situation to condemn Joseph Smith's killers so severely. Most of the defenses that were printed attempted to show that the atrocities committed by Joseph Smith and an inability of the law to reach him justified the actions taken by the mob.
[38]*Belleville* (Ill.) *Advocate,* 8 August 1844, p. 1.

sympathized with the mob, claiming that "the people were driven to desperation at the thought of having again this monster at large in the community."[39] But the most vocal defender of the Carthage slayings was the *Warsaw Signal.*

The *Signal,* a vigorous anti-Mormon publication, was edited by Thomas Sharp, who was later tried and acquitted for his part in the Prophet's murder,[40] even though evidence strongly suggested he played a major role in exciting the mob which stormed the Carthage jail. After the murder, his paper came faithfully to the defense of the mob, citing Lockean revolutionary theory (the people's right to take the law into their own hands) to justify the "execution" of the Smiths. In the prelude to his defense of the incident, Mr. Sharp indicates how widespread condemnation of the killing was:

> The summary execution, of two of the Mormon leaders, Joseph and Hirum Smith, at Carthage, on the 27th of June, has excited a deep interest abroad as well as at home; and has brought upon us the severest censure of nearly the whole newspaper press, as far as we have yet heard. From the almost unanimous expression, of the papers that have reached us, we doubt not, that the same indignant cry of "cold blooded murder," will be echoed from one extreme of our wide spread Union to the other.[41]

Even Thomas Sharp, trying to justify the slaying, knew that for the most part the country would accept no justification.

The *Albany Evening Journal* succinctly stated the nation's response to the *Signal*'s defense of the mob actions: "Imposter and profligate tho' he [Joseph] be, trial and conviction should preceded [*sic*] sentence and execution."[42] Illinois newspapers had to admit that the mobsters "in thus endeavoring to rectify the aggressions committed upon our laws by their victim . . . have broken every command of duty, honor, and justice."[43]

As the riots between the Irish and "Natives" had shamed Philadelphia, so now did the murders shame Carthage and Illinois. One paper declared that the conduct of the Carthage mobsters was "a disgrace to their town and to the State,"[44] while another claimed that

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[39]*St. Clair Banner* (Belleville, Ill.), 2 July 1844, p. 1.

[40]For particulars on Thomas Sharp's part in the killing and his later trial and acquittal, see Oaks and Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy.*

[41]*Warsaw* (Ill.) *Signal,* 10 July 1844, p. 2.

[42]*Albany Evening Journal,* 9 July 1844, p. 2.

[43]*Illinois State Gazette* (Shawneetown), 8 August 1844, p. 3.

[44]*Morning Courier* (Louisville), 8 July 1844, p. 3.

"the persecutors of Mormonism in Illinois [had committed an act] . . . that would disgrace even savage life."[45]

Indeed, the "disgrace of such an incident" was acknowledged not only as a blot on Illinois in particular but on the nation at large. As the *Pittsfield* (Massachusetts) *Sun* sadly commented,

> Whatever may be thought of Mormonism, every friend of order and of justice must condemn this outrage. The law may be too weak to reach the offenders–for we live in the midst of lawless aggression–but these scenes reflect upon the country disgrace of a deeper dye than all the monstrosities and absurdities that even Rumor, with her power of exaggeration, has coupled with Nauvoo.[46]

Such lamentations were followed by assertions that acts of lawlessness such as the Carthage violence endangered the country's freedom. Prefacing an account of the Smiths' murder, for instance, the *Morning Register* of New Bedford, Massachusetts, wrote:

> Scenes of anarchy, and confusion and bloodshed are being enacted in our country, which may well cause every friend of order and the country's laws and institutions, to ask, what are we coming to? The spirit of lawlessness and violence which predominate in some sections of the land must be put down–must be subdued, or we may bid farewell to freedom of opinion and of speech.[47]

An article entitled "The Progress of Mob Law" in the *Pittsburgh Morning Post* declared:

> The murder of Joe Smith and his brother Hiram, is another fearful evidence of the rapid progress that mob law is making in our country,

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[45] *Rochester* (N.Y.) *Republican,* 23 July 1844, p. 4.

[46] *Pittsfield* (Mass.) *Sun,* 11 July 1844, p. 3. Americans were aware that reports of such violence as the Carthage murders and the Philadelphia riots would spread abroad, and they were not happy with the picture painted of the United States. On 23 August, Boston's *Daily Evening Transcript* printed English comment on the violence under title "What They Say Of Us." The article, with the Boston editor's introduction, follows and shows that condemnation of these events extended past national boundaries:

> Americans always exhibit great sensitiveness as to the opinions entertained of them abroad. The late riots in this country have afforded a fertile theme for European comment, and some of their remarks are not at all flattering or calculated to increase our national pride. The following which we copy from the Liverpool Mercury of August 3d, though brief is very expressive:
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> "*American Riots.* The scenes which have taken place in Pennsylvania and Illinois would have disgraced a nation of savages. We question whether even amongst the aboriginal natives of the continent of America, distinguished as they have been for wild and pitiless ferocity, and utter disregard of human suffering, any record can be found more sanguinary than the riots at Philadelphia, or the massacre of the Mormon leader and his brother, in the prison at Carthage. For the particulars of these events, so shocking to humanity, so disgraceful to America, and so discouraging to the friends of democratic institutions we must refer to our compendium."

[47] *Morning Register* (New Bedford, Mass.), 10 July 1844, p. 1.

and will create alarming forebodings for the permanency of the internal safety of the country, if the strong arm of the civil authorities is not raised to protect citizens of every shade of opinion. That provision of the constitution which purports to grant permission to all to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences is becoming a dead letter; the religious freedom of which we boast will soon be trampled under the feet of the mob, whose brutal passions can only be appeased by the destruction of property and the spilling of blood.[48]

As these news reports indicate, the Carthage mob actions were seen as part of a national trend of lawlessness. However relieved some Americans may have been by the end of Joseph Smith, sacrificing the rule of law and the principle of social order was too high a price to pay for the death of one man.

In a time of violence and threatened anarchy, both Mormons and Americans faced an uncertain future. Nationally, the murder of Joseph and Hyrum was seen as another manifestation of mob rule and condemned because of its fearful implications. To Americans, the Carthage mob represented a loss of security and order. Occurring when it did, amid the national civil upheaval of the mid-1800s, the killing of the Prophet and his brother added fuel to the already blazing issue of mob violence.

The press could not overlook the slaying, regardless of its feelings about Joseph Smith and his doctrines. Principles of social order were more important than religious persuasions; law and due process were, in the American mind, more important than likes or dislikes. No mob, anti-Catholic or anti-Mormon, could be justified.

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[48]*Pittsburgh Morning Post,* 8 July 1844, p. 2. The fear of mob rule is apparent in much of the treatment of the murders of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. A few of the articles which linked condemnation of the murders with concern for mob rule are found in the following: *Cincinnati Gazette,* 8 July 1844, p. 2; ["Affairs in Philadelphia–The Morals of Pennsylvania and Illinois"]; *Indiana State Sentinel,* 11 July 1844, p. 2; the *Sun* (Baltimore), 12 July 1844, p. 2 [also an excellent article entitled "The Illinois Outrage"]; *North American and Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), 12 July 1844, p. 1; *Weekly American Eagle* (Memphis, Tenn.), 12 July 1844, p. 2; *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.), 13 July 1844, p. 3; *Lee County Democrat,* 13 July 1844, p. 2; *North Carolinian,* 13 July 1844, p. 3; *Pittsburgh Morning Post,* 13 July 1844, p. 2 [entitled "Mobism"]; *Boston Post,* 16 July 1844, p. 2; *Rochester Republican,* 16 July 1844, p. 4; *Charleston Mercury,* 16 July 1844, p. 2; *New-Hampshire Sentinel,* 17 July 1844, p. 3; *Fayetteville* (N.C.) *Observer,* 17 July 1844, p. 3; *Knoxville* (Tenn.) *Register,* 17 July 1844, p. 2; *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), 18 July 1844, p. 2; *Daily Argus* (Portland, Maine), 19 July 1844, p. 2 [article linking Philadelphia and Nauvoo violence, entitled "The Mob Spirit"]; *Rhode Island Country Journal and Independent Inquirer* (Providence), 19 July 1844, p. 1; *Springfield Republican* (Mass.), 20 July 1844, p. 1; *Daily Ohio State Journal* (Columbus), 23 July 1844, p. 1; *Kanawha Republican* (Charleston, Va.), 23 July 1844, p. 2; *Tioga Eagle* (Wellsborough, Pa.), 24 July 1844, p. 2; *Winvah Observer* (Georgetown, S.C.), 27 July 1844, p. 4; *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.), 30 July 1844, p. 3; *American Democrat* (Macon, Ga.), 7 August 1844, p. 1; *Richmond* (Ind.) *Palladium,* 9 August 1844, p. 3; *Evening Post* (New York), 14 August 1844, p. 1; and the *Kenebec Journal* (Augusta, Maine), 23 August 1844, p. 4 [excellent article portraying the general fear of mob law].

"God's Base of Operations": Mormon Variations on the American Sense of Mission

Gustav H. Blanke with Karen Lynn

Whatever his nationality, a student of Mormonism soon becomes aware of the significant and central position of America in both the history and the theology of the Mormon church. The importance of America goes far beyond what might naturally arise from the simple historical fact that the Church's founder and first members were Americans. Mormons everywhere look to America, and particularly to the United States, as "God's base of operations," a "great and glorious nation with a divine mission and a prophetic history and future."[1]

As a non-Mormon European observer who has been studying the American sense of mission for some time, I am interested in the way in which this Mormon sense of America's symbolic and religious importance is intimately tied, in some very specific ways, to the spiritual and moral ideas which have been prominent in American history from the days of the Puritan settlements. The nationalistic philosophy and rhetoric that manifested themselves in Mormonism almost from the time of its inception are part of a cohesive and iden-

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This article originated as a lecture which Dr. Blanke delivered at BYU in January 1977.

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[1]Ezra Taft Benson, address to the One Hundred Thirty-Second Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in Conference Report, 8 April 1962 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press), p. 103. In this address the speaker explicitly states that non-American Mormons as well as those living in the Mormon homeland should realize the sacred nature of America and her destiny: "Every true Latter-day Saint throughout the world loves the USA. The Constitution of this land is part of every Latter-day Saint's religious faith" (p. 103).

tifiable stream leading from the earliest days of American history.[2] A non-Mormon historian views these facts simply as the coming together of philosophical and historical elements that help to explain the sources and the timely appeal of some of the doctrines of Joseph Smith and his successors. A Mormon historian, on the other hand, is more likely to see the hand of God at work laying the foundations for the Restoration. From either viewpoint, I feel the question is of tremendous interest. One cannot understand the Mormon church without understanding its own version of the American sense of mission, and this aspect of Mormon beliefs ties the Church rather closely to an important American tradition that was essential in prefiguring and preparing for the founding and subsequent flourishing of the Mormon church.

I

From the days of the very first settlers, inhabitants of the North American continent have seen themselves as players in a foreordained, divine drama. Since God in his wisdom wished to bring about certain ends, both religious and political, among his children on this earth, he needed agents who would accept their role as instruments of his will. America was to be the stage for pivotal, far-reaching events that would exemplify man's divine potential for all the world to see, eventually bringing about the moral resurgence that would prepare the world for the Second Coming. Clinton Rossiter described the "American Mission" as

> a simple belief—comprehensible, viable, and endlessly serviceable. It assumes that God, at the proper stage in the march of history, called forth certain hardy souls from the old and privilege-ridden nations; that He carried those precious few to a new world and presented them and their descendants with an environment ideally suited to the development of a free society; and that in bestowing His grace He also bestowed a peculiar responsibility for the success of proper institutions. Were the Americans to fail in their experiment in self-government,

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[2]Among the most important works dealing with the American sense of mission are Loren Baritz, ed., *City on the Hill: A History of Ideas and Myths in America* (New York: Wiley, 1974); Edward M. Burns, *The American Idea of Mission: Concepts of National Purpose and Destiny* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1957); Norman A. Graebner, ed., *Manifest Destiny* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968); Ernest R. May, "America's Destiny in the Twentieth Century," in Daniel J. Boorstin, ed., *American Civilization: A Portrait from the Twentieth Century* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), pp. 321–32; Frederick Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History: A Reinterpretation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963); Russel B. Nye, *This Almost Chosen People: Essays in the History of American Ideas* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1966); Clinton Rossiter, *The American Quest 1790–1860: An Emerging Nation in Search of Identity, Unity, and Modernity* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971); Cushing Strout, *The New Heavens and New Earth: Political Religion in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974); Ernest L. Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968); Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny: A Study of Nationalist Expansionism in American History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1935).

they would fail not only themselves, but all men wanting or deserving to be free.[3]

The American sense of mission had its roots in the New England Puritan conviction that God had sent a "saving remnant of the holy nation of England" across the Atlantic to become a model of piety and good government for all of Europe. John Winthrop, in his "A Modell of Christian Charity, Written on Boarde the Arrabella, On the Attlantick Ocean, Anno 1630," exemplifies the isolationism, the self-examination, and the high-minded aims of the early expression of the American sense of mission. To Winthrop, the journey of the settlers to the New World was a separation, both literal and symbolic, from the corruptions of the Old World. The establishment of a new settlement was "the cause betweene God and us. Wee are entered into Covenant with him for this worke, wee have taken out a Commission . . . then hath hee ratified this Covenant and sealed our Comission [and] will expect a strickt performance of the Articles contained in it . . . for wee must Consider that wee shall be as a Citty upon a Hill, the eies of all people are uppon us."[4] The Puritan settlers had only to carry out the mission that God had called them to, and soon, said Winthrop, men would exclaim regarding each succeeding settlement, "the Lord make it like that of New England."[5]

But the diligent, determined colonists were soon to find that their example meant little to Cromwell and the English Puritans. A slight redefinition of their mission was necessary, one that would accommodate the realities of their situation–England and the rest of the Old World were generally content to disregard their spiritual example–but one that would at the same time give them a new sense of the worth of their own struggles; the underlying metaphor was no longer "the city on the hill" or "a light unto the nations"; it became instead "the errand into the wilderness," and the colonists cherished the "wilderness-condition" of their church as a special challenge to overcome all temptations, intended primarily for their own proving and purification rather than as an example to the world. The wilderness-condition made the colonists vigorous fighters against Satan, keeping them away from the mischief and vices of the world by forcing them to struggle with dangers and uncertainties. Samuel Danforth called these hardships a prerequisite of the "hedges of grace." Within these "hedges of grace at the end of the Jewish

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[3]Clinton Rossiter, "The American Mission," *The American Scholar* 20 (Winter 1950–1951):19–20.

[4]John Winthrop, "A Modell of Christian Charity . . ." (1630), in *Winthrop Papers* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929–1947), 2:294–95.

[5]Ibid.

world" the "vineyard of the Lord" could be safely attended to, and the world eventually must come to see that the New England Puritans alone were carrying on the difficult work of reformation without being distracted by more pleasant tasks.[6] The wilderness-metaphor invited frequent comparison with the people of Israel on the journey from the "house of bondage" into the "land of promise." The wilderness churches were compared with the tents or tabernacles of the Sinai desert.

Inevitably, this idea of Canaan came to represent the new land of promise, and "the City on the hill" founded in the New World suggested "Zion" and gradually came to be interpreted, in such Puritan writings as those of Edward Johnson, Samuel Sewall, Cotton Mather, and Jonathan Edwards, as an anticipation of the "New Jerusalem." Edward Johnson pointed out to his Puritan brethren in England that God's heralds had promised the New England immigrants that "this is the place where the Lord will create a new heaven and a new earth."[7] Samuel Sewall said in 1697 that "America's Name is to be seen fairly Recorded in Scripture," that the "New Jerusalem" will come down in "the Heart of America," that God prefers to "Tabernacle in our Indian Wigwam" rather than in the magnificent cathedrals of Europe, and that the spiritual body of Christ will rest his right foot in the American Zion.[8] Cotton Mather affirmed that "AMERICA is Legible" in the promises of the Old and New Testaments regarding the end of the world, the millennium, and the New Jerusalem.[9] Jonathan Edwards stated further that "AMERICA is that part of the world that is pointed out in the Revelation of GOD" for the latter-day events. Since the Old World saw the birth of Christ and the beginning of the Reformation, the New World will see the Second Coming. This restoration of the spiritual balance of the hemispheres, which completes Newton's physical and cosmic balance, means that the light of the world "shall rise in the west."[10]

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[6]See Samuel Danforth, "A Briefe Recognition of New-Englands Errand into the Wilderness" (Cambridge, Mass., 1671). (Sermon 11 March 1670.) Cf. Sacvan Bercovitch, *The Puritan Origins of the American Self* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1975), pp. 67–68.

[7]Edward Johnson, "Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Savior . . ." (London, 1654), in Perry Miller, ed., *The American Puritans: Their Prose and Poetry* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1956), p. 30.

[8]Samuel Sewall, *Phaenomena quaedam Apolcolyptica Ad Aspectum Novi Orbis configurata. Or, some few lines toward a description of the New Heaven, As It Makes to those who stand upon the New Earth* (Boston, 1697), 1-2 (Dedicatory Letter), A 2 vs, 37, 40. *Letters of Samuel Sewall* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society Sixth Series, 1886–1888), 1:177; 2:156, 201.

[9]Cotton Mather, "Theopolis Americana, An Essay . . . of Better Things to be yet Seen in the American World" (Boston, 1710), pp. 43–44.

[10]Jonathan Edwards, "Some Thoughts on the Revival of Religion in New England in 1740," in *Works* (New York, 1830), 4:132; 3:316, 376; "An Humble Attempt . . . for the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom on Earth Pursuant to Scripture-Promises and Prophecies Concerning the Last Time" (Boston, 1747), pp. 5, 169.

This apocalyptic and millennial conviction that the "New Jerusalem" was to be established in America remained fully alive into the beginning of the nineteenth century. It found many adherents among the preachers of the Revolutionary Period. Such millennialists as George Duffield, Samuel Hopkins, Joseph Bellamy, David Austin, and Elias Boudnot emphasized the contrast between the depravity and corruption of the Old World and–after the conversion of the Indians–the restoration of Eden in the unspoiled regions of the western world. It became fashionable among Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and other denominations to call America the "harbinger of the millennium." The historians also contributed to the trend by linking the New World in a historic continuum with the world of both the Old and New Testaments, thus turning typology into a historical sequence.[11]

Celebrations of America's future glory consistently emphasized that as the Old World was the scene of Christ's first appearance on the earth, so the New World, unspoiled and uncorrupted, would host the second. "Here," said George Duffield in his Thanksgiving Sermon of 1783,

> far removed from the noise and tumult of contending kingdoms and empires; far from the wars of Europe and Asia, and the barbarous African coast, here . . . shall our JESUS go forth conquering and to conquer; and the heathen be given him for an inheritance; and these uttermost parts of the earth, a possession. Zion shall here lengthen her cords, and strengthen her stakes; and the mountain of the house of the Lord be gloriously exalted on high. Here shall the religion of Jesus; . . . the pure and undefiled religion of our blessed Redeemer; here shall it reign in triumph, over all opposition. . . . And here shall the various ancient promises . . . and the light of divine revelation diffuse it's [sic] beneficent rays, till the gospel of Jesus have accomplished it's day, from east to west, around the world. A *day,* whose evening shall not terminate in night; but introduce that joyful period, when the outcasts of Israel, and the dispersed of Judah, shall be restored; and with them the fulness of the gentile world shall flow to the standard of redeeming love: And the nations of the earth, become the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour.[12]

To this point we have seen articulations of the idealistic, separatist, self-denying pole of America's sense of mission. It began in an

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[11]See Glenn Miller, " 'Fashionable to Prophesy': Presbyterians, the Millennium and the Revolution," *American Studies* 21 (1976):239–60.

[12]George Duffield, "Sermon on the Day [11 December 1783] appointed by the United States in Congress . . . to be observed as a day of thanksgiving, for the restoration of Peace" (Philadelphia, 1784), pp. 16–17. Mormons will recognize a more flowery version of the basic ideas of the tenth article of faith.

all-consuming conviction that America would be the triumphant proof of God's grand design for his faithful children, then became more inner-directed, focusing on God's choice of a particular group to become sanctified through a sacred struggle in a "wilderness." The rhetoric that followed was more forward-looking, stressing America's role in the fulfillment of millennial prophecy. But no matter how the expression varied, at the core of each restatement of the sense of mission was the sense of a solitary destiny that would eventually command the attention of the "wicked" nations of the world. As long as the emphasis was on God's will and on his unalterable providence, there were few direct efforts to bring others to an acknowledgment of America's superiority.

As nineteenth-century historical circumstances allowed the new nation to expand toward the Pacific Ocean, the American sense of mission took on an entirely new character. The passive, exemplary views of America's destiny gave way to an active, outward-reaching set of goals. Americans began to believe that the success of God's plan was largely up to them and that God should not have to wait any longer upon their agency. "Doing" replaced "being." It was no longer sufficient to be a light; it was necessary to enlighten. Though writers and orators retained basic religious terms as "Providence," "God," and "mission," the mission to exalt religion and religious obedience turned into the mission to exalt liberty and republicanism.[13] The sense of apocalyptic destiny was equated not with the literal establishment of a New Jerusalem but with man's ability to effect model political institutions derived from the principles of liberalism, republicanism, and federalism. By 1840, after several uninterrupted decades of successful economic development and territorial expansion, Americans had come to believe that their principles and institutions were so superior, morally and practically, as to guarantee their expansion into the adjacent territories that were ready to receive the divine spark. It became America's destiny now to spread freedom and federalism to other lands, often through stronger means than mere example. By 1900, Albert J. Beveridge could claim on behalf of the nation that God's hand was in "the eternal movement of the American people toward the mastery of the world."[14]

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[13]For a discussion of the development of the "civil religion" that basically substituted the nation for the church but continued to employ nondenominational religious imagery, see Conrad Cherry, *God's New Israel: Religious Interpretations of American Destiny* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), pp. 8–21.

[14]Albert J. Beveridge, "The Star of Empire," in *The Meaning of the Times and Other Speeches* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1908), p. 142.

II

Now that our discussion will allow us to put Mormon beliefs in the perspective of more general American thought, it might be well to begin our consideration of the Mormon sense of the American mission by abstracting some of its most important elements.[15] Readers acquainted with Mormon culture will already have noted many familiar aspects not only of the beliefs but also of the rhetoric and imagery we have alluded to so far. To my way of thinking, the most important components of the Mormon sense of the American mission are these:

1. God is the master of history and he has a design for the course of human events.
2. He may choose an agent or instrument to help him in the work.
3. He has chosen a particular group of people—in this case, the members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—as his principal agents.
4. The members of God's American Israel have covenanted with one another to act as a peculiar people, a people apart and different from but eager to be reunited with the rest of mankind, if the nations of the world accept the pure, true, and restored message.
5. Before this holy cause can become the cause of all mankind, his people must fulfill an errand into the wilderness, and, in this case, convert the Indians and make the wilderness blossom as a rose.
6. The establishment of Zion in the wilderness is the first step toward the establishment of Christ's kingdom on earth.
7. America is a sanctuary, a refuge, and an asylum.
8. America is destined to be the moral example of the world if it will only heed its responsibility to its moral traditions.

The eight characteristics of the Mormon sense of mission typify many of the most important aspects of the idealistic pole: isolation, a "wilderness-condition," pride in struggle, a conviction of being the vanguard of a moral superiority whose triumph is certain because it represents God's will. Mormons see themselves as a chosen people in the sense of a people singled out for a difficult task, not a people chosen to rule and prosper simply because they are the fortunate beneficiaries of arbitrary, divine favoritism. Initially it may seem surprising that we would align the Mormon philosophy with the idealistic,

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[15]Among the works I have consulted are Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957); Marvin S. Hill and James B. Allen, eds., *Mormonism and American Culture* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972); W. J. Whalen, *The Latter-day Saints in the Modern World: An Account of Contemporary Mormonism* (New York: John Day, 1964).

self-denying, exemplary pole of the American sense of mission rather than with the later, empire-building pole. The Church has, after all, established an extensive proselyting network in an effort to spread itself to all parts of the globe, and certainly Mormons accept the notion that the "chosen people" must bring to pass the designs of God through their own efforts rather than just waiting in passive anticipation for the fulfillment of prophecy. But even though the Mormon church shows some kinships with the active pole, important distinctions remain. Its hoped-for worldwide growth rests finally on the assumption that, with sufficient information and spiritual enlightenment, new members will be drawn into the Church through example. The spiritual awakening will happen because it is part of God's design and because the example of Mormonism will be irresistible. Unlike the "active" sense of mission that underlay nineteenth-century expansionism, Mormon attitudes do not countenance force, financial pressure, or hard diplomacy as appropriate means for spreading Mormonism.

The entire "wilderness-experience" component has a unique coloring in Mormon tradition. John Cotton, Thomas Shepard, Peter Bulkeley, Increase and Cotton Mather, and other Puritan divines gave great importance to the notion of the wilderness, derived from the early days of Protestantism. The Lollards of the thirteenth century, the friends of Wyclif, the Waldensians, the Hutterites, and many other reform groups were fond of the idea that truth could be restored only by following God's call into the wilderness. However, with civilization evident on every hand, the wilderness concept in these earlier contexts obviously had to take on a meaning that was mainly figurative: the wilderness was mental or spiritual, a symbolic separation from established corruption, a new beginning as if on untried, still-sanctified soil. But the Americans, and particularly the Mormons, were under no such pressure to turn the wilderness into a merely metaphorical one; the wilderness was as literally true for them as it had been for the people of Israel on their way through the deserts toward the land of promise. Metaphor became a historical and geographical reality that perfectly supported the Mormons' view of themselves as a people especially chosen to be tried, a people set apart for a holy struggle that would establish their divine merit in the eyes of the world.[16]

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[16]In the Book of Mormon the Mormon people already have an archetype of America as a haven of safety for chosen wanderers. The Book of Mormon "wilderness struggle" of the people of Jared and Lehi are not struggles against great physical odds, however. They are meant to stress the moral responsibility of the inhabitants of the "chosen land." The repeated message is that a people chosen by God for his errands will be safe and happy if they remain obedient.

The Mormon church stands today as a preserver of many original aspects of the American sense of mission which have now been transformed or dropped by most other Americans, claiming as their own certain convictions that were once widespread among all Americans. In many respects, the American sense of mission has become the Mormon sense of mission. For example, though nineteenth-century spokesmen began to dilute the Christian sense of expectancy and to make the coming of Christ synonymous with (or just symbolic of) a gradual achievement of political perfection, the Mormon church has continued to put forth the idea that, under the custodianship of the Mormon priesthood, America will be the literal site of Christ's second coming. And present-day Mormons are comfortable with explicit claims, reminiscent of Puritan statements,[17] that the American continent is consecrated especially for them, that the entire momentum of the discovery, settlement, and prosperity of the United States was set in motion to enable the founding of the Mormon church.[18] Mormons are likely to accept in a way that other Americans have not since the eighteenth century the notion that America is a "nation under God," a special place, providentially chosen as a refuge for the faithful who have been called to advance His work and bring closer the latter-day events that will inaugurate Christ's reign on earth, a literal reign that is more than just the culmination of the progressive movement toward perfection and the peaceful unification of mankind.

Public declarations of the American sense of mission, perhaps under the impact of Viet Nam, Watergate, and vocal foreign criticism, have today dropped much of their religious rhetoric and prideful allusion. There is less talk of America's role as the "conscience" or "light" or "hope" of the world, or of its call to be a "redeemer nation." There is even less reference to America's "high destiny" when that supposed destiny might disguise a wish to control another area or people. Instead, there is more talk of international partnership, cooperation, and world federalism based on a common recognition of human needs and human rights. The national holidays still call forth a display of much of the traditional rhetoric, but the "language of Canaan," so dominant in colonial election sermons, or even

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[17]Edwards, "Some Thoughts . . .," in *Works,* 4:128–33: "This new world is probably now discovered, that the new and most glorious state of God's church on earth might commence there."

[18]See, for example, Ezra Taft Benson's statement in the address previously cited: "Yes, the Lord planned it all. Why? So America could serve as a beacon of liberty and in preparation for the opening of a new gospel dispensation–the last and greatest of all dispensations in preparation for the second coming of the Lord Jesus Christ" (pp. 103–104). The Book of Mormon, in addition, refers to the discovery and eventual prosperity of the New World in the context of divine, long-term intention (see 1 Nephi 13:12–20).

as recently as in John F. Kennedy's inaugural references to "trumpet summons" and "the burden of a long twilight struggle . . . knowing that here on earth God's work must be truly our own"[19] has given way to a language that has altered the religious imagery in such a way that it can accommodate all religious beliefs, reducing the stream of American exceptionalism to a mere trickle.

What is to happen? Has the sense of mission dissipated itself into ineffective platitude? Has the call to the chosen few now become so inclusive as to be meaningless? After all, much of the momentum and compelling force of the American sense of mission grew from the fact that those who preached and espoused it felt themselves singled out as privileged participants in a divinely ordained drama; clearly, now that the rhetoric has expanded to encompass the pluralism of American society, the distinctive honor of participation is gone, and with it much of the evangelical vitality of the cause.

One scholar, however, has suggested that a new and more positive self-image is about to emerge for America, that "by the decade of the 1980's there will have developed a definition of America's mission more limited than that of the nineteenth century but less limited and less negative than that of the Cold War era."[20] If this is correct–if America is about to waken from a slumber of overcaution and self-doubt–then perhaps Mormons, as determined preservers of the sense of mission and its accompanying rhetoric, can be one source of America's new confidence and self-respect. Along with many other friends of America, I offer the hope that Americans, whatever their religious beliefs, may indeed feel this rise in confidence and idealism. The New World, after all, is a setting that has allowed for a totally different course of events, rooted often in revolution and self-sacrifice, than has been seen anywhere else in the world. People of good will everywhere hope that the evolving American sense of mission will reflect a desire to build upon a remarkable past in order to serve as a model to the people of the world.

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[19]John F. Kennedy, Inaugural Address, 20 January 1961, in *The Kennedy Reader,* ed. Jay Daniel (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967).

[20]Ernest R. May, "America's Destiny in the Twentieth Century," *American Civilization: A Portrait from the Twentieth Century,* ed. Daniel Boorstin (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), p. 332.

The Historians Corner

Edited by James B. Allen

Every time we look at a new diary, reminiscence, or other "eye-witness" account of something that happened in the past, not only do we learn something new but we also get a new perception. And this is why the continued study of history is so fascinating. We realize that no matter what our present perception is, new information and new insights into the perspectives of others results in continuing growth and change in our own understanding of the past.

The documents presented in this issue of "The Historians Corner" may provide such new perceptions for many. First, we present a most interesting reminiscence of a Shaker who had a confrontation with some of the earliest Mormon missionaries in Ohio. Though his comments are not necessarily favorable to the Church, the account is significant for it represents how others viewed the Mormons at the time. Particularly interesting are his comments on Sidney Rigdon, who had just recently been converted and who became one of the greatest preachers in the Church in the 1830s, and Leman Copley, who was formerly a Shaker, then a Mormon, and eventually went back to his old religion. The journal from which this is taken is in the Shaker Museum, Old Chatham, New York, but Dr. Lawrence Flake was given a copy of the entry to submit for publication.

The second item, which actually consists of two related documents, should prove of special interest to students of Utah history. The story of the 1858 "Move South" as Johnston's Army approached Salt Lake City is well known, and yet few diary accounts of that event have been made generally available to readers. The detailed reminiscence of a faithful Saint together with the very sketchy day-to-day diary entries of a bishop who was one of the organizers and leaders of the move provide two different perspectives that are most helpful in understanding both the attitudes and experiences of those who participated.

A SHAKER VIEW OF A MORMON MISSION

Lawrence R. Flake

"You're not the first Mormon missionaries to visit the Shakers," declared the crusty old curator of the Shaker Museum in Old Chatham, N.Y. The two elders were laboring in the Albany district of the Eastern States Mission, where I was serving as their supervising elder in the fall of 1961. I listened with great interest as they enthusiastically related how the old man had gone into another room for a few minutes and emerged clutching a timeworn volume handwritten by one of the early Shakers.

The missionaries told me that the curator read to them with considerable relish an account of Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, Leman Copley, and Parley P. Pratt's visits to the Shaker village of North Union near Kirtland, Ohio. The elders could not recall many details of the story, except that the brethren had carried with them a revelation from the Lord to be read to the Shakers and that when their message was rejected the missionaries shook off the dust of their coats as a testimony against the villagers.[1]

My curiosity was stirred and I determined to examine the volume for myself. My desire was not realized until ten years later when I returned to New York state as the director of the Institute of Religion at Cornell University. The book in question turned out to be Elisha D. Blakeman's Journal and contained the interesting account which follows.

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[1]See D&C 49:1–4.

A MORMON INTERVIEW.

Copied from Brother Ashbel Kitchell's[2]
Pocket Journel.–(By E.D.B.) [Elisha D. Blakeman][3]

Some time in the year 1829 the new religion, (if so it may be called,) of the Mormons began to make a stir in a town not far from North Union.[4] It created a good deal of excitement among the people. They stated they had received a New Revelation, had seen an angel, & had been instructed into many things in relation to the history of America, that was not known before.

Late in the fall a number of them came to visit the Believers. One by the name of Oliver Lowdree [Cowdery], who stated that he had been one who had been an assistant in the translation of the *golden Bible,* and had also seen the Angel, and had been commissioned by him to go out & bear testimony, that God would destroy this generation.

We gave him liberty to bear his testimony in our meeting; but finding he had nothing for us, we treated them kindly, and labored to find out what manner of spirit they were of.–They appeared meek and mild; but as for light, or knowledge of the way of God, I considered them very ignorant of Christ or his work; therefore I treated them with the tenderness of children.

They tarried with us two nights & one day, and when they were ready to start they proposed to leave some of their Books among us, to which we consented, and they left seven, which we distributed among the people; but they were soon returned as not interesting enough to keep them awake while reading. After some months they called for them & took them away, except one which was given me a present.–They appeared to have full faith in the virtue of their Books, that whoever would read them, would feel so thoroughly convinced of the truth of what they contained, that they would be unable to resist, and finally would be obliged

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[2]Ashbel Kitchell was the organizer of the North Union community and "first elder" of the Shaker group from 1826 to 1831. He was apparently an imposing man as gathered from this description of him:

> [Ashbel Kitchell] . . . was above medium height, large head, self esteem quite prominent, veneration large, large ears and eyes, deep and broad across the chest and shoulders, corpulent, weighing about two hundred and fifty pounds, and of a dignified and commanding appearance. . . . Under his administration the community was organized and greatly prospered. . . . This growth was largely due to his practical business methods and indomitable will. Decision being a prominent feature of his mind, he never faltered. His word was law, and when he willed to do a thing, it was done without question. . . . In his discourse his favorite theme was a Mother in Deity, which he handled with power, and at times was carried beyond himself. Although he reproved sin and disorder with severity, yet he was tender-hearted, sympathetic and easily touched by the sorrows and griefs of those around him. In all his dealings with mankind he was no flatterer, but open, frank, generous and candid. (Quoted in J. P. MacLean, *Shakers of Ohio* [Cincinnati: F. J. Heer, 1907], pp. 171–72.)

[3]Elisha D. Blakeman, a Shaker of Mt. Lebanon, Ohio, copied Ashbel Kitchell's Pocket Journal in August 1856. Blakeman later left the Shaker movement. (Robert F. W. Meader, director of the Shaker Museum, Old Chatham, N.Y., to Richard L. Anderson, 26 August 1968.)

[4]The year 1829 should probably be 1830 because in the fall of that year Oliver Cowdery, Parley P. Pratt, Peter Whitmer, and Ziba Peterson undertook the first extended mission of this dispensation. As they passed through Northern Ohio, they preached to the Campbellites (including Sidney Rigdon) at Kirtland near North Union, Ohio. This proselytizing is undoubtedly the "stir" to which Kitchell was referring.

to unite with them. They thot [*sic*] it prudent to wait on us a while for the leaven to work, so that things moved on smoothly for sometime, and we had time for reflection. I believed that I should one day have to meet them and decide the matter; and, least I should do any thing that should injure the cause of God, or bring weakness on myself I wrote home for council [*sic*]; but could obtain none, for the case was new and none were acquainted with it in the Church, therefore they could give no council, and they left me to exercise my judgment.–For some time I felt some straitened, not knowing what course to take. At length I concluded that I was dedicated and entirely devoted to God, & desired to do what was right; that if God had any hand in that work, he would inform me by some means, that I might know what to do, either by letting me have an interview with the angel, or by some other means give me knowledge of my duty.

In this situation I remained for a long time, occasionally hearing that they expected to come after a while and lead us into the water. We continued on friendly terms in the way of trade and other acts of good neighborship untill [*sic*] the spring of 1831 when we were visited on saturday evening by Sidney Rigdon and Leman Copley,[5] the latter of whom had been among us; but not likeing [*sic*]

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[5]Leman Copley, who joined the Church in March 1831, was formerly a member of the Shakers–so named because of their demonstrative form of worship. Founded in England, this sect, to avoid persecution, made its way to America under the leadership of their spiritual "mother," Ann Lee, who they believed was Christ in his second appearance. Once baptized, Leman desired to return to the Shakers and preach the restored gospel. (John Whitmer, The Book of John Whitmer, microfilm of holograph, Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, p. 39.) Of this conversion and proposed mission, the Prophet Joseph Smith wrote the following:

> At about this time came Leman Copley, one of the sect called Shaking Quakers, and embraced the fulness of the everlasting Gospel, apparently honest-hearted, but still retaining the idea that the Shakers were right in some particulars of their faith. In order to have more perfect understanding on the subject, I inquired of the Lord. (Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* ed. B. H. Roberts, 2nd ed. rev., 7 vols. [Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1932–1951], 1:167; hereafter cited as *HC.*)

As a result of this inquiry, Joseph Smith received the revelation recorded in section 49 of the Doctrine and Covenants, wherein the Lord directed Sidney Rigdon, Parley P. Pratt, and Leman Copley to preach the gospel to the Shakers. John Whitmer reported:

> The above-named brethren went and proclaimed [the gospel] according to the revelation given them, but the Shakers hearkened not to their words and received not the Gospel at that time, for they are bound in tradition and priestcraft; and thus they are led away with foolish and vain imaginations (Whitmer, Book of John Whitmer, p. 20).

Parley P. Pratt's autobiography confirms the outcome of this encounter:

> Some time in March, I was commanded of the Lord, in connection with S. Rigdon and L. Copley, to visit a people called the Shakers, and preach the gospel unto them.
>
> We fulfilled this mission, as we were commanded, in a settlement of this strange people, near Cleveland, Ohio; but they utterly refused to hear or obey the gospel. (Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt,* ed. Parley P. Pratt, Jr. [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1938], p. 61.)

Shortly after the gospel message was rejected by the Shakers, Leman Copley returned to their Society and asked for fellowship. In June of that same year, Brother Copley caused a great stir among the Saints in Thompson, Ohio, where he lived. These Saints had been instructed to enter the law of consecration. Brother Copley, who owned a large tract of land there, had agreed to follow this counsel but broke the covenant. As a consequence of this contention, the revelation in section 54 of the Doctrine and Covenants was given, directing the Saints of Thompson to move to Missouri.

In his history, Brother Whitmer wrote: "At this time the Church at Thompson, Ohio, was involved in difficulty because of the rebellion of Leman Copley, who would not do as he had previously

the cross[6] any to [*sic*] well, had taken up with Mormonism as the easier plan and had been appointed by them as one of the missionaries to convert us.

They tarried all night, and in the course of the evening, the doctrines of the cross and the Mormon faith were both investigated; and we found that the life of ~~Christ~~ selfdenial corresponded better with the life of Christ, than Mormonism, the said Rigdon frankly acknowledged, but said he did not bear that cross, and did not expect to.–At this assertion I set him without the paling of the Church, and told him I could not look on him as a Christian.–Thus the matter stood and we retired to rest, not knowing that they had then in possession what they called a revelation or message from Jesus Christ to us, which they intended to deliver to day (sabbath.) and which they supposed would bring us to terms.

Sabbath morning, matters moved on pleasantly in sociable chat with the Brethren, untill I felt to give them all some council, which was for neither to force their doctrine on the other at this time; but let the time be spent in feeling of the spirit, as it was Rigdon's first visit, for it might be possible that he would yet see that the foundation he was now on, was sandy, as well as those he had been on, while professing the various doctrines of the day; and if he should, he might desire to find a resting place–something substantial to place his feet on, where he would be safe; therefore I wished him to know what we had, and by what spirit we were moved, &c.

He said he would subject himself to the order of the place, and I left them. A little before meeting, another one came from the Mormon camp as an assistant, by the name of Parley Pratt. He called them out, and enquired [*sic*] how they had got along? and was informed by Rigdon and Leman, that I had bound them to silence, and nothing could be done. Parley told them to pay no attention to me, for they had come with the authority of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the people must hear it, &c.

They came into meeting and sat quietly untill the meeting was through, and the people dismissed; when Sidney Rigdon arose and stated that he had a message from the Lord Jesus Christ to this people; could he have the privilege of delivering it? He was answered, he could. He then said it was in writing; could he read it? He was told he might. He then read the following Message. [The text of D & C, section 49, is here quoted with only a few minor wording changes from the way it appears in the Book of Commandments, chapter 52.]

At the close of the reading, he asked if they could be permitted to go forth in the exercise of their gift and office.–I told him that the piece he had read, bore on its face, the image of its author; that the Christ that dictated that, I was well acquainted with, and had been, from a boy; that I had been much troubled to get rid of his influence, and I wished to have nothing more to do with him; and as for any gift he had authorized them to exercise among us, I would release them &

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agreed, which thing confused the whole church" (Whitmer, Book of John Whitmer, ch. 8). Sometime between 1831 and 1836, Copley was excommunicated from the Church, as the Prophet Joseph's journal entry for 1 April 1836 reveals:

> Many brethren called to see me, . . . among the number was Leman Copley, who testified against me in a suit I brought against Dr. Philastus Hurlburt for threatening my life. He confessed that he bore a false testimony against me in that suit . . . and asked my forgiveness, which was readily granted. He also wished to be received into the Church again, by baptism, and was received according to his desire. (*HC,* 2:433.)

[6]In Shaker parlance, the "cross" referred to their practice of celibacy.

their Christ from any further burden about us, and take all the responsibility on myself.

Sidney made answer–This you ~~are~~ cannot do; I wish to hear the people speak. I told him if he desired it, they could speak for themselves, and steped [*sic*] back and told them to let the man know how they felt; which they did in something like these words; that they were fully satisfied with what they had, and wished to have nothing to do with either them or their Christ. On hearing this Rigdon professed to be satisfied, and put his paper by; but Parley Pratt arose and commenced shakeing [*sic*] his coattail; he said he shook the dust from his garments as a testimony against us, that we had rejected the word of the Lord Jesus.

Before the words were out of his mouth, I was to him, and said;–You filthy Beast, dare you presume to come in here, and try to imitate a man of God by shaking your filthy tail; confess your sins and purge your soul from your lusts, and your other abominations before you ever presume to do the like again, &c. While I was ministering this reproof, he settled trembling into his seat, and covered his face; and I then turned to Leman who had been crying while the message was reading, and said to him, you hypocrite, you knew better;–you knew where the living work of God was; but for the sake of indulgence, you could consent to deceive yourself and them, but you shall reap the fruit of your own doings, &c.– This struck him dead also, and dryed up his tears;–I then turned to the Believers and said, now we will go home and started.–Sidney had been looking on all this time without saying a word; as he had done all he did only by liberty nothing was said to him, and he looked on with a smile to see the fix the others were in, but they all followed us to the house.–Parleys horse had not been put away, as he came too late; he mounted and started for home without waiting for any one.– Sidney stayed for supper, and acknowledged that we were the purest people he had ever been acquainted with but he was not prepared to live such a life.

He was treated kindly and let go after supper.–But Leman tarried all night and started for home in the morning.

He had a large farm, and about 100 Mormons were living with him, on it. When he got home, he found the Mormons had rejected him, & could not own him for one of them, because he had deceived them with the idea of converting us. He felt very bad;–was not able to rest;–came back to us and begged for union.

After some consultation we concluded to give him union, and help him through; and to accomplish this, I went home with him, and held a meeting in the dooryard, among the Mormons; but few of them attended. They appeared to be struck with terror and fear lest some of them might get converted; but they could not get out of hearing, without leaving the place, so that I found that they understood the subject.–I stayed over night, and in the morning I had conversation with the Elder, whose name was Knight [Newel K. Knight].

In the course of the conversation, I stirred the feelings of an old man, that proved to be the Elder's Father [Joseph Knight, Sr.], which so raised the indignation of the Elder that he let on me his heaviest mettels [*sic*]; he poured it on at the top of his voice, and wound up by informing me that unless I repented I should go to *Hell*! I waited with patience until he was thro', and then asked him if he would hear me;–to which he consented.

I told him if the words he had spoken had come from a man of God they would have caused my knees to have smote together like Belshazers, but coming as they did from a man that lived in his lusts–who gratified a beastly propensity,

and often in a manner that was far below the beasts, and at the same time professing to be a follower of Christ, his words had no weight, but passed by me without makeing [*sic*] any impression.

I then gave him a lecture on the subject of the cross, and a life of self denyal [*sic*] which was fully satisfying to all present, who had the right end of the story.– I stayed all day, and assisted them to settle their affairs.–I wrote for them two or three hours; and after I was thro' I took hold of the Elder and walked the floor, amuseing [*sic*] him with a number of pleasant things; and lastly I repeated part of a verse of an old hymn, which reads thus,

"But now as I close
One thing I'll propose
To the man that salvation would find
No longer put your trust,
In a man that lives in lust,
For how can the blind lead the blind."

At the recital of these words, he loosened his hold and made for the door, and here ended my labors for the Mormons for that time.

Ashbel Kitchel.

THE MILLER, THE BISHOP, AND THE "MOVE SOUTH"

William G. Hartley

When approximately 30,000 Saints deserted their homes during the 1858 "Move South," most of their wagons contained sacks or boxes of wheat. In case Church leaders ordered torches and axes put to the fields and orchards north of Utah County to keep them from the hands of the U.S. Army Utah Expedition, the wheat supply would feed the refugees until new crops could be grown somewhere. As the endless stream of wagons rolled south from Great Salt Lake City along the State Road, one wagon after another stopped at a newly erected gristmill on Big Cottonwood Stream. Gladly the uprooted Saints paid miller Archibald Gardner to grind their wheat into flour. Among the millhands whom Archibald Gardner hired to help serve this sudden flood of customers was Warren Foote, a resident of Union. Brother Foote, later a pioneer in the Muddy Mission and leader in Kanab, recorded his reactions to his six or seven weeks of around-the-clock mill work. Particularly noteworthy are his concluding estimates of the huge quantity of wheat that the Gardner millstones "floured."

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Not too far from the busy Gardner gristmill on State Road, Acting Bishop Joseph Harker prepared his West Jordan Ward members to vacate their properties. The short and direct daily entries of the bishop's diary show us quickly what day-by-day work the four months (March to July) of preparing, relocating, and returning required. Repairing wagons took much time. So did finding cattle. Bishop Harker made a scouting trip south to find a new location for his ward members. Then, relocated at Pondtown (Salem), they and he built shelters and corrals, planted crops, and erected a schoolhouse–in case the "Move South" proved to be of long duration. Joseph Harker, like Warren Foote, returned to home and work that summer. A year later Brother Harker was replaced as bishop of West Jordan by Archibald Gardner, owner of the mill which employed Warren Foote.

The originals of both of these documents are located in the Historical Department of the Church. The Foote record is handwritten in the back section of a diary book containing an earlier Foote diary and labelled on the cover "Emigrating Company Book." The bishop's handwritten diary is sandwiched in between family records in an oversized book called "Joseph Harker's Journal and Family Record Book, 1818–1895," and the excerpt included here is from pages 66–68. Both documents are reproduced by permission of the Church Archivist.

EXTRACT FROM WARREN FOOTE'S JOURNAL

March 1858. The forepart of this month it was the general talk among the Saints in Salt Lake, Davis and Weber Counties, that they would have to Move enmasse to the south, in consequence of Johnston's Army, which is camped at Green River, and are determed to come into the Valley this spring, or at least attemped to do so. Archibald Gardner hired me to run his Grist Mill located on the State road six miles south of Salt Lake City. I was to commence work on Monday the 22 of March. I was living in Union. I went down to the Mill early in the morning and as I went into the house, bro. Gardner and his family were eating breakfast. The first thing he said to me was, "Well, brother Foote, we have got to leave here. President Young preached yesterday at the Tabernacle, that he thought it best to move southward and, and if the United States were determined to send their army into the Valley without some treaty or agreement we will burn our houses, cut down our orchards, and make the country desolate as it was when we came here. He then called for a vote of the congregation. They all voted, aye. He then said that he wanted the poor to be helped first, and to begin tomorrow, and get into Utah County at least. He wanted the people to get all their wheat floured, and packed into boxes and hauled away." This is about what we have been looking for, for some time, consequently we were in a measure prepared for it. I went into the mill and commenced putting it in good order for business,

expecting to be crowded in a few days. James C. Walker, who had been working for bro. Gardner was hired to assist me. He was a young man and had never worked at milling. I soon found him to be a good careful hand. In a few days the State road was lined with teams, loaded with families and provisions, going Southward, and within a week our large Mill was filled full of grists of wheat to be ground and packed. It required two more hands to help in the mill—one to help James, and one to help me. We ground on an average from 14 to 16 bushels an hour day and night, and then could not keep up with the custom. At one time there was hundreds of bushels stored in the barn close by. This was a very hard time for me. I had to do all the dressing of the burrs, (two run) and run the mill half the day and half the night besides. But I seemed to be strengthend for the task. I worked about 16 hours in 24. This rush continued about 6 or 7 weeks. We ground thousands of bushels of wheat the flour of which was hauled southward. Bro. A. Gardner declared that the mill was inspired, for he never had seen a mill grind so before. But I think the inspiration was caused by a powerful waterwheel, and plenty of water, and in keeping the millstones sharp. But I acknowledge ~~that~~ the hand of God in giving me strength to perform the labor I did, and preventing accidents to the machinery &c.

Teams were constantly on the road going and coming from the south, day and night. Some went as far as Fillmore, but the greater part stopped in Utah county. As the last families were about moving from Union I took my family to American Fork. I was absent from the mill two days. A. Gardner moved his family to Spanish Fork, and James C. Walker and myself were left alone at the mill. About three weeks after I had taken my family to American Fork, I went there, and moved them to Dry Creek, four or five miles below Mountainville, with some other families who were camped there.

There were no families left in any of the settlements, but the mails were still carried regularly in Utah I was Postmaster at Union, and after the folks had all left there I requested the mail carrier to stop at the mill. I took out the mail for Union, and sent it to the places where the Union folks were camped. The most of them were camped at Spring Lake; afterwards called Spring Lake Villa.

After the grinding slacked up at the Mill, I went to the City one day to look around. The City was as still as death—not a woman or child to be seen. Occasionly I saw a lone man walking the streets like a lonely sentinal. Grass was growing in the deserted door yards and streets, I had strange feelings and reflections. What had become of all those merry children who were wont to play in those deserted dooryards and streets? What had become of the blooming maidens, and the joyful young men who once promenaded these now desolated streets? Where are the middle aged, who once caused this City to resound with the busy hum of industry? Also the aged, who once leisurely walked these streets leaning upon the staff? What had caused all this terrible desolation? What has this people done that they must be harrassed, and persecuted in such a manner? What law have they broken?

The answer is, They have broken no law. They have not done anything that can justify the great Government of the United States in sending an army here to destroy us. The fact is the government has been deceived through the lying reports of their Judges, and being urged on by wicked and designing men who assured the President that the "Mormons" were in open rebellion against the Government, and was establishing an independant government of their own.

After viewing the loneliness of the City I went to the Post Office. The new Postmaster had arrived with the Eastern mail. I found several books in the office

for me which I had sent for some time ago. I found Mr. Morrell, the new P.M. very sociable. On learning that I was Postmaster of Union he inquired of me the the situation of the various Post Offices, esspecially those having local names different from the names of the post offices.

Soon after my return from moving my family to Dry Creek Utah Co. the two Peace Commisioners arrived in Salt Lake City. President Young with other authorities of the Church met them there to hold a conference with them. Bro. A. Gardner, happened to be at the mill at the time. He went to Salt Lake City to attend the Conference. But their meeting was held with closed doors, and he did not get in. On his return to the mill that night, he reported to us, that he interviewed George A. Smith, who told him, that they had a pretty warm meeting, and it looked very doubtful about peaceably settling matters, and it looked as though we would have to burn everything and flee to the mountains. On the second day's meeting, matters took a more favorable turn, and before night the treaty of peace was signed. This was joyful news to the Saints. I took my team and started immediately after my family. I started from the mill about sundown, and reached their camp a little after sunrise. I told my wife I had come to move her home. It was with a glad heart that she heard the joyful news. I moved her to the Mill till the Union folks returned, then I moved her to our home in Union.

We all felt truly thankful to get home again, and praised the Lord for His mercies to us, in softening the hearts of our enemies, and overruling all things for our good.

General Johnston established his camp in Cedar Valley and named it Camp Floyd. Day after day for several days their baggage and provision trains, hauled by 4 and 5 yoke of oxen passed the Mill on their way to ~~to~~ Camp Floyd. As they ascended the hill south of the Cottonwood bridge, I could hear their teamsters crack their big whips, and yell out, "Get up there Brigham," "Get up there Heber" &c. They had named their oxen after our leading brethren, in derision. These yells were generally accompanied with profanity.

Peace being now restored the people returned to their homes, and settled down again to their daily avocations. In consequence of moveing there had not been as much grain and vegetables planted as usual, and what was put in, had not received much care, and the prospect now was, that the crops would be very light. But the most of the people had enough breadstuff ground up to do them a year, but it was all in the South, consequently they were obliged to haul it back.

I will now make an estimate of the amount of flour made, and hauled south, from the Cottonwood Mills during the six or seven weeks in the beginning of the "Move."

As has been stated we ground from 14 to 16 bus. per hour day and night, and made on an average 38 lbs to the bushel. The amount of flour ground in 24 hours would be– (say 15 bus wheat ground per hour, and 38 lbs of flour per bus.) 13680 lbs. One week's grinding (6 days.) would be 82080 lbs.

Six weeks grinding would be; 492480 lbs. or 24624 tons. Now, as a ton was about as much as one span of horses, or one yoke of oxen could haul at a load, it is very easy to be seen how many loads of flour was hauled south from this one mill. At this time very few persons owned more than one span of horses, or one yoke of oxen.

How much was hauled from other mills I do not know. But as the Cottonwood Mills was situated on the State road I presume that we done the greater part of the grinding.

Now as the greater part of this flour had to be hauled back again, it can be seen what a vast amount of labor the "Big Move" cost, say nothing about the moving of families and household goods. All this labor was performed willingly, apparently, as I heard no one murmer or complain.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF JOSEPH HARKER

March 21 I went to Herriman and heald two meeting at night I met with the Brethern at the mill Branch the word came for to Leave the Valley

March 22 I was at home with my family a Snowy day

March 23 I went to the City to see Bishop Hunter on bisness of the Ward

March 24 I went to the Bishops meeting

March 25 I was ploughing in evening I was at the mill Branch the Brethern wished the Ward to move togather

March 26 I was repearing my waggon

27 I was repearing my waggon

March 28 I was at a meeting in the Schoolhouse

March 29 I was repearing my waggon

March 30 I was at the Bishops meeting in the City

March 31 I was repearing my waggon for moveing South my family

April 1 I was at the mills Branch meeting and made arangements to move the poor of the Ward South

April 2 I was repearing my waggon

April 3 I was repearing my waggon

April 4 I met with the Teachers At the mill Branch

April 5 I was repearing my waggons

April 6 I was called up before day to go out to meet our enemys I made ready and went to the City Prest Young Said we Should move South and leave our homes to make our enemys the agressers all the time

April 7 I was at mill I called at Wm Hickmans to do some bisness on way home

April 8 I was hunting Cattle

April 9 I was repearing my waggons I Wrote a Letter to F.D. Richards to have Samel Bennion Released from his milatary Dueties to move his family south

April 10 I was planting Potatoes

April 11 I was at meeting in the City

April 13 I was repearing my waggons and I called at Wm Hickmans

April 14 I Started out with S Bennion and Wm Hickman to look out a location for the Ward at night we stoped at Springvill

April 15 We went over to Spanish fork and Pontown and found farming land and a good range for Cattle and night we Stoped at Provoo with W.G. Smith we came home from Provoo and we met Some Thousand teams

April 17 and 18 It was Rainey days

April 19 I was at the City on bisness

April 20 the Ward turned out to hunt Stray Cattle, at night I had two horses foundered with eating bran

April 21 I was Sick in bed

April 22 I was making waggon bows

April 23 I was at Alx Becsteads mending waggons

April 24 I was at Alx becksteads mending waggons
April 25 I was at home no meeting
April 26 I was helping J Bennion to wash Sheep
April 27 I was Shearring Sheep
April 28 I was shereing Sheep
April 30 I was repeairing my waggons
May 1 I Started with my Wife Eliza to move South with her Children we traveled 28 miles
May 2 we traveled 24 miles and camped at Pontown the wether is fine I laid of a place for the Ward to camp on and a correll and commenced to dig a house in the Bank for my family
May 4 I Returned for the Rest of my family
May 5 I was at Salt Lake City
May 6 I was a Loading my waggon
May 7 I was hunting a hefer
May 8 I left my home with my family and camped at the warm-spring near the point of mountins
May 9 We traveled 20 miles and camped on Provoo bench
May 10 We traveled 22 miles and camped with Ward in Pontown City my Wife was very sick
May 11 in the evening we held a meeting and made some arangement for making a correl and heard my own Cattle Bro. Harris had left the Ward and I chose Wm Hickman in his place
May 12 we went into the Kanyon to get poles for a correl
May 13 was making a cerrel
May 14 I was making arangements for to start a Ward heard
May 15 I was hunting cattle and hearding
May 16 we apointed a capt of the gard and heard
May 17 I was at the Spanish fork planting potatoes and seeds
May 18 I was at the Kanyon hauling ples [poles]
May 19 I was makeing a correl
May 20 I was planting peas and beets
May 21 I was explouring the Kanyon for water for the Cattle
May 22 I was at the Kanyon
May 23 I was at the meeting
May 24 I was at work getting water out of the Kanyon for the Cattle to drink
May 25 I was covering my shanty
M 26 I was fixing my shanty
M 27 I was at the Kanyon
May 28 I was ploughing at Spanish fork
M 29 I started to Provoo and met Wm Hickman turned back with him
May 30 I was at meeting a good Spirit prevailed
May 31 I was Planting Potatoes
June 1 I was in the Kanyon getting logs
June 2 I was puting up a School House in Pontown
June 3 I was in the Kanyon getting logs
June 4 I was repearing my waggon
June 5 I was at work on the Schoolhouse
June 6 I was at meeting Preaching by Orson Hide, W. Woodruff Bishop Smoot was ordained Bishop over the Pontown Ward

June 7 I was repeairing my waggon in the evening I was at Ward meeting to do some bisness the Bishop left Brother Eldrege and me to attend to the bisness his family was sick

June 8 and 9 I was repearing my waggon

June 10 I was in the Kanyon getting logs to make a bowery

June 11 I was at work on the bowery

June 12 I was at work on the bowery

June 13 I was at meeting

June 14 I went to Spanish fork to water my Potatoes

June 15 I started to West Jordan Ward with orders to move the families

June 16 I visited the families and found them very loaffull [loathful?] to leave

June 17 I came home in a heavy rain

June 18 and 19 I was at home

June 20 I was out with the Bretheren hunting a range for the Cattle

June 21 I was at meeting

June 22 we moved our camp to the south end of Utah lake

June 23 I was loading my waggon

June 24 I was hauling logs from Pontown

June 25 I was makeing a shanty for my family

June 26 I was at home with my family

June 27 I was at home with my family

June 28 I was at meeting I was apointed by a vote of the meeting to act as Bishop of the camp

June 29 I was helping to move our Schoolhouse from Pontown

June 30 I was hunting my calf

July 1 I attended a council at the Indian farm at Spanish fork Governor Commings made a treaty with Indians

July 2 I was mending my waggons

July 3 We returned home to our farms

July 4 Returned home this morning we had lost some of our Cattle we traveled 18 miles.

July 5 this morning we lost four Horses

July 6 We arived Safe home in good halth

July 7 I was makeing a mud work

July 8 I was makeing a mud work and planting Potatoes

July 9 I was makeing a mud work

July 10 I was makeing a mud work

July 11 I was harvisting Wheat

July 12 I was at home no meeting

July 13 I was harvesting Wheat 3 days

July 16 I was at work at home

July 17 I was at work at home

July 18 I was makeing a mud work

July 19 I was at the mill Branch meeting

Black Hole

Marden J. Clark

Is that what you wanted? An ultimate image
Of diabolic deity?
Take a star–not ours, thank God–
But a star, minimum two-and-a-half times ours
Or maximum twenty. Let it be born of cosmic dust,
Collapse to red giant, then shrink to live its normal active life
Fusing hydrogen atoms to throw out light and heat.
For a hundred thousand millennia let it light the sky, let it burn
And burn itself–to death. Then let it expand and cool
To super giant, then collapse again to white dwarf,
Then collapse again fast then faster,
Exponentially faster
Till total
Collapse

Nospace
Between neutrons
No movement of electrons
No neutrons or electrons at all
A singularity of infinite density and zero volume
Just mass, momentum, charge
Just energy
Energy
Sucking
In
Gravity
Gone mad
Pulling everything in to itself
Letting nothing escape
Not even the slightest ray of light
But energy that reaches out and sucks into its
Vortex

Marden J. Clark, professor of English at Brigham Young University, has recently published a volume of poetry entitled *Moods: Of Late.*

Cosmic dust, worlds, stars, whole galaxies
Growing proportionately with each in mass and energy

Let's risk something
–Not a cosmonaut
(At some point, long before he was close,
He'd be stretched out a kilometer tall
Then much taller before the final compression)–
But try a ray of light
(Gravity has little pull on light)
Beam it close, but not too close or the hole
Will suck it in completely.
Get just the critical distance
Ten kilometers or so away
And you'll send it into orbit around the hole
But keep it just a little farther out
And it will veer in toward the hole
But of its own energy and speed
Pull itself out again.
I can't help wondering, though,
If it could possibly escape unscathed
If it wouldn't go forever
Corkscrewing its way through space
Warped eternally by its encounter.

Could Satan be such a hole, the Son of the Morning?
Lucifer, the morning star. Lucifer, ferrier of light,
Child of light,
Cosmic rebel for kingdom's sake,
Born of Light, shed by light, exile into night
Pulling his third of heaven
Pulling into dark, utter dark, black
Black–hole.

So now his task: to suck into himself the sons of man
And of God.

But push the vision, push the horror:
How much mass can zero volume hold?
What cosmic counter-forces could compete?

Our sun or any sun or any constellation of suns

Or galaxy of suns
Safe only by light-years of space and time.
But that energy reaching out,
Sucking in
Until the whole of heaven yields
In ultimate cosmic vortex, ultimate implosion.

What need of fire or ice
Just gravity
Pulling all to
Nought.

If Satan be infinite singularity
What then is God?
Zero density and infinite expansion?
Infinite Love and infinite Light
Suffused through infinite space?

That ray of light we risked
Some part of God
Not just that ray
But all those suns sucked in
–One-third of Him?–
Those centers of light and energy
But now become the enemy
Sending nothing forth but pull.

Cosmic Armageddon:
Galaxies flow, like streams of atoms;
The pull increases, reaches out farther ever farther
To suck all in
Till God Himself must feel the pull,
Light only lightly subject to gravity
But all that gravity
And so many of His hosts gone in
How can He–even He–resist that pull?

But here my vision fails me,
Has failed me all along,
For God is now a what–
Is Who

–Infinite expansion, perhaps,
But with a local habitation and a name:
Love.
Ah yes, He feels the pull
The terrible pull of Love toward loss
The pull of Creator toward lost creature
But not that aweful gravity.

Cosmic Armageddon:
Assume it's true,
Assume that Satan wins,
Sucks infinite space
Into himself.

Still never God

God gives forth

Outside that hole, outside that force
God gives light

But if some force of God pulled in,
Deep within at the very core
Something must
Stir
Those neutrons must stir
Respond to Light
Respond to Life
Push out push out push out
With ever-increasing force exponentially increasing
Come to life, generate neutrons, electrons, atoms, matter–B A N G!
The universe is on its way again, generating
Cosmic dust, suns, stars, galaxies
Earths

And here on earth we talk
Or pen our feeble poems
Safe in light year spaces
Exponential numbers, eons and infinities
That awe but comfort and protect us
Our little world bathed in light

Our beneficent green synthesizing our food from light
And hardly know what power might now be pulling on us
The faint dull power of dark upon me now
The soft sweet pull of Light.

Mormon Bibliography
1978

Chad J. Flake

During the past two years, there seems to have been an increase in anti-Mormon activities with the creation of such new groups as the "Ex-Mormons for Jesus." Whether there are actually more participants, or whether they are simply more vocal, is an interesting question that needs some research, both in regard to the amount of material and the reasons for its publication. Regardless, the presence and sources of the anti-Mormon material should be recognized.

The study of anti-Mormon material has always been a contributive part to the study of Mormonism. From the earliest pamphlet, Alexander Campbell's *Delusions* (Boston: Benjamin H. Greene, 1832), and book, E. D. Howe's *Mormonism Unvailed* [*sic*] (Painesville, Ohio, 1834), to some of the current material, the student of Mormon history cannot simply ignore these publications. To fully understand the whole experience of Nauvoo, one must be acquainted with John C. Bennett's *The History of the Saints* (New York: Bradbury, Soden, & Co., 1842); one ought also see T. B. H. Stenhouse's *The Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York: Appleton & Co., 1873) for early Utah history and Frank J. Cannon's *Under the Prophet in Utah* (Boston: C. M. Clark Publishing Co., 1911) for later nineteenth-century history.

Much less consideration need be given to those books seemingly written to accompany such anti-Mormon lectures as Increase McGee and Maria Van Deusen's expose of the temple rites in *The Mormon Endowment* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Lathrop, 1847), which went through twenty-three editions under such titles as *A Dialogue Between Adam and Eve, The Sublime and Ridiculous Blended, Startling Disclosures of the Great Mormon Conspiracy . . . Spiritual Delusions*; Maria Ward's *Female Life Among the Mormons* (London: C. H. Clarke, 1855), printed in thirteen English editions under several titles and published in at least four other languages; and, of course, the most famous–Ann Eliza Young's *Wife No. 19* (Hartford, Conn.: Dustin, Gilman and Co., 1875).

Of no historical importance are those written from secondary sources for the express purpose of "exposing" Mormonism, such as Lu B. Cake's *Peepstone Joe and the Peck Manuscript* (New York, 1899), M. W. Montgomery's *The Mormon Delusion* (Boston: Congregational Sunday School and Publishing House, c1890), W. Wyl's [pseud. of Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal] *Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City, 1886), and William Jarman's *U.S.A. Uncle Sam's Abscess, or Hell upon the Earth* (Exeter, England: Printed at H. Leduc's Steam Printing Works, 1884).

Currently, anti-Mormon writers belong to two general groups: dissident Mormons, and non-Mormons who feel a need to save Mormons from themselves.

The dissident group is most notably represented by Jerald and Sandra Tanner, whose voluminous publications for over a decade include a periodical, *The Salt Lake City Messenger.* A bibliography published in 1970 of their work lists 120 titles published by their press, Modern Microfilm Co., with a large percentage of them written or edited by the Tanners. Of less importance are the materials being produced by the Ex-Mormons for Jesus. These organizations, some of whose credentials are false and others questionable, exist in at least four locations. They publish some pamphlets but are more interested in making cassette tapes to be used in anti-Mormon lectures. Also publishing fairly regularly are the fundamentalists, who perceive the granting of the priesthood to Blacks as the final step in the Church's apostasy and who have revived the "Adam-God" controversy. Still other dissidents publish independently, chiefly purloined documents surreptitiously taken from various libraries, which supposedly show that Mormonism is either a fallen church or never was true.

The non-Mormon group consists of ministers and members of other churches who view Mormonism as a threat to Christianity. The most important persons in this group are Wesley Walters and Walter Martin. The latter is a professional lecturer, while the former has done some writing about Joseph Smith. It was Rev. Walters (with Chris Vlachos) who had the infamous interview with LeGrand Richards in which he carefully set him up and taped the conversation without Elder Richards's knowledge. In addition, there is the ever-present Utah Christian Mission, which publishes small pamphlets chiefly at general conference time.

It may appear that there is an increase in anti-Mormon writers, but as one looks at the history of anti-Mormon writing, one sees that this situation has been the same throughout the history of Mormons, with publications by dissidents and other churches.

As in the past, *Mormon Americana,* vol. 19 (1978), has been used for the compilation of the "Mormon Bibliography."

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Jonah's Morning Song

Karen Marguerite Moloney

PROLOGUE

"Before I formed thee in the belly
I knew thee . . . and I ordained
thee a prophet . . ." (Jeremiah 1:5).

"The veil, Father."

"The veil, Jonah."

"I might weaken. They say a body tires, hungers, grows cold.
It is a long way to Nineveh.

"I have trained long for this, prepared, waited, yearned.

"But there is no guarantee!

"Father! Wilt thou guide me?"

"My son!"

I

". . . and he found a ship
going to Tarshish . . ." (Jonah 1:3).

So long a child of promise, Jonah turned
Too quickly from the mariners whose god,
Content to smell a sacrifice of blood,
Just specified oblations should be burned.
He left them to the rigging of the sail,
Begrudging all who did not yearn to be
Loved more for self than capability,
And slept until awakened in the gale.
He could not know how near he was to death
As he rejoined the mariners above,
Nor how his God with unconditioned love,
In three days' time, would fire new lungs with breath.
He could not know the natural man would die
To rise a prophet, bold to testify.

Karen Marguerite Molony teaches creative writing at Oxnard College and business communications at Cal State Northridge. She also is a librarian in La Verne, California.

II

"So Jonah arose, and went
unto Nineveh . . ." (Jonah 3:3).

While, dim with distance, morning rays revealed
An outline of the massive city wall,
He paled to watch the brazen river, reeled
Beneath the gates, revile Jehovah's call.
Again he asked the Hebrew God why he
Who might have died in Tarshish of old age,
Or drowned off Joppa, had not been left free
To flee the carnal city's certain rage.
When he perceived, his camel briefly slowed,
Jehovah would permit him to elect
Retreat upon an unobstructed road,
Could raise another easier to direct;
It seemed the river's impudence decreased:
He urged his camel and continued east.

III

"Then said the Lord . . . should not
I spare Nineveh. . . ?" (Jonah 4:10–11).

Rebuked, the prophet, kneeling by the plant,
Its yellow leaves already turning brown,
Prepared his Hebrew conscience to recant
Resentment toward the vast Assyrian crown.
Remembering atrocity, he felt
His anger die more slowly than the gourd.
The sultry sunlight dwindled while he knelt
Beyond the eastern gate and sought the Lord.
With dawn the prophet rose, rejoicing that
He held pure love for Nineveh—whose king,
Proclaiming from the ashes where he sat,
Would honor Jonah with a viceroy's ring.
But Jonah blessed the city from a hill
And journeyed home to bless his sons at will.

Book Reviews

TAYLOR, SAMUEL W. *Heaven Knows Why.* Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Millennial Productions, 1979. 213 pp. $3.95; paper.

Reviewed by Richard H. Cracroft, professor of English and chairman of the Department of English at Brigham Young University.

While it continues a sober truth that it takes a great deal of sifting through Mormon letters to uncover even a page or two of intentional Mormon humor, the reprinting of Samuel W. Taylor's *Heaven Knows Why* sparks new hope for Latter-day Saints with unregenerate funny bones. Indeed, *Heaven Knows Why* is good news for all LDS readers who, weary of the "my daddy is a bishop and . . ." brand of Mormon humor, long for writers who delight in smiling at instead of weeping about the human plight, about the ever-present gap between our Latter-day Saint ideals and our less-than-celestial realities.

Sam Taylor is back, not the Sam Taylor who writes history like a novelist, but the Sam Taylor of *Family Kingdom*–vintage Sam Taylor, Sam Taylor at his best. *Heaven Knows Why,* first serialized in *Colliers* in 1946 as "The Mysterious Way," and published by A. A. Wyn, Inc., in 1948, is now reissued in paperback by Scott S. Smith's Millennial Productions, complete with a sober and undistinguished cover that makes the novel look like a tract, and thus safe for anyone's Postum table.

But within the plain cover is the funniest Mormon novel to date. Professor Kenneth Hunsaker, in his survey of twentieth century Mormon fiction, was only slightly hyperbolic in calling the book "the most delightful of all Mormon novels," but he is right in insisting that the book is an "outstanding comic novel." The praise is only slightly diminished by the fact that the book is, so far as I know, the *only* full-length comic novel in Mormon letters.

While the book was, on first appearance, either deeply loved or hated, it is difficult, in 1979, to understand why the book was ever controversial. Innocently funny, *Heaven Knows Why* moves the Mormon or gentile reader from chuckles to belly laughs (discreet, of course)–not at the expense of the Mormon faith or its leaders, but in joyous response to the refreshing combination of things at once familiarly Mormon and erringly human.

The book opens in Heaven, where Moroni Skinner is distracted in his job in the Compiling Office of the Accounting Section of the Current History Division of the Records Department by the way-

wardness, on earth, of his grandson, Jackson Skinner Whitetop. Jack, recently discharged as a veteran of World War II, is now living a gently dissolute existence on the remnants of the once-proud Skinner ranch in a western Utah valley.

Moroni Skinner receives permission to make one appearance to Jack. A clumsy messenger at best, Skinner makes a practice visitation to an old friend, a back-sliding, skeptical prospective elder, looks over the valley, is impressed by Katie Jensen, the bishop's lovely daughter, and finally makes his hilarious appearance to a stunned Jack, to whom he gives the laconic message: "straighten up, fix up your place, and marry Katie Jensen."

The complications begin. Katie is engaged to be married the next day to the bishop's first counselor, who turns out to be a sly hypocrite. And then there is "The Trouble," a long-standing feud between the opposite ends of the valley as to where the chapel is to be built. And then there is the fact that the bishop's wife is a closet doubter who is not only determined that Katie will marry the prosperous first counselor, but is dubious about revelation, especially the appearance of Moroni Skinner to the no-good Jack Whitetop. And then there is the bishop's passion for Coffee-Near, which Jack, caught by the bishop while enjoying a cup of freshly perked coffee, has foisted off as an innocent, healthful, noncaffeinated barley beverage made from an old family recipe. The bishop, of course, must have the recipe. And then there is the question as to the father of Anita Smith's child. And the question as to the owner of the $25,000 which Jackson finds in his kitchen cupboard. And . . . and so it goes.

Startled into action by Grandpa Skinner's visit, and by the Herculean tasks which his would-be mother-in-law sets for him to accomplish, Jack Whitetop dashes out to resolve these–and other–problems. The rush through the maze of problems is hilarious, but the resolution warms the Mormon heart as the repentant Jack wins Katie's hand, becomes an elder, effects the reform of the first counselor, solves "The Trouble," moves the bishop's wife to faith and testimony–and finds a recipe for Coffee-Near. At the novel's end, Taylor takes us back to Heaven where we are allowed to rejoice with a revitalized Moroni Skinner, who has now received promotion to Chief Checker of the Compiling Office, much to the joy of his angelic but nagging wife Lucy.

Heaven Knows Why, free from symbolic undergirdings and allegorical profundities, is pure entertainment–light, tasteful, and funny. Only slightly dated–the novel reflects rural Mormon values which

seem more at home in 1920 than 1946–*Heaven Knows Why* demonstrates how an author can deal with the Matter of Utah humorously yet without painfully barbing beloved institutions. If there is any satire in the novel, it is on rigidity, pomposity, hypocrisy, and self-righteousness–and Mormons, thank heaven, have never enjoyed the corner on those commodities. With few exceptions, most of the scenes could be played by Baptists, Lutherans, Catholics, or Mohammedans. The delightfully notable exception is Taylor's fun with the Word of Wisdom, the innocent violations of which by Bishop Jensen provide some of the funniest scenes in this funny book.

Heaven Knows Why works on two fronts: It communicates familiarly with Mormons, puts them at ease, and teaches them another perspective on themselves. At the same time, it communicates with non-Mormons by underscoring Mormon humanity through portraying charmingly those foibles common to all men, not just Mormons. The result is a warm and friendly treatment of the Latter-day Saints, not as peculiar people, but as affable neighbors in a fallen world–and not one mention of polygamy!

Sam Taylor is back, with the funniest Mormon novel ever. Taylor should be encouraged in this republishing venture, which he undertook, he notes in his introduction, to determine whether "Mormons have matured to the point where we can now chuckle rather than bristle at some of the foibles and conceits of our culture." I think we're ready.

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