The Mormon Kingdom

Volume 1

Jerald and Sandra Tanner

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By Jerald and Sandra Tanner

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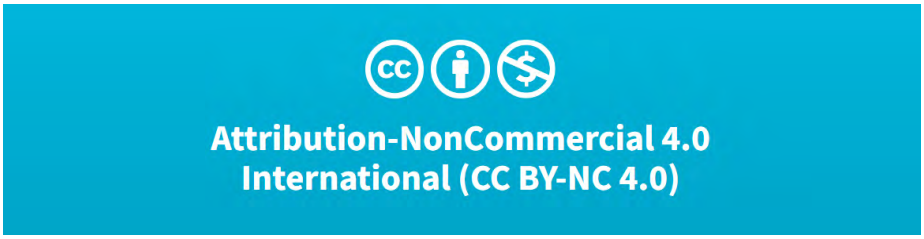

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PREFACE

In the Preface to his book, *Quest for Empire, The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History*, Klaus J. Hansen (a Mormon writer) makes this statement:

> . . . the idea of a political kingdom of God, promulgated by a **secret** "Council of Fifty," is by far the most important key to an understanding of the Mormon past.

On page 24 of the same book, we find this statement:

> Certain non-Mormons, curiously enough, seem to have known more about the political ambitions of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young than most faithful Latter-day Saints.

On page 5 of the same book, Klaus J. Hansen states:

> Indeed, if few Mormons, in 1844, knew what kind of kingdom their prophet had organized that year, fewer know today.

On May 12, 1844, Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet, made this statement:

> The ancient prophets declared that in the last days the God of heaven should set up a kingdom which should never be destroyed, . . .
>
> I calculate to be one of the instruments of setting up the kingdom of Daniel by the word of the Lord, and I intend to lay a foundation that will **revolutionize the whole world**. (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, pages 364-365)

In 1853 John Taylor, who later became President of the Mormon Church, made this statement:

> Let us now notice our political position in the world. What are we going to do? We are going to possess the earth. Why? Because it belongs to Jesus Christ, and he belongs to us, and we to him; we are all one, and will take the kingdom and possess it under the whole heavens, and reign over it for ever and ever. Now, ye kings and emperors, help yourselves, if you can. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 1, page 230)

The Mormon Apostle Orson Hyde once stated:

> What the world calls "Mormonism" will **rule every nation**. Joseph Smith and Brigham Young will be the head. God has decreed it, and his own right arm will accomplish it. This will make the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 7, page 53)

In 1865 John Taylor made this statement:

> We do believe it, and we honestly acknowledge that this is that kingdom which the Lord has commenced to establish upon the earth, and that it will not only govern **all people** in a religious capacity, but also in a **political capacity**. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 11, page 53)

Heber C. Kimball, who was a member of the First Presidency, made this statement in 1859:

> And so the Nations **will bow to this kingdom**, sooner or later, and all hell cannot help it. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 7, page 170)

In this study we will deal with the Mormon Church in New York, Ohio, Missouri, Illinois and in Utah.

We are very indebted to several libraries and individuals for the help they have given us. We are particularly indebted to James Wardle. LaMar Petersen, Wesley P. Walters and Stanley S. Ivins for the help they have given.

The Mormon people refer to those who are not members of the Church as "Gentiles." We will also use this term when referring to non-Mormons.

Bold is used for emphasis throughout this study.

1. CONFLICT

The Mormon Church was organized in Fayette township, Seneca county, New York, on April 6, 1830. Joseph Smith was to be the leader, and the Mormons were told in a revelation to "give heed unto all his words and commandments which he shall give unto you . . . his word ye shall receive, **as if from mine own mouth** in all patience and faith" (*Doctrine and Covenants*, section 21, verses 4-5).

Because the Mormons taught that all other churches were in a state of apostasy and that they were the only true church, they found themselves in trouble with their neighbors. The Mormon writer Max H. Parkin made this statement:

> After the organization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the year 1830, conflict was often a characteristic feature accompanying the members of that religious faith. Their beliefs and practices were sometimes incompatible with some of the social, religious, and ethical mores of their neighbors. (*Conflict at Kirtland*, Salt Lake City, 1966, page 1)

According to the Mormon historian B. H. Roberts, Joseph Smith was "haled before the courts at Bainbridge and Colesville," but he was not convicted of any crime. By the end of 1830 Joseph Smith had decided to move the Church to Ohio. Joseph Smith arrived in Kirtland, Ohio, in February of 1831, and B. H. Roberts tells us that by "early spring of 1831 the church in Kirtland and vicinity had increased to more than one thousand in membership. The New York saints also began to arrive in the spring, and by May all had reached Kirtland, or its vicinity" (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 1, page 250).

In July, 1831, Joseph Smith gave a revelation which stated that the city of Zion was to be built at Independence, Missouri:

> Wherefore, this is the land of promise, and the place for the city of Zion.
>
> And thus saith the Lord your God, if you will receive wisdom here is wisdom. Behold, the place which is now called Independence is the center place; and a spot for the temple is lying westward, upon a lot which is not far from the court-house. (*Doctrine and Covenants*, section 57, verses 2-3)

Some of the Mormons began to build up the city of Zion, but Joseph Smith returned to Ohio. According to B. H. Roberts, "Joseph Smith in September made his home at Hiram, Portage county,—about thirty miles east of Kirtland—with the Johnson family, . . ." (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 1, page 267). In March, 1832, Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon were mobbed at Hiram.

The Mormons not only had trouble with the Gentiles, but there was also dissension within the Church. On February 4, 1831, Joseph Smith received a revelation in which the following appeared:

> And again, it is meet that my servant Joseph Smith, Jun., should have **a house built**, in which to live and translate.
>
> And again, it is meet that my servant Sidney Rigdon should live as seemeth him good, inasmuch as he keepeth my commandments. (*Doctrine and Covenants*, section 41, verses 7-8)

This revelation must have made Sidney Rigdon jealous of Joseph Smith, for Joseph Smith's mother related the following:

> Sidney Rigdon went immediately to Kirtland, . . . as Sidney had not been with us for some time, we hoped to hear from him upon this occasion. . . . My husband said, "Brother Sidney, we would like to hear a discourse from you to-day." Brother Rigdon replied, in a tone of excitement, "The keys of the kingdom are rent from the Church, and there shall not be a prayer put up in this house this day.". . . The brethren stared and turned pale, and the sisters cried. Sister Howe, in particular, was very much terrified: "Oh dear me!" said she, "what shall we do? what shall we do? The keys of the kingdom are taken from us, and what shall we do?" "I tell you again," said Sidney, with much feeling, "the keys of the kingdom are taken from you, and you never will have them again **until you build me a new house**. . . .
>
> Hyrum took a horse, and went immediately to father Johnson's, for Joseph. . . . Joseph being informed of the precise situation of affairs, he got a horse of father Johnson, and started without delay, with Hyrum, for Kirtland. On his arrival there, the brethren were collected for meeting. Joseph went upon the stand, and informed the brethren that they were under a great

mistake, that the Church had not transgressed; "and, as for the keys of the kingdom," said he, "I, myself, hold the keys of this Last Dispensation, and will for ever hold them, both in time and in eternity; so set your hearts at rest upon that point, all is right."

He then went on and preached a comforting discourse, after which he appointed a council to sit the next day, by which Sidney was tried, for having lied in the name of the Lord. In this council Joseph told him, he must suffer for what he had done, that he should be delivered over to the buffetings of Satan, who would handle him as one man handleth another, that the less Priesthood he had, the better it would be for him, and that it would be well for him to give up his license.

This counsel Sidney complied with, yet he had to suffer for his folly, for according to his own account, **he was dragged out of bed by the devil, three times in one night**, by his heels. Whether this be true or not, one thing is certain, his contrition of soul was as great as a man could well live through.

After he had sufficiently humbled himself, he received another license; . . . (*Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet*, by Lucy Smith, 1853, pages 194-196)

The Apostle George A. Smith made the following statement concerning this incident:

> Sidney Rigdon, on one occasion got up to preach, and commenced by saying that the Church and kingdom was rent from them and given to another people. Joseph was absent, when he came home he found Sidney almost like a mad man. He labored with him and with the Church, and finally succeeded in convincing him that he was under the influence of a false spirit. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 11, page 6)

ZION'S CAMP

In 1833 the Mormons who were attempting to build up the city of Zion in Jackson County, Missouri, were driven out by the Gentiles. The Mormon historian Joseph Fielding Smith gives these reasons for the persecution of the Mormons in Jackson County:

> Nearly all the Latter-day Saints were from the Eastern States, while the Missourians were from the South. The Missourians feared that the "Mormons" would increase and take from them their political domination. The question of slavery, even in that day, was quite keen, and the Missourians were determined to keep the state within the control of the slave holders. Above all else, however, was their extreme hatred for the "Mormons" because of their industry and belief. Some of the latter had also failed to show the proper discretion and wisdom, for they openly stated that the Lord had given them the land for their eternal inheritance, and although they were to purchase the lands, yet in time there the city Zion would be built, unto which none but the faithful would be privileged to come. Such expressions aroused the Missourians to fever heat, for they naturally hated the doctrines of the Church, and to be informed that the lands would ultimately be taken from them, was adding fuel to the flame. (*Essentials in Church History*, page 157)

David Whitmer, one of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon, made this statement concerning the trouble in Jackson County:

> The main reason why the printing press was destroyed, was because they published the *Book of Commandments*. It fell into the hands of the world, and the people of Jackson county, Missouri, saw from the revelations that they were considered by the church as intruders upon the land of Zion, as enemies to the church, and that they should be cut off out of the land of Zion and sent away. The people seeing these things in the *Book of Commandments* became the more enraged, tore down the printing press, and drove the church out of Jackson county. (*An Address to All Believers in Christ*, Richmond, Missouri, 1887, page 54)

William E. McLellin, who had been an Apostle in the Mormon Church, gave an account of the troubles in Jackson County, Missouri, which was published in the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*. We quote the following from that account:

> My first call was on Dr. William E. McLellin, . . . he went on a mission and returned in 1833. Soon after his return a Mormon meeting was called in the yard in front of John Corril's house, where the Doctor was called upon for remarks. He expounded from the scriptures, (this is his account,) that the Gentile world was in bad straits; that a general wind-up was at hand, and that the result would be blood and destruction to the unbelievers and a glorious triumph for the Saints. The Doctor was careful not to specify how this would be brought about, or to set any time, but the speaker who followed him prophesied that before five years **all unbelievers in Jackson County would be destroyed**. Upon this a few Missourians in the outskirts of the crowd signified an emphatic dissent and went down town. That evening an "indignation meeting" was called in the public square, where Russel Hicks, a lawyer, and Saml. C. Owens, county clerk, gave it as their opinion that the Mormonites intended to raise the slaves, join them and massacre the whites. This set the ball rolling and the next Tuesday three hundred armed men from the county were assembled in town. They tore down the Mormon printing office, chased Dr. McLellin through a corn field and into the woods, but failed to catch him, committed some other outrages and notified the Saints to emigrate. . . . They were driven out en masse the next November.
>
> Dr. McLellin is strongly of opinion that the troubles of the Saints here did not result from anything they had done, but altogether from what the citizens feared they might do if they got a majority. The Saints at that

> time interpreted the prophecies much more literally than they now do; in particular Sydney Rigdon, Orson Hyde, W. W. Phelps, and Martin Harris, whether in Kirtland or Missouri, were instant, in season and out of season, in declaring to the Gentiles that the great day of Armageddon was at hand, and that if the Gentiles resisted the ordinances of God, blood would flow even to the horses bridle-bits. With them was a small minority of the Saints, who went about the country notifying the old settlers that they had better sell out and leave, for the Lord was "about to clean up his threshing floor and make a way for the Saints." Of course, this sort of talk created trouble, but the Doctor is very emphatic in his statement that the Saints committed no more actual crime than an equal number of other people. (*Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, October 6, 1875)

Klaus J. Hansen made this statement concerning the trouble in Jackson County:

> It is reasonable that the Gentiles objected even more vigorously to Smith's temporal authority. As early as 1833, a resident of Missouri charged that
>
> > Their prophet also induced his followers to believe that he would form a temporal kingdom or government, and they would not be subject to the laws of the state, but should make their own laws, have their own civil officers to execute them, Joseph, the prophet, being **dictator**, aided by revelation and his cabinet or council; and when their edicts were sent forth they were obeyed without a murmur by his followers.
>
> Such sentiments, clearly, were at least as important as strictly religious matters for inflaming the passions of the Gentile mob, thus leading to the expulsion of the Saints from Jackson County. (*Quest for Empire*, pages 151-152)

While there may have been a number of reasons for the persecution of the Mormons in Jackson County, the fact that Joseph Smith acted as a dictator must have caused some of the trouble. Heber C. Kimball, First Councilor to Brigham Young, once made this statement concerning Joseph Smith:

> When brother Joseph Smith lived, he was our Prophet, our Seer, and Revelator; **he was our dictator** in the things of God, and it was for us to listen to him, and do just as he told us. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 2, page 106)

The fact that the Mormon people were driven out of Jackson County was a great disappointment to Joseph Smith. He had prophesied that his people would build the city of Zion there, and that a temple would be built there in that generation. In one of his revelations we find the following:

> Verily this is the word of the Lord, that the city New Jerusalem shall be built by the gathering of the saints, beginning at this place, even the place of the temple, which temple shall be reared in this generation.
>
> For verily this generation shall not all pass away until an house shall be built unto the Lord, and a cloud shall rest upon it, which cloud shall be even the glory of the Lord, which shall fill the house. (*Doctrine and Covenants*, section 84, verses 4-5)

Since Joseph Smith's reputation as a prophet was at stake, he decided to try to reinstate the Mormons in Jackson County. Klaus J. Hansen states that he "resolved to meet force with force." On December 16, 1833, Joseph Smith gave a revelation in which the Lord was supposed to have said the following:

> And now, I will show unto you a parable, that you may know my will concerning the redemption of Zion.
>
> A certain nobleman had a spot of land, very choice; . . .
>
> And the enemy came by night, and broke down the hedge; and the servants of the nobleman arose and were affrighted, and fled; and the enemy destroyed their works, and broke down the olive-trees. . . .
>
> And the lord of the vineyard said unto one of his servants: Go and gather together the residue of my servants, and take all the strength of mine house, which are my **warriors**, my young men, and they that are of middle age also among all my servants, who are the strength of mine house, save those only whom I have appointed to tarry;
>
> And go ye straightway unto the land of my vineyard, and **redeem** my vineyard; for it is mine; I have bought it with money.
>
> Therefore, get ye straightway unto my land; **break down the walls of mine enemies; throw down their tower, and scatter their watchmen**.
>
> And inasmuch as they gather together against you, **avenge me of mine enemies**, that by and by I may come with the residue of mine house and possess the land. (*Doctrine and Covenants*, section 101, verses 43, 44, 51, 55-58)

On February 24, 1834, Joseph Smith gave a revelation in which the following appears:

> Behold. I say unto you, the redemption of Zion must needs come **by power**;
>
> Therefore, I will raise up unto my people a man, who shall lead them like as Moses led the children of Israel.
>
> For ye are the children of Israel, and of the seed of Abraham, and ye must needs be led out of bondage by power, and with a stretched-out arm. . . . .
>
> Verily, verily I say unto you, that my servant Baurak Ale [Joseph Smith, Jun.] is the man to whom I likened the servant to whom the Lord of the vineyard spake in the parable which I have given unto you.
>
> Therefore let my servant Baurak Ale [Joseph Smith, Jun.] say unto the strength of my house, my

young men and the middle aged—Gather yourselves together unto the land of Zion, . . .

And my presence shall be with you even in **avenging me of mine enemies**, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me.

. . . . .

Therefore, if you cannot obtain five hundred, seek diligently that peradventure you may obtain three hundred.

And if ye cannot obtain three hundred, seek diligently that peradventure ye may obtain one hundred.

But verily I say unto you, a commandment I give unto you, that ye shall not go up unto the land of Zion until you have obtained a hundred of the strength of my house, to go up with you unto the land of Zion.

Therefore, as I said unto you, ask and ye shall receive; pray earnestly that peradventure my servant Baurak Ale [Joseph Smith, Jun.] may go with you, and preside in the midst of my people, and organize my kingdom upon the consecrated land, . . .

All victory and glory is brought to pass unto you through your diligence, faithfulness, and prayers of faith. (*Doctrine and Covenants*, section 103, verses 15-17, 21, 22, 26, 32-36)

Notice that Joseph Smith's name appears in brackets in the 1963 edition of the *Doctrine and Covenants*, quoted above. A footnote in the *History of the Church*, vol. 1, page 255, explains the reason:

> It was not always desirable that the individuals whom the Lord addressed in revelations should at the time be known by the world, and hence in this and in some subsequent revelations the brethren were addressed by other than their own names. The temporary necessity having passed for keeping the names of the individuals addressed unknown, their real names were subsequently given in brackets.

Joseph Smith did raise an army as commanded, but he was unable to drive the enemy out of Jackson County. Reed Peck made this statement in a manuscript written in 1839:

> In accordance with the interpretation of this parable Joseph Smith called for volunteers collected about 210 "Warriors" and marched to Clay County under arms, but the cholera on the second day after their arrival dispersed them and all hopes were destroyed of "redeem[in]g Zion" for the present, but to console the Mormons under this disappointment, Joseph Smith, before he returned from the campaign prophesied publicly to them, that "within three years they should march to Jackson County and there should not be a dog to open his mouth against them". . . (*Reed Peck Manuscript*, page 3)

Milton R. Hunter, of the First Council of the Seventy, made this statement concerning Zion's Camp:

> The following spring (1834), Joseph organized a volunteer, untrained army from the faithful members in Ohio, and traveled 1,000 miles westward to Missouri to "redeem Zion." But upon arriving, Joseph's army, known as Zion's Camp, was abandoned without restoring the refugees to their homes in Jackson County. (*Gospel Through the Ages*, Salt Lake City, 1958, page 282)

The Mormon writer Max Parkin stated:

> The Camp, however, **failed to accomplish its objective**, of re-instating the distressed saints and it further aided in festering the sore of unpopular public opinion the Mormons already had in Ohio. (*Conflict at Kirtland*, page 129)

Harold Schindler makes this statement concerning Zion's Camp:

> Rockwell had heard of the debacle of Zion's Camp, when Joseph, encouraged by the fiery Lyman Wight, rallied two hundred and four men to his side and marched to free Jackson County from the Gentile curse, thereby securing "the redemption of Zion." **The expedition ended in dismal failure.** A cholera epidemic swept the ranks and killed fourteen Saints despite a revelation to Joseph that "all victory and glory is brought to pass unto you through your diligence, faithfulness and prayers" . . . The Lord was trying the faith of His flock, Joseph explained. (*Orrin Porter Rockwell; Man of God, Son of Thunder*, University of Utah, 1966, page 35)

By the year 1870 the Mormons had still not returned to Jackson County, Missouri, yet the Mormon Apostle Orson Pratt assured them that they would return:

> . . . God promised in the year 1832 that we should, before the generation **then living** had passed away, return and build up the City of Zion in Jackson County; that we should return and build up the temple of the Most High where we formerly laid the corner stone . . .
>
> We believe in these promises as much as we believe in any promise ever uttered by the mouth of Jehovah. The Latter-day Saints just as much expect to receive a fulfilment of that promise during the generation that was in existence in 1832 as they expect that the sun will rise and set to-morrow. Why? Because **God cannot lie**. He will fulfil all His promises. He has spoken, **it must come to pass**. This is our faith. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 13, page 362)

But it did not come to pass, and since it has been over 130 years since Joseph Smith gave his revelation, the Mormon leaders have given up all hope of fulfilling Joseph Smith's prophecy that they would return before that generation passed away.

WINE AND CURSES

In the revelation concerning "Zion's Camp" the Lord was supposed to have told the Mormons that they should curse their enemies:

> And inasmuch as mine enemies come against you . . . ye shall **curse them**;
>
> And whomsoever **ye curse**, I will curse, **and ye shall avenge me of mine enemies**. (*Doctrine and Covenants*, section 103, verses 24-25)

This cursing was actually carried out in the Kirtland Temple. The Mormon Apostle George A. Smith gave this account:

> Now I will illustrate this still further. The Lord did actually reveal one principle to us there, and that one principle was apparently so simple, and so foolish in their eyes, that **a great many apostatized over it**, because it was so contrary to their notions and views. It was this, after the people had fasted all day, they sent out and got wine and bread, and blessed them, and distributed them to the multitude, that is, to the whole assembly of the brethren, and they ate and drank, and prophesied, and bore testimony, and continued so to do until some of the **high council** of Missouri, stepped into the stand, and, as righteous Noah did when he awoke from his wine, commenced to **curse their enemies**. You never felt such a shock go through any house or company in the world as went through that. There was almost a rebellion because men would get up and **curse** their enemies; . . . Some of the brethren thought it was best to apostatize, . . . The Lord dared not then reveal anything more; He had **given us all we could swallow**; . . . (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 2, page 216)

One man, William Harris, who left the Mormon Church made this comment concerning the cursing:

> In the evening, they met for the endowment. The fast was then broken by eating light wheat bread, and drinking as much wine as they saw proper. Smith knew well how to infuse the spirit which they expected to receive; so he encouraged the brethern to drink freely, telling them that the wine was **consecrated**, and would **not make them drunk**. As may be supposed, they drank to the purpose. After this they began to prophecy, pronouncing blessings upon their friends, and **curses** upon their enemies. If I should be so unhappy as to go to the regions of the damned, I never expect to hear **language more awful**, or more becoming the **infernal pit**, than was uttered that night. The curses were pronounced principally upon the clergy of the present day, and upon the Jackson county mob in Missouri. After spending the night in alternate blessings and cursings, the meeting adjourned. (*Mormonism Portrayed*, by William Harris, Warsaw Ill., 1841, pages 31-32)

When Joseph Smith wrote the *History of the Church*, he told of the cursing in the Kirtland Temple; however, his words have been censored in modern editions of the *History of the Church*. In the *Millennial Star*, vol. 15, page 727, Joseph Smith's words were given as follows:

> The brethren began to prophesy upon each other's heads, and **cursings** upon the enemies of Christ, who inhabit Jackson county, Missouri; . . .

In modern editions of the *History of the Church*, Joseph Smith's words have been censored to read as follows:

> The brethren began to prophesy upon each other's heads, and upon the enemies of Christ, who inhabited Jackson county, Missouri; . . . (*History of the Church*, vol. 2, page 431)

Notice that the word "cursings" has been removed from this statement, making it appear that they just prophesied concerning the inhabitants of Jackson County, instead of cursing them. Benjamin F. Johnson made this comment:

> In Missouri we were taught to "pray for our enemies, that God would damn them, and give us power to kill them." (Letter from Benjamin F. Johnson to George S. Gibbs, 1903, mimeographed copy)

The Mormon Apostle George A. Smith stated:

> As I remarked, we were then very pious, and we **prayed the Lord to kill the mob**. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 5, page 107)

VOTING ONE WAY

One source of trouble for the Mormons in Missouri, Ohio and Illinois was their involvement in politics. Max Parkin stated:

> The Mormon people had strong political views during the years they resided in Ohio, and they enthusiastically expressed their opinions. The Democratic President, Andrew Jackson, had presided in Washington two years when Joseph Smith arrived in Kirtland in 1831, and the Mormons became avid spokesmen of Jacksonian Democracy. . . . Mormon involvement in these and other local and national political matters became the subject of further agitation and conflict. (*Conflict at Kirtland*, page 178)

On page 184 of the same book, Max Parkin states:

> . . . the Mormons left no doubt in the public mind of their strong leanings toward the Democratic Party and their contempt for the Whigs.

In a letter to Bishop Partridge, dated December 5, 1833, Joseph Smith stated:

> We expect shortly to publish a political paper, weekly, **in favor of the present administration**; the influential men of that party have offered a liberal patronage to us, . . . (*History of the Church*, vol. 1, page 450)

Max Parkin makes this statement concerning the political paper:

> Although this first attempt to establish a political paper failed, plans moved forward and the periodical *Northern Times* was established under the editorship of Oliver Cowdery and published by Frederick G. Williams in Kirtland. (*Conflict at Kirtland*, page 187)

Max Parkin includes a photograph of the *Northern Times*, October 9, 1835, on page 190 of his book, *Conflict at Kirtland*. This photograph shows that the Mormons supported Martin Van Buren "For President." On page 348 of his book, Max Parkin stated:

> Since the Latter-day Saints did not confine their interests and activities to theological matters, conflict also arose in the Western Reserve between the Whigs and the Mormons, due to the Mormon support of the Democratic party. . . . Local Whigs resented the Mormon political growth and foresaw a significant potential Mormon power in Geauga County which might spread throughout the Reserve.

The *Painesville Telegraph* accused Joseph Smith of meddling in politics:

> Now, the people of this township who are not governed by the pretended revelations of Jo Smith, think they can fully comprehend the design of these religious imposters. **Their object is to acquire political power as fast as they can**, without regard to the means they made use of. They are ready to harness in with any party that is willing to degrade themselves by asking their assistance. They now carry nearly a majority of this township, and **every man votes as directed by the prophet and elders**. (*Painesville Telegraph*, April 17, 1835, as quoted in *Conflict at Kirtland*, page 191)

E. D. Howe made this statement:

> They began to make their boasts that in a short time **they would control all the county offices** and elect a member of Congress from their own ranks. All their doings and performances were held out as having been dictated and commanded by Jesus Christ, in writing, through the head of the prophet Joseph. (*Autobiography and Recollections of a Pioneer Printer*, page 44, as quoted in *Conflict at Kirtland* page 192)

In 1837 the following statement appeared in the *Painesville Telegraph*:

> A more dangerous combination of men have not been congregated since the days of Mohamet. Their leaders are proud, haughty, overbearing, grasping at all wealth and political power within their reach. (*Painesville Telegraph*, January 27, 1837, quoted in *Conflict at Kirtland*, page 192)

The Mormon Apostle Orson Hyde once remarked:

> The world dreaded the germs of greatness which they saw in the Saints. They dreaded the power that seemed to attend them. They were almost at war with us because we were united. They disliked the idea of our being **politically one. They wanted us to be of different parties.** (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 11, page 38)

Brigham Young, the second President of the Mormon Church, made this statement:

> This is one objection which outsiders have to the Latter-day Saints: they all go and **vote one way**. **Is it not right to do so?** Let us think about it. Suppose that we do all actually vote one way, or for one man for our delegate to Congress, and have no opposing candidate, and get the best there is, is that **not better** than having opposition? What does opposition bring? It certainly brings anger and strife; and of what use are they? They serve no good purpose. Then let us **all vote one way**, and think and act one way, and keep the commandments of God . . . (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 13, page 219)

This idea of voting one way became one of the greatest causes of conflict between the Mormons and the Gentiles.

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2. WORLDLY RICHES

In, 1837 the *Messenger and Advocate*, a Mormon publication, reprinted an article written by S. A. Davis, editor of *The Glad Tidings, and Ohio Christian Telescope*. In this article Mr. Davis made this comment concerning the Mormons:

> . . . they seem to have too much worldly wisdom connected with their religion—**too great a desire for the perishable riches of this world**—holding out the idea that the kingdom of Christ is to be composed of "real estate, herds, flocks, silver, gold," &c. as well as of human things. (*Messenger and Advocate*, vol. 3, page 490)

TREASURE HUNTING

It was not long after the Mormon Church was organized that the leaders found themselves in trouble because of debts contracted with the Gentiles. On June 25, 1833, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and F. G. Williams wrote a letter in which they stated:

> Say to Brother Gilbert that we have no means in our power to assist him in a pecuniary way, as we know not the hour when we shall **be sued for debts** which we have contracted ourselves in New York. (*History of the Church*, vol. 1, page 365)

In 1836 Joseph Smith was apparently very worried about his debts. Ebenezer Robinson, who was at one time the editor of the Mormon Church paper, *Times and Seasons*, gave the following information in *The Return*:

> A brother in the church, by the name of Burgess, had come to Kirtland and stated that a large amount of money had been secreted in a cellar of a certain house in Salem, Massachusetts, which had belonged to a widow, and he thought he was the only person now living who had knowledge of it, or to the location of the house. We saw the brother Burgess, but Don Carlos Smith told us with regard to the hidden treasure. His statement was credited by the brethren, and steps were taken to try and secure the treasure, of which we will speak more fully in another place. (*The Return*, vol. 1, page 105)

On page 106 of the same book, Mr. Robinson stated:

> On our return home we went to work in the printing office as heretofore.
>
> We soon learned that four of the leading men of the church had been to Salem, Massachusetts, search of the hidden treasure spoken of by Brother Burgess, viz: **Joseph Smith Jr.**, Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Oliver Cowdery. They left home on the 25th of July, and returned in September.

Joseph Smith's history tells of this trip:

> On Monday afternoon, July 25th, in company with Sidney Rigdon, Brother Hyrum Smith, and Oliver Cowdery, I left Kirtland, . . .
>
> From New York we continued our journey to Providence, on board a steamer; from thence to Boston, by steam cars, and arrived in Salem, Massachusetts, early in August, where we hired a house, and occupied the same during the month, . . . (*History of the Church*, vol. 2, page 464)

Joseph Smith actually received a revelation concerning the treasure hunt, which is published by the Mormon Church in the *Doctrine and Covenants*. In this revelation we read the following:

> I, the Lord your God, am not displeased with your coming this journey, notwithstanding your follies.
>
> I have **much treasure** in this city for you, . . . and its wealth pertaining to **gold and silver shall be yours**.
>
> Concern not yourselves about your debts, for I will give you **power to pay them**.
>
> . . . And inquire diligently concerning the more ancient inhabitants and founders of this city;
>
> For there are **more treasures than one** for you in this city. (*Doctrine and Covenants*, section 111, verses 1, 2, 4, 5, 9 and 10)

Mr. Robinson informs us that the treasure was never found, and Joseph Smith was unable to pay his debts as the revelation had promised:

> We were informed that Brother Burgess met them in Salem, evidently according to appointment, but time had wrought such a change that he could not, for a certainty point out the house, and soon left. They however, found a house which they felt was the right one, and hired it. It is needless to say they failed to find that treasure, or the other gold and silver spoken of in the revelation.
>
> We speak of these things with regret, but inasmuch as they occurred we feel it our duty to relate them, as also some of those things which transpired under our personal observation, soon after. (*The Return*, vol. 1, page 106)

The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts stated:

> While the Prophet gives a somewhat circumstantial account of this journey to Salem and his return to Kirtland in September, he nowhere assigns an **adequate** cause for himself and company making it—the object of it is not stated. (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 1, page 411)

B. H. Roberts admits that the Mormon leaders went to Salem seeking "an earthly treasure," but claims that the other treasures spoken of in the revelation were of a spiritual nature:

> Here we have an opportunity of discerning the difference between the ways of God and the ways of men. Whereas these brethren had **come seeking an earthly treasure**, God directs their attention to spiritual things, telling them there are more treasures than one for them in that city; and instructs them to inquire diligently concerning the ancient inhabitants and founders of that city, doubtless having in view the securing of their genealogies and the redemption of the past generations of men who had lived there; so that if for a moment **the weakness of men was manifested in this journey**, we see that fault reproved and the strength and wisdom of God made manifest by directing the attention of his servants to the real and true treasures that he would have them seek, even the salvation of men, both the living and the dead. (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 1, page 412)

While it is interesting to note that B. H. Roberts admits that the Mormon leaders went to Salem seeking "an earthly treasure," his explanation of the revelation seems to be an attempt to keep from facing reality.

SPECULATION

Joseph Smith made the following statement concerning conditions in the Church in 1837:

> At this time the spirit of speculation in lands and property of all kinds, which was so prevalent throughout the whole nation, was taking deep root in the Church. As the fruits of this spirit, evil surmisings, fault-finding, disunion, dissension, and apostasy followed in quick succession, and it seemed as though all the powers of earth and hell were combining their influence in an especial manner to overthrow the Church at once, and make a final end. . . . many became disaffected toward me as though I were the sole cause of those very evils I was most strenuously striving against, and which were actually brought upon us by the brethren not giving heed to my counsel. (*History of the Church*, vol. 2, page 487)

While it is true that a "spirit of speculation" filled the Church, this reference makes it appear that Joseph Smith was not involved. Actually, Joseph Smith was as deeply involved as anyone. Speaking of conditions in Kirtland, William E. McLellin stated:

> Kirtland was stocked with plenty of merchandize. Pride, folly, and riotous living soon took the uppermost seats in the hearts of the Latter Day Saints. Not content with merchandizing, they also speculated in a city plot, and they purchased many farms in the region round about. And one door of transgression will soon open another. — These leading men, among a numerous people, have an ambition to rise to the pinnacle of fame as great speculators, so they might lay up much worldly treasure. (*Ensign of Liberty*, Kirtland, Ohio, March, 1847, page 7)

Ebenezer Robinson made this statement:

> A spirit of speculation was poured out, and instead of that meek and lowly spirit which we felt had heretofore prevailed, a spirit of worldly ambition, and grasping after the things of the world, took its place. Some farms adjacent to Kirtland were purchased by **some of the heads of the church**, mostly on credit, and laid out into city lots, until a large city was laid out on paper, and the price of the lots put up to an unreasonable amount, ranging from $100 to $200 each, according to location. (*The Return*, vol. 1, number 7, July, 1889, taken from a typed copy)

Robert Kent Fielding made these comments in his Ph.D. dissertation for Indiana University:

> Even as late as 1835, with the population of the Church approximately fifteen hundred, in the Kirtland area, there were only twenty-one Mormons who held property of their own. Several of these had bought small parcels to supply a building lot for a home and an acre for a vegetable garden. Some however, had evidently

bought farms or sites with an eye open to the possible appreciation of land values as population grew. Joseph Smith invested in four acres containing twenty-four rods of road frontage across from his store on the heights, from Mormon elder Edmund Bosley, for four hundred dollars; Isaac McWethy paid twenty-seven hundred dollars for eighty-five acres on the heights across the valley north of the temple.

The Mormon stress on gathering heightened the speculative fever. . . .

The most important sales in 1836, were made to five persons who evidently intended to profit by selling housing lots to the incoming Saints. It was for them a season of preparation. First to act was John Boynton, apostle of the Church. . . .

Next to act was Jacob Bump, the master mason, who had supervised construction of the temple but had never arisen prominently in the councils of the Church.

The third person to prepare himself for subdivision was John Johnson. His money had purchased the French farm for the Church in 1833, . . .

Joseph Smith Jr., Prophet to the Church, was the next person to make preparations to sell inheritances to the incoming Saints. He already owned more than one hundred and forty acres of land adjoining the temple besides his four acres of business property on the Chillicothe Road. Now he associated himself with Jacob Bump and Reynolds Cahoon to make two more large acquisitions. The first was from Peter French. The old farmer, after selling out to the Mormons in 1833, had moved, with the sure eye of a veteran, to a new site just south of the Mormons. On October 4, he again profited from the Church as he signed a contract with Smith and his associate, agreeing to sell his two hundred and forty acres of land for nine thousand seven hundred seventy-seven dollars and fifty cents. Barely two weeks passed before these associates bought again, this time from non-Mormon Alpheus Russell. Heretofore, Russell's Puritan conscience had forbidden him to do business with the Mormons, although he had allowed them to take stone from his property to build the temple. When he was offered twelve thousand nine hundred and four dollars for his one hundred and thirty-two acres, it was more than his puritanism could stand and the Yankee in him succumbed to the offer. The partners were evidently speculating, for both of these purchases were made on mortgage contracts which covered the full purchase price. Smith made two other smaller purchases by himself. He bought an eight-acre farm from Samuel Canfield for one hundred and sixty dollars and recorded it in the name of his wife, Emma, and an additional thirteen acres in a different location, from the same seller, for five hundred dollars.

The Prophet's uncle, John Smith, in association with Jared Carter and Oliver Granger, was the last of the five big land purchasers. . . .

As the Saints gathered in Kirtland, the tempo of land sales gradually increased. There was no uniformity of prices; they ranged from a low of twenty dollars per acre to a high of the thirty-five hundred dollars which Joseph Smith paid to Jacob Bump . . . One of the higher prices was the eight hundred dollars which Smith charged David Elliott for a half acre plot. Likely many lands were bargained for which never reached the stage of deed records. In view of the recorded prices, the Prophet's warning to his congregation, delivered in December, to beware of falling victim to speculators and extortioners, was eminently justified. How he accounted for his own conduct is not a matter or record.

Through the early months of 1837, Smith was busy trying to effect the largest real estate promotion of them all in order to bring some kind of regularity into his rapidly growing but poorly organized city. ("The Growth of the Mormon Church in Kirtland, Ohio," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation by Robert Kent Fielding, Indiana University, 1957, typed copy, pages 202-204, 206-208, 211-212)

Fawn M. Brodie gives us this interesting information:

> To the chaos of Ohio's banking system was now added Joseph's Safety Society. . . . most of the subscribers paying in Kirtland boom-town lots at five and six times normal value. According to the *Painesville Telegraph*, Joseph estimated his own land in Kirtland at $300,000, and stated that the whole capital stock of the bank was comprised in land lying within two square miles. (*No Man Knows My History*, New York, 1957, page 195)

The Mormon writer Max Parkin has this statement to make concerning the speculation in property:

> This trend towards making excessive profit from speculation in the buying and selling of lands in Kirtland was indulged in by prominent **leaders of the Church** as well as others, which became a factor in their dissidence and distrust. (*Conflict at Kirtland*, page 286)

In a footnote on page 288 of the same book, Max Parkin states:

> That **Joseph Smith** participated in the buying and selling of land in Kirtland there can be no doubt; . . . However, the point that is not clear is Smith's motive for doing so . . . It could well be that Smith's land purchases were made for the Church or to provide for the needs of the Saints rather than for personal gain, as Fielding infers.

The Mormon Apostle Parley P. Pratt evidently did not feel that Joseph Smith's motives were right in these transactions, for he wrote a letter to Joseph Smith in which he censured both Smith and Rigdon "in regard to certain business transactions." Max Parkin states:

> The spirit of speculation—and the problems caused by it—also had an effect upon Parley P. Pratt, who admitted that a complaining spirit temporarily alienated him from the Prophet Joseph. . . .
>
> While in the extreme of his anxiety and **distrust** on May 23, 1837, Parley wrote a letter to Joseph Smith severely criticizing him for the course he and Rigdon had taken in certain business matters associated with the current speculation in property. . . .

After his defection from the Church, Warren Parrish sent a copy of Pratt's letter to the editor of *Zion's Watchman*, a non-Mormon publication, which printed it March 6, 1838. Later, it was printed by others. . . . Richard Livesey, a Methodist Episcopal minister of Winchendon, Massachusetts, had the letter reprinted in his anti-Mormon pamphlet in Preston, England, in 1838. (*Conflict at Kirtland*. pages 287, 288 and 290)

This letter, dated May 23rd, 1837, reads as follows:

Pres. J. Smith, Jr.

Dear Brother,—As it is difficult to obtain a personal interview with you at all times, by reason of the multitude of business in which you are engaged, you will excuse my saying in writing what I would otherwise say by word of mouth.

Having long pondered the path in which we as a people, have been led in regard to our temporal management, I have at length become fully convinced that the **whole scheme of speculation in which we have been engaged, is of the devil**. I allude to the covetous, extortionary speculating spirit which has reigned in this place for the last season: which has given rise to lying, deceiving and taking advantage of one's neighbor, and in short, every evil work.

And being as fully convinced that **you, and President Rigdon, both by precept and example, have been the principle means in leading this people astray**, in these particulars, and having myself been led astray and caught in the same snare by **your example**, and by **false prophesying and preaching**, from your own mouths, yea, having done many things wrong and plunged myself and family, and others, well nigh into destruction, I have awoke to an awful sense of my situation, and now resolve to retrace my steps and get out of the snare, and make restitution as far as I can.

And now dear brother, if you are still determined to pursue this **wicked course**, until yourself and the church shall sink **down to hell**, I beseech you at least, to have mercy on me and my family, and others who are bound with me for those three lots (of land) which you sold to me **at the extortionary price of 2000 dollars, which never cost you 100 dollars**. For if it stands against me it will ruin me and my helpless family, as well as those bound with me: for yesterday president Rigdon came to me and informed me, that you had drawn the money from the bank, on the obligations which you held against me, and that you had left it to the mercy of the bank, and could not help whatever course they might take to collect it; not withstanding the most **sacred promise** on your part, that I should not be injured by those writings. I offered the three lots for the writings; but he wanted my house and home also.

Now, dear brother, will you take those lots and give me up the writings, and pay me the 75 dollars, which I paid you on the same? Or will you take the advantage of the neighbor because he is in your power? If you will receive this admonition of one who loves your soul, and repent of your **extortion and covetousness** in this thing, and make restitution, you have my fellowship and esteem, as far as it respects our dealings between ourselves.

But if not, I shall be under the painful necessity of preferring charges against you for extortion, covetousness, and taking advantage of your brother by an undue religious influence. For it is this kind of influence which led us to make this kind of trades in this society. Such as saying it was the will of God that lands should bear with such a price; and many other prophesyings, preachings and statements of a like nature.

Yours with respect,

P. P. Pratt

(*Expose of Mormonism Being a Statement of Facts Relating to the Self-Styled "Latter Day Saints," and the Origin of the Book of Mormon*, by Richard Livesey, as quoted in *Conflict at Kirtland*, pages 372-373)

Apparently Parley P. Pratt forgave Joseph Smith, for he wrote another letter which was published in the *Elders' Journal* in which he stated:

Whereas a certain letter has been published in the *Zions Watchman* . . . derogatory of the character of Presidents J. Smith Jr. and S. Rigdon, purporting to come from me. I take this opportunity to correct the public mind concerning the matter.

Firstly, the letter as it stands in print, is not a true copy of the one I wrote; but is altered, so as to convey a different idea from the original.

But this much I acknowledge freely; that **I did write a letter in great severity and harshness censuring them both, in regard to certain business transactions** but at the same time expressing my entire confidence in the faith of the church . . . this letter was written under feelings of excitement, and during the most peculiar trials. I did not however believe at the time and never have believed at any time before, or since, that these men were dishonest or had wrong motives or intentions, . . . But I considered them like other men, and as the prophets and apostles of old liable to errors, and mistakes, in things which were not inspired from heaven, but managed by their own judgement.

This letter was intended as a **private admonition**, it was never intended to be made public. But I have been long convinced, and have freely acknowledged both to these men and the public, that it was **not calculated to admonish them in the spirit of meekness, to do them good, but rather to injure them and wound their feelings**, and that I much regreted having written it. I have asked their forgiveness, and hereby do again. I **no longer** censure them for any thing that is past, but I censure myself for rashness, excitement, imprudence, and many faults which I would to God, that I had avoided. (*Elders' Journal*, Far West, Missouri, August, 1838, pages 50-51)

Max Parkin makes this observation concerning this letter:

> According to this Church leader, his letter which appeared in the *Zion's Watchman* was "not a true copy" of the one he wrote, but it was "altered, so as to convey a different idea from the original." Precisely what part was altered and in what manner is not made clear, for Parley candidly admitted that he had written the letter in "great severity and harshness, censuring them [i.e. Smith and Rigdon] both." He also admitted that his letter "was not calculated to admonish them in the spirit of meekness, to do them good, but rather to injure them and wound their feelings." (*Conflict at Kirtland*, page 289)

B. H. Roberts makes this comment in a footnote found in the *History of the Church*:

> Among those who were embittered against the Prophet at this time was Elder Parley P. Pratt, and of this incident in his experience he says: "About this time, (summer of 1837) after I had returned from Canada, there were jarrings and discords in the Church at Kirtland, and many fell away and became enemies and apostates. There were also envyings, lyings, strifes and divisions, which caused much trouble and sorrow. By such spirits I was also accused, misrepresented and abused. And at one time, I also **was overcome** by the same spirit in a great measure, . . . I went to Brother Joseph in tears, . . . He frankly forgave me, . . . And, being tempted in all points, even as others, I learned how to bear with, and excuse, and succor those who are tempted.". . .
>
> In the midst of these troubles there were reputations made as well as some lost. . . . A number in the quorum of the Twelve were disaffected toward the Prophet, and the Church seemed on the point of disintegration. Among others, Parley P. Pratt was floundering in darkness, and coming to Elder Taylor told him of some things wherein he **considered the Prophet Joseph in error**. . . . To the honor of Elder Pratt, be it said, he sought no further to lead Elder Taylor astray; nor did he use much argument in the first place. "He and many others," says Elder Taylor, "were passing under a dark cloud; he soon made all right with the Prophet Joseph, and was restored to full fellowship." (*History of the Church*, vol. 2, pages 488-489)

In 1862 Brigham Young made the following statement in the Tabernacle in Great Salt Lake City:

> In the early history of this Church, J**oseph Smith was accused of being a speculator**. So far as I am concerned, **I never denied being a speculator**; for, in one sense of the word, it is one of the greatest speculations ever entered into by man. In building up the kingdom of God, **I am decidedly for self**, and so are you. If you wish to obtain wealth, power, glory, excellency, and exaltation of every kind, be for God and truth, and he will give to you more than your hearts can conceive of. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 9, page 155)

THE KIRTLAND BANK

John Whitmer, one of the witnesses to the Book of Mormon, made this statement concerning conditions in Kirtland:

> In the fall of 1836, Joseph Smith, Jun., S. Rigdon and others of the leaders of the Church at Kirtland, Ohio, **established a bank for the purpose of speculation**, and the whole Church partook of the same spirit; they were lifted up in pride, and lusted after the forbidden things of God, such as covetousness, and in secret combinations, spiritual-wife doctrine, that is plurality of wives, and Gadianton bands, in which they were bound with oaths, etc., that brought division and mistrust among those who were pure in heart, and desired the upbuilding of the Kingdom of God. (*John Whitmer's History*, chapter 20, pages 21-22)

William E. McLellin, who had been an Apostle, made this statement concerning the Kirtland Bank:

> Soon, therefore, it is determined that a Kirtland Bank must be established, to hold their treasures; and to aid them to get more. So eager were they, and so sanguine of success, that they did not even wait to get a charter from the State, but seemed to think that everything must bow at their nod—thus violating the laws of the land in which they live, which in the end brought upon them swift destruction. (*Ensign of Liberty*, Kirtland, Ohio, March, 1847, page 7)

This statement concerning the Kirtland Bank appears in Joseph Smith's history:

> On the 2nd of November the brethren at Kirtland drew up certain articles of agreement, preparatory to the organization of a banking institution, to be called the "Kirtland Safety Society." President Oliver Cowdery was delegated to Philadelphia to procure plates for the institution; and Elder Orson Hyde to repair to Columbus with a petition to the legislature of Ohio, for an act of incorporation, which was presented at an early period of their session, . . . (*History of the Church*, vol. 2, pages 467-468)

Robert Kent Fielding claims that it was no time to start a bank:

> Even under the most advantageous conditions, the year 1837 was no proper time to start a bank. Even a cursory reading of the newspapers of the time indicates the fact that the country was far extended on credit and that there was a desperate shortage of specie—conditions portentous of depression. ("The Growth of the Mormon Church in Kirtland, Ohio," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1957, typed copy, page 185)

At any rate, Oliver Cowdery "succeeded at a great expense in procuring the plates" which were to be used to print the bank money. Orson Hyde, however, was not successful in obtaining the charter. Joseph Smith made this statement concerning Orson Hyde's failure to obtain it:

> . . . because we were "Mormons" the legislature raised some frivolous excuse on which they refused to grant us those banking privileges they **so freely granted to others**. (*History of the Church*, vol. 2, page 468)

Robert Kent Fielding, on the other hand, claims that the reason the Mormons did not obtain a charter was "by no means as simple as Smith indicated":

> The reason the Mormons did not get their charter is by no means as simple as Smith indicated. As a matter of fact, the legislature did not refuse the charter; there is no evidence to sustain the idea that **it was even asked to grant one**. No bills to establish a Mormon hank were ever considered by the legislature. It is conceivable, as Smith suggests, that religious prejudice was present. It may have operated to prevent the introduction of a petition for a charter, but it is **not likely**. Prejudice seems more like a **ready excuse** than a valid reason. The county delegates to the legislature were Senator Ralph Granger of Fairpost and Representatives Seabury Ford of Burton, and Timothy Rockwell of Painesville. . . . Political prejudice is another possible inference for refusal to ask for a charter. All of the delegates were Whigs whereas the Mormons were Democrats. However, the legislature itself had a Democrat majority in each house. It seems most likely that they persuaded Hyde of the uselessness of submitting a petition in view of the control of the legislature by the anti-bank Democrats. In any case, no new banking privileges were granted to any petitioners by the state legislature in its 1836-37 session.
>
> Even if the legislature had been willing to grant charters to any of the seventeen applicants or to the Mormons, it is unlikely that they could have acted in time to help the Mormon situation. Their sessions commenced on the fifth day of December and ended the following April third. Under the best of circumstances it is not likely that a charter could have been obtained before late March when most hills were passed. The Mormons could not wait. ("The Growth of the Mormon Church in Kirtland, Ohio," typed copy, pages 179-181)

Max Parkin states that Willis Thornton "said that there was one charter issued during that session by the legislature." But whether there was one charter granted or none—as Fielding indicates—Joseph Smith's statement that they were "freely granted to others" is certainly not true. And since at least sixteen applications were turned down, it seems unfair of Joseph Smith to charge the legislature with religious prejudice.

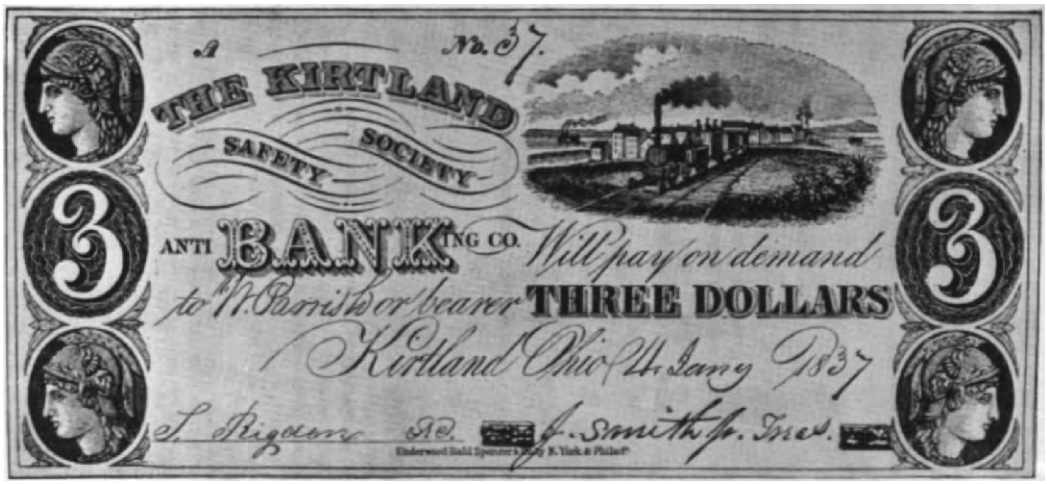
Be this as it may, the Mormons were in trouble when they found that they could not obtain the charter. Robert Kent Fielding makes this statement on page 181 of his dissertation:

> When news came that no charter was to be had, **the Mormon situation became desperate**. The old problems remained and the expenses already undertaken in anticipation of forming a bank offered new ones. Quick action seemed necessary and a decision was made to put an end ot [to?] the projected Kirtland Safety Society Bank Company and to form, in its place, a joint stock association for the management of the common concerns of the Stock holders.

Max Parkin gives this interesting information:

> To avoid wasting the money expended on the production of the bank plates the necessary prefix, "anti," and suffix, "ing Company," added to the name "Bank"—to read "Anti-Banking Company"—was stamped on the bills. This was more adaptable to the three dollar note than to the others which did not conveniently receive the alteration. (*Conflict at Kirtland*, page 214)

Below is a photograph of the three dollar note.



The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts makes this statement concerning the alteration of the notes:

> In issuing their notes the "Kirtland Safety Society" doubtless **made a mistake** in that they used the notes printed from the plates prepared for their anticipated bank issue, using a stamp to make the notes read—Anti-Bank-ing Co., instead of "Kirtland Safety Society Bank." This to avoid the necessity of incurring the expense of making new plates; . . . (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 1, page 401)

The Mormon writer Max Parkin gives this interesting information concerning the Kirtland Bank:

> The firm was expected to grow to an enormous size, for it was established with a capital stock "not to be less than four millions of dollars." (*Conflict at Kirtland*, page 214)

On page 301 of the same book, Max Parkin states:

> At the time of the bank's inception, it was capitalized at **four million dollars**. Critics have found fault with this enormous figure because the capitalization of **all the banks in the state of Ohio at that time was only nine and one third million**.

The Mormon Apostle Willard Richards wrote the following in a letter to his sister, Hepsy:

> "If you had remembered it is written that the 'Riches of the Gentiles shall be given to the Saints of the Most High,' perhaps you would not have asked the question. . . . There is a banking co. here, $4,000,000 capital, and may be extended to an indefinite amount. Private property is holden & Kirtland **bills are as safe as gold**." (*Intimate Disciple—A Portrait of Willard Richards*, by Claire Noall, University of Utah Press, 1957, page 155)

Robert Kent Fielding makes this statement concerning the four million dollar figure:

> As it was projected, there was **never the slightest chance that the Kirtland Safety Society anti-Bank-ing Company could succeed**. Even though their economy was in jeopardy, it could scarcely have suffered such a devastating blow as that which they were themselves preparing to administer to it. There were many good reasons why banking—or anti-banking—was not the solution to their problems; proper notice of any one of them should have directed their efforts in more hopeful directions.
>
> The Safety Society proposed no modest project befitting its relative worth and ability to pay. Its organizers launched, instead, a gigantic company capitalized at four million dollars, when the entire capitalization of all the banks in the state of Ohio was only nine and one third million. Such presumption could not have escaped the notice of bankers who would realize that such a capital could not be paid in, and would have been led to examine its capital structure more closely. They would have noted, upon exami[n]ation, that according to the articles of incorporation capital stock was to be paid in by subscription but that the amount of the first subscription was not stated and further payments were left to the discretion of the company managers. Furthermore, total issuance of notes was not prescribed, nor was the relation of notes to capital and assets. The members, to be sure, pledged themselves to redeem the notes and bound themselves individually by their agreement under the penal sum of one hundred thousand dollars. But there was no transfer of property deeds, no power of attorney, no legal pains and penalties. To a banker, the articles fairly shouted: "this is a wildcat, beware!" ("The Growth of the Mormon Church in Kirtland, Ohio," typed copy, pages 182-183)

Although the Gentiles may have been skeptical of Joseph Smith's bank, many of the Mormons believed that it could not fail. Max Parkin makes this comment:

> The confidence that the Saints had in the Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Banking Company resulting from the solicitation of Joseph Smith and other leaders, no doubt prompted many to invest in it. The Saints demonstrated considerable optimism in the future of the bank and believed it would eventually become a **great financial institution**. The fact that this confidence was principally derived from the Prophet Joseph, unfortunately, led some Saints to make the unfounded conclusion that the bank could not fail because of its divine approbation. (*Conflict at Kirtland*, pages 295-296)

On page 300 of the same book, Max Parkin states:

> There can be no doubt that the Prophet and others **encouraged** the Saints to have confidence in the bank. Sidney Rigdon considered the Saints who refused to accept the bank currency as "covenant breakers," who by refusing "Kirtland Currency which was their temporal salvation" had put strength into the hands of their enemies.

Wilford Woodruff, who later became the fourth President of the Mormon Church, related the following:

> Joseph then arose and like the lion of the Tribe of Judah poured out his soul in the midst of the congregation of Saints. . . . When speaking of those who had professed to be his friends and the friends of humanity but who had turned traitors, **opposed the currency** and consequently the prosperity of Kirtland, he proclaimed that the **Lord would severely deal with them**. ("Journal History," under the date of April 9, 1837, as quoted in "The Growth of the Mormon Church in Kirtland, Ohio," typed copy, page 236)

The Mormon people were apparently told that the bank was established by revelation and that it could not fail. Max Parkin states:

> The belief that this bank could become a prominent financial organization began to circulate among the Saints and apparently was the cause for increased confidence in it. Likewise, early in the year, word began to circulate that the **bank was established by divine revelation**. (*Conflict at Kirtland*, page 297)

In footnote 40 on the same page, Max Parkin states:

> On January 27th the *Painesville Telegraph* printed a letter over the unidentified signature of "Servantes" to the effect that the Kirtland bank was established by revelation.

The historian Hurbert Howe Bancroft gives the following information in a footnote on page 113 of his *History of Utah*:

> "Subsequently they had **a revelation**," another says, "commanding them to **establish a bank, which would swallow up all other banks**. This was soon got into operation on a pretended capital of four million of dollars, made up of real estate round about the temple."

In a meeting held September 3, 1837, John F. Boynton (who had been an Apostle in the Mormon Church) claimed that he understood that the bank was instituted because it was the will of God:

> Elder Boynton again rose and still attributed his difficulties to the failure of the bank, stating that he understood **the bank was instituted by the will of God, and he had been told that it should never fail, let men do what they would**." (*History of the Church*, vol. 2, pages 509-510)

Warren Parrish, who had been an officer in the bank and had apostatized from the Church, made this statement:

> I have listened to him [i.e. Smith] with feelings of no ordinary kind, when he declared that the **audible voice of God, instructed him to establish a banking—anti-banking institution**, who like Aaron's rod **shall swallow up all other banks** (the Bank of Monroe excepted,) and grow and flourish and spread from the rivers to the ends of the earth, and survive when all others should be laid in ruins. (*Painesville Republican*, February 22, 1838, as quoted in *Conflict at Kirtland*, page 297)

Wilford Woodruff, who remained true to the Church and became the fourth President, confirmed the fact that Joseph Smith claimed to have a revelation concerning the bank. Under the date of January 6, 1837, he recorded the following in his journal:

> I also herd [*sic*] President Joseph Smith, jr., declare in the presence of F. Williams, D. Whitmer, S. Smith, W. Parrish, and others in the Deposit office that **he had received that morning the word of the Lord upon the subject of the Kirtland Safety Societ**y. He was alone in a room by himself and he had not only [heard] the voice of the Spirit upon the Subject but even an **audible voice**. He did not tell us at that time what the Lord said upon the subject but remarked that if we would give heed to the commandments the Lord had given this morning all would be well. ("Wilford Woodruff's Journal," January 6, 1837, as quoted in *Conflict at Kirtland*, page 296)

Max Parkin makes this statement concerning this incident:

> Although Woodruff could not record all that was understood by the Prophet, he reflected considerable confidence in the bank following the Prophet Joseph's announcement. In fact, Wilford Woodruff's understanding prompted him to make the following expectant declaration:
>
> > May the Lord bless Brother Joseph with all the Saints and support the above named institution and protect it so that every weapon formed against it may be broaken [*sic*] and come to nought while the **Kirtland Safety Society shall become the greatest of all institutions on earth**.
>
> . . . . .
>
> Both Parrish and Woodruff believed that the bank had the promise of becoming a great financial institution whose influence would be felt nationally and internationally. (*Conflict at Kirtland*, pages 296-297)

In January, 1837, Joseph Smith published the following in the *Messenger and Advocate*:

> In connexion with the above Articles of Agreement of the Kirtland Safety Society, I beg leave to make a few remarks to all those who are preparing themselves, and appointing their wise men, for the purpose of building up Zion and her Stakes. It is wisdom and according to the mind of the Holy Spirit, that you should call at Kirtland, and receive counsel and instruction upon those principles that are necessary to further the great work of the Lord, and to establish the children of the Kingdom, according to the oracles of God, as they are had among us. And further, we invite the brethren from abroad, to call on us, and **take stock in our safety society**. And we would remind them also of the sayings of the prophet

> Isaiah, . . . which are as follows: "Surely the isles shall wait for me, and the ships of Tarshish first, and to bring thy sons from far, their silver and their gold (**not their bank notes**) with them, unto the name of the Lord thy God, and to the holy one of Israel, because he hath glorified thee.
>
> "For brass I will bring gold, and for iron I will bring silver, and wood brass and for stones iron: I will also make thy officers peace, and thine exactors righteousness." Also 62 ch. 1st vrs. "For Zion's sake will I not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth."
>
> J SMITH jr.
>
> (*Messenger and Advocate*, vol. 3, page 443)

DISASTER

The Mormon writer John J. Stewart states that the Kirtland Safety Society "became bankrupt" (*Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet*, Salt Lake City, 1966, page 110). The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts made this comment:

> The "Kirtland Safety Society" enterprise **ended disastrously**. (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 1, pages 401-402)

Under the date of July 7, 1837, we find the following statement in Joseph Smith's history:

> Some time previous to this I resigned my office in the "Kirtland Safety Society," disposed of my interest therein, and withdrew from the institution; being fully aware, after so long an experiment, that no institution of the kind, established upon just and righteous principles for a blessing not only to the Church but the whole nation, would be suffered to continue its operations in such an age of darkness, speculation and wickedness. (*History of the Church*, vol. 2, page 497)

In the *Messenger and Advocate*, July, 1837, we find the following:

> 1st Relative to the paper, purporting to be bank bills issued in this place, we say there is much of it in circulation, . . . We are aware that the currency of any paper circulating as money, depends on one simple fact, to make it so. The public mind must be impressed with the belief that it can be converted into the precious metals, to the same amount that is stamped on the bill or bills; . . . What then is our duty under existing circumstances? Shall we all unite as one man, say it is good and make it so by taking it on a par with gold and silver? We will answer **no**, for the simple reason that we are few in number, compared with the world of mankind by whom we are surrounded . . . Shall we then take it at its marked price for our property? We answer **no**. "Our enemies far out number us, . . . if they receive any of our paper they receive it at a discount, and return it upon us again as soon as may be, and if we receive it at par we give them, voluntarily and with our eyes open, just that advantage over us, . . ." (*Messenger and Advocate*, vol. 3, pages 538-539)

In the August, 1837, issue of the *Messenger and Advocate* we find the following statement by Joseph Smith:

> CAUTION
>
> To the brethren and friends of the church of Latter Day Saints, I am disposed to say a word relative to the bills of the Kirtland Safety Society Bank. I hereby warn them to beware of speculators, renegadoes and gamblers, who are duping the unsuspecting and the unwary, by palming upon them, those bills, **which are of no worth, here**. I discountenance and disapprove of any and all such practices. I know them to be detrimental to the best interests of society, as well as to the principles of religion.
>
> JOSEPH SMITH Jun
>
> (*Messenger and Advocate*, vol. 3, page 560)

After the Kirtland Bank failed, the Mormon leaders tried to blame the apostates. In an article published in the *Elders' Journal* (edited by Joseph Smith) Warren Parrish—referred to as "mamma Parrish"—was accused of stealing more than $25,000 from the bank:

> But this is not all concerning mamma Parrish. The next business we find him in, is robbing the Kirtland Bank of **twenty-five thousand dollars** at one time, and large sums at others, the managers had in the mean time, appointed him as Cashier, and F. G. Williams as President, and they managed the institution with a witness. Parrish stole the paper out of the institution, and went to buying bogus or counterfeit coin with it, . . . (*Elders' Journal*, August, 1838, page 58)

Fawn M. Brodie makes this comment concerning this matter:

> If the bank needed a final blow to shatter what little prestige it still held among the faithful, it received it when Warren Parrish resigned as cashier, left the church, and began openly to describe the banking methods of the prophet. Parrish was later accused of absconding with $25,000, but if he took the sum it must have been in **worthless bank notes**, since that amount of specie in the vaults would have saved the bank, at least during Joseph's term as cashier. (*No Man Knows My History*, page 198)

Mrs. Brodie is probably correct in this because the *Elders' Journal* said that it was paper—not specie—that Warren Parrish stole. Robert Kent Fielding stated:

> A further excuse for failure was evolved in the general bitterness and apostacy which followed in the wake of economic disaster. The story was told that Warren Parrish, leader of the apostate faction, had stolen twenty five thousand dollars of the bank's money, and that he had been guilty of private speculations and mismanagement. These notions were widely repeated and generally accepted among the faithful Saints but even if true, cannot have been of great significance. It is most likely that the story is not true, for no valid record exists which charges him with culpability; and he lived for several years, following the incident, as a religious leader in Kirtland. Still later, he became a minister in the Baptist Church. He may have retained possession of money printed by the society after it had declined in value. If Cyrus Smalling's story is true, Parrish may have been a commission agent for the bank and by that means have come into legitimate possession of large numbers of bank notes. It is known that Brigham Young, who had no official position in the bank, had large quantities of Kirtland notes, and that they were the official currency among the Saints soon after their arrival in Salt Lake Valley. Yet, he is not accused of fraud or theft. ("The Growth of the Mormon Church in Kirtland, Ohio," typed copy, pages 195-197)

By the year 1864 the Mormon Apostle George A. Smith had built up the story until it was absolutely ridiculous. He stated:

> Warren Parrish was the teller of the bank, and a number of other men who apostatized were officers. They took out of its vault, unknown to the President or cashier, a **hundred thousand dollars**, and sent their agents around among the brethren to purchase their farms, wagons, cattle, horses and every thing they could get hold of. The brethren would gather up this money and put it into the bank, and those traitors would steal it and send it out to buy again, and they continued to do so until the plot was discovered and payment stopped. It was the cursed apostates—their stealing and robberies, and their infernal villainies that prevented that bank being conducted as the Prophet designed. If they had followed the counsel of Joseph, there is not a doubt but that it would have been the leading bank in Ohio, probably of the nation. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 11, page 11)

Although the Mormon leaders tried to shift the blame for the failure of the bank onto the apostates, there is evidence that they themselves were to blame. Robert Kent Fielding states:

> . . . the issuance of Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Bank-ing Company notes commenced on January 6. Smith advised his Church members to bring their silver and gold (not their bank notes) and take stock in the company; but with a commendable caution, he wisely went to Painesville the day prior to the opening of business, where he and Rigdon signed a note for **three thousand dollars** from the Bank of Geauga, payable in forty-five days. The bank was obviously begun on a shoe string, and a **borrowed one at that**, but no one knew how thin and worn the string was until it was revealed that even the plates from which the notes had been printed had been purch[a]sed on credit. ("The Growth of the Mormon Church in Kirtland, Ohio," typed copy, page 190)

In a footnote on the same page, Robert Kent Fielding tells that the engravers who had made the plates which were used to print the bank notes had to sue to recover their money:

> Underwood, Bald, Spencer and Hufty, engravers, **sued for recovery of $1450 and were awarded damages** in April of 1839. The account was settled piecemeal by land sales under sheriff's condemnations. Almon W. Babbitt, as agent for Joseph Smith, filed a "paid in full" receipt in April, 1841.

Robert Kent Fielding also states:

> The Mormon Bank did not die a quick death. . . . The signal for its demise was given when Samuel D. Rounds entered suit for himself and for the State of Ohio, under the 1816 statue for illegal banking. In Separate suits he sought convictions against Sidney Rigdon, Warren Parrish and Newell K. Whitney on the same charge. Unless that case could be won, there was not a chance for survival of the bank. When Smith's demurrer to the d[e]claration of the plaintiff was overruled by the court in June, even though the case was continued for jury trial, he must have known that the bank was finished. Smith does not mention the trial in his journal, but likely it loomed large in his estimate of the total situation. . . . Even the faithful Saints refused to accept Kirtland notes at par after July, 1837. So far in ruin was the Kirtland bank, as early as May, that it was unable to benefit by the general suspension of specie payments which came at that time throughout the nation.
>
> The causes for the failure of the Mormon bank are sufficiently apparent in the errors incident to its founding, and were freely admitted in the official paper of the Church at the time. Later, however, neither the Mormons nor their enemies were content to see the rise and fall of the bank in terms of these facts. There is little to support the claims of the opponents of the Church that there was deception and fraud in the bank from beginning to end. On the other hand, the tendency of the Church to find excuses for failure which do not reflect quite so strongly upon the poor judgment of its leaders lacks substantial factual foundation. It is alleged that the fall of the bank was caused by the poor business conditions and the bank failures of 1837. It is evident from a study of the situation that, although the causes are similar, they are not identical; and it seems most probable that, if there had been no panic of 1837, the Mormon bank, launched and operated as it was, could not have endured for long. . . . The Saints were not the victims of the folly of others, but of their own folly. . . .

> There has been a natural, although regrettable, tendency among the Mormons, to try any device to clear Joseph Smith of blame for the failure of the Bank, but he **cannot logically be freed from some responsibility**. The decision to establish a bank and later an anti-bank had been partly his. The bank had failed during the period in which he was one of its chief directing officials. He did not protest, so far as preserved accounts record, nor withdraw, until the ruin of the bank became a part of the general national ruin and identified with it. ("The Growth of the Mormon Church in Kirtland, Ohio," typed copy, pages 193-196 and 197)

On pages 233, 234, 237 and 238 of the same dissertation we find the following:

> When the Sheriff arrived in Kirtland on February 10, with his summons for Joseph Smith to answer to Samuel D. Rounds and to the State of Ohio on the charge of illegal banking, there was widespread belief that the notorious Mormon hater Grandison Newel was behind it, that it was trumped up and completely unjust and that when it came to trial it would be recognized as such. As a matter of fact, this case could very well have been the key to the whole economic problem. It would clarify Mormon intent and establish their honesty; . . . The plaintiff entered his plea in April term of court and Smith was scheduled to reply in June.
>
> Meantime, Smith **knew the true condition of the bank, the three thousand dollars he and Rigdon had borrowed** from the Bank of Geauga to furnish specie for their own bank was gone and at length the forty-five day note came due. Smith and Rigdon evidently had no money to redeem it, for the bank brought suit for recovery. Realizing the effect a lawsuit for debts would have on the future of the bank, Smith bestirred himself with sufficient vigor so that by the time the case came to court in the March 21 term, a settlement had been arranged. . . .
>
> It was natural that blame for the entire situation should be charged against the Prophet. They had gathered to Kirtland at his command; the idea of purchasing housing lots in the great subdivision scheme had his full support; he had inferred that the bank would not only succeed, but would one day be the most powerful institution of its kind. There had been conditions stated upon which these salutary results were predicated, but they were general rather than specific, and the Church populace was genuinely disillusioned when the bank failed. It was difficult for them to comprehend that a man who claimed to have divine revelation in religious matters could fail so miserably in economic affairs. . . . No amount of shifting of blame could obscure the fact that a prophet had failed in a grand project. . . . As the Sheriff appeared ever more regularly with summons and as the fortunes and anticipations of one after another of the leaders faced the humiliating prospect of publicly acknowledged incompetence and bankruptcy, the discipline and sense of responsibility, which are the heart of all organizations, broke completely and plunged Mormondom into ecclesiastical anarchy.

The Mormon writer Max Parkin makes this statement concerning the failure of the bank:

> The Prophet, who had lead some to believe that the bank could grow into a significant national institution, was held responsible for much of the economic discontent. . . . the bank became a financial failure. Considerable animosity toward Joseph Smith developed among the Saints, including a number of the most prominent leaders in the Church, such as President Frederick G. Williams, Apostles Lyman E. Johnson, Luke S. Johnson, John F. Boynton, and the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon. (*Conflict at Kirtland*, page 349)

A. Metcalf had an interview with Martin Harris, one of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon, in the "winter of 1875-6." Apparently Martin Harris was still disturbed about the Kirtland Bank episode:

> Harris further stated that the Kirtland Bank **was a swindle**, and he would have nothing to do with it. About that time Harris began to lose confidence in Joe Smith, as a man of truth, honor and principle, yet he believed him to be a prophet of God. (*Ten Years Before the Mast*, by A. Metcalf, as quoted in *A New Witness for Christ in America*, by Francis W. Kirkham, Salt Lake City, 1959, vol. 2, page 348)

Warren Parrish, who had been one of the bank's officers, charged Joseph Smith with deceit:

> "I have been astonished to hear him declare that we had $60,000 in specie in our vaults and $600,000 at our command, when we had **not to exceed $6,000 and could not command any more**; also that we had but about ten thousand dollars of our bills in circulation when he, as cashier of that institution, **knew that there was at least $150,000**." (Letter to *Zion's Watchman*, printed March 24, 1838, as quoted in *No Man Knows My History*, page 197)

Cyrus Smalling, in a letter to Mr. Lee of Frankford, Pa., dated March 10, 1841, also stated that only six thousand dollars in specie had been collected and that the Mormon leaders used deceptive methods in running the bank:

> Dear Sir:
>
> By request, and the duty I owe to my fellow-man, I consent to answer your letter, and your request as to Joseph Smith, Jr., and the Safety Society Bank of the Latter Day Saints, . . . the leaders of the church, Smith, Rigdon, Carter and Cahoon, I may say, all the heads of the church, got lifted up in pride, and they imagined that God was about to make them rich, and that they were to suck the milk of the Gentiles, as they call those that do not belong to the church, . . . About this time they said that God had told them, Sidney and Joseph, that they had suffered enough and that they should be rich; and they informed me, that God told them to buy goods and so they did, to some thirty thousand dollars, on a credit of six months, at Cleveland and Buffalo. In the spring of 1836 this firm was, I believe, Smith, Rigdon & Co. It included the heads of the church. In the fall, they formed

other companies of their brethren, and sent to New York . . . and they purchased some sixty or seventy thousand dollars worth, all for the church, and the most of them not worth a penny, and no financiers. At this time the first debt became due and not any thing to pay it with, for they had sold to their poor brethren, who were strutting about the streets in the finest broadcloth, and imagining themselves rich, but could pay nothing: and poverty is the mother of invention. They then fixed upon a plan to pay the debt. It was, to have a bank of their own, as none of the then existing banks would loan to them what they wanted and the most refused them entirely. They sent to Philadelphia and got the plates made for their Safety Society Bank, and got a large quantity of bills ready for filling and signing; and in the meantime, Smith and others, collected what specie they could, which amounted to some six thousand dollars. The paper came about the first of January, 1837, and they immediately began to issue their paper and to no small amount: but their creditors refused to take it. Then Smith invented another plan, that was to exchange their notes for other notes that would pay their debts, and for that purpose he sent the elders out with it to exchange, and not only the elders, but gave large quantities of it to others, giving them one half to exchange it, as I am informed by those that peddled for him. Thus Smith was instrumental in sending the worthless stuff abroad, and it soon came in again. There was nothing to redeem it with, as Smith had used the greater part of their precious metals. The inhabitants holding their bills came to inquire into the Safety Society precious metals: the way that Smith contrived to deceive them was this: he had some one or two hundred boxes made, and gathered all the lead and shot that the village had or that part of it that he controlled, and filled the boxes with lead, shot, &c., and marked them, one thousand dollars, each. Then, when they went to examine the vault, he had one box on a table partly filled, for them to see, and when they proceeded to the vault, Smith told them that the church had two hundred thousand dollars in specie, and he opened one box and they saw that it was silver, and they hefted a number and Smith told them that they contained specie. They were seemingly satisfied and went away for a few days, until the elders were sent off in every direction to pass their paper off: among the elders were Brigham Young, that went last, with forty thousand dollars; John F. Boynton, with some twenty thousand dollars; Luke Johnson, south and east, with an unknown quantity. I suppose if the money you have was taken of those, it was to Smith's and their profit; and thus they continued to pass and sell the worthless stuff until they sold it at twelve and a half cents on the dollar, and so eager to put it off at that, that they could not attend meeting on the Sabbath, . . . they never redeemed but a very few thousand dollars, and there must be now a great many thousands of their bills out. . . . They left here in a great hurry, as there was many debts against them, for the principal part that Smith had was borrowed, as also the heads of the church in general, . . . These statements are well known here, and I presume will not be contradicted there, unless by some fanatic that has no knowledge of things as they do exist, or those deeply interested in the frauds of the saints themselves.

I am yours, &c.,
CYRUS SMALLING, of Kirtland, Ohio.
(Letter of Cyrus Smalling, as quoted in *Gleanings by the Way*, John A. Clark, 1842, pages 331-336)

Robert Kent Fielding relates Smalling's story of the boxes filled with shot which were marked "one thousand dollars," but in a footnote on page 192 of his dissertation, he states that "such stories may be spurious. Certainly Smalling's is dubious, although he had a good reputation in his community for several years after the Mormon exodus." Max Parkin also relates the story, but he observes that "Warren Parrish failed to mention it in his extensive letter of criticism against Smith and the bank in the *Painesville Republican*, II, No. 15 (February 15, 1838), n.p." (*Conflict at Kirtland*, pages 307-308). It is interesting to note, however, that at least two other men—C. G. Webb and Oliver Olney—who had been members of the "Kirtland Safety Society" mentioned this incident. Fawn M. Brodie gives this information:

> . . . several apostates at different times related an identical anecdote which suggests something of the quality of the bank's assets. Lining the shelves of the bank vault, they said, were many boxes, each marked $1,000. Actually these boxes were filled with "sand, lead, old iron, stone, and combustibles," but each had a top layer of bright fifty-cent silver coins. Anyone suspicious of the bank's stability was allowed to lift and count the boxes. "The effect of those boxes was like magic," said C. G. Webb. "They created general confidence in the solidity of the bank and that beautiful paper money went like hot cakes. For about a month it was the best money in the country." (*No Man Knows My History*, pages 196-197)

Concerning Smalling's story that the Mormon leaders went out with Kirtland notes to exchange for specie or valid notes, Robert Kent Fielding states:

> Whether these steps were taken is open to question. Certainly desperate measures were called for, since the solvency of the entire Church depended upon the outcome of the bank. The Mormons had transferred their debts from a number of private firms to the public at large, and their failure now would tarnish their reputation for thrift and industry as well as for honesty. ("The Growth of the Mormon Church in Kirtland. Ohio," typed copy, pages 192-193)

The historian Hurbert Howe Bancroft quotes the following in a footnote on page 114 of his *History of Utah*:

> "Immediately after the closing of the bank, and before the news of its failure had time to spread, Smith with some 4 or 5 terriers (understrappers in the priesthood) went to Toronto, Canada, where he preached, whilst his followers circulated the worthless notes of the defunct bank. Brigham Young also succeeded in spreading about $10,000 of the paper through several states." Hall's *Mormonism*, 19-20.

While it does not prove Smalling's charge, it is interesting to note that Brigham Young and Willard Richards were sent on a mission to "gather in the substance of the gentiles." Claire Noall, a Mormon writer, claims that they were sent to borrow funds for the bank:

> After a mission that had taken them to important cities along the way, such as Canandaigua. Batavia, Troy, New York, Providence, and Boston—where small sums of money had been obtained and much more had been half promised—the two missionaries for the **Kirtland Bank** again arrived at Willard's home in Richmond, Massachusetts. The following day, Brigham packed his valise, ready to leave for the West. (*Intimate Disciple—A Portrait of Willard Richards*, University of Utah, 1957, page 160)

In Joseph Smith's *History* this is called "a special business mission":

> President Brigham Young came into my house, where we were sitting, accompanied by Dr. Willard Richards, who had just returned from a **special business mission** to New York, Boston, and other eastern cities, on which he started with President Young on the 14th of March . . . (*History of the Church*, vol. 2, page 492)

According to his history, Joseph Smith himself went to Toronto, Canada, in July, 1837:

> Here we separated from Brothers Brigham Young and Albert P. Rockwood, they going to the Eastern States; and myself, Brothers Sidney Rigdon and Thomas B. Marsh started for Toronto, Upper Canada. (*History of the Church*, vol. 2, page 503)

It is interesting to note that William Hall accused Joseph Smith's followers of "circulating the worthless notes of the defunct bank" while they were at Toronto. While the reference from Joseph Smith's *History* does not prove that the notes were circulated in Toronto, it does prove that Joseph Smith and some of his followers were at Toronto at the time.

At any rate, the Kirtland banking venture was certainly a great mistake. Willis Thornton made these comments concerning it:

> The Kirtland Safety Society was organized November 21, 1836. An effort to get a state charter failed. The state legislature, . . . chartered only one bank at this session. But Smith insisted that he was being discriminated against and was highly indignant. . . .
>
> Capital of $4,000,000 was provided, at a time when **only three established banks in the whole state had capitalization as high as one million** (all these were in Cincinnati). The paid-in capital of the Western Reserve Bank of Warren was only $165,000, that of the Bank of Geauga at Painesville was $87,000, and even that of the Commercial Bank of Lake Erie at Cleveland was only $400,000. As a matter of fact the entire paid-in capital of all of the thirty-two banks in Ohio at this time was only $9,247,397, so it is plain that the new banking venture was at best highly **visionary**.
>
> Just how visionary is reflected in the articles under which it was reorganized, January 2, 1837. One article plainly stated that "we, the individual members of said firm, hereby hold ourselves bound for the redemption of all [its] notes," and this article was the only one not subject to later amendment. As a matter of fact, when the bank later collapsed, all of these guarantors simply **left the state** with no effort to meet the responsibility they had voluntarily assumed. The article continued, "We individually bind ourselves to each other under the penal sum of $100,000."
>
> Exactly what this meant is not clear, but it is established that there were no holdings approaching $100,000 among the lot; hence the guarantee **meant nothing in reality**.
>
> . . . . .
>
> Gradually it dawned on many holders that the skepticism which they applied to the Mormon doctrines ought to have been equally extended to their notes.
>
> The faith of those who had hoped that notes issued practically at the direct command of God himself would be better than those of more material-minded banks was summarily dashed. An example is given by J. H. Kennedy, who says a Pittsburgh banker loaded a satchel full of them and set off for Kirtland for a personal investigation. He called on Rigdon and Smith, who after a few generalities as to the prosperity of the Kirtland venture, replied with a glowing account of the soundness of the bank. The Pittsburger expressed his pleasure, opened his satchel, and asked that the enclosed notes be redeemed as their face specifically promised. Rigdon promptly declined, saying that the notes had been issued "as a circulating medium for the accommodation of the people," and that to redeem them in hard cash would thwart that laudable purpose. The Pittsburgh banker returned home with all his notes, and one more man, at least, knew they were worthless. . . . there was a special bitterness among the losers of the Kirtland bank in that many had accepted its paper because of their trust in its religious connection. Thus disgust, anger, and hatred, already prevalent, mounted higher and higher against the Saints.
>
> The closing of the bank was the death knell of the Kirtland "stake.". . . Smith tried desperately to defend the bank failure, claiming that it was due to a defalcation of $25,000 by Warren Parrish, a clerk. That defense was not only rejected by the holders of "anti-bank" paper among the Gentiles, it was not even acceptable to many within the fold. The church was shaken by bitter accusations against Smith himself, by the rise of a "reform" group, by unauthorized prophesies and revelations, by widespread apostasy, and by a general and tumultuous uprising. (*The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, January, 1954, pages 21-22, 25-26)

Fawn M. Brodie makes this statement concerning the Kirtland bank:

> From its beginning the bank had been operating illegally. A state law fixed the penalty for such an offense at a thousand dollars and guaranteed informers a share of the fine. It was inevitable that one of the prophet's enemies should set the law upon him, and on February 8 a writ was sworn out by Samuel D. Rounds. When the court convened on March 24, Joseph's lawyers tried to prove that the statute had not been in force at the time of the bank's organization, but they lost the case and Joseph was ordered to pay the thousand-dollar penalty and costs. (*No Man Knows My History*, page 198)

Max Parkin makes this statement concerning Joseph Smith's trouble with the law:

> Action was taken during the winter months by S. D. Rounds to bring the bank authorities to court on charges of illegal banking practices. This matter was delayed until the October term at which time a fine of one thousand dollars each was executed upon Smith and Rigdon. A final decision was deferred on their defense that the Kirtland Safety Society was not a bank but a "mutual savings association." Inasmuch as some of the bank officials left the state within the next several months, the matter was never settled. (*Conflict at Kirtland*, page 221)

Sidney Rigdon's son claimed that his father knew that it would not be legal to operate the bank without a charter but that Joseph Smith persuaded him to enter into the venture:

> . . . Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon were forced to leave Kirtland on account of their starting of the Kirtland Bank. My father opposed it. He said it **would not be legal** as they had no charter. He did not wish to have anything to do with it, but Joseph Smith thought differently and persuaded Father to sign bills as president and Joseph signed them as cashier. They gave their notes for the silver needed to start the bank. It ran but a short time as they could not get the silver to redeem the bills; the bills came back to the bank faster than silver could be gotten to redeem them with. And the bank went down. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Winter, 1966, pages 27-28)

Regardless of who was to blame for starting the bank, both Smith and Rigdon were found guilty of illegal banking practices. Robert Kent Fielding states:

> By far the most serious case adjudged against the Prophet at this term of court was that of Samuel D. Rounds for illegal Banking. Smith's attorney had filed a demurrer from the declaration of the plaintiff but was over-ruled by the court and the case was tried by jury in October. The Prophet was represented by counsel and the basis of the defense was that the Kirtland Safety Society was an association formed to conduct mercantile and other enterprises, not to operate a bank. The jury awarded the judgement to the plaintiff and the defendant filed a bill of exceptions on minor points which the court regarded as technicalities not sufficient to overrule the decision. They declared that a bank had been operated contrary to law and ordered Smith to pay a fine of one thousand dollars, plus costs. Similar findings were returned against Sidney Rigdon, but the cases against Whitney and Parrish for the same offense, were discontinued. ("The Growth of the Mormon Church in Kirtland, Ohio," typed copy, page 268)

BANKRUPTCY

John Corrill made this statement:

> And now I return to Kirtland with my story. After finishing the house of the Lord so far as to have it ready for the solemn assembly, the church found itself something like fifteen or twenty thousand dollars in debt, as near as I can recollect. As the house had been built by faith, as they termed it, they must now continue their faith and contrive some means to pay the debt. Notwithstanding they were deeply in debt, they had so managed as to keep up their credit, so they concluded to try mercantile business. Accordingly, they ran in debt in New York, and elsewhere, some thirty thousand dollars, for goods, and, shortly after, some fifty or sixty thousand more, as I was informed; but they did not fully understand the mercantile business, and, withal, they suffered pride to arise in their hearts, and became desirous of fine houses, and fine clothes, and indulged too much in these things supposing for a few months that they were very rich. . . .
>
> During their mercantile and banking operations they not only indulged in pride, but also suffered jealousies to arise among them, and several persons dissented from the church, and accused the leaders of the church with bad management, selfishness, seeking for riches, honor, and dominion, tyranising over the people, and striving constantly after power and property. On the other hand, the leaders of the church accused the dissenters with dishonesty, want of faith, and righteousness, wicked in their intentions, guilty of crimes, such as stealing, lying, encouraging the making of counterfeit money, &c.; and this strife or opposition arose to a great height, . . . (*A Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints*, St. Louis, 1839, pages 26-27)

The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts admits that the Mormons had purchased a large stock of goods on credit and were living on borrowed money:

> We must now consider the calamitous events which befell the saints in Kirtland. . . . The mercantile establishments were enlarged and an **extensive stock of goods purchased on credit**. . . . The saints, also, it must be admitted, lived **extravagantly on borrowed money**. They had entered into that spirit of reckless speculation which for several years had been rife throughout the United States, and which expressed itself chiefly in land speculations and in excessive banking, culminating in the disastrous financial panic of 1837. (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 1, page 398)

The Mormon writer Max Parkin makes this comment concerning the debts contracted by the Mormons:

> Because of the increased demand for consumer's goods in Kirtland, an organization was established during the winter of 1836 known informally as the "building committee" comprising Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Oliver Cowdery, Reynolds Cahoon, Jared Carter and William Smith. Oliver and Hyrum were dispatched to Buffalo and bought large amounts of goods on credit. They arrived in Kirtland in the Spring of 1836, and apparently, the goods were sold in the store. Later in the year, because of the "honorable conduct of the 'building committee' in paying up the merchants of Buffalo," said Ira Ames, a clerk in the store, "Hyrum and Oliver received a recommendation from the merchants in Buffalo to the merchants in New York and bought **forty thousand dollars worth of goods**." Likewise, John F. Boynton and Lyman E. Johnson purchased from the New York dealers, for they "in some unaccountable manner," wrote Ames, "had got many thousand dollars worth of goods on credit." (*Conflict at Kirtland*, pages 290-291)

Reed Peck made this statement concerning the debts:

> These men likewise engaged in heavy speculations in Banking Merchandising and other branc[h]es of business—Having the entire confidence of the Mormons they procured from them by loans in Canada and the States enormous sums of specie, estableshed a bank without a charter issued a large quantity of their paper in payment of debts and purchases of property; bought on credit heavy stocks of goods in Cleaveland Buffalo and N. York, and being _____ most unskillful persons in the world in managing to pay debts, were finally compelled to flee to Missouri, leaving their creditors minus about 30000 (independent of what they owed to their brethren) and Thousands of the "Kirtland Safety Society Bank" Bills not redeemed . . . (*Reed Peck Manuscript*, pages 4-5)

Max Parkin admits that some of Joseph Smith's bills were left unpaid in Kirtland:

> . . . when the Prophet left Kirtland the following winter, he left behind **some unpaid bills** resulting from his mercantile business for which he had not received sufficient income to liquidate the purchasing costs. Some of the faithful Saints assisted him, but insufficient funds were raised, and he was forced to leave without clearing up all his outstanding debts. (*Conflict at Kirtland*, page 295)

Fawn M. Brodie gives this information:

> The Toppling of the Kirtland bank loosed a hornets' nest. Creditors swarmed in upon Joseph armed with threats and warrants. He was terribly in debt. There is no way of knowing exactly how much he and his leading elders had borrowed, since the loyal Mormons left no itemized account of their own claims. But the local non-Mormon creditors whom he could not repay brought a series of suits against the prophet which the Geauga county court duly recorded. These records tell a story of trouble that would have demolished the prestige and broken the spirit of a lesser man.
>
> Thirteen suits were brought against him between June 1837 and April 1839, to collect sums totaling nearly $25,000. The damages asked amounted to almost $35,000. He was arrested seven times in four months, and his followers managed heroically to raise the $38,428 required for bail. Of the thirteen suits only six were settled out of court—about $12,000 out of the $25,000. In the other seven the creditors either were awarded damages or won them by default.
>
> Joseph had many additional debts that never resulted in court action. Some years later he compiled a list of still outstanding Kirtland loans, which amounted to more that $33,000. If one adds to these the two great loans of $30,000 and $60,000 borrowed in New York and Buffalo in 1836, it would seem that the Mormon leaders owed to non-Mormon individuals and firms well over $150,000. (*No Man Knows My History*, pages 199-202)

Willis Thornton made this statement concerning the troubles that the Mormons had in Kirtland:

> The incontrovertible facts are these: the Mormons never expected to stay in Kirtland indefinitely, Zion being farther west. They left it when conditions became intolerable—when a combination of financial collapse and internal dissension made a complete uprooting and new establishment absolutely necessary.
>
> Their physical property, their homes, their farms, their stores and industries, their very temple itself, were all **about to be lost by foreclosure**. Church authorities have always described this as "legal persecution," and there is no doubt that some of the creditors, like Grandison Newell, . . . got special pleasure out of enforcing their legal rights. On the other hand, the eastern merchants who had delivered thousands of dollars' worth of goods which were sold at the Mormon stores, had a right to get such payment as they could, without the cry of persecution being raised. The plain fact is that the Mormons dissipated their physical "stake" in a riot of speculative excess. (*The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, January, 1954, page 32)

After the Mormons left Kirtland, C. E. Emery, who had just arrived in the area, wrote the following to his parents:

> We visited the great Mormon Temple that was built by Joseph Smith & Sidney Rigdon two Mormon leaders. They profess to have revalations [*sic*] from the Lord and declared to the people all around that the Lord had given them the Land all around in the vicinity of the Temple and that the fullness of the Gentiles should be brought in, for their use and benefit; but they have proved themselves so basely dishonest in their dealings that they have been under the necessity of leaveing [*sic*] their Temple and Village. The leaders left in the night

in order to evade pursuit. Smith & Rigdon with some of their followers went on to Missourie [*sic*] when they left Kirtland and many of their followers has left; a few days since between six and seven hundred more of them left with seventy loaded waggons and seventy Cows, all started in one day together for the promised land. (Letter by C. E. Emery to his parents in Andover, New Hampshire, as quoted in *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, January, 1954, page 30)

Joseph Smith admits in his history that he fled from Kirtland in the night:

> January, 1838. — A new year dawned upon the Church in Kirtland in all the bitterness of the spirit of apostate mobocracy; which continued to rage and grow hotter and hotter, until Elder Rigdon and myself were obliged to flee from its deadly influence, as did the Apostles and Prophets of old, and as Jesus said, "when they persecute you in one city, flee to another." On the evening of the 12th of January, about ten o'clock, we left Kirtland, on horseback, to escape mob violence, which was about to burst upon us under the color of legal process to cover the hellish designs of our enemies, and to save themselves from the just judgment of the law. (*History of the Church*, vol. 3, page 1)

Speaking of the trouble in Kirtland, Heber C. Kimball, a member of the First Presidency, stated:

> . . . there were **not twenty persons** on the earth that would declare that Joseph Smith was a Prophet of God. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 4, page 108)

Heber C. Kimball was no doubt exaggerating; nevertheless, many members of the Mormon Church did apostatize at that time.

Some years before the trouble in Kirtland, Joseph Smith gave a revelation in which the following appeared:

> Behold, it is said in my laws, or forbidden, to get in debt to thine enemies;
>
> But behold, it is not said at any time that the Lord should not **take when he pleases, and pay as seemeth him good**.
>
> Wherefore, as ye are agents, ye are on the Lord's errand; and whatever ye do according to the will of the Lord is the Lord's business. (*Doctrine and Covenants*, section 64, verses 27-29)

Joseph Smith's enemies claimed that this revelation sanctioned the idea of borrowing from the Gentiles and not repaying the debts. The Mormon Apostle John A. Widtsoe, on the other hand, claimed that Joseph Smith was completely honest in his business transactions:

> A favorite charge against the Prophet by enemies of the latter-day work has been that he was not honest in business. Naturally, he and the Church were in business. . . .
>
> In the normal course of business, money was occasionally borrowed by Church members or by the Church itself to meet immediate needs, . . . Such dealings were of the usual, acceptable kind, wherever men do business with one another.
>
> Joseph Smith, as the President of the Church, became of course, involved in all Church ventures, for which his signature was required. He also made purchases on his own account. . . .
>
> One hundred years of diligent search by anti-Mormon writers have brought to light so few business clashes among Joseph Smith and the people of his day, as to be embarrassing to those who charge the Prophet with financial irregularity. No reliable evidence of dishonesty has yet been uncovered. There is no evidence that he at any time attempted to escape his financial obligations. Instead, the evidence is that he sought to meet every honest obligation. For example, after leaving Kirtland where his life was in jeopardy, he made a list of his creditors and the amount he owed each. That was the method of an honest man. There was no subterfuge. . . . Sooner or later, his honest debts were paid. (*Gospel Interpretations*, Salt Lake City, 1947, pages 139-141)

Now, while it is true that Joseph Smith made a list of his creditors, he apparently did not intend to pay them, for in 1842 he tried to take out bankruptcy. The Mormon writer John J. Stewart states:

> In the summer of 1842 he had reluctantly availed himself of the bankruptcy law passed by Congress, to dispose of a staggering debt load, . . . (*Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet*, page 183)

Fawn M. Brodie states:

> In the spring of 1841 he catalogued a list of his outstanding liabilities and found them to total over $70,000, in addition to another $33,000 carried over from Kirtland days. It is not surprising, therefore, that he looked with interest upon the bankruptcy law that Congress passed in 1841 to relieve the straits of the debtor class. (*No Man Knows My History*, page 266)

On April 14, 1842, Joseph Smith recorded the following in his history:

> Thursday, 14.—Calvin A. Warren, Esq., lawyer, from Quincy, arrived, and commenced an investigation of the principles of general insolvency in my behalf according to the statutes; for the United States Congress had previously instituted a general bankrupt law, . . . the law was as good for the Saints as for the Gentiles, and whether I would or not, I was forced into the measure . . . (*History of the Church*, vol. 4, pages 594-595)

On May 7, 1842, the following was published in *The Wasp* (a Mormon newspaper):

> District Court of the United States, within and for the District of Illinois,
>
> In the matter of the Petition of **Joseph Smith**, of Hancock County to be declared **a bankrupt** and to be discharged from his debts.
>
> Notice is hereby given, that Joseph Smith, of Hancock county has filed his petition in this Court to be declared a Bankrupt and to be discharged from his debts under the Act of Congress, in such case made provided: and that an order has been duly entered in this Court appointing the 6th day of June next, at the District court room in the City of Springfield in this District, as the time and place for the hearing of said petition: all persons interested may then and there appear and show cause, if any they have, why the prayer of said Petition should not be granted.
>
> Dated this 28th day of April A. D. 1842.
>
> J. H. ROLSTON, WARREN & WHEAT,
> Solicitors for Petitioner.
>
> Attest: James F. Owings Clerk. (*The Wasp*, May 7, 1842)

Shortly after Joseph Smith petitioned to be declared a bankrupt, John C. Bennett published his book, *History of the Saints*. In this book he charged that Joseph Smith fraudulently transferred some of his property to others to avoid losing it:

> The Bankrupt law, section 2, provides that no conveyances of property shall be made in contemplation of bankruptcy, subsequent to the 1st of January, 1841; and an Act concerning Religious Societies, under which the Mormon Church was incorporated, provides for the appointment of TRUSTEE, not a SOLE TRUSTEE IN TRUST, who are authorized "to purchase a quantity of land not exceeding five acres," &c. &c. See act approved Feb. 6, 1835.

> *From a Book of Mortgages and Bonds*, page 95.
>
> City of Nauvoo, Hancock Co., Illinois,
> February 2, A. D. 1842.
>
> To The County Recorder of the county of Hancock:
>
> Dear Sir, —
>
> At a meeting of the "Church of Latter Day Saints" at this place, on Saturday the 30th day of January, A.D. 1841, I was elected sole Trustee for said Church, to hold my office during life, successor to be the First Presidency of said Church,) and vested with plenary powers as sole Trustee in Trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, to receive, acquire, manage and convey property, real, personal, or mixed, for the sole use and benefit of said Church, agreeable to the provisions of an act entitled "An Act concerning Religious Societies," approved February 6, 1835.
>
> Joseph Smith, [L. S.]
>
> State of Illinois } SS.
> Hancock County, }
>
> This day personally appeared before me, Daniel H. Wells, a justice of the peace, within and for the county of Hancock aforesaid, Isaac Galland, Robert B. Thompson, and John C. Bennett, who, being duly sworn, depose and say that the foregoing certificate of Joseph Smith is true.
>
> Isaac Galland,
> R. B. Thompson,
> John C. Bennett.
>
> Sworn to and subscribed this third day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-one, before me,
>
> DANIEL H WELLS, Justice of the Peace.

Compendious Extracts from the Records of Hancock County.

> In book R, page 21, there is a deed from Joseph Smith and wife to Julia M. Smith, Joseph Smith, Jr., F. G. W. Smith, and Alexander Smith, (the first an adopted daughter, and the remainder all small children of Joseph and Emma Smith,) executed December 21, 1841, and recorded January 1, 1842, for lots 1, 2, 3, and 4, block 12, in the city of Nauvoo,—for the consideration of "one hundred dollars to them in hand paid,"—property worth about three thousand dollars.
>
> Another in the same book, p. 151, from the same to the same, (Joseph Smith and wife to their children,) executed March 17, 1842, and recorded April 9, 1842, for the east half of south-east 31, 5 north, 8 west; and west half of north-west 5, and east half of north-east 6, 4 north, 8 west—for the consideration of two thousand dollars.
>
> Another in the same book, (R,) pages 159, 160, and 161, from Joseph Smith and wife to Joseph Smith, as sole Trustee in trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, executed October 5, 1841, and recorded April 18, 1842, (the same day he visited Carthage to file his schedule for bankruptcy, and I have no doubt the deed was executed on the 16th, 17th, 18th, or 19th of April, 1842, and ante-dated to October 5, 1841, for so Joe informed me, and Dr. Marshall, Esquire Sherman, and others, of Carthage, stated that the writing was fresh, and changed materially in appearance soon after; and on the 7th of July, 1842, Calvin A. Warren, Esq., one of Joe's Attorneys in Bankruptcy, acknowledged to Dr. Marshall, the County Clerk, and myself, in the Clerk's Office, that the deed was executed in April, '42, and not in October, '41, as aforesaid, but that he was not privy to the fraud)—for (230) two hundred and thirty lots, or thereabouts, mostly in the "White Purchase," for the consideration of the sum of ONE DOLLAR to them in hand paid, on a just and lawful settlement between themselves in person, and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints,—Property worth from one hundred

and fifty to two hundred and thirty thousand dollars, at the rate that Joe is selling it from five to fifteen hundred dollars a lot.

Another in book I, page 329, from Ebenezer F. Wiggins to Emma Smith, executed May 15, 1841, and recorded June 30, 1841, for west half of north-west quarter 30, 7 north, 8 west, and the west half of north-east 30, 7 north, 8 west, for the consideration of ($2,700) two thousand seven hundred dollars, —paid for by Joe, and worth about three thousand dollars.

Another in the same book, (I,) page 243, from Daniel H. Wells and wife to Joseph Smith, Jr., (Joe's son,) executed May 5, 1841, and recorded May 6, 1841, for lots 1 and 4, block 22, in Wells's addition to Nauvoo, for the consideration of one Hundred dollars.

Another in the same book, page 354, from Robert B. Thompson and wife to Emma Smith, (Joe's wife,) executed July 24, 1841, and recorded July 27, 1841, for south-east fractional quarter of section 2, 6 north, 9 west, containing 123 43-100 acres, for the consideration of ($4,000) four thousand dollars.

Another in same book, page 355, from same to Frederick G. W. Smith, (Joe's son,) executed July 24, 1841, and recorded July 27, 1841, for part of block 156, in Nauvoo, for the consideration of ($500) five hundred dollars.

If an official certificate is required, call upon Chauncey Robinson, Esq., the Recorder of Hancock, and he will certify that these are correct extracts from the county records. There are various other matters of record that could be made to operate against this king of swindlers and impostors, Joe Smith; but I presume that the foregoing will be sufficient to give him a comfortable home in the State Penitentiary, at Alton, for some years to come, if Missouri does not get him first.

If oral testimony is required, call upon General George W. Robinson, Colonel Francis M. Higbee, and others, who are acquainted with the transactions. Call out these witnesses in relation to the **sham** sales of valuable property made to Apostle Willard Richards, and Bishop N. K. Whitney, and others, by Joe, in order to prepare for the bankruptcy. The Hotchkiss Purchase, **called** Church property,—but which is not paid for,—was given in by Joe in his schedule as his own individual property, which it undoubtedly was; but the White Purchase (south-east fractional quarter of section 2, 6 north, 9 west,) which **is** paid for, was deeded to Thompson, Joe's clerk, who had no property, and from Thompson to Emma Smith, (Joe's wife,) and from Joseph Smith and wife to Joseph Smith, sole Trustee in Trust, &c.

Remember that the White Purchase was **called** Church property, but it was and is Joe's own individual estate. He said in a public congregation in Nauvoo, a few weeks ago, "I own a million of dollars in property, in this city and around it." Can this swindler take the benefit of the bankrupt law! Never! No, never!! Let a prosecution be at once instituted against his Holiness, and let the law have its just operations **once**. (*History of the Saints*, Boston, 1842, pages 96-98)

J. Butterfield, United States Attorney for the District of Illinois, saw John C. Bennett's charges printed in the *Sangamo Journal* on July 15, 1842. He felt that an investigation should be made to see if Bennett's accusations were true. Joseph Smith and four others had signed a promissory note to the United States Government for $4866.38 in 1840, which they had not paid off. Therefore, Butterfield proceeded to Nauvoo to make his investigation. After making the investigation, he wrote a letter to C. B. Penrose, Solicitor of the Treasury, in which he stated:

> On the 8th day of Sept last I left Chicago for Nauvoo the place of residence of Joseph Smith & Hyrum Smith applicants for the benefit of the Bankrupt Act, in order to obtain the necessary evidence to oppose them as I informed you I should do in my letter of the 7th of Sept. last: Upon my arrival at Nauvoo I made a very full examination into the transfers of property made by Joseph Smith upon the eve of his application for the benefit of the said act, and **I succeeded beyond my expectations**; I found that after the passage of the Bankrupt Act, and after he had contracted the debt upon which the judg't. in favor of the United States was rendered against him, he made voluntary conveyances of real estate of an amount much more than sufficient to satisfy the said judgement to **his wife** and to his **infant children** and friends, without any consideration whatever: I found that **all** the statements made by Gen'l. Bennett in relation to **Joseph Smith's fraudulent transfers of his property were true**; and that there were **several other fraudulent conveyances** not mentioned by him. . . . I shall be ready to establish **such fraudulent acts on the part of Joseph Smith** as will prevent his discharge. (Letter by J. Butterfield, U.S. Attorney for the District of Illinois to C. B. Penrose, Solicitor of the Treasury, dated Oct. 13, 1842, found in the National Archives of the United States, Records of the Solicitor of the Treasury, Record Group 206, microfilm copy)

The attempt to stop Joseph Smith from obtaining benefit of the Bankrupt Act was successful, for on August 6, 1844, Butterfield wrote C. B. Penrose a letter in which he stated: "I defeated Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet from obtaining the benefit of the Bankrupt Act."

Since Joseph Smith died in 1844, the matter was not settled until after his death. In a "Reference Service Report" from the National Archives, dated September 23, 1963, we find that a judgment "was rendered against the widow of Joseph Smith and 104 other defendants . . . in which the decree of the court was satisfied by sale of the defendants' lands."

Evidently the Mormons were still in debt when they left Nauvoo, for Brigham Young wrote a letter to Babbit, Heywood & Fullmer Trustees, etc., on September 27, 1846, in which he stated:

> The Church here, in general council with us this day, voted that the Temple, and all Church property at Nauvoo be sold . . . but, let your funds be ever so great, **pay no more money to the Gentiles on old debts**. ("Manuscript History of Brigham Young," September 28, 1846, typed copy)

3. POLYGAMY AND BLOOD ATONEMENT

There is some evidence that while the Mormons were in Kirtland they were secretly practicing polygamy and planning vengeance upon their enemies. These practices caused the Mormons a great deal of trouble in the years which followed.

BEGINNING OF POLYGAMY

The revelation sanctioning the practice of plural marriage was given by the Mormon Prophet Joseph Smith on July 12, 1843. This revelation is still printed in the *Doctrine and Covenants*, one of the four standard works of the Mormon Church. In this revelation we read the following:

> 1. Verily, thus saith the Lord unto you, my servant Joseph, that inasmuch as you have inquired of my hand to know and understand wherein I, the Lord, **justified** my servants Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as also Moses, David and Solomon, my servants, as touching the principle and doctrine of their **having many wives and concubines**—
>
> 2. Behold, and lo, I am the Lord thy God, and will answer thee as touching this matter.
>
> 3. Therefore, prepare thy heart to receive **and obey** the instructions which I am about to give unto you; for all those who have this law revealed unto them must obey the same.
>
> 4. For behold, I reveal unto you a new and an everlasting covenant; and if ye abide not that covenant, then are ye damned; for **no one can reject this covenant and be permitted to enter into my glory**.
>
> . . . .
>
> 38. David also received many wives and concubines, and also Solomon and Moses my servants, . . . and in nothing did they sin save in those things which they received not of me.
>
> . . . .
>
> 61. And again, as pertaining to the law of the priesthood—if any man espouse a virgin, and desire to espouse another, and the first give her consent, and if he espouse the second, and they are virgins, and have vowed to no other man, **then is he justified**; he cannot commit adultery for they are given unto him; for he cannot commit adultery with that that belongeth unto him and to no one else.
>
> 62. And if he **have ten virgins** given unto him by this law, he **cannot commit adultery**, for they belong to him, and they are given unto him; therefore is he justified. (*Doctrine and Covenants*, Section 132, verses 1-4, 38, 61-62)

Just when and how the practice of plural marriage started in the Mormon Church has caused much controversy. There is much evidence that it was secretly practiced when the Church was in Kirtland, Ohio. B. H. Roberts, in the introduction to volume 5 of Joseph Smith's *History of the Church*, makes the following comment:

> The date in the heading of the Revelation on the Eternity of the Marriage Covenant, including the Plurality of Wives, notes the time at which the revelation was committed to writing, not the time at which the principles set forth in the revelation were first made known to the Prophet.

Fawn Brodie states that Joseph Fielding Smith told her that there was a revelation foreshadowing polygamy given as early as 1831:

> Joseph F. Smith, Jr., the present historian of the Utah Church, asserted to me in 1943 that a **revelation foreshadowing polygamy had been written in 1831**, but that it had never been published. In conformity with the church policy, however, he would not permit the manuscript, which he acknowledged to be in possession of the church library, to be examined. (*No Man Knows My History*, by Fawn M. Brodie, footnote, page 184)

The Mormon writer John J. Stewart claims that Joseph Smith may have entered into plural marriage "in the early or mid-1830's." On page 31 of his book, *Brigham Young and His Wives*, he states that "Nancy Johnson" may have been Joseph Smith's first plural wife. In March, 1832, Joseph Smith was mobbed. Eli Johnson (the brother of Nancy Marinda Johnson) claimed that Joseph Smith was "too intimate" with his sister. The following is found in the *Braden and Kelly Debate*:

> In March, 1832, Smith was stopping at Mr. Johnson's, in Hiram, Ohio, and was mobbed. The mob was led by Eli Johnson, who blamed Smith with being too intimate with his sister Marinda, who afterwards married Orson Hyde. Brigham Young, in after years, twitted Hyde with this fact, and Hyde, on learning its truth, put away his wife, although they had several children. (*Braden and Kelley Debate*, 1955 reprint, page 202)

Nancy Marinda Johnson married Orson Hyde on September 4, 1834. John D. Lee claimed that there was a rumor that Mrs. Hyde was sealed to Joseph Smith.

> Report said that Hyde's wife, with his consent, was sealed to Joseph for an eternal state, but I do not assert the fact. (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, photo-reprint of 1880 ed., page 147)

Research in the Genealogical archives of the church has revealed that Nancy Marinda Hyde was sealed to Joseph Smith after his death. The ceremony occurred on July 31, 1857. According to Mormon theology this would mean that she would live for all eternity with Joseph Smith instead of Orson Hyde. While this does not prove Eli Johnson's charge (that Joseph Smith was "too intimate" with his sister Nancy) it certainly does show that she was attracted to Joseph Smith.

FANNY ALGER. John Whitmer, who was one of the witnesses to the Book of Mormon, wrote as follows in chapter 20 of his history of the church:

> In the fall of 1836, Joseph Smith, Jun., S. Rigdon and others of the leaders of the Church at Kirtland, Ohio, established a bank for the purpose of speculation, and the whole Church partook of the same spirit; they were lifted up in pride, and lusted after the forbidden things of God, such as covetousness, and in secret combinations, s**piritual-wife doctrine, that is plurality of wives**. (John Whitmer's history of the church, chapter 20, original in the Reorganized L.D.S. Church library, typed copy in the Utah L.D.S. Church Genealogical Library)

William E. McLellin, who had been an Apostle in the Mormon Church, gave some very interesting information concerning the origin of polygamy in the Church:

> He [McLellin] also informed me of the spot where the first well authenticated case of polygamy took place in which Joseph Smith was "sealed" to the hired girl. The "sealing" took place in a barn on the hay mow, and was witnesed by Mrs. Smith **through a crack in the door**! The Doctor was so distressed about this case, (it created some scandal at the time among the Saints,) that long afterwards when he visited Mrs. Emma Smith at Nauvoo, he charged her as she hoped for salvation to tell him the truth about it. And she then and there declared on her honor that it was a fact—"saw it with her own eyes." The long disputed question, then, as to whether the Prophet did practice polygamy, is now effectually set at rest; . . . (*Salt Lake Tribune*, October 6, 1875)

The Mormon writer Ivan J. Barrett made this statement:

> In later years McLellin lived in Independence and practiced medicine. In the month of September, 1878, Elders Orson Pratt and Joseph F. Smith visited him. They received a friendly welcome and found him still in spiritual darkness. He avowed his disbelief in the *Doctrine and Covenants*. . . . "He said Emma Smith told him that Joseph was **both a polygamist and an adulterer**." (*Supplement to the Remarkable Story of How We Got the Revelations in the Doctrine and Covenants*, Extension Publications, Brigham Young University, page 11)

Ann Eliza Young, the woman who divorced Brigham Young, related the following:

> Mrs. Smith had an adopted daughter, a very pretty, pleasing young girl, about seventeen years old. She was extremely fond of her; no own mother could be more devoted, and their affection for each other was a constant object of remark, so absorbing and genuine did it seem. Consequently it was with a shocked surprise that the people heard that sister Emma had turned Fanny out of the house in the night.
>
> This sudden movement was incomprehensible, since Emma was known to be a just woman, not given to freaks or caprices, and it was felt that she certainly must have had some very good reason for her action. By degrees it became whispered about that **Joseph's love for his adopted daughter was by no means a paternal affection**, and his wife, discovering the fact, at once took measures to place the girl beyond his reach. Angered at finding the two persons whom most she loved playing such a treacherous part towards her, she by no means spared her reproaches, and, finally, the storm became so furious, that Joseph was obliged to send, at midnight, for Oliver Cowdery, his scribe, to come and endeavor to settle matters between them. For once he was at his wits' end; he could face an angry mob, but a wronged woman made a coward of him at once.
>
> The scribe was a worthy servant of his master. He was at that time residing with a certain young woman, and at the same time he had a wife living. He had taken kindly to Joseph's teachings, although he by no means coveted publicity in the affair; and after seeing Mrs. Smith's indignation he dreaded exceedingly lest Mrs. Cowdery should discover that he was practising his new religious duties with another woman.

> The worthy couple—the Prophet and his scribe—were sorely perplexed what to do with the girl, since Emma refused decidedly to allow her to remain in her house; but after some consultation my mother offered to take her until she could be sent to her relatives. Although her parents were living, they considered it the highest honor to have their daughter adopted into the Prophet's family, and her mother has always claimed that she was sealed to Joseph at that time. (*Wife No. 19*, by Ann Eliza Young, 1876, pages 66 and 67)

Oliver Cowdery, one of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon, confirmed the fact that Joseph Smith had had an "affair" with Fanny Alger. In a letter dated January 21, 1838, Oliver Cowdery wrote:

> When he [Joseph Smith] was there we had some conversation in which in every instance I did not fail to affirm that what I had said was strictly true. **A dirty, nasty, filthy affair of his and Fanny Alger's** was talked over in which I strictly declared that I had never deserted from the truth in the matter, and as I supposed was admitted by himself. (Letter dated January 21, 1838, Far West, Missouri)

Below is an actual photograph from a copy of the letter written by Oliver Cowdery and recorded by Warren Cowdery. The original is located in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. A microfilm copy is located at the Utah State Historical Society.

The Mormon writer Max Parkin stated:

> The charge of adulterous relations "with a certain girl" was leveled against Smith by Cowdery in Missouri in 1837; this accusation became one of the complaints the Church had against Cowdery in his excommunication trial in Far West, April 12, 1838. In rationalizing Cowdery's accusation, the Prophet testified "that Oliver Cowdery had been his bosom friend, therefore he entrusted him with many things." (*Conflict at Kirtland*, a thesis by Max H. Parkin, 1966, page 166)

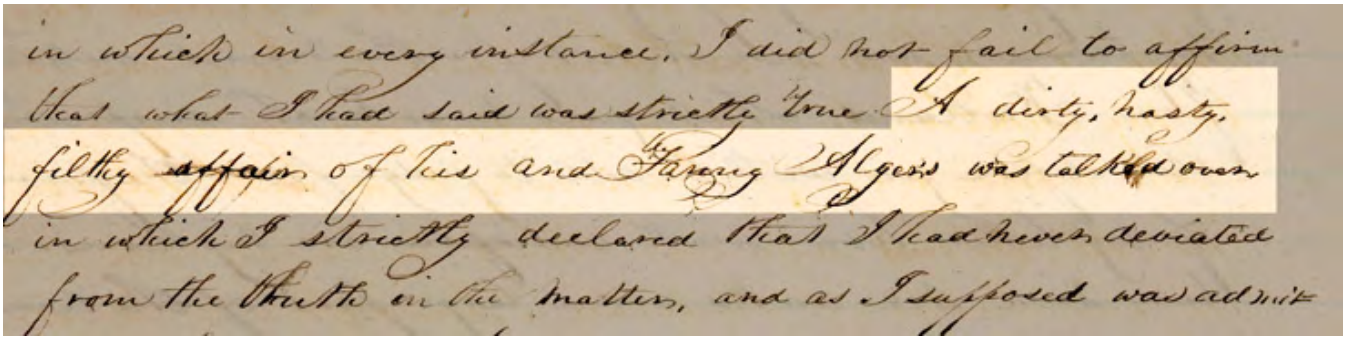
Max Parkin's source for this information is the "Far West Record." The "Far West Record" is an unpublished "record book containing minutes of meetings in Kirtland and Far West, Missouri." The original is in the L.D.S. Church Historian's Office.

Joseph F. Smith, who became the sixth President of the Mormon Church, admitted that Joseph Smith had given information concerning polygamy to Oliver Cowdery at a very early date:

> "The great and glorious principle of plural marriage was first revealed to Joseph Smith in 1831, but being forbidden to make it public, or to teach it as a doctrine of the Gospel, at that time, he confided the facts to only a very few of his intimate associates. Among them were Oliver Cowdery and Lyman E. Johnson, . . . this great principle remained concealed in the bosom of the Prophet Joseph Smith and the few to whom he revealed it. . . ." (*Deseret News*, May 20, 1886, as quoted in *Historical Record*, vol. 6, page 219)

A. Metcalf claimed that Martin Harris, one of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon told him that Joseph's "servant girl" had stated that Joseph had made "improper proposals to her."

> In or about the year 1833, the servant girl of Joe Smith stated that the prophet had made improper proposals to her, which created quite a talk amongst the people. Joe Smith went to Martin Harris to counsel with him concerning the girl's talk. Harris, supposing that Joe was innocent told him to take no notice of the girl, that she was full of the devil, and wanted to destroy the prophet of God; but Joe Smith acknowledged that there was more truth than poetry in what the girl said. Harris then said he would have nothing to do in the matter, Smith could get out of the trouble the best way he knew how. (*Ten Years Before the Mast*, by A. Metcalf, quoted in *A New Witness for Christ in America*, by Francis W. Kirkham, vol. 2, page 348)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filthy affair of his and Fanny Alger's was talked over
in which I strictly declared that I had never deviated
from the truth in the matter, and as I supposed was admit

In an affidavit dated September 13, 1842, a woman by the name of Fanny Brewer stated:

> In the spring of 1837 I left Boston for Kirtland to assemble with the Saints and worship God more perfectly. . . . There was much excitement against the prophet on another account, an unlawful intercourse between himself and a young orphan girl residing in his family, and under his protection! Martin Harris told me that the prophet was most notorious for lying and licentiousness. (An affidavit by Fanny Brewer, quoted in *Mormon Portraits*, by Dr. W. Wyl, pages 249-250)

Dr. Wyl quotes a Mr. W. as saying:

> Joseph's dissolute life began already in the first times of the church, in Kirtland. He was sealed there secretly to Fanny Alger. Emma was furious, and drove the girl, who was unable to conceal the consequences of her celestial relation with the prophet, out of her house. (*Mormon Portraits*, by Dr. W. Wyl, 1886, page 57)

Mormon writers admit that there was a connection between Joseph Smith and Fanny Alger, however, they claim that Fanny Alger was Joseph Smith's plural wife and that he was commanded by God to enter into polygamy.

Andrew Jenson, who was the assistant L.D.S. Church Historian, made a list of 27 women who were sealed to Joseph Smith. In this list he said the following concerning Fanny Alger:

> Fanny Alger, one of the **first plural wives** sealed to the Prophet. (*Historical Record*, page 233)

The Mormon writer John J. Stewart states:

> . . . Joseph as a servant of God was authorized to enter plural marriage, and it is not at all unlikely that he did so in the early or mid-1830's. Perhaps Nancy Johnson, or Fanny Alger was his first "plural" wife, at Hiram or Kirtland, Ohio. (*Brigham Young and His Wives*, by John J. Stewart, page 31)

The Mormon Apostle John A, Widtsoe stated:

> It seems that Fannie Alger was one of Joseph's first plural wives. She lived many years after the Prophet's death and never denied her relationship to him. (*Joseph Smith—Seeker After Truth*, by John A, Widtsoe, page 237)

The Mormon writer John J. Stewart gives this interesting information:

> Benjamin F. Johnson, another close friend to Joseph and a brother-in-law to Sherman, says, "In 1835, at Kirtland, I learned from my sister's husband, Lyman R. Sherman, who was close to the Prophet, and received it from him, 'that the ancient order of Plural Marriage was again to be practiced by the Church.' This, at the time, did not impress my mind deeply, although there lived then with his family [the Prophet's] a neighbor's daughter, Fannie Alger, a very nice and comely young woman . . . toward whom not only myself, but everyone, seemed partial, for the amiability of her character; and it was whispered even then that Joseph loved her." Johnson, a Church patriarch at the time of writing, put his finger on the beginning of Oliver Cowdery's and Warren Parrish's downfall—Parrish was the Prophet's secretary: "There was some trouble with Oliver Cowdery, and whisper said it was relating to a girl then living in his (the Prophet's) family; and I was afterwards told by Warren Parrish, that he himself and Oliver Cowdery did know that Joseph had Fannie Alger as wife, for they were spied upon and found together." Both Cowdery and Parrish began falling away from the Church shortly after this. "Without doubt in my mind," says Johnson, "Fannie Alger was, at Kirtland, the Prophet's first plural wife, in which, by right of his calling, he was justified of the Lord, while Oliver Cowdery, Jared Carter, Warren Parrish, or others, were not justified in their criticisms upon the doings of the Prophet, nor in their becoming a law unto themselves, through which they lost the light of their calling and were left in darkness." One of the charges against Cowdery when he was excommunicated was that he had insinuated that Joseph was guilty of adultery. (*Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet*, by John J. Stewart, pages 103, 104)

Max Parkin, a Mormon writer, stated:

> It appears that polygamy was a secret practice in Kirtland in the 1830's and the Church, or rather the Church's Prophet, neither had an intention of making it a public matter nor at that early date making it a principle of the Mormon faith. Hence, the official answers of **denial** were correct as far as the body of the Church was concerned and the principles they were expected to embrace. But within the Church, the conflict of the period was accentuated by the few who understood the new principle, and by others who mispracticed it. (*Conflict at Kirtland*, a thesis by Max Parkin, page 174)

VIOLENCE

The Mormon Prophet Joseph Smith once made this statement concerning himself:

> I am not so much a "Christian" as many suppose I am. When a man undertakes to ride me for a horse. I feel disposed to kick up and throw him off, and ride him. (*History of the Church*. vol. 5, page 335)

Benjamin F. Johnson stated:

> And yet, although so social and even convival at times, he would allow no arrogance or undue liberties. Criticisms, even by his associates, were rarely acceptable. Contradictions would arouse in him the lion at once. By no one of his fellows would he be superceded. In the early days at Kirtland, and elsewhere, one or another of his associates were more than once, for their impudence, helped from the congregation by **his foot**.
>
> One time at a meeting in Kirtland, for insolence to him, **he soundly thrashed his brother William** who boasted himself as invincible. While with him in such fraternal, social and sometimes convival moods, we could not then so fully realize the greatness and majesty of his calling. But since his martyrdom, it has continued to magnify in our view as the glories of this last dispensation have more fully unfolded to our comprehension. (A letter by Benjamin F. Johnson written to Elder George S. Gibbs, 1903)

Joseph Smith related the following incident in his *History of the Church*:

> Josiah Butterfield came to my house and insulted me so outrageously that **I kicked him out of the house, across the yard, and into the street**. (*History of the Church*, by Joseph Smith, vol. 5, page 316)

The Mormon writer Max Parkin makes this statement concerning an incident which happened in Ohio:

> Other domestic quarrels occurred in the Church, some of which included the family members of the Church president. To what extent these were made public may not be known, but in April, 1835, the *Telegraph* announced that the Prophet had been summoned to the Court of Common Pleas in Painesville **for an assault and battery charge** committed against his brother-in-law, Calvin Stoddard. . . . Although it was true that Smith was released on the grounds of self-defense, the grim fact that he knocked Stoddard down with a blow to the forehead would tend to further prejudice the public against him. (*Conflict at Kirtland*, by Max H. Parkin, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1966, pages 131-132)

On June 26, 1835, the *Painesville Telegraph* gave this account of the trial:

> COURT OF COMMON PLEAS
> Saturday, June 20, [1835].
>
> Joseph Smith, Jr., was put upon his trial on a charge of Assault and Battery commited [*sic*] upon the person of a Mr. [Calvin] Stoddard. By consent of the parties, the case was submitted to the Court without Jury.
>
> Stoddard examined—States that Smith had irritated him in a controversy about water—he had affirmed that there was water in a certain lot, which Smith denied—as Smith passed towards his house, he [Stoddard] followed him, and said, "[I] don't fear you, or no other man"—Smith then came up and knocked him in the forehead with his flat hand—the blow knocked him down, when Smith repeated the blow four or five times, very hard—made him blind—that Smith afterwards came to him and asked his forgiveness—was satisfied—had forgiven him—would forgive any man who would injure him and ask his forgiveness.
>
> Cross ex.—Had a cane—did not attempt to strike him, or threaten.
>
> William Smith examined—Saw Stoddard come along cursing and swearing—Joseph went out—Stoddard said he would whip him, and drew his cane upon Joseph—Joseph struck him once or twice.
>
> Cross ex.—Joseph stopped in the yard—they were close together when he saw them—cautioned Joseph to stop, that he had done enough.
>
> Mr. [Mrs.?] Smith, the Prophet's mother—Saw some of the affrey—was upstairs—heard Stoddard talking loud—called Joseph "a d__d false prophet, and a d__d one thing another"—saw Joseph slap him—did not hear Stoddard say he would flog him—did not see Stoddard attempt to strike him.
>
> Burgess—Says Stoddard struck at Smith first, and raised his cane in a threatening attitude when down.
>
> The Court, after summing up the testimony, said that as the injured party was satisfied, there would be no cause for further prosecution; that the assault might perhaps be justified on the principle of self-defense. The accused was then acquitted. (*Painesville Telegraph*, April 24, 1835, as quoted in *Conflict at Kirtland*, pages 132-133)

On pages 268-272 of his book, *Conflict at Kirtland*, Max Parkin gives us this information:

> On another occasion, a Baptist minister, who had been acquainted with the Prophet Joseph Smith in New York earlier in his life, visited him in Kirtland and remained as a guest with the Smiths over night. Following breakfast the next morning, the clergyman proceeded to call the Mormon leader "a hypocrite, a liar, an impostor, and a false prophet," with the desired effect of chastening Smith to repentance. Joseph became exasperated over his ingratitude and "boxed his ears with both hands, and turning his face towards the door, kicked him into the street," for the man's lack of charity. . . .

Perhaps the most menacing and potentially dangerous charge that was issued against the Mormon Prophet in Ohio was the complaint made in May, 1837, that Joseph Smith was an accessory to a plot to assassinate Grandison Newell. . . . Newell, then, proceeded to accuse the Mormon Prophet as an accessory to a conspiracy against his life by writing:

> Emboldened by success in his wicked schemes, he [i.e. Smith] hesitates not to use his authority as the revelator of the will of Heaven, to incite his followers to remove those who have opposed his treachery and fraud, by assassination. Deluded and frantic by his pretended revelation, that it was the will of God, that I should be destroyed, two of the saints of the latter day, by concert, and under the express direction of their prophet, this high priest of satan, meet in the night, at a little distance from my house, with loaded rifles, and pistols, with a determination to kill me. . . .

Newell's accusations were no idle threat, for later in the month he registered a complaint with Justice Flint of Painesville and a warrant was issued by the officer for Smith's arrest. . . . Following a lapse of days, Joseph did return to Kirtland and was arrested without difficulty. . . . The two confederates who were implicated in the alleged conspiracy with Joseph Smith, Jr., were young Solomon H. Denton and a Mr. Davis. It appears that although both men had been Mormons, Davis never wholly committed himself to the rules of the Mormon society, and Denton, who had resided with the Smiths occasionally since 1835 while working in the printing office, was excommunicated from the Church two or three months prior to the June trials. Newell alleged that although Denton and Davis were to perpetuate the plot, the Mormon Prophet—the defendant in the case—conceived the conspiracy.

Joseph Smith was acquitted; Newell, however, was not satisfied. Max Parkin states:

> Newell was so disappointed over the decision that he presented his case to the readers of the *Telegraph* in a lengthy letter reviewing the foregoing events in an attempt to win public approval.
>
> His complaint against Smith, he believed, could be well established. In presenting his cardinal point, Newell said, "Denton swore [in testimony] that Smith urged him and Davis to kill me; and enforced the exhortation by appealing to the Bible, and by declaring that it was the will of God. Is Denton entitled to credit?" he asked. "If he is, the charge is established," he concluded. . . .
>
> Reviewing the evidence that Denton and Davis had actually made threats against his life, Newell reasoned, "The only remaining question on which there is any doubt, is—did Smith instigate this design." Newell, then, proceeded to implicate Joseph Smith with the conspiracy by circumstancial evidence. His line of reasoning included: (1) Denton's testimony that Smith was involved in the plot. (2) Denton who had lived with the Smith family was amenable to the Prophet and therefore was willing to relinquish "blind obedience to all his commands." (3) The boy Denton would unlikely conceive of the scheme without the aid of some more responsible leader. (4) Denton and Davis were strangers to Newell and had no personal hatred for him. (5) Smith whose "heart is so thoroughly depraved," by conceiving the Mormon fraud would also commit other "atrocious crimes." (6) Then finally, Newell argued, Orson Hyde testified in the trial that if Newell should start any suits for "unlawful banking against any of the Mormons, [Newell] ought to be put where the crows could not find him; that it would be no sin to kill him. . . ." On the basis of his analysis of the circumstancial evidence, Newell concluded that Smith was guilty as charged and that the court betrayed its duty in not declaring him so. (*Conflict at Kirtland*, pages 274-275)

On September 13, 1842, Fanny Brewer made an affidavit in which she stated:

> "In the spring of 1837 I left Boston for Kirtland to assemble with the Saints and worship God more perfectly. On my arrival I found brother going to law with brother, **drunkeness** prevailing to a great extent and every species of wickedness. The prophet of God was under arrest for employing two of the elders to kill a man of the name of Grandison Newell, but was acquited, as the most material witness did not appear! I am personally acquainted with one of the employees, Davis by name, and he frankly acknowleged to me that he was prepared to do the deed under the direction of the prophet and was only prevented from so doing by the entreaties of his wife." (Affidavit by Fanny Brewer, as quoted in *Mormon Portraits*, by Dr. W. Wyl, 1886, pages 249-250)

William E. McLellin, who had been an apostle in the Mormon Church, apparently believed that Joseph Smith had planned to assassinate Newell. In 1875 he related the incident, and it was published in the *Salt Lake Tribune*:

> What follows I give on his [William E. McLellin] authority, and he is regarded here as a thoroughly reliable man.
>
> THE DOCTOR'S STORY.
>
> At Kirtland there was a wealthy citizen, Grandison Newell, who brought a number of civil suits against Joseph Smith—estimated as high as thirty. Dr. McLellin was a witness in some of these cases. About that time a devout Saint whispered to the Doctor that "men had slipped their wind for smaller things than Newell was guilty of." Upon this the Doctor saw one of Joseph Smith's intimates privately, and the latter confessed that he and another were then employed by Smith to assassinate Grandison Newell! The Doctor satisfied himself fully that the man's statement was true, and thought it about time to leave. He accordingly put his wife on one horse, took another himself and "lit out." Soon after he settled in Upper Missouri, and was soon surrounded by the Saints again, but was careful to keep still and have no intimacies with them. (*The Daily Tribune*, Salt Lake City, October 6, 1875)

Whether Joseph Smith was guilty of a plot to assassinate Newell may never be known, but the accusation

is especially interesting when we consider later developments in Far West, Nauvoo, and Utah. The purported statement that it would be "no sin to kill" an enemy of the church may have been the seed that grew into the doctrine of Blood Atonement.

BLOOD ATONEMENT

According to Reed Peck, Joseph Smith claimed that he had a revelation in which the Apostle Peter told him that he had killed Judas:

> He [Joseph Smith] talked of dissenters and cited us to the case of Judas, saying that Peter told him in a conversation a few days ago that himself hung Judas for betraying Christ . . . ("The Reed Peck Manuscript," written Sept. 18th, 1839, page 13 of typed copy)

Although this doctrine was kept secret at first, when the Mormons were settled in Utah they began to teach it openly. On December 13, 1857, Heber C. Kimball, a member of the First Presidency of the Mormon Church, stood in the Tabernacle in Salt Lake City and declared:

> Judas lost that saving principle, and they took him and killed him. It is said in the Bible that his bowels gushed out; but they actually kicked him until his bowels came out.
>
> "I will suffer my bowels to be taken out before I will forfeit the covenant I have made with Him and my brethren." Do you understand me? Judas was like salt that had lost its saving principles good for nothing but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men. . . . It is so with you, ye Elders of Israel, when you forfeit your covenants.
>
> . . . I know the day is right at hand when men will forfeit their Priesthood and turn against us and against the covenants they have made, and they will be destroyed as Judas was. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, pages 125-126, sermon by Heber C. Kimball)

Joseph Smith's brother, William, gave this testimony in court:

> I left Nauvoo in 1845 because my life was in danger if I remained there, because of my objections and protests against the doctrine of **blood atonement** and other new doctrines that were brought into the church. (*Temple Lot Case*, page 98)

Although William Smith's testimony was not given until 1893, he did publish a "Proclamation" in 1845 in which he told that Brigham Young was teaching Blood Atonement—i.e., that a man might be killed to save his soul:

> I ought to have mentioned in a former place, that on one occasion, I heard Brigham Young say, on the stand, that he was glad that Alvine Hodge was killed, . . . And he said further that it was far better for Alvine Hodge to die, than to live any longer in sin, for that he might now possibly be redeemed in the eternal world. That his murderers had done even a deed of charity for that such a man deserved to die. (*Warsaw Signal*, October 29, 1845)

At first Brigham Young denied that such a doctrine was right:

> President Brigham Young arose and said, "When men have come into our midst who were as corrupt as the devil himself, many have supposed it would have been better to have cut their throats with a feather and exposed their sink of corruption, and let them go to hell where they belonged, than to have borne with them as Brother Joseph Smith did; but this course would meet with a conflicting argument. To stop a man in his career would be taking away his agency. . . . If they were cut off from the earth they might with propriety come up in the day of judgment and say we took away their agency, which if we had let alone, they would have repented of their sins and redeemed a part of their time." (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, pages 366-367)

When the Mormons arrived in Utah, however, the doctrine was openly taught. Brigham Young, the second president of the Mormon Church, said:

> There are sins that men commit for which they cannot receive forgiveness in this world, or in that which is to come, and if they had their eyes open to see their true condition, they would be perfectly willing to **have their blood spilt** upon the ground, that the smoke thereof might ascend to heaven as an **offering for their sins**; and the smoking incense would **atone** for their sins, whereas, if such is not the case, they will stick to them and remain upon them in the spirit world.
>
> I know, when you hear my brethren telling about **cutting people off from the earth**, that you consider it is strong doctrine, but it is to **save** them, not to destroy them. . . .
>
> And furthermore, I know that there are transgressors, who, if they knew themselves, and the **only condition** upon which they can obtain forgiveness, **would beg of their brethren to shed their blood**, that the smoke thereof might ascend to God as an **offering** to appease the wrath that is kindled against them, and that the law might have its course. I will say further; I **have had men come to me and offer their lives to atone for their sins**.
>
> It is true that the blood of the Son of God was shed for sins through the fall and those committed by men, yet men **can commit sins which it can never remit**. As it was in ancient days, so it is in our day; and though the principles are taught publicly from this stand, still the people do not understand them; yet the law is precisely the same. There are sins that can be **atoned** for by an offering upon an altar, as in ancient days; and there are sins that the blood of a lamb, of a calf, or of turtle doves, cannot remit, but **they must be atoned for by the blood of the man**.

> That is the reason why men talk to you as they do from this stand; they understand the **doctrine** and throw out a few words about it. You have been **taught that doctrine**, but you do not understand it. (Sermon by Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 4, pages 53-54; *Deseret News*, 1856, page 235)

A photograph of this sermon as it was published in the *Deseret News* appears on the next page. It should be remembered that the *Deseret News* was the official organ of the Mormon Church. After being published in the *Deseret News* it was reprinted in the *Journal of Discourses*, which was also a Mormon publication. Therefore, there can be no doubt that this was a doctrine of the church.

CAPITAL CRIMES

Dr. Hugh Nibley accuses Kelly and Birney of quoting J. M. Grant, who was a member of the First Presidency, out of context in their book, *Holy Murder*:

> The prize quotation is another by Grant: "I say there are men and women here that I would advise to go to the President immediately and ask him to appoint a committee to attend to their case, and then let a place be selected and let that committee shed their blood." (KB. 134; JD V, 49). That sounds ghastly, but if we take the passage in its context it becomes immediately apparent that fire-eating Mr. Grant is simply advocating capital punishment for **capital crimes**. In the sentences preceding and following the quotation (they are omitted of course by our researchers) Grant makes it **perfectly clear** that the parties he refers to are those who have committed capital crimes, crimes so great "they cannot be forgiven through baptism." (*Sounding Brass*, by Hugh Nibley, Salt Lake City, 1963, page 231)

In making this statement, Dr. Nibley is being very deceitful. Kelly and Birney have not taken this reference out of context. Dr. Nibley states that the sentences preceding and following this quotation will show that J. M. Grant was referring only to capital crimes. The sentences before and after actually show that J. M. Grant was referring to those who are "covenant breakers," those who "commit adultery," and those who commit other sins which we do not usually think of as being punished by death. The following is taken from Mr. Grant's sermon and shows that he was not quoted out of context:

> Some have received the Priesthood and a knowledge of the things of God, and still they dishonor the cause of truth, **commit adultery**, and every other abomination beneath the heavens, and then meet you here or in the street, and deny it.
>
> These are the abominable characters that we have in our midst, and they will seek unto wizards that peep, and to star-gazers and soothsayers, because they have no faith in the holy Priesthood, and then when they meet us, they want to be called Saints.
>
> The same characters will **get drunk** and wallow in the mire and filth, and yet they call themselves Saints, and seem to glory in their conduct, and they pride themselves in their greatness and in their abominations.
>
> They are the old hardened sinners, and are almost—if not altogether—past improvement, and are full of hell, and my prayer is that God's indignation may rest upon them from the crown of their heads to the soles of their feet.
>
> I say, that there are men and women that I would advise to go to the President immediately, and ask him to appoint a committee to attend to their case; and then let a place be selected, **and let that committee shed their blood**.
>
> We have those amongst us that are full of all manner of abominations, those **who need to have their blood shed**, for water will not do, their sins are of too deep a dye.
>
> You may think that I am not teaching you Bible doctrine, but what says the apostle Paul? I would ask how many **covenant breakers** there are in this city and in this kingdom. I believe that there are a great many; and if they are **covenant breakers** we need a place designated, **where we can shed their blood**. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 4, pages 49-50)

Thus it can be seen that Hugh Nibley's charge that Kelly and Birney quoted J. M. Grant out of context is without foundation. Of course, there is some difference of opinion today in the Mormon Church over which crimes should be punished by death. Some members of the Mormon Church still feel that adultery should be punished by death.

When we look into the early Mormon publications we find that there were many crimes that the Mormon Church leaders taught were worthy of death. The following is a list of these crimes:

1. MURDER. The Mormon Prophet Joseph Smith stated:

> In debate, George A. Smith said imprisonment was better than hanging.
>
> I replied, I was opposed to hanging, even if a man kill another, **I will shoot him, or cut off his head, spill his blood** on the ground, and let the smoke thereof ascend up to God; and if ever I have the privilege of making a law on that subject. I will have it so. (*History of the Church*, by Joseph Smith, vol. 5, page 296)

The Mormon people apparently took Joseph Smith very serious when he talked of beheading for they incorporated this into their laws in Utah:

REMARKS

By President J. M. Grant, Bowery, Sunday Morning, Sept. 21, 1856.

[REPORTED BY J. V. LONG.]

I feel that the remarks which we have heard this morning are true, and they apply directly to you who are now present, and to the inhabitants of this city and of the Territory generally, and we do not excuse any of you.

If the arrows of the Almighty ought to be thrown at you we want to do it, and to make you feel and realize that we mean you. And although we talk of the old clay's being ground in the mill, we do not mean it to apply to some other place, for we have enough here who have been dried ever since their baptism, and many of them are cracked and spoiling.

Some have received the priesthood and a knowledge of the things of God, and still they dishonor the cause of truth, commit adultery and every other abomination beneath the heavens, and then meet you here or in the street and deny it.

These are the abominable characters that we have in our midst, and they will seek unto wizards that peep, and to star-gazers and soothsayers, because they have no faith in the holy priesthood, and then when they meet us they want to be called saints.

The same characters will get drunk and wallow in the mire and filth, and yet they call themselves saints and seem to glory in their conduct, and they pride themselves in their greatness and in their abominations.

They are the old hardened sinners, and are almost—if not altogether—past improvement, and are full of hell, and my prayer is that God's indignation may rest upon them, and that he will curse them from the crown of their heads to the soles of their feet.

I say that there are men and women that I would advise to go to the President immediately, and ask him to appoint a committee to attend to their case; and then let a place be selected, and let that committee shed their blood.

We have those amongst us that are full of all manner of abominations, those who need to have their blood shed, for water will not do, their sins are of too deep a dye.

You may think that I am not teaching you Bible doctrine, but what says the apostle Paul? I would ask how many covenant breakers there are in this city and in this kingdom. I believe there are a great many; and if they are covenant-breakers we need a place designated, where we can shed their blood.

Talk about old clay; I would rather have clay from a new bank than some that we have had clogging the wheels for the last nineteen years. They are a perfect nuisance and I want them cut off, and the sooner it is done the better.

We have men who are incessantly finding fault, who get up little party spirits and criticise the conduct of men of God. They will find fault with this, that, and the other, and nothing is right for them, because they are full of all kinds of filth and wickedness.

And we have women here who like any thing but the celestial law of God; and if they could break asunder the cable of the Church of Christ, there is scarcely a mother in Israel but would do it this day. And they talk it to their husbands, to their daughters, and to their neighbors, and say they have not seen a week's happiness since they became acquainted with that law, or since their husbands took a second wife. They want to break up the church of God, and to break it from their husbands and from their family connections.

Then again there are men that are used as tools by their wives, and they are just a little better in appearance and in their habits than a little black boy. They live in filth and nastiness, they eat it and drink it, and they are filthy all over.

We have Elders and High Priests that are precisely in this predicament; and yet they are wishing for more of the Holy Ghost, they wish to have it in larger doses. They want more revelation, but I tell you that you now have more than you live up to, more than you practise and make use of.

If I hurt your feelings, let them be hurt. And if any of you ask, "do I mean you?" I answer, yes. If any woman asks, "do I mean her?" I answer, yes. And I want you to understand that I am throwing the arrows of God Almighty among Israel; I do not excuse any.

I am speaking to you in the name of Israel's God, and you need to be baptized and washed clean from your sins, from your backslidings, from your apostacies, from your filthiness, from your lying, from your swearing, from your lusts, and from every thing that is evil before the God of Israel.

We have been trying long enough with this people, and I go in for letting the sword of the Almighty be unsheathed, not only in word but in deed.

I go in for letting the wrath of the Almighty burn up the dross and the filth; and if the people will not glorify the Lord by sanctifying themselves, let the wrath of the Almighty God burn against them, and the wrath of Joseph and of Brigham and of Heber and of high heaven.

There is nothing to prevent you f
humble and doing right, but your o
foolish, and wicked acts and doing
just tell you that if an angel of Go
pass Great Salt Lake City, while y
your present state, he would not consider you worthy of his company.

You have got to cleanse yourselves from corruption, before you are fit for the society of those beings. You may hear of people in other cities being baptized and renewing their covenants, but they are not sinners above all others; and except the inhabitants of G. S. L. City repent and do their first works they shall all likewise perish, and the wrath of God will be upon them and round about them.

You can scarcely find a place in this city that is not full of filth and abominations; and if you would search them out, they would easily be weighed in the balances, and you would then find that they do not serve their God and purify their bodies.

But the course they are taking leads them to corrupt themselves, the soil, the waters, and the mountains, and they defile everything around them.

Brethren and sisters, we want you to repent and forsake your sins. And you who have committed sins that cannot be forgiven through baptism, let your blood be shed and let the smoke ascend, that the incense thereof may come up before God as an atonement for your sins, and that the sinners in Zion may be afraid.

These are my feelings, and may God fulfil them. And my wishes are that He will grant the desires of my brethren, that Zion may be purified, and the wicked purged out of her, until God shall say I will bless the rest; until he shall say I will bless your flocks, your herds, your little ones, your houses, your lands, and all that you possess; and you shall be my people and I will come and take up my abode with you, and I will bless all those that do right; which may he grant, in the name of Jesus. Amen.

DISCOURSE

By President Brigham Young, Bowery, Sunday Afternoon, Sept. 21, 1856.

[REPORTED BY G. D. WATT.]

Before I sit down I shall offer a proposition to the congregation; though I will first say a few words concerning our religion, our circumstances, and the circumstances of the brethren and people generally, that inhabit these valleys, but more especially of those that have the privilege of assembling at this Tabernacle from Sabbath to Sabbath.

If they will rightly consider their situation, they will believe for themselves that they are in a place, in a country, where they can be saints as well as in any other place there is on the face of this earth.

True, we hear some complaints from those who lose the spirit of their religion, who turn away from us. They think that this people will suffer here. I will give you my feelings upon the subject.

There is not a hardship, there is not a disappointment, there is not a trial, there is not a hard time, that comes upon this people in this place, but that I am more thankful for than I am for full granaries.

We have been hunting, during the past twenty six years, for a place where we could raise saints, not merely wheat, nor corn. Comparatively I care but little about the wheat and corn, though a little is very useful.

It is true that this is a good country for fruits of some kind; as good peaches as can be raised on any soil this soil produces, and also grapes, apples, and so on. But what of all that? The man, or the woman, that mainly looks after the fruit, after the luxuries of life, good food, fine apparel, and at the same time professes to be a Latter Day Saint, if he does not get that spirit out of his heart it will obtain a perfect victory over him; whereas he is required to obtain a victory over his lusts and over his unwise feelings; and if he does not get rid of that spirit, the quicker he starts east for the States, or west for California, the better.

If we could not raise any fruit, if we could not raise an ear of corn, I should be quite thankful if we could raise the oats and the peas, and make the oat bread and the pea broth, and live on them from year to year.

I say hallelujah, this is a first-rate place to raise saints. Let the people complain of hard times, complain of their poverty, their poor fare and their hard labor; that wood is scarce, that we have to go far for it, and have to toil so hard to raise our grain; that we lose our stock upon the prairie, that a cow is gone today, and an ox was lost last year; that if we turn out our cattle they will stray off, and we shall see them no more.

How would you feel were you in a country where you could not raise stock, except you provided comfortable shelter and an abundance of fodder for them all?

In the country where I was brought up, could you turn out a calf in the fall and have it live through the winter? There never was such a thing done, to my knowledge; and no man ever thought of such a thing as wintering a calf, unless he had a shelter prepared for it almost as warm as the rooms for the children.

I mention these things for the benefit of those here to-day, if any, who think that this is not a good country, and who do not really know whether they wish to stay, or whether we are right or wrong, or whether 'Mormonism' is true or false.

I would advise those persons to repent of their sins forthwith, and to try with all their might to get the Spirit of their religion upon them; and if they cannot do that, to take their glory, of faith and thanksgiving; this is the case with all who are full of good works.

We need a reformation in the midst of this people; we need a thorough reform, for I know that very many are in a dozy condition with regard to their religion; I know this as well as I should if you were now to doze and go to sleep before my eyes.

You are losing the spirit of the gospel, is there any cause for it? No, only that which there is in the world. You have the weakness of human nature to contend with, and you suffer that weakness to decoy you away from the truth, to the side of the adversary; but now it is time to awake, before the time of burning.

Whether the time of burning will be this week, or the next, or next year, I do not know that I care; and I do not know that I would ask, if I was sure the Lord would tell me. But I tell you that which I do know, and that is sufficient.

I do know that the trying day will soon come to you and to me; and ere long we will have to lay down these tabernacles and go into the spirit world. And I do know that as we lie down so judgment will find us, and that is scriptural; "as the tree falls so it shall lie," or, in other words, as death leaves us so judgment will find us.

I will explain how judgment will be laid to the line. If we all live to the age of man the end thereof will soon be here, and that will burn enough, without anything else; and the present is a day of trial, enough for you and me.

We have got to be rightly prepared to go into the spirit world, in order to become kings. That is, so far as the power of satan is concerned you and I have got to be free from his power, but we cannot be while we are in the flesh.

Here we shall be perplexed and hunted by him; but when we go into the spirit world there we are masters over the power of satan, and he cannot afflict us any more, and this is enough for me to know.

Whether the world is going to be burned up within a year, or within a thousand years, does not matter a groat to you and me. We have the words of eternal life, we have the privilege of obtaining glory, immortality, and eternal lives, now will you obtain these blessings?

Will you spend your lives to obtain a seat in the kingdom of God, or will you lie down and sleep, and go down to hell?

I want all the people to say what they will do, and I know that God wishes all his servants, all his faithful sons and daughters, the men and the women that inhabit this city, to repent of their wickedness, or we will cut them off.

I could give you a logical reason for all the transgressions in this world, for all that are committed in this probationary state, and especially for those committed by men.

There are sins that men commit for which they cannot receive forgiveness in this world, or in that which is to come, and if they had their eyes open to see their true condition, they would be perfectly willing to have their blood spilt upon the ground, that the smoke thereof might ascend to heaven as an offering for their sins; and the smoking incense would atone for their sins, whereas, if such is not the case, they will stick to them and remain upon them in the spirit world.

I know, when you hear my brethren telling about cutting people off from the earth, that you consider it is strong doctrine; but it is to save them, not to destroy them.

Of all the children of Israel that started to pass through the wilderness, none inherited the land which had been promised, except Caleb and Joshua, and what was the reason? It was because of their rebellion and wickedness; and because the Lord had promised Abraham that he would save his seed.

They had to travel to and fro to every point of the compass, and were wasted away, because God was determined to save their spirits. But they could not enter into his rest in the flesh, because of their transgressions, consequently he destroyed them in the wilderness.

I do know that there are sins committed, of such a nature that if the people did understand the doctrine of salvation, they would tremble because of their situation. And furthermore, I know that there are transgressors, who, if they knew themselves and the only condition upon which they can obtain forgiveness would beg of their brethren to shed their blood, that the smoke thereof might ascend to God as an offering to appease the wrath that is kindled against them, and that the law might have its course. I will say further; I have had men come to me and offer their lives to atone for their sins.

It is true that the blood of the Son of God was shed for sins through the fall and those committed by men, yet men can commit sins which it can never remit. As it was in ancient days, so it is in our day; and though the principles are taught publicly from this stand, still the people do not understand them; yet the law is precisely the same. There are sins that can be atoned for by an offering upon an altar as in ancient days; and there are sins that the blood of a lamb, of a calf, or of turtle doves, cannot remit, but they must be atoned for by the blood of the man. That is the reason why men talk to you as they do from this stand; they understand the doctrine and throw out a few words about it. You have been taught that doctrine, but you do not understand it.

It is our desire to be prepared for a celestial

to be brought with God. What a delight it was to hear br. Joseph talk upon the great principles of eternity; he would bring them down to the capacity of a child, he would unite heaven with earth, and this is the beauty of our religion.

When it was mentioned this morning about seeing God, about what kind of a being he was, and how we could see and measurably understand him, I thought I would tell you. If we could see our heavenly Father we should see a being similar to our earthly parent, with this difference, our father in heaven is exalted and glorified. He has received his thrones, his principalities and powers, and he sits as a governor, as a monarch, and overrules kingdoms, thrones, and dominions that have been bequeathed to him, and such as we anticipate receiving. While he was in the flesh, as we are, he was as we are. But it is now written of him that our God is as a consuming fire, that he dwells in everlasting burnings, and this is why sin cannot be where he is.

There are principles that will endure through all eternity, and no fire can obliterate them from existence. They are those principles that are pure, and fire is made typical use of to show the glory and purity of the Gods, and of all perfect beings. God is the Father of our spirits; he begat them and has sent them here to receive tabernacles, and to prove whether we will honor them. If we do, then our tabernacles will be exalted; but if we do not, we shall be destroyed; one of the two—dissolution or life. The second death will decompose all tabernacles over whom it gains the ascendancy; and this is the effect of the second death, the tabernacles go back to their native element.

We are of the earth, earthy; and our Father is heavenly and pure. But we will be glorified and purified, if we obey our brethren and the teachings which are given.

When you see celestial beings you will see men and women, but you will see those beings clothed upon with robes of celestial purity. We cannot bear the presence of our Father now; and we are placed at a distance to prove whether we will honor these tabernacles, whether we will be obedient and prepare ourselves to live in the glory of the light, privileges and blessings of celestial beings. We could not have the glory and the light without first knowing the contrast. Do you comprehend that we could have no exaltation, without first learning by contrast?

When you are prepared to see our Father, you will see a being with whom you have long been acquainted, and he will receive you into his arms, and you will be ready to fall into his embrace and kiss him, as you would your fathers and friends that have been dead for a score of years, you will be so glad and joyful. Would you not rejoice? When you are qualified and purified, so that you can endure the glory of eternity, so that you can see your Father and your friends who have gone behind the vail, you will fall upon their necks and kiss them, as we do an earthly friend that has been long absent from us, and that we have been anxiously desiring to see. This is the people that are and will be permitted to enjoy the society of those happy and exalted beings.

Now for my proposition; it is more particularly for my sisters, as it is frequently happening that women say that they are unhappy. Men will say, "My wife, though a most excellent woman, has not seen a happy day since I took my second wife;" "No, not a happy day for a year," says one; and another has not seen a happy day for five years. It is said that women are tied down and abused: that they are misused and have not the liberty they ought to have; that many of them are wading through a perfect flood of tears, because of the conduct of some men, together with their own folly.

I wish my own women to understand that what I am going to say is for them as well as others, and I want those who are here to tell their sisters, yes, all the women of this community, and then write it back to the States, and do as you please with it. I am going to give you from this time to the 6th day of October next, for reflection, that you may determine whether you wish to stay with your husbands or not, and then I am going to set every woman at liberty and say to them, Now go your way, my women with the rest, go your way. And my wives have got to do one of two things; either round up their shoulders to endure the afflictions of this world and live their religion, or they may leave, for I will not have them about me. I will go into heaven alone, rather than have scratching and fighting around me. I will set all at liberty. "What, first wife too?" Yes, I will liberate you all.

I know what my women will say; they will say, 'You can have as many women as you please, Brigham.' But I want to go somewhere and do something to get rid of the whiners; I do not want them to receive a part of the truth and spurn the rest out of doors.

I wish my women, and br. Kimball's and br. Grant's to leave, and every woman in this Territory, or else say in their hearts that they will embrace the gospel—the whole of it. Tell the gentiles that I will free every woman in this Territory at our next conference. 'What, the first wife too?' Yes, there shall not be one held in bondage, all shall be set free. And then let the father be the head of the family, the master of his own household; and let him treat them as an angel would treat them; and let the wives and the children say amen to what he says, and be subject to his dictates, instead of their dictating the man, instead of their trying to govern him.

No doubt some are thinking, 'I wish br. Brigham would say what would become of the children.' I will tell you what my feelings are; I will let my wives take the children, and I have prep
h to support them, and can educate
then give them a good fortune, and I
fresh start.
desire to keep a particle of my proper
enough to protect me from a staff of
nd I would say, wives you are wel-

A photograph of the *Deseret News*, 1856, page 235. Brigham Young and J. M. Grant preach the doctrine of blood atonement.

> In accordance with the law of Utah, the doomed man was given his choice of three methods of execution—hanging, shooting or **beheading**. (*A Mormon Chronicle, The Diaries of John D. Lee*, Introduction, page xix)

In footnote number 143 on page 129 of the same book, we find this statement:

> Even the law of territorial Utah, as we have explained in the Introduction, allowed John D. Lee, or any other man condemned to death, to elect to be **beheaded** as a means of saving his immortal soul by the **shedding of his blood**.

Although we do not hear of murderers having their heads cut off in Utah today, the law still allows the murderer to be shot so that his blood can flow and atone for his sin. Joseph Fielding Smith, the Mormon historian, stated:

> . . . the founders of Utah incorporated in the laws of the Territory provisions for the capital punishment of those who wilfully shed the blood of their fellow men. This law, which is now the law of the State, granted unto the condemned murderer the privilege of choosing for himself whether he die by hanging, or whether he **be shot, and thus have his blood shed in harmony with the law of God; and thus atone**, so far as it is in his power to atone, for the death of his victim. Almost without exception the condemned party chooses the latter death. (*Doctrines of Salvation*, by Joseph Fielding Smith, vol. 1, page 136)

Bruce R. McConkie, of the First Council of the Seventy, stated:

> As a mode of capital punishment, hanging or execution on a gallows does not comply with the law of blood atonement, for the blood is not shed. (*Mormon Doctrine*, by Bruce R. McConkie, 1958 ed., page 314)

As long as the Mormon Church teaches the doctrine of "blood atonement" there is probably little chance of Utah having a gas chamber or electric chair for the condemned murderer.

2. ADULTERY AND IMMORALITY. Bruce R. McConkie stated:

> Modern governments **do not take the life of the adulterer**, and some of them have done away with the supreme penalty where murder is involved—all of which is further evidence of the direful apostasy that prevails among the peoples who call themselves Christians. (*Mormon Doctrine*, by Bruce R. McConkie, 1958 ed., page 104)

Brigham Young, the second president of the Mormon Church, stated:

> Let me suppose a case. Suppose you found your brother in bed with your wife, and **put a javelin through both of them, you would be justified, and they would atone for their sins, and be received into the kingdom of God**. I would at once do so in such a case; and under such circumstances, I have no wife whom I love so well that I would not put a javelin through her heart, and I would **do it with clean hands** . . .
>
> There is not a man or woman, who violates the covenants made with their God, that will not be required to pay the debt. The blood of Christ will never wipe that out, **your own blood must atone for it**; . . . (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 3, page 247)

Orson Pratt, who was one of the Twelve Apostles in the Mormon Church, stated:

> The people of Utah are the only ones in this nation who have taken effectual measures . . . to prevent adulteries and criminal connections between the sexes. The punishment in that territory, for these crimes is **death to both male and female**. And this law is written on the hearts and printed in the thoughts of the whole people. (*The Seer*, February, 1854, Washington City, D.C., page 223)

Orson Pratt also stated:

> . . . the citizens of that Territory think more of their virtue than they do of their lives. They **know**, that if they have any connections out of the marriage covenant, they not only **forfeit their lives** by the **law of God**, but they forfeit their salvation also. (*The Seer*, page 42)

On another occasion the Apostle Orson Pratt stated:

> Perhaps the nations of Christendom may enquire, how they shall repent of these great evils? and how they shall put away these crimes from their midst? We answer: let Presidents, Governors, Queens, Kings, Emperors, Rulers, and all law-making departments, adopt those holy and wise laws, contained in the Divine oracles, making **death** the penalty for adulteries, fornications, and whoredoms: let them ordain, enact, and incorporate those laws in their criminal codes: let the death penalty be executed upon both male and female criminals who violate them; let that wicked anti-scriptural law, prohibiting a plurality of wives, be repealed, . . . Let Christendom, therefore, abolish their unwise, unscriptural, **cruel monogamic laws**; and adopt the Divine institution of Plurality; let them execute the Death penalty of the Divine law, upon those having criminal connexions, and they will soon be cleansed from the stench and filth of those cursed dens of pollution which have so publicly infested their cities for ages. (*Pamphlets by Orson Pratt*, "True Repentance," page 21)

minal and vile; the constant practice of murder would be no more dangerous than constant prostitution for a living. Such laws, and such only, will prove an effectual remedy against this great crime which has so fearfully and extensively corrupted the nation. If the majority do not make laws to effectually remedy and abolish the crime, then these evils will, in the day of judgment, be answered upon their own heads, and they will be found guilty, for suffering crimes of such magnitude to prevail throughout the country, when it was within their own power to have legislated against them with that severity that would have swept them out of the land. The very fact that the majority do not make such laws, shows most clearly that they are guilty of approbating the evil, at least, in others, if not in themselves; therefore, in the sight of the Great Law-Giver, they are considered guilty of participating in the same crimes. If the minority would free themselves from the same condemnation, they must repent. But how must they repent? It is not within the power of the minority to elect legislators—therefore, how can they remedy this evil, even if they feel ever so much disposed? We reply, that they can repent of ever having cast a vote for the election of a legislator, that would not promise, beforehand, that he would use every exertion to have such laws passed; and they can reform, by not being guilty, for the future, of using their influence and vote for the election of legislators who will not do their duty in this respect. This kind of repentance and reformation will save the majority from the condemnation that rests upon the minority; and without such repentance, the minority, as well as the majority, will be considered, in the great judgment, as being guilty of participating in the same crimes. It was for like reasons, that God visited in judgment, the whole tribe of Benjamin, and nearly extinguished them from the face of the earth. It was not because the whole tribe had been directly guilty of the crime, but because they refused to bring the few that were guilty to justice; therefore God held the majority, yes, even the whole tribe, with the exception of a very few, responsible for the wicked acts of the few individuals; and the same penalty of death that would have been inflicted only upon the few who were immediately guilty, was with equal justice inflicted upon the whole who refused to deliver up the criminals. So likewise, shall it be with this nation, unless they do away these abominations that are in their midst: God will denounce them as being equally guilty with those who commit these crimes: and he will inflict upon them the same penalty, that should have been inflicted upon the criminals; and he will cast them down to hell to dwell with such vile and abominable characters, because they did not destroy these crimes from the land.

The people of the United States are far more guilty in this one respect, than the people in other governments; for here, it is the people who make the laws, through the legislators of their own choosing, consequently the people are responsible, not only for the laws that are made, but for the neglect to make any laws that ought to be made. But in many other governments the people have no choice in the appointment of their law-givers; and if the law-making department make unjust laws, or refuse to make laws for the suppression of crime, the people cannot remedy the evil without revolutionizing their forms of government. In such cases the responsibility rests upon the individuals committing the crime, and upon the law-making department who do not by appropriate laws suppress it, and also upon all others who approbate the same, or do not protest against it.

The people of Utah are the only ones in this nation who have taken effectual measures, we will not say *to suppress*, for the word is entirely inapplicable to them, but to *prevent* adulteries and criminal connections between the sexes. The punishment, in that territory, for these crimes, is DEATH TO BOTH MALE AND FEMALE. And this law is written on the hearts and printed in the thoughts of the whole people. Does not this righteous and just law have its desired effect upon them? Yes! it establishes virtue upon a permanent foundation, and deals out justice to the vile seducer, adulterer, and whoremonger, so far as it can be dealt out in this life: it preserves the purity of the morals of the whole population, which is essentially necessary to the peace, happiness, and prosperity of any people, government, or nation. There, no houses of ill-fame, or public or private prostitutes, can be found to corrupt society, and pollute the land. There, no arch seducer is permitted to flatter the young and inexperienced female, till he has ruined his victim and left her an outcast from society. There

A photograph of the *Seer*, page 223. Orson Pratt declares death to both male and female.

A few of the men and women who go into the house of the Lord, and receive their endowments, and in the most sacred manner make covenants before the Almighty, go and violate those covenants. Do I have compassion on them? Yes, I do have mercy on them, for there is something in their organization which they do not understand; and there are but few in this congregation who do understand it.

You say, "That man ought to die for transgressing the law of God." Let me suppose a case. Suppose you found your brother in bed with your wife, and put a javelin through both of them, you would be justified, and they would atone for their sins, and be received into the kingdom of God. I would at once do so in such a case; and under such circumstances, I have no wife whom I love so well that I would not put a javelin through her heart, and I would do it with clean hands. But you who trifle with your covenants, be careful lest in judging you will be judged.

Every man and women has got to have clean hands and a pure heart, to execute judgment, else they had better let the matter alone.

Again, suppose the parties are not caught in their iniquity, and it passes along unnoticed, shall I have compassion on them? Yes, I will have compassion on them, for transgressions of the nature already named, or for those of any other description. If the Lord so order it that they are not caught in the act of their iniquity, it is pretty good proof that He is willing for them to live; and I say let them live and suffer in the flesh for their sins, for they will have it to do.

There is not a man or woman, who violates the covenants made with their God, that will not be required to pay the debt. The blood of Christ will never wipe that out, your own blood must atone for it; and the judgments of the Almighty will come, sooner or later, and every man and women will have to atone for breaking their covenants. To what degree? Will they have to go to hell? They are in hell enough now. I do not wish them in a greater hell, when their consciences condemn them all the time. Let compassion reign in our bosoms. Try to comprehend how weak we are, how we are organized, how the spirit and the flesh are continually at war.

I told you here, some time ago, that the devil who tempted Eve, got possession of the earth, and reigns triumphant, has nothing to do with influencing our spirits, only through the flesh; that is a true doctrine. Inasmuch as our spirits are inseparably connected with the flesh, and, inasmuch as the whole tabernacle is filled with the spirit which God gave, if the body is afflicted, the spirit also suffers, for there is a warfare between the flesh and the spirit, and if the flesh overcomes, the spirit is brought into bondage, and if the spirit overcomes, the body is made free, and then we are free indeed, for we are made free by the Son of God. Watch yourselves, and think. As I heard observed, on the evening of the 14th, at the Social Hall, "think, brethren, think," but do not think so far that you cannot think back again. I then wanted to tell a little anecdote, but I will tell it now.

In the eastern country there was a man who used to go crazy, at times, and then come to his senses again. One of his neighbors asked him what made him go crazy; he replied, "I get to thinking, and thinking, until finally I think so far that I am not always able to think back again." Can you think too much for the spirit which is put in the tabernacle? You can, and this is a subject which I wish the brethren instructed upon, and the people to understand. The spirit is the intelligent part of man,

A photograph of the *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 3, page 247. Brigham Young talks of blood atonement.

Captain Howard Stansbury, who was friendly to the Mormons, made this statement concerning them in 1852:

> . . . they do not hesitate to declare, that when they shall obtain the uncontrolled power of making their own civil laws, (which will be when they are admitted as one of the States of the Union,) they will punish the departure from chastity in the severest manner, even by death. . . . (Official report by Captain Howard Stansbury, as quoted in *Among the Mormons*, edited by William Mulder & A. Russell Mortensen, New York, 1958, page 248)

Heber C. Kimball, who was a member of the First Presidency of the Mormon Church, stated:

> These are my views, and the Lord knows that I believe in the principles of sanctification; and when I am guilty of seducing any man's wife, or any woman in God's world, I say, **sever my head from my body**. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 7, page 20)

On another occasion Heber C. Kimball made this statement:

> But they cannot whore it here; for, gentlemen, if there is anything of that kind, we will **slay both men and women**. We will do it, as the Lord liveth—we will **slay such characters**. Now, which would be the most worthy to be slain—the woman that had had her endowments and made certain covenants before God, or the man that knew nothing about it? The woman, of course. (J*ournal of Discourses*, vol. 6, page 38)

Orson Pratt gave this advice to the people of the world:

> Let the penalty of death be attached to your laws, and let it be put in force upon the adulterer and the whoremonger, both male and female; . . . (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 7, page 263)

The Mormon Apostle George A. Smith stated:

> . . . the man who shall insinuate himself into the community, and seduce his neighbor's wife, or seduce or prostitute any female, may expect to find no more protection than the wolf would find, or the dog that the shepherd finds killing the sheep: that he may be made aware that he **cannot escape** for a moment.
>
> God said to Cain, I will put a mark upon you, that no man may kill you. I want the crocodile, the hyena, that would destroy the reputation of our females to feel that the mark is upon him; and the **avenger upon his path, ready to pounce upon him** at any moment to take vengeance; . . . (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 1, page 99)

The Mormon Apostle George Q. Cannon made this statement on August 15, 1869:

> We are solving the problem that is before the world to-day, over which they are pretending to rack their brains. I mean the "Social Problem." We close the door on one side, and say that whoredoms, seductions and adulteries must not be committed amongst us, and we say to those who are determined to carry on such things **we will kill you**; at the same time we open the door in the other direction and make plural marriage honorable. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 14, page 58)

George A. Smith made the following statement:

> The principle, the only one that beats and throbs through the heart of the entire inhabitants of this Territory, is simply this: The man who seduces his neighbors wife **must die**, and her nearest relative **must kill him!** (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 1, page 97)

Heber C. Kimball, the First Counselor to Brigham Young, stated:

> It is believed in the world that our females are all common women. Well, in one sense they are common—that is, they are like all other women, I suppose; but they are not unclean, for **we wipe all unclean ones from our midst**: we not only wipe them from our streets, but **we wipe them out of existence** . . . so help me God, while I live, I will lend my hand to **wipe such persons out**: and I know this people will. (*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, page 739, also found in the *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 7, page 19)

The historian Juanita Brooks states:

> There was much preaching of "blood atonement" and marital infidelity was one sin which might be so punished. (*John D Lee*, by Juanita Brooks, Glendale, California, 1962, page 188)

On May 22, 1859, Brigham Young stated:

> It is not so much polygamy that they are opposed to, but they hate this people because they strive to be pure, and will not believe in whoredom and adultery, but declare **death to the man who is found guilty of those crimes**. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 7, page 146)

The following is found in footnote 135 on page 128 of *A Mormon Chronicle, The Diaries of John D. Lee*, vol. 1:

> Adultery was both a major sin and a **capital offense** in Mormon eyes.

In footnote 101 on pages 332-333 of the same volume the following statement appears:

> Lee's solemn warning related to the doctrine of blood atonement. Many early Mormons believed that the sin of adultery was so grievous that only the shedding of the sinner's blood could atone for it. There are many references to the seriousness of this offense. Esias Edwards, for example, tells in his diary how his son-in-law, Frank Sadler, was forced to flee to save his life after a second transgression.

3. STEALING. The following statement concerning Joseph Smith appeared in the Mormon publication *Times and Seasons*:

> President Joseph Smith said, I think it best to continue this subject. I want the elders to make honorable proclamation abroad concerning what the feelings of the first presidency is, for stealing has never been tolerated by them. I despise a thief above ground. (*Times and Seasons*, vol. 4, pages 183-184)

Brigham Young taught that thieves should have their throats cut:

> President Young then spoke against thieving, . . . said he, I should be perfectly willing to see thieves have their **throats cut**; some of you may say, if that is your feelings Brigham, we'll lay you aside sometime, well, do it if you can; I would rather die by the hands of the meanest of all men, false brethren, than to live among thieves. (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, page 597)

Brigham Young also stated:

> If you want to know what to do with a thief that you may find stealing, I say **kill him on the spot**, and never suffer him to commit another iniquity. . . . if I caught a man stealing on my premises I should be very apt to send him straight home, and that is what I wish every man to do, to put a stop to that abominable practice in the midst of this people.
>
> I know this appears hard, and throws a cold chill over our revered traditions received by early education. I had a great many such feelings to contend with myself, and was as much of a sectarian in my notions as any other man, and as mild, perhaps, in my natural disposition, but I have trained myself to measure things by the line of justice, to estimate them by the rule of equity and truth, and not by the false traditions of the fathers, or the sympathies of the natural mind. If you will cause all those whom you know to be **thieves**, to be placed in a line before the mouth of one of our largest **cannon**, well loaded with chain shot, **I will prove by my words whether I can mete out justice** to such persons, or not. **I would consider it as much my duty to do that, as to baptize a man** for the remission of his sins. That is a short discourse on thieves, I acknowledge, but I tell you the **truth** as it is in my heart. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 1, pages 108-109)

The Apostle Orson Hyde said:

> It would have a tendency to place a terror on those who leave these parts, that may prove their salvation when they see the **heads of thieves taken off**, or shot down before the public . . . I believe it to be pleasing in the sight of heaven to sanctify ourselves and put these things from our midst. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 1, page 73)

4. USING THE NAME OF THE LORD IN VAIN. In the journal of Hosea Stout, Brigham Young is recorded as saying:

> . . . I tell you the time is coming when that man uses the name of the Lord is used the penalty will be affixed and immediately **be executed on the spot** . . . (Hosea Stout Journal, vol. 2, page 71; page 56 of the typed copy at the Utah State Historical Society)

5. FOR NOT RECEIVING THE GOSPEL. Brigham Young made this statement:

> The time is coming when justice will be laid to the line and righteousness to the plummet; when we shall ask, "Are you for God?" and if you are not heartily on the Lord's side, **you will be hewn down**. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 3, page 226)

6. FOR MARRIAGE TO AN AFRICAN. Brigham Young said:

> Shall I tell you the **law of God** in regard to the African race? If the white man who belongs to the chosen seed mixes his blood with the seed of Cain, the **penalty**, under the **law of God is death on the spot**. This will **always be so**. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 10, page 110)

7. FOR COVENANT BREAKING. Jedediah M. Grant, second counselor to Brigham Young, said:

I say, that there are men and women that I would advise to go to the President immediately, and ask him to appoint a committee to attend to their case; and then let a place be selected, and let that committee **shed their blood**.

We have those amongst us that are full of all manner of abominations, those who need to **have their blood shed**, for water will not do, their sins are of too deep a dye.

. . . I would ask how many covenant breakers there are in this city and in this kingdom. I believe that there are a great many; and if they are covenant breakers we **need a place designated, where we can shed their blood**. . . .

We have been trying long enough with this people, and I go in for letting the sword of the Almighty be unsheathed, not only in word, **but in deed**. . . .

Brethern and sisters, we want you to repent and forsake your sins. And you who have committed sins that cannot be forgiven through baptism, **let your blood be shed**, and let the smoke ascend, that the incense thereof may come up before God as an atonement for your sins, and that the sinners in Zion may be afraid. (*Deseret News*, vol. 6, page 235, reprinted in the *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 4, pages 49-51)

On another occasion Jedediah M. Grant stated:

What disposition ought the people of God to make of covenant breakers . . . I say what ought such a people to do with covenant breakers? "Why," says one, "forgive them to be sure." Very good, but what else ought they to do? What does the Apostle say? He says they are **worthy of death**. . . . I am inclined to believe his decision was a correct one.

Then what ought this meek people, who keep the commandments of God do unto them? "Why," says one, "they ought to pray to the Lord to kill them." I want to know if you would wish the Lord to come down and do all your dirty work? . . .

When a man prays for a thing, he ought to be willing to perform it himself. . . .

Then there was another odd commandment—The Lord God commanded them not to pity the person whom they killed; but to execute the law of God upon persons worthy of death. This should be done by the entire congregation showing no pity. I have thought there would have to be quite a revolution among the Mormons, before such a commandment could be obeyed completely by them. The Mormons have a great deal of sympathy. For instance, if they can get a man before the tribunal administering the law of the land, and succeed in getting a rope around his neck, and having him hung up like a dead dog, it is all right; but if the Church and Kingdom of God should step forth and execute the law of God, O! what a burst of Mormon sympathy it would cause. I wish we were in a situation favorable to our doing that which is justifiable before God, without any contaminating influences of Gentile amalgamation, laws, and traditions, that the people of God might lay the axe to the root of the tree, and every tree that bringing not forth good fruit might be hewn down.

"What! do you believe that people would do right and keep the law of God, by actually **putting to death** the transgressors?" **Putting to death transgressors would exhibit the law of God**, no difference by whom it was done; that is my opinion.

You talk of the doings of different governments, the United States if you please. What do they do with traitors? . . . Do traitors to that Government forfeit their lives? . . . But people will look into books of theology, and argue that the people of God have a right to try people for fellowship, but they have no right to try them on property or **life**. **That makes the devil laugh**, saying, I have got them on a hook now; . . .

But if the Government of God on earth, and Eternal Priesthood, with the sanction of High Heaven, in the midst of all his people, has passed sentence on certain sins when they appear in a person, has not the people of God a right to carry out that part of his law as well as any other portion of it? It is their right to baptize a sinner to save him, and it is also their right to **kill a sinner to save him**, when he commits those crimes that can only be atoned for by **shedding his blood**. If the Lord God forgives sins by baptism, and . . . certain sins cannot be atoned for . . . but by the shedding of the blood of the sinner, query, whether the people of God be overreaching the mark, if they should execute the law . . . We would not kill a man, of course, unless we killed him to save him.

. . . If you shall thus advance, and then turn and trample the holy commandments of God under your feet, and break your sacred and solemn covenants, and become traitors to the people of God, would you not be **worthy of death? I think you would.**

Do you think it would be any sin to **kill me** if I were to break my covenants? . . . Do you believe you would kill me if I broke the covenants of God, and you had the Spirit of God? **Yes**; and the more Spirit of God I had, the more I should strive to **save your soul by spilling your blood**, when you had committed sin that could not be remitted by baptism. (*Deseret News*, July 27, 1854)

Heber C. Kimball, who was the first counselor to Brigham Young, stated:

. . . for if men turn traitors to God and His servants, **their blood will surely be shed**, or else they will be damned, and that too according to their covenants. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 4, page 375)

8. FOR APOSTASY. Brigham Young said:

I say, rather than that **apostates** should flourish here, **I will unsheath my bowie knife**, and **conquer or die**. (Great commotion in the congregation, and a simultaneous burst of feeling, assenting to the declaration.) Now, you nasty apostates, clear out, or judgment will be put to the line, and righteousness to the plummet. (Voices, generally, "go it, go it.") If you say it is right, raise your hands. (All hands up.) Let us call upon the Lord to assist us in this, and every good work. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 1, page 83)

On another occasion Brigham Young said:

> Now take a person in this congregation who has knowledge with regard to being saved in the kingdom of our God and Father and being exalted, the beauty and excellency of the eternities before him compared with the vain and foolish things of the world, and suppose that he is overtaken in a gross fault, that he has committed a sin that he knows will deprive him of that exaltation which he desires, and that he cannot attain to it without the **shedding of his blood**, and also knows that by having his blood **shed** he will **atone for that sin**, and be **saved and exalted** with the Gods, is there a man or woman in this house but what would say, "**Shed my blood** that I may be **saved** and **exalted** with the Gods?"
>
> All mankind love themselves, and let these principles be known by an individual, and he would be **glad** to have **his blood shed**. That would be loving themselves, even unto an eternal exaltation. Will you **love** your brothers or sisters likewise, when they have committed a sin that cannot be atoned for without the **shedding of their blood? Will you love that man or woman well enough to shed their blood?**
>
> **I could refer you to plenty of instances where men have been righteously slain, in order to atone for their sins.** I have seen scores and hundreds of people for whom there would have been a chance (in the last resurrection there will be) if their lives **had been taken and their blood spilled** on the around as a smoking incense to the Almighty, but who are now angels to the devil . . . I have known a great many men who **left this church** for whom there is no chance whatever for exaltation, but if their **blood had been spilled, it would have been better for them**, the wickedness and **ignorance** of the nations forbids this principle's being in **full force**, but **the time will come when the law of God will be in full force**.
>
> **This is loving our neighbor as ourselves**; if he needs help, help him; and if he wants salvation and it is **necessary to spill his blood** on the earth in order that he may be saved, **spill it**. Any of you who understand the principles of eternity, if you have sinned a sin **requiring the shedding of blood**, except the sin unto death, would not be satisfied nor rest until your blood **should be spilled**, that you might gain that salvation you desire. **That is the way to love mankind.** (Sermon by Brigham Young, delivered in the Mormon Tabernacle, February 8, 1857, printed in the *Deseret News*, February 18, 1857; also reprinted in the *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 4, pages 219-220)

Heber C. Kimball stated:

> God designs we should be pure men, holding the oracles of God in holy and pure vessels; but when it is necessary that blood should be shed, we should be as ready to do that as to eat an apple . . . we will let you know that the earth can swallow you up, as it did Korah with his host; and as brother **Taylor** says, **you may dig your graves, and we will slay you, and you may crawl into them.** (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, pages 34-35)

The historian Juanita Brooks gives us the following information:

> Lee always reported the words of **Brigham Young with great fidelity**, preserving even the vulgarisms and the extreme statements. Speaking to the wives of battalion men he [Brigham Young] said, "I saw women slinging snot saying we will never see the 1st cent of what our husbands sent us . . ." and then proceeded to explain that they had used the money to buy staple necessities at wholesale prices and that all would benefit . . . "then stop your whining about losing your money & saing that the 12 will keep it etc. for I will not bear it—my brethren shall not be slandered by such poor miserable whining cursed **apostates**—if they do not stop—we will **stop their wind**—Now run & tell that we kill folks . . ." (*John D. Lee*, by Juanita Brooks, page 95)

Mrs. Brooks makes it clear that a person's life was in danger if it was found out that he had been excommunicated from the church:

> He had seen too many cases, among them that of Nephi Stewart, wherein a man was ruined financially and his life endangered by a public announcement that he had been cut off the Church. (*John D. Lee*, page 293)

9. FOR LYING. Brigham Young made this statement in 1846:

> Sunday, 20—Mild, winter day.
>
> The Twelve Apostles attended meetings in the several wards.
>
> About one p.m. the bell rang and the Saints assembled at the stand. I preached on the condition of the Camp of Israel—showed there was complaining and iniquity— . . . I said I would prefer traveling over the mountains with the Twelve only than to be accompanied with the wicked and those who continued to commit iniquity; and warned those who lied and stole and followed Israel that they would have **their heads cut off**, for that was the l**aw of God and it should be executed**. ("Manuscript History of Brigham Young," December 20, 1846, typed copy)

10. FOR COUNTERFEITING. On February 24, 1847, Brigham Young stated:

> 24TH—I met with the brethren of the Twelve. We investigated several orders purporting to be drawn by J. Allen, Lieut. Col., signed by James Pollick; which I requested should be burned. I swore by the Eternal Gods that if men in our midst would not stop this cursed work of stealing and counterfeiting **their throats should be cut**. ("Manuscript History of Brigham Young," February 24, 1847, typed copy)

father, who died in Quincy, Illinois, after we were driven from Missouri. My recollection is better with regard to my earthly father than it is in regard to my heavenly Father; but as to knowing of what species he is and how he is organized, and with regard to his existence, I understand it in part as well as I understand the organization and existence of my earthly father. That is my opinion about it, and my opinion to me is just as good as yours is to you; and if you are of the same opinion you will be satisfied, as I am.

I know my heavenly Father and Jesus Christ whom he has sent, and this is eternal life. And if we will do as we have been told this morning, if you will enter into the Spirit of your calling, into the principle of securing to yourselves eternal live, eternal existence, eternal exaltation, it will be well with you. But if, after being put into a carriage and placed upon the road, after having everything prepared for the journey that infinite wisdom could devise, this people stroll into the swamp, get into the woods among the brambles and briars, and wander around until night overtakes them, I say shame on such a people.

I am ashamed to talk about a reformation, for if you have entered into the Spirit of your religion you will know whether these things are so, or not. If you have the Spirit of your religion and have confidence in you, walk along and continue to do so, and secure to yourselves the life before you, and never let it be said, from this time henceforth, that you have wakened out of your sleep, from the fact that you are always awake.

We talk about the reformation, but recollect that you have only just commenced to walk in the way of life and salvation. You have just commenced in the career to obtain eternal life, which is that which you desire, therefore you have no time to spend only in that path. It is straight and narrow, simple and easy, and is an Almighty path, if you will keep in it. But if you wander off into swamps, or into brambles, and get into darkness, you will find it hard to get back.

Br. Cummings told you the truth, this morning, with regard to the sins of the people. And I will say that the time will come, and is now nigh at hand, when those who profess our faith, if they are guilty of what some of this people are guilty of, will find the ax laid at the root of the tree and they will be hewn down. What has been must be again, for the Lord is coming to restore all things. The time has been in Israel under the law of God, the celestial law, or that which pertains to the celestial law, for it is one of the laws of that kingdom where our Father dwells, that if a man was found guilty of adultery he must have his blood shed, and that is near at hand.—But now I say, in the name of the Lord, that if this people will sin no more, but faithfully live their religion, their sins will be forgiven them without taking life.

You are aware that when br. Cummings came to the point of loving our neighbors as ourselves, he could say yes or no, as the case might be; that is true. But I want to connect it with the doctrine you read in the Bible. When will we love our neighbor as ourselves? In the first place, Jesus said that no man hateth his own flesh. It is admitted by all that every person loves himself. Now if we do rightly love ourselves, we want to be saved and continue to exist, we want to go into the kingdom where we can enjoy eternity and see no more sorrow nor death. This is the desire of every person who believes in God. Now take a person in this congregation who has knowledge with regard to being saved in the kingdom of our God and our Father and being exalted, one who knows and understands the principles of eternal life and sees the beauty and excellency of the eternities before him compared with the vain and foolish things of the world, and suppose that he is overtaken in a gross fault; that he has committed a sin that he knows will deprive him of that exaltation which he desires and that he cannot attain to it without the shedding of his blood, and also knows that by having his blood shed he will atone for that sin and be saved and exalted with the Gods, is there a man or woman in this house but what would say, "shed my blood, that I may be saved and exalted with the Gods?"

All mankind love themselves, and let these principles be known by an individual, and he would be glad to have his blood shed. That would be loving themselves, even unto an eternal exaltation. Will you love your brothers or sisters likewise, when they have committed a sin that cannot be atoned for without the shedding of their blood? Will you love that man or woman well enough to shed their blood? That is what Jesus Christ meant. He never told a man or woman to love their enemies in their wickedness, never. He never intended any such thing; his language is left as it is for those to read who have the Spirit to discern between truth and error; it was so left for those who can discern the things of God. Jesus Christ never meant that we should love a wicked man in his wickedness.

Now take the wicked, and I can refer to where the Lord had to slay every soul of the Israelites that went out of Egypt, except Caleb and Joshua. He slew them by the hands of their enemies, by the plague, and by the sword, why? Because he loved them, and promised Abraham that he would save them. And he loved Abraham because he was a friend to his God and would stick to him in the hour of darkness, hence he promised Abraham that he would save his seed. And he could save them upon no other principle, for they forfeited their right to the land of Ca transgressing the law of God, and they have atoned for the sin if they had lived they were slain the Lord could bring th the resurrection and give them the lan naan, and he could not do it on any ot ciple.

I could refer you to plenty of instances where men have been righteously slain, in order to atone for their sins. I have seen scores and hundreds of people for whom there would have been a chance in the last resurrection there will be, if their lives had been taken and their blood spilled on the ground as a smoking incense to the Almighty, but who are now angels to the devil until our elder brother, Jesus Christ, rises them up—conquers death, hell and the grave. I have known a great many men who have left this church for whom there is no chance whatever for exaltation; but if their blood had been spilled it would have been better for them. The wickedness and ignorance of the nations forbid this principle's being in full force, but the time will come when the law of God will be in full force.

This is loving our neighbor as ourselves; if he needs help, help him; and if he wants salvation and it is necessary to spill his blood on the earth in order that he may be saved, spill it. Any of you who understand the principles of eternity, if you have sinned a sin requiring the shedding of blood, except the sin unto death, would not be satisfied nor rest until your blood should be spilled, that you might gain that salvation you desire. That is the way to love mankind.

Christ and Belial have not become friends; they have never shaken hands; they never have agreed to be brothers and to be on good terms; no, never; and they never will, because they are diametrically opposed to each other. If one conquers, the other is destroyed. One or the other of them must triumph and utterly destroy and cast down his opponent. Light and darkness cannot dwell together, and so it is with the kingdom of God.

Now, brethren and sisters, will you live your religion? How many hundreds of times have I asked you that question? Will the Latter Day Saints live their religion? I am ashamed to say anything about a reformation among Saints, but I am happy to think that the people called Latter Day Saints are striving now to obtain the Spirit of their calling and religion. They are just coming into the path, just waking up out of their sleep. It seems as though they are nearly all like babies; we are but children, in one sense.—Now let us begin, like children, and walk in the straight and narrow path, live our religion and honor our God.

With these remarks, I pray the God of Israel to bless you forever and ever, for you are the best people on earth. I can say that I am happy that you are doing so well as you are. Continue to increase in all the graces of God's Spirit until the day of his coming, which I desire with all my heart, in the name of Jesus Christ: Amen.

THE DESERET NEWS.

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ALBERT CARRINGTON, EDITOR.

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, WEDNESDAY, FEB. 18.

Reynold's Miscellany and the Athenaeum--Reviewing some Anti-Mormon Publications.

To all lovers of truth it has often appeared strange that the world's publications should have so constantly teemed with wilfully FALSE or blindly IGNORANT statements concerning Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and the Latter Day Saints as a body of people. But so accustomed have we become to such a course on their part, that we were completely surprised to see the Miscellany and Athenæum pick up and plainly expose the fallacies of three anti-Mormon works, whose absurd contents are greedily swallowed by so many pious and professed Christians. But however plain it appears in those reviews that the spirit of man can discern the things of man, it also appears equally, or more, plain that the things of God are alone discerned by the Spirit of God. For after most effectually showing up the folly of those anti-Mormon writers through the testimony of their own books, the editors display the most pitiable ignorance in regard to the faith, laws, views, customs, habits, and objects of the Latter Day Saints. Such ignorance on their part concerning anything pertaining to time and sense—to this world and its worldly men and affairs—to worldly wealth, fame, pleasure, power, and advancement—would be a source of deep chagrin to their feelings; but when discovered towards the restoration in our day of the everlasting priesthood and gospel, the raising up of Prophets and Apostles, the organization of the true church in accordance with the pattern instituted by Christ himself while on the earth, it is so far from being a source of chagrin that it almost, if not quite, appears to be a matter of self-gratulation.

The 'Miscellany' asks, "Now, shall we of the Old World ever receive a report of the doings at Salt Lake City in which it will be reasonable to put their trust,' while at the same time Jesus and his Apostles were constantly proclaiming their true character and mission.

On the 6th of April, 1857, it will be twenty-seven years since the organization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and in that time the Book of Mormon has been printed and widely circulated in the English, French, German, Welsh, Danish, Italian and Hawaiian languages; thousands of Elders without purse or scrip have traversed rivers, seas, and many lands in the dissemination of our faith and doctrines; hundreds of thousands of letters, papers, pamphlets and other publications have been printed and scattered broadcast by the Saints, to the utmost of their means and opportunities; and yet a would-be-reputed-wise editor in far famed England asks, "Now, shall we of the Old World ever receive a report of the doings at Salt Lake City in which it will be reasonable to put our trust?" Dear Sir, it will be altogether your own fault if you do not, for in your own island there are many Elders from Great Salt Lake City who are able and more than willing to authentically furnish the required information, among whom are Orson Pratt, in Liverpool, and Ezra T. Benson of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. And in addition to those living teachers and thousands of others in your midst, you will find the Millennial Star and numerous 'Mormon' publications for sale at 42 Islington, Liverpool, and at 35 Jewin street, City, London; at which places you will also be able to procure the Deseret News, in which are printed the history of Joseph Smith, the public teachings of Prest. Brigham Young and his Counselors, of the Twelve and others, and such items as are deemed useful and interesting in Utah. You can then sit in your easy chair and scan the much belied population in far off Utah, having a report thereof in which it will be reasonable to put your trust.

Mr. 'Miscellany,' were such an accessible and vast array of correct information at your command upon worldly topics, and were you with all those attainable advantages to write about the Queen of England and Prince Albert, about the leaders in parliament, the men and affairs of the city of London, trade, politics, &c., with so little apparent knowledge as you have about the 'Mormons' and 'Mormon life,' how long think you could you sustain position as an intelligent journalist? Who has taught you that "These extraordinary people have made for themselves a new scheme of life, based on new ideas?" Our 'scheme of life' is at least as old as the days of Adam, is the one revealed by the Almighty for the observance of all his children who desire to attain celestial glory, and is based upon eternal principles as understood in the councils of heaven and made known to man for his guidance.

It may be urged that this is interested testimony; so also is that of Moses in his five books in King James' translation of the Bible, and so is that of all the Prophets and Apostles as printed in that translation. They were all interested in the accounts which they gave centuries and thousands of years ago, which accounts have come to our hands through a very questionable channel. But in our time the Lord has again revealed and is revealing his will, and our testimony is corroborated by hosts of living witnesses, thus proving that the God whom we are striving to worship 'is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever,' that his arm is not shortened, that his ear is not deaf, and that he 'is no respecter of persons.' But how prone are mankind to garnish the sepulchres of the Prophets, while at the same time they oppress, vilify, persecute, and kill those whom the Lord is sending to teach them the way of eternal truth! This invariable practice demonstrates how much easier it is, while reading the Bible, to venerate ancient worthies and fancy our obedience had we lived in their days, than it is to actually receive the testimony and teachings of the servants of God living in our midst and follow their counsels and example.

With the light they restrict themselves to, the Miscellany and Athenæum have handled three scurrilous anti-Mormon works very candidly and truthfully, much more so than is

A photograph of the Deseret News for February 18, 1857.
A sermon by Brigham Young on blood atonement.

ducees in ancient Jerusalem, those who were privileged with the society and personal teachings of the Savior and his disciples, enquiring whether they would ever 'receive a report,' as to who those persons were, 'in which it would be reasonable to put their trust,' while at the tually founded upon scripture faith, repentance of sin and fruits meet for such repentance, baptism for the remission of sins, and the laying on of hands, by those holding the everlasting priesthood, for the gift of the Holy Ghost? And without faithfully walking in this channel, how can any one expect to possess saving knowledge of the plan of salvation? The Lord and his servants say, "this is the way, walk ye in it," while the arch apostate is leading his votaries in numerous by and devious paths, it mattering but little with him how slightly they vary from the true. The truth is extensively printed, the truth is widely proclaimed among the nations by faithful Elders, and yet how few are found who will hear and persistently cleave to it. The very fact that Joseph the Prophet was in his youth poor as to this world's goods and unlearned in worldly science, though in literal fulfillment of prophecy, is wrested by the devil into an argument against his divine mission and authority, and is to this day a stumbling block to the world who think they know so much and are so learned, when they are in reality 'blind and poor and naked and ignorant.'

When reflecting upon the thick vail that is over the earth, the dark follies and the vanities that wholly engage the minds of the vast majority of accountable beings, the disregard of correct testimony, teaching and example, we are tempted at times, in human weakness, to leave each one to unmolestedly and unwarnedly pursue his own course. But this will never answer, since, aside from obvious duty, there are many good, honorable, law-abiding, truth-seeking people scattered abroad upon the earth, and unto whom the principles of life must be taught. Were it not so the Athenæum would not have made the following statement, "Such leaders (Joseph Smith and Brigham Young) and such a people require to be grappled with in a different spirit to what is brought to bear upon them in all the books we have yet seen about them:—the compendious terms 'dupes and impostors' do not cover the facts." Truly they do not, and glad are we to see here and there even a few waking up to the facts couched in the great issue now being joined on this earth, for this issue as it proceeds will try the integrity of men to the utmost and will end in utterly sweeping away not only the refuge of lies and abominations, but all who take shelter in that refuge.

SANDWICH ISLANDS.—Prest. Silas Smith writes from Honolulu, under date Dec. 6, that he had lately visited all the branches on the Island of Maui, and found them in a better condition than he had anticipated. The Elders were generally in the enjoyment of good health, and were untiring in their efforts for the salvation of the people.

Drouth still continued severe, and in some places many were suffering through lack of food.

The volcano on Hawaii had ceased its eruptions.

THE WESTERN STANDARD.—Persons wishing to subscribe for Vol. 2 of the "Western Standard" should make early application to S. W. RICHARDS, Agent for this City. Subscribers for Vol. 1, will be furnished with Vol. 2, unless they give immediate notice to discontinue at the close of the year.

THE ELECTION.—A more warmly contested city election has never been known in New York than that of the fourth of November, 1856. Without doubt it will be remembered as having been attended with more bribery, fraud, corruption, and illegality in every form than was known at any previous time. Riot run loose—the police were inefficient, apparently designedly so. Crowds of shoulder hitters, bullies, and prize fighters surrounded ballot boxes, preventing any from approaching but those of the "right sort," those in whom they could see a want of all moral principle.

Boxes for the distribution of tickets were knocked down and the tickets destroyed—the police standing by inactive. In some of the districts thousands of respectable citizens desireus of voting were by force prevented. Others, who succeeded in spite of danger to life and limb, returned from the ballot boxes with hats knocked awry and garments tattered. When the elective franchise is thus secured to us, and party victory is achieved by such means, who can doubt corruption will be found in high places, and men better fitted for ignoble, ignominious positions, will be raised to offices of trust and power? When will the good time come?—[Life Illustrated.

How different is the conduct at elections in Utah, where they invariably pass off peacefully and with harmonious unanimity. In the matter ions, at least, all must admit that the ans of Utah' are far in advance of the tions practiced by the enlightened and re- hristians of the United States.—[ED.

DON'T TELL EVERYTHING.—The liar is the greatest fool; but the next greatest fool is he who tells all he knows. A prudent reticence is the highest practical wisdom. Silence has made more fortunes than the most gifted eloquence.

BLOOD ATONEMENT TODAY

Although the doctrine of Blood Atonement was openly proclaimed and put into practice in the 1850's, so many Gentiles came to Utah that the church leaders found it impossible to continue the practice. The Mormon writer Klaus J. Hansen stated:

> In 1888, apostle Charles W. Penrose observed that "Because of the laws of the land and the prejudices of the nation, and the ignorance of the world, this law can not be carried out, but when the time comes that the law of God shall be in full force upon the earth, then this penalty will be inflicted for those crimes committed by persons under covenant not to commit them." However, shortly after the Mormons established the government of God in Utah on what they believed to be a permanent basis, they attempted to enforce the doctrine. Brigham Young insisted that there were "plenty of instances where men have been righteously slain in order to atone for their sins." (*Quest for Empire*, by Klaus J. Hansen, Michigan State Univ. Press, 1967, page 70)

Today the Mormon leaders are somewhat divided over the doctrine of Blood Atonement. Morris L. Reynolds wrote to several prominent Mormons asking them about Blood Atonement. Hugh B. Brown, a member of the First Presidency of the Mormon Church, made this reply in a letter dated May 13, 1966:

> There is no doctrine of the Church requiring the shedding of blood for the salvation where certain sins have been committed. We have been accused of such doctrine, but it is not true.

The Mormon Apostle LeGrand Richards answered Mr. Reynolds as follows:

> Now answering your questions. . . . "Is the atonement of one's own blood necessary for salvation if certain sins are committed?" Answer: The scriptures indicate that if one kills with the sword that he will die with the sword, and I think that is the reason that some states have introduced the principle of capital punishment. But the Church, of course, has never exercised any jurisdiction to take a person's life. The only thing the Church can do for a sinner is to excommunicate him from the Church. So whatever a man has to do to atone for committing murder, he will have to settle with his Heavenly Father. (Letter from LeGrand Richards, May 11, 1966)

Dr. Hugh Nibley replied:

> 4. Certain sins can only be atoned by the shedding of blood, as the Scriptures tell us. They also tell us that it does **not** have to be one's own blood, since God has provided a substitute in his Son. (Letter from Dr. Hugh Nibley, of the Brigham Young University, dated May 12, 1966)

The Mormon historian Joseph Fielding Smith, who is also a member of the First Presidency of the Mormon Church, replied:

> Yes! The Law of the Lord has been from the beginning that if a man committed murder, he was to pay the penalty by the shedding of his own blood. This is a divine law. (See Genesis 9:6.) (Letter From Joseph Fielding Smith, dated May 9, 1966)

Joseph Fielding Smith has also published this statement on Blood Atonement:

> TRUE DOCTRINE OF BLOOD ATONEMENT. Just a word or two now, on the subject of blood atonement. What is that doctrine? Unadulterated, if you please, laying aside the pernicious insinuations and lying charges that have so often been made, it is simply this: Through the atonement of Christ all mankind may be saved, by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the gospel. . . .
>
> But man may commit certain grievous sins—according to his light and knowledge—that will place him beyond the reach of the atoning blood of Christ. If then he would be saved **he must make sacrifice of his own life to atone**—so far as in his power lies—for that sin, for the blood of Christ **alone** under certain circumstances will not avail.
>
> . . . . .
>
> ATONEMENT AND SINS UNTO DEATH. Joseph Smith taught that there were certain sins so grievous that man may commit, that they will place the transgressors beyond the power of the atonement of Christ. If these offenses are committed, then the blood of Christ will not cleanse them from their sins even though they repent. **Therefore their only hope is to have their own blood shed to atone**, as far as possible, in their behalf. . . . And men for certain crimes **have had to atone** as far as they could for their sins wherein they have placed themselves beyond the redeeming power of the blood of Christ. (*Doctrines of Salvation*, by Joseph Fielding Smith, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1954, vol. 1, pages 133-136)

Bruce R. McConkie, of the First Council of Seventy in the Mormon Church, stated as follows:

> . . . under certain circumstances there are some serious sins for which the cleansing of Christ **does not operate**, and the **law of God** is that men must have **their own blood shed to atone for their sins** . . . (*Mormon Doctrine*, by Bruce R. McConkie, 1958 ed., page 87)

B. H. Roberts, who was the Assistant Church Historian, described the doctrine of Blood Atonement as follows:

> . . . what is needful for the **salvation** of the soul where one's sins place him **beyond** the reach of vicarious means of salvation—then it is the **shedding of the sinners own blood** that must here be referred to. (*A Comprehensive History of the Church*, by B. H. Roberts, vol. 4, page 129)

Hyrum L. Andrus, of the Brigham Young University, made this statement concerning Blood Atonement:

> The concept here voiced, known more popularly as the doctrine of blood atonement, laid the foundation for the establishment of capital punishment in Utah for murder. Its basis is theological, asserting that there are certain crimes which the atonement of Christ will not cover, particularly if they be committed after a person has been cleansed from sin through baptism and received the enlightening powers of the Holy Ghost. Since, in the eternal economy of God, justice must be upheld; and since, in such serious cases, men cannot make a mockery of the atonement of Christ and then expect that His atonement will pay the debt of justice in such cases, the **individual himself must pay the debt** either here or hereafter. Hence, in some cases it was deemed proper **to take the life of such persons through the shedding of their blood**, that mercy might have claim upon them in the day of redemption. (*Joseph Smith and World Government*, by Hyrum L. Andrus, Salt Lake City, 1963, page 107)

Although many Mormons continue to believe in Blood Atonement as a doctrine, it is not practised in Utah today—with the exception of the fact that murderers may still choose to be shot. Nevertheless, it was taught in early Utah and was responsible for the death of many people—over a hundred people died in the Mountain Meadows massacre alone.

In the volumes which will follow we will document many cases of Blood Atonement, and show how it was used to help establish the Mormon Kingdom.

4. MATERIALS FOR AN EXPLOSION

After the failure of the Kirtland Bank and the other troubles in Kirtland, Ohio, Joseph Smith left in the night for Missouri. Oliver Cowdery had previously moved to Missouri, and when he heard that Joseph Smith was coming he wrote the following in a letter to his brothers:

> Judge Phelps received a letter also from Messrs. Rigdon & Smith, . . . I know not what will follow their arrival here, but I fear that a blast like that which has fallen on the devoted town of Kirtland, will come after time sufficient to test the impropriety of those plans advocated by some in this church. . . . There is a great stir here, and so far as I am able to learn, the names of all who refuse to confess those **disorganizing doctrines** lately introduced into the church, to be correct, are denounced as wicked, devilish, and more than all with them "not friendly to Joseph." I am certainly sick of such perfect foolery—there is no God in it! There is no alternative in my mind, but those desperate and hot headed power seeking, ignorant men, here, will drive the intelligent and independent to **declare their belief to an astonished world!** . . . From what I learn I have long been **pointed out for a victim**, to receive the displeasure of men who profess to hold the connecting link between earth and heaven! and of course if I believe it, **I am in danger:** but I don't fear. I have heretofore written but little in my letters . . . on the subject of your divisions, but have thought the more—in due time you will hear me speak. I want to say, however, that if those who have taken a stand against those wicked doctrines, heretofore taught, they may be instrumental in preserving the **Church of Christ** on Earth. But if they do it will be by a holy walk and Godly conduct—not by following those wild enthusiastic slandering examples set before us for a few months past. (Letter dated February 24, 1838, located in Huntington Library; microfilm copy at the Utah State Historical Society)

Reed Peck gives this information:

> In the latter part of March 1838 the Smith families S. Rigdon and many of their favorites arrived in Far West one of the "Stakes of Zion" and found the church in prosperous circumstances—O. Cowdery D. Whitmer an Lyman Johnson had preceded them which placed in Caldwell County all the materials for an **explosion** The Presidency Viz J Smith H. Smith and S. Rigdon believing that Caldwell County was too limited for the reception of the multitude of converts that would be flocking to Missouri, directed their attention to Daviess County lying immediately North of Caldwell, in which they with others of the society made numerous claims on Congress land selected a site and laid out a city, the third "stake of Zion" and named it Adam-ondi-Ahman—informing their followers that it was the place to which Adam fled when driven from the garden of Eden in Jackson County and that Far West was the spot where Cain Killed Abel' Daviess County then contained say 400 families Many of the Mormons left Caldwell and went into Daviess County and an arrangement was made for all emigrants from the East to settle in that place which in a short time made the Mormons there equal in strength with the former citizens ("The Reed Peck Manuscript," written in 1839, page 5 of typed copy)

Chapman Duncan gives this interesting information:

> I think the next day (after arriving the night before) he (Joseph) said to those present, Hyrum Smith, Bishop Vincent Knight, myself and two or three others, "get me a spade and I will show you the altar that Adam offered sacrifice on." . . . We went forty rods north of my house. He placed the spade with care, placed his foot on it. When he took out the shovel full of dirt, it bared the stone. The dirt was two inches deep on the stone I reckon. About four feet or more was disclosed. He did not dig to the bottom of the three layers of good masonry well put wall. The stone looked more like dressed stone, nice joints, ten inches thick, eighteen inches long or more. We came back down the slope, perhaps fifteen rods on the level. The Prophet stopped and remarked that this place where we stood was the place where Adam gathered his posterity and blessed them, and predicted what should come to pass to later generations. The next day he returned to Far West. (*Hyrum Smith—Patriarch*, by Pearson H. Corbett, Salt Lake City, 1963, pages 174-175)

Benjamin F. Johnson gives this information concerning the altar:

> . . . after a few days, the Prophet accompanied us to this spot, and pointed out those rocks as the ones of which Adam built an altar and offered sacrifice upon this spot, where he stood and blessed the multitude of his children, . . . (*My Life's Review*, Independence, Mo., 1947, page 36)

Edward Stevenson, who was also personally acquainted with Joseph Smith, made this statement:

> I was with the Prophet Joseph Smith sixty miles northeast of Liberty jail in 1838, less than one year before he was imprisoned there. We were standing with others on the hill Adam-Ondi-Ahman. The Prophet said, pointing to a mound of stones:
>
> > There is where Father **Adam built an altar** when he was driven from the Garden of Eden and offered up sacrifice unto the Lord.
>
> He further said that the Garden of Eden was in or near Independence, the center stake of Zion. I thought it a great privilege to be at that time with the Prophet, and to hear his words regarding the mound and pile of rocks laid up at so early a period of the world's history. (*Reminiscences of Joseph the Prophet*, by Edward Stevenson, 1893, page 40)

The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts made this statement concerning the altar in a footnote in the *History of the Church*:

> When the altar was first discovered, according to those who visited it frequently, it was about sixteen feet long, by nine or ten feet wide, having its greatest extent north and south. . . . Such was the altar at "Diahman" when the Prophet's party visited it. Now, however, it is thrown down, and nothing but a mound of crumbling stones mixed with soil, and a few reddish boulders mark the spot which is doubtless rich in historic events. It was at this altar, according to the testimony of Joseph Smith, that the patriarchs associated with Adam and his company, assembled to worship their God. (*History of the Church*, vol. 3, page 40)

THE DISSENTERS

Reed Peck gives us the following information:

> Being settled in a new country with the privileges of other citezens the Mormons were elated with the expectation of soon becoming a rich community and under the sole direction of the Prophet they believed that success would crown every effort they should make to build themselves up nearly every person was ready to act in compliance with his will, believing the favor of Heaven depended on strict obedience to and implicit faith in the instructions of the prophet ("The Reed Peck Manuscript," page 6 of typed copy)

But peace was not to last. The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts stated:

> . . . there were many others in upper Missouri who were disaffected, some for one cause and some for another. Many had made sacrifices for the sake of the church in Kirtland, loaning money to the presidency for the erection of the temple, and for the establishment of the various industries and mercantile establishments started in that place. **Some of these persistently demanded a reimbursement**, and because that was impossible on the part of the presidency, under conditions then existing, they became disaffected, and charged that to dishonesty which ought to have been assigned to a common misfortune in which the whole church was involved. Vexatious law suits were instituted among the saints, and systematic efforts made, apparently, to undermine and destroy the influence of the presidency of the church. (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 1, pages 437-438)

Reed Peck tells of the trouble which followed:

> The people of the surrounding country were still friendly & harmony prevailed among the Mormons till the middle of June when the enmity of the two parties from Kirtland manifested itself to an alarming degree At this period measures were conserted no doubt by instigation of the presidency to free the community of the Cowderies, Whitmers, Lyman Johnson and some others, to effect which a secret meeting was called at Far West, by Jared Carter and Dimick B. Huntington two of Smiths greatest courtiers where a proposition was made and supported by some as being the best policy to **kill these men** that they would not be capable of injuring the church. All their measures were strenuously opposed by John Correll and T. B. Marsh one of the twelve apostles of the church and in consequence nothing could be effected until the matter was taken up publicly by the presidency the Sunday following (June 17th) in the presence of a large congregation — S. Rigdon took his text from the fifth chapter of Mathew "Ye are the salt of the Earth but if the salt have lost his savour wherewith shall it be salted, it is henceforth good for nothing but to be cast out and be trodden under foot of men" From this scripture he undertook to prove that when men embrace the gospel and afterwards lose their faith it is the duty of the Saints to trample them under their feet He informed the people that they had a set of men among them that had dissented from the church and were doing all in their power to destroy the presidency laying plans to take their lives &c., accused them of counterfeiting lying cheating and numerous other crimes and called on the people to rise en masse and **rid the county of such a nuisance** He said it is the duty of this people to **trample them into the Earth** and if the county cannot be freed from them any other way **I will assist to trample them down or to erect a gallows on the square of Far West and hang them up** as they did the gamblers at Vicksburgh and it would be an act at which the angels would smile with approbation

> Joseph Smith in a short speech **sanctioned** what had been said by Rigdon, though said he I don't want the brethren to act unlawfully but will tell them one thing Judas was a traitor and instead of hanging himself **was hung by Peter**, and with this **hint** the subject was dropped for the day having created a great excitement and prepared the people to execute any thing that should be proposed On the next Tuesday these dissenters as they were termed were informed that preparation[s] were being made **to hang the[m] up** and if they did not escape their lives would be taken before night, and perceiving the rage of their enemies they fled to Ray county leaving their families and property in the hands of the Mormons —The wrath of the presidency and the threats of han[g]ing &. c. were undoubtedly a farce acted to frighten these men from the county that they could not be spies upon their conduct or that they might deprive them of their property and indeed the proceedings of the presidency and others engaged in this affair fully justify the latter conclusion, for knowing the probable result, Geo W. Robinson Son in law of S. Rigdon had prior to their flight sworn out writs of attachment against these men by which he took possession of all their personal property, clothing & furniture, much of which was valuable and no doubt very desirable leaving their families to follow to Ray County almost destitute — That the claims by which this pr[o]perty was taken from these men were unjust and perhaps without foundation cannot be doubted by any unprejudised person acquainted with all parties and circumstances and no testimony has ever been adduced to show that the men were ever guilty of a crime in Caldwell County These unlawful and tyrannical measures met with the censure of John Corrill, W. W. Phelps, John Cleminson myself and a few others but we were soon made sensible that we had excited suspecion, and perhaps endangered ourselves by venturing to speak unfavourably of these transactions ("The Reed Peck Manuscript," dated September 18, 1839, pages 6-7 of typed copy)

John Whitmer, one of the eight witnesses to the Book of Mormon, made this statement:

> Joseph Smith, Jr., S. Rigdon, and Hyrum Smith moved their families to this place, Far West, in the spring of 1838. As soon as they came here, they began to enforce their new organized plan, which caused dissensions and difficulties, threatenings and even murders. Smith called a council of the leaders together, in which council he stated that any person who said a word against the heads of the Church, should be driven over these prairies as a chased deer by a pack of hounds, having an illusion to the Gideonites, as they were termed, to justify themselves in their wicked designs. Thus on the 19th of June, 1838, they preached a sermon called the **Salt Sermon**, in which these Gideonites understood that they should **drive the dissenters**, as they termed those who believed not in their secret bands, in fornication, adultery or midnight machinations. . . . They had threatened us, **to kill us**, if we did not make restitutions to them, by upholding them in their wicked purposes and designs. . . .
>
> But to our great astonishment, when we were on our way home from Liberty, Clay County, we met the families of Oliver Cowdery and L. E. Johnson, whom **they had driven from their homes**, and robbed them of all their goods, save clothing, bedding, etc.
>
> While we were gone Jo. and Rigdon and their band of Gadiatons kept up a guard, and watched our houses, and abused our families, and threatened them, if they were not gone by morning, they would be **drove out**, and threatened our lives, if they ever saw us in Far West. (*John Whitmer's History*, page 22 of typed copy)

William Harris made this statement concerning the Salt Sermon:

> About this time, Rigdon preached his famous "salt sermon." The text was — "Ye are the salt of the Earth, but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted; it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men." He informed the Mormons that the church was the salt— that dissenters were the salt that had lost its savour— and that they were **literally to be trodden under the feet** of men. He informed the Mormons that the church was the salt; that dissenters were the salt that had lost its savor, and that t**hey were literally to be trodden under the feet of the church, until their bowels should be gushed out**. In order to give weight to this interpretation, he attempted to sustain his position from the Bible! He referred to the case of Judas, informing the people that he did not fall headlong and his bowels gush out, without assistance, but that the **apostles threw him, and with their feet trampled them out!** He also said that Ananias and Sapphira his wife, did not fall down dead, as translated; but that **Peter and John slew them**, and the young men, or deacons, carried them out and buried them. (*Mormonism Portrayed*, by William Harris, Warsaw, Ill., 1841, pages 32-33)

The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts frankly admitted that Sidney Rigdon, a member of the First Presidency of the Mormon Church, preached the "Salt Sermon":

> Sometime in June Elder Sidney Rigdon delivered what was afterwards called his "Salt Sermon," because he took as a text:
>
> > Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savor, wherewith, shall it be salted? It is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men.
>
> The doctrine of the text the speaker applied to the dissenting brethren and intimated that the "trodden under foot of men" should be **literal**, much to the scandalizing of the church, since the dissenters made capital of it to prejudice the minds of the non-"Mormons" of the surrounding counties. (*A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, by B. H. Roberts, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1930, vol. 1, page 438)

The Mormon writer Leland Gentry gives us this information concerning the "Salt Sermon":

> Daryl Chase, Rigdon's biographer, writes that "Rigdon seems to have been free of every form of restraint during the summer months of 1838." Commenting upon the "Salt Sermon" in particular, Chase says:
>
> > . . . It was an insane utterance. . . . Some of the anti-Mormons have maintained that he told his listeners that the real saints should literally trample on the dissenters until their bowels gushed out. . . . How much of this represents the words of Rigdon one cannot say, . . . but this much is certain: Sidney's "Salt Sermon" was inflammatory and threatening.
>
> (*A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri from 1836 to 1839*, by Leland H. Gentry, B.Y.U., 1965, pages 160-161)

Leland Gentry points out that Sidney Rigdon may have gotten his idea from a literal reading of some passages in the *Doctrine and Covenants*. In a revelation given to Joseph Smith on April 23, 1834, we read:

> For I, the Lord, have decreed in my heart, that inasmuch as any man belonging to the order shall be found a transgressor, or, in other words, shall break the covenant with which ye are bound, he shall be cursed in his life, and shall be trodden down by whom I will. (*Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 104:5)

After telling of the "Salt Sermon," the Mormon historian B. H. Roberts stated:

> This, unfortunately, was followed shortly afterwards by a communication drawn up by Elder Rigdon, it is said, and addressed to the leading dissenters, Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, John Whitmer, William W. Phelps and Lyman E. Johnson, commanding them to leave Caldwell county within three days under penalty of a "more fatal calamity" befalling them if they refused to depart. The document was signed by eighty-four men, more or less prominent in the church, but neither the Prophet's nor Sidney Rigdon's name is included among the signatures. This action was undoubtedly a **departure from the strict adherence to legal procedure** for which the church must stand or else accept the doctrine of the "old settlers" of Jackson county that there exists with the community, outside of legal procedure, the right to expel undesirable people from that community. . . . Those eighty-four citizens of Caldwell county were **not justified in taking the law into their own hands** and under **threats of vengeance** driving these dissenters from Far West, for that was the effect of these threats. (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 1, pages 438-439)

Leland Gentry states:

> Eighty-four **prominent** men in the Church attached their names to the document, thus signifying their agreement with its contents. . . . the resolution had its intended effect. Obedient to the warning, the dissenters left Far West on Tuesday. June 19, 1838. (*A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri*, page 167)

On page 171 of the same book Leland Gentry states:

> As it was, matters went from bad to worse. Some of the Church's leaders refused to submit any further to harrassing lawsuits and used their personal influence to put them down. The dissenters made use of this fact to spread the word that the Mormons were opposed to law and order. The question arose in the minds of the Saints as to the course a community might legitimately pursue in the event that the law was used to distort rather than to promote justice. It appeared that the laws of the land offered no immediate solution. **The easiest and swiftest manner of handling the problem appeared to be a forcible ejection of the unwanted men from the community's midst.** In the end this was the course adopted.
>
> The method chosen by the Latter-day Saints to separate themselves from their dissenting brethren was unfortunate since it furnished the dissenters with further proof that the Saints were inimical to law and order.

The letter to the dissenters was reproduced in *Senate Document 189*. In this letter we find the following:

> To Oliver Cowdrey, David Whitmer, John Whitmer, William W. Phelps, and Lyman E. Johnson, greeting:
>
> Whereas the citizens of Caldwell county have borne with the abuse received from you at different times, and on different occasions, until it is no longer to be endured; neither will they endure it any longer, having exhausted all the patience they have, and conceive that to bear any longer is a vice instead of a virtue. . . . **out of the county you shall go**, and no power shall save you. And you shall have three days after you receive this communication to you, including twenty-four hours in each day, for you to depart **with your families** peaceably; which you may do undisturbed by any person; but in that time, if you do not depart, we will use the means in our power to cause you to depart; **for go you shall**. . . . We have solemnly warned you, and that in the most determined manner, that if you did not cease that course of wanton abuse of the citizens of this county, that vengeance would overtake you sooner or later, and that when it did come it would be as furious as the mountain torrent, and as terrible as the beating tempest; . . . vengeance sleepeth not, neither does it slumber; and unless you heed us this time, and attend to our request, it will overtake you at an hour when you do not expect, and at a day when you do not look for it; and for you there **shall be no escape**; for there is but one decree for you, which is **depart, depart, or a more fatal calamity shall befal[l] you**. . . . we will put you from the county of Caldwell: so help us God. (*Senate Document 189*, 26th Congress, 2d Session, February 15, 1841, pages 6, 7 and 9)

Ebenezer Robinson tells that this letter was signed by men holding "high positions" in the Church:

> The above manifesto was signed by 83 determined men. Among the names we recognize some of the members of the High Council, and others holding high positions in the church, including that of **Hyrum Smith, one of the First Presidency**. (*The Return*, October 1889, typed copy, page 51)

JOSEPH REIGNS SUPREME

In Far West, Missouri, Joseph Smith reigned over his people with a rod of iron. John D. Lee relates the following:

> The night after our arrival at Far West, there was a meeting to be held there. . . . I did not go to the meeting.
>
> The Sunday after, I attended church in Far West Hall. The hall was crowded with people, so much so that I, with others, could not gain admittance to the building. I obtained standing room in one of the windows. I saw a man enter the house without uncovering his head. **The Prophet ordered the brother of Gideon to put that man out**, for his presumption in daring to enter and stand in the house of God without uncovering his head. This looked to me like drawing the lines pretty snug and close; however, I knew but little of the etiquette of high life, and much less about that of the kingdom of heaven. I looked upon Joseph Smith as a prophet of God—as one who held the keys of this last dispensation, and I hardly knew what to think about the rash manner in which the man was treated who had entered the house of God without taking his hat off. But this did not lessen my faith; it served to confirm it. I was fearful that I might in some way unintentionally offend the great and good man who stood as God's prophet on the earth to point out the way of salvation. (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, photomechanical reprint of 1880 edition, page 54)

Reed Peck wrote the following:

> We found that the events of a few days had placed Caldwell County unde[r] a despotic government where even liberty of speech was denied to those not willing to unite in support of the New Order Confidential subjects were appointed to converse with all suspected members and by pretending to be displeased with the anti republican measures inforced against the dissenters were able to learn the feelings of many, and by reporting to the presidency drew down thundering anathemas from the pulpit upon those so unwary as to speak their sentiments where long tried friendship was swallowed up in bigotry and fanaticism A friend of long standing asked me if I did not think the dissenters were dealt harshly by and that the presidency did wrong in exciting the people against them? Saying at the same time that he "blamed Joseph &c" I answered that the dissenters deserved punishment if they were guilty as represented—Thinking from my answer that I had become satisfied with what had been done, he acknowledged that he was only endeavoring to learn the true state of my feelings, and then to give me an idea of his attachment to the cause, said that if **Joseph Smith should tell him to cut my throat he would do it** without hesitation I heard expressions of this nature from several and shuddered at the thought of living in a community where the nod of one man if displeased would deprive an individual of every privilege and even life if the consequence had not been feared more by him than his followers On the Sunday succeeding the flight of the dissenters, S. Rigdon in a public discourse explained satisfactorily no doubt to the people the principles of republicanism After informing them as an introduction that "Some certain characters in the place had been crying 'you have broken the law you have acted contrary to the principles of republicanism' he said that 'when a county, or body of people have individuals among them with whom they do not wish to associate and a public expression is taken against their remaining among them and such individuals do not remove it is the principle of republicanism itself that gives that community a right to expel them forcibly and no law will prevent it' He also said that it was not against the principles of republicanism for the people to hang the gamblers in Vicksburgh as it was a matter in which they unanimously acted"
>
> Soon after the delivery of this speech he informed the church in an address, that they would soon be called upon to consecrate their property and those who would not comply with the law of consecration should be delivered over to the brother of Gideon, whom he represented as being a terrible fellow—We are said he Soon to commence building the "Lords House" in Far West which will enhance the value of property ten fold in its vicinity and such proprietors as will not consecrate the whole amount of that increase of value for the building of the house and other church uses, shall be delivered over to the brother of Gideon and be **sent bounding over the prairies as the dissenters were a few days ago** In short we found that all matters comprising anything not completely subject to the will of the presidency were to be managed by the terrible brother of Gideon—All the requirements of the presidency must be complied with, peaceably if you will forcibly if we must always making the brother of Gideon the terror of all that would not heartily join in the support of their government and views.
>
> A few individuals of us were ever after this opposed to the rule of the presidency perceiving that all spiritual and temporal affairs were under their control and **no monarch on earth ever had supreme power over his subjects more than they over the inhabitants of Caldwell county** only they durst not exercise it to so great a degree **Their word was law in religious civil and military matters**, but the secret springs of their power and influence we did not yet understand In the latter part of June a young man from Ohio having reported something about J Smith & S Rigdon, was taken by constable D. B. Huntington Geo W Robinson and a few others compelled to sign a libel & **kneel before S. Rigdon** and ask pardon as the only alternative to escape **a caining** from the constable who held his staff over him in an attitude for striking until he bent the knee

For these offences application was made for writs VS J Smith S. Rigdon D. B. Huntington Sampson Avard and others but they would not permit the clerk of the court to issue them declaring that they would never suffer vexatious law suits to be instituted against them in Caldwell County ("The Reed Peck Manuscript," written 1839, pages 7-9 of typed copy)

The Mormon writer Leland Gentry makes it very clear that the Mormons were trying to unite Church and State:

Friction was not long in developing between the civil and ecclesiastical officials living in Caldwell County. The close affinity in Latter-day Saint thinking between spiritual and temporal affairs rendered the necessity for civic officers somewhat **unnecessary** at times. Most major decisions affecting the community, including problems of domestic and civic nature, were made by the Presidents, Bishopric, and High Council of Zion. On occasion, such judgments had a **nullifying** effect upon decisions in the same matters by duly elected **public officials**. In time, this state of affairs became a source of discontent to certain persons who regarded such "interference" by spiritual authority in matters of public interest to be unlawful. (*A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri*, page 86)

The Mormon writer Klaus J. Hansen gives us the following information:

Refusal to acknowledge the authorities of the church in temporal matters played an important role in the excommunication of Oliver Cowdery, who had been Smith's closest associate in the most formative period of Mormonism and who had been designated as "Second Elder" in the church. While answering charges "for virtually denying the faith by declaring that he would not be governed by any ecclesiastical authority or revelations whatever in his temporal affairs," Cowdery asserted:

> The very principle of . . . [ecclesiastical authority in temporal affairs] I conceive to be couched in an attempt to set up a kind of petty government, controlled and dictated by ecclesiastical influence, in the midst of this national and state government. You will, no doubt, say this is not correct; but the bare notice of these charges, over which you assume a right to decide is, in my opinion, a direct attempt to make **the secular power subservient to church direction**—to the correctness of which I cannot in conscience subscribe—I believe that the principle never did fail to produce anarchy and confusion.

Cowdery was promptly excommunicated.

It is reasonable that the Gentiles objected even more vigorously to Smith's temporal authority . . . By the autumn of 1838, increasing resentment between Saints and Gentiles erupted into open warfare. . . .

Shortly after these outrages, Joseph Smith and his associates were brought to trial, while the Missourians went free. . . . As a result, the testimony given at the trial was offered by enemies of the Mormons or personal enemies of Smith, including a number of apostates. But, although such testimony has to be viewed with considerable caution, it cannot be discounted entirely, especially in view of Smith's subsequent endeavors in behalf of the political kingdom of God. The evidence of the apostates, in fact, reveals how far Smith had attempted to go in establishing that **kingdom**. (*Quest for Empire*, by Klaus J. Hansen, pages 151-152)

The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts stated:

Joseph Smith arrived at Far West on the 14th of March, 1838. He was met "with open arms and warm hearts" by the saints. . . .

It was evident that the saints would become a political factor in Missouri, and that not only as controlling in Caldwell county, but also as affecting political conditions in the other counties, where they were settling. (*A Comprehensive History of the Church*, by B. H. Roberts, vol. 1, page 428)

The Gentiles had good reason to fear the political power of the Mormons. Reed Peck relates the following:

Very many were violently opposed to this new church order but after much argument, preaching teaching and explaining by S Avard the excitement was allayed and all but a few consented to give up their property and we may say subject themselves to a driver

John Corrill observed to a person in Far West that he did not "think it his duty to unite with the firm and that he had no confidence in the revelation that required it" Joseph Smith and S Rigdon learning that he had made this observation, chid him severely for his rebellion in the presence of several persons Smith said to him "if you tell about the streets again that you do not believe this or that revelation **I will walk on your neck** Sir" at the same time smiting his fists to evince his great rage He talked of dissenters and cited us to the case of Judas, saying that Peter told him in a conversation a few days ago that himself **hung Judas** for betraying Christ He also said "if you do not act differently and show yourself approved you shall never be admitted into the Kingdom of Heaven—I will stand at the entrance and oppose you myself and will keep you out if I have to take a fisty cuff in doing it" Corrill replied "I may possibly get there first"

It seems that Joseph wished the church to believe that not only all things pertaining to the Society should be subject to his dictation in time, but in eternity salvation should depend on his ascendant power with God, as though his prejudices against individuals could be carried into the court of heaven as a plea against them at the last day Under this rule the church generally were passive if not pleased believing it to be the order of God and surrounded as the presidency were with a soldiery **bound by oath to obey them under all circumstances** it was **dangerous** for a few of us who would gladly have freed ourselves from a yoke to speak even our sentiments if opposed to the views of the presidency

> We see them at the head of all the forces of Caldwell County and **sole dictators** in all religious matters and a single example will show that civil or political affairs were no less under their control On Saturday 9th of August two days previous to the General Election a meeting was called in the afternoon and Samp Avard informed those present of a neglect of duty they had been guilty of in not inquiring of the Lord **through the Prophet what persons should be supported as candidates at the coming election** "You may said he elect the identical persons that God would choose but even if you do they will prove a curse to the county because you did not inquire as you ought["]
>
> A committee was forthwith appointed to wait on the presidency and the result was an order for printed tickets to be sent about the county to each prescinct **that all may know for whom to vote** Saturday the tickets were struck off and on the next day Sampson Avard distributed them among a large collection of Danites from all parts of the county, with the accompanying word that they **were according to the will of God** which was sufficient to make **nearly every person that ticket** and no other
>
> It is a matter beyond doubt that some candidates would have got the votes of three fourths of the people that by this measure lost their election and when the polls closed had not more than 15 or 20 votes in their favor The presidency would not have interfered in this matter had there not been candidates in the list who had the confidence of the people but were not sufficiently ductile to please their fancy or suit their purposes consequently they determined that their election should be defeated They spoke and it was done But the prettiest part of this affair remains yet to be told I was in the printing office on Saturday two hours before the meeting was called and nearly a half day before the committee went to inquire who should be candidates and saw the self same ticket in the hands of the compositor that was afterwards reported and it was probably in type **before** the committee had their interview with the presidency The ticket was previously made out by J Smith S Rigdon and G. W. Robinson and sent to the office to be printed early on Saturday and the transactions in the afternoon were no doubt to take off a little of the glare by making it appear that the people consulted them respecting the ticket to be voted and not have it understood that they interfered voluntarily ("The Reed Peck Manuscript," pages 13-15 of typed copy)

John Corrill also spoke of a ticket being printed:

> As the Danites had covenanted and agreed to support the heads of the church in all things, so, of course, they must control the elections as well as other matters: therefore they got up a meeting of their Danite officers on Saturday, before the election, and appointed a committee, consisting of one man from each township in the county, who called upon the first presidency to assist them in making out a nomination. Accordingly a ticket was made out to suit them, and a sufficient number printed that night. The next day another meeting of the Danites was convened, two hundred or more in number, and these tickets divided out among them. They agreed to scatter them throughout the county of Caldwell, and support it the next morning at the polls; which they did.
>
> The people supposed that this ticket was from head quarters, and that it was the will of God that all should go for it. . . . There was some murmuring and finding fault after the election, by those opposed to the proceedings, but this was soon put down by the Danite influence. (*A Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints*, St. Louis, 1839, page 33)

The Mormon leaders were later accused of using revelation in Missouri to make their people "vote the 'whole hog' ticket on one side." Elias Higbee, however, denied the charge, but he admitted that the people were told to vote one ticket:

> . . . the reason of our voting that ticket was in consequence of the Democratic principles having been taught us from our infancy, . . . **It was true we advised our brethren to vote this ticket**, . . . (*History of the Church*, vol. 4, pages 85-86)

John D. Lee stated that the Gentiles feared that the Mormons would rule the county:

> On the 3rd of October, 1838, we saw a large number of men that we knew were enemies to the Mormons, and on their way, as we supposed, to attack our people at the settlements. I concluded to go and meet them, and find out for certain what they were really intending to do. I was forced to act with caution, for, if they discovered that we were Mormons, our lives would be taken . . .
>
> As I got through my statement, they all huddled around me, and commenced to relate the horrors of Mormonism. They advised me to have nothing to do with the Mormons, for said they, "As old Joe Smith votes, so will every Mormon in the country vote, and when they get into a fight, they are just the same way, they stick together; when you attack one of the crew you bring every one of them after you like a nest of hornets."
>
> . . . . .
>
> They then said the Mormons must leave the country, and if we do not make them do so now, they will be so strong that we cannot compel them to go, unless we force them away; they will be so strong in a few years that they **will rule the country as they please**. (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, photomechanical reprint of 1880 edition, pages 66-67)

John Corrill stated:

> Many of the church became elated with the idea of settling in and round about the new town, especially those who had come from Kirtland, as it was designed more particularly for them. This stirred up the people of Davies in some degree, they saw that if this town was built up rapidly it would injure Gallatin, their county seat, and also that the Mormons would soon overrun Davies, and rule the county, and they did not like to live under the laws and administration of "Joe Smith." Lyman Wight also would frequently boast in his discourses of what they would do if the mob did not let them alone,—they would fight, and they would die upon the ground, and they would not give up their rights, &c., when, as yet, there was no mob. But this preaching inspired the Mormons with a fighting spirit, and some of the other citizens began to be stirred up to anger.
>
> . . . . .
>
> . . . many of the church became inspired with the belief that God would enable them to stand against anything, even the State of Missouri, or the United States, if they should come in a mob. Many of the church, however, became disgusted with these things, and looked upon them as great inconsistencies, and calculated to bring swift destruction upon the church; but such was the influence of the presidency over the church, that it was of no use to say anything, . . . (*A Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints*, St. Louis, 1839, pages 28-29)

William Harris, who had been a Mormon, warned of the danger of political control by the Mormons:

> Now, I ask the community, while men are duped, as we know that they are, is not Mormonism inimical to the institutions of our country? Can not Smith, at any time set himself up as superior to the civil law? Can he not commit any act of depredation, and screen himself from punishment? Can he, ah! does he not, control the votes of his followers? Let the ballot box, at every election where they have voted, answer, and it will be found that they have voted almost to a man, with Smith. Is not this contrary to the spirit of our free institutions? Is it not an imposition on the rights of the other citizens who enter into the civil compact, only on the condition that all shall think and act for themselves? Carry out the principle! Suppose that the Mormons should become a majority of the citizens of the state of Illinois, where they are now concentrating their numbers, would it be right that such a majority, controled by one man, should rule? Would not such a state of things be a total subversion of Republicanism, and the establishment, in effect, of a despotism? (*Mormonism Portrayed*, by William Harris, 1841, page 15)

The fact that the Mormons voted any way and were after political power no doubt had a great deal to do with the trouble they had with their neighbors in Missouri.

WAR OF EXTERMINATION

On July 4, 1838, the Mormons had a celebration at Far West. In Joseph Smith's history we find this statement:

> July 4.—The day was spent in celebrating the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, and also by the Saints making a "Declaration of Independence" from all mobs and persecutions which have been inflicted upon them, . . .
>
> The oration was delivered by President Rigdon, at the close of which was a shout of Hosanna, . . . (*History of the Church*, vol. 3, pages 41-42)

B. H. Roberts made this comment concerning Rigdon's speech:

> This oration by Sidney Rigdon has always been severely criticised as containing passages that were ill-advised and vehemently bitter. Especially those passages which threatened a war of extermination upon mobs should they again arise to plague the Saints. (*History of the Church*, vol. 3, page 42, footnote)

An extract of the speech is published is the *Comprehensive History of the Church*. The following is taken from that account:

> "But from this day and this hour we will suffer it no more. We take God and all the holy angels to witness, this day, that we warn all men, in the name of Jesus Christ to come on us no more for ever, for from this hour we will bear it no more; our rights shall no more be trampled on with impunity; the man, or the set of men who attempt it, do it at the expense of **their lives**. And that mob that comes on us to disturb us, it shall be between us and them **a war of extermination**; for we will follow them until the **last drop** of their blood is spilled; or else they will have to exterminate us, for we will carry the seat of war to their own houses and their own families, and one party or the other shall be utterly destroyed. Remember it then, all men. We will never be the aggressors, we will infringe on the rights of no people, but shall stand for our own until death. We claim our own right and are willing that all others shall enjoy theirs. No man shall be at liberty to come into our streets, to threaten us with mobs, for if he does he shall **atone** for it before he leaves the place; neither shall he be at liberty to villify and slander any of us, for suffer it **we will not**, in this place. We therefore take all men to record this day, that we proclaim our liberty this day, as did our fathers, and we pledge this day to one another our fortunes, our lives, and our sacred honors, to be delivered from the persecutions, which we have had to endure for the last nine years or nearly that time. Neither will we indulge any man, or set of men, in instituting vexatious law suits against us, to cheat us out of our rights; if they attempt it we say **woe be unto them**. We this day, then, proclaim ourselves free with a purpose and determination that never can be broken, No, never! No, never! No, never!" (C*omprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 1, page 441)

John D. Lee made this statement concerning Rigdon's "declaration":

> At the end of each sentence Rigdon was loudly cheered; and when he closed his oration. I believed the Mormons could successfully resist the world. (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, page 63)

Ebenezer Robinson claimed that the entire First Presidency approved of the speech:

> Let it be distinctly understood that President Rigdon was not alone responsible for the sentiment expressed in his oration, as that was a carefully prepared document, previously written and **well understood by the First Presidency**, but Elder Rigdon was the mouth piece to deliver it, as he was a natural orator, and his delivery was powerful and effective.
>
> Several Missouri gentlemen of note, from other countries, were present on the speaker's stand at its delivery, with Joseph Smith, Jr., President, and Hyrum Smith, Vice President of the day, and at the conclusion of the oration, when the President of the day led off with the shout of Hosanna, Hosanna, Hosanna, and joined in the shout by the vast multitude, these Missouri gentlemen began to shout hurrah, but they soon saw that did not time with the other, and they ceased shouting.
>
> A copy of the oration was furnished the editor, and printed in "The Far West," a weekly newspaper printed in Liberty, the county seat of Clay county. It was also printed in pamphlet form, by the writer of this, in the printing office of the *Elders' Journal*, in the city of Far West, a copy of which we have preserved.
>
> This oration, and the stand taken by the church in endorsing it, and its publication, undoubtedly exerted a powerful influence in arousing the people of the whole upper Missouri country. (*The Return*, November, 1889, typed copy, page 61)

The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts admitted that Joseph Smith approved of the "declaration":

> The unwisdom of the utterance has been quite generally recognized by our writers, and by them responsibility for it has been placed upon the rather fervid imagination of Sidney Rigdon, who delivered the speech, and who quite generally is supposed to have been mainly or wholly responsible for it. This is NOT true. The speech was carefully prepared, written before delivery in fact, and read by other presiding elders of the church before its delivery. It immediately appeared in *The Far West*, a weekly newspaper published at Liberty, Clay county; and was also published in pamphlet form by Ebenezer Robinson on the press of the *Elders' Journal*. **Joseph Smith** in his journal **speaks of it approvingly**; and in the *Elders' Journal*, of which he was the editor, and in the editorial columns under his name, the speech is approvingly recommended to the saints. In view of these facts, if the "declaration" was of doubtful propriety, and unwise and impolitic, responsibility for it rests not alone on Sidney Rigdon, but **upon the authorities of the church** who approved it, and the people who accepted it by their acclamation. (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 1, page 443)

The Mormon writer John J. Stewart stated:

> **The Prophet warmly endorsed Rigdon's speech.** He had it published in pamphlet form and publicized it in the next issue of the *Elders' Journal*, urging every Mormon family to obtain a copy of it, . . .
>
> Rigdon's oration and Joseph's editorial backing it were relished by the sinister, ruthless Boggs and other Mormon haters. . . . Other newspapers in Missouri quickly reprinted it, in full or in part. Anti-Mormon agitators falsely labeled it a declaration of war and proof that the Mormons planned to defy the laws of the state. (*Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet*, Salt Lake City, 1966, page 119)

Joseph Smith himself made this statement concerning the "declaration" in the *Elders' Journal*:

> In this paper, we give the procedings which were had on the fourth of July, at this place, in laying the corner stones of the temple, about to be built in this city.
>
> The oration delivered on the occasion, is now published in pamphlet form: those of our friends wishing to have one, can get it, by calling on Ebenezer Robinson, by whom they were printed. **We would recommend to all the saints to get one, to be had in their families,** as it contains an outline of the suffering and persecutions of the Church from its rise. As also the fixed determinations of the saints, in relation to the persecutors, who are, and have been, continually, not only threatening us with mobs, but actually have been putting their threats into execution; with which we are absolutely determined no longer to bear, come life or come death, for to be mobed any more without taking vengeance, we will not. EDITOR. (*Elders' Journal*, edited by Joseph Smith, Far West, Mo., August 1838, page 54)

When Sidney Rigdon later fell into a state of apostacy, the other Mormon leaders tried to blame him for all their troubles in Missouri. They claimed that his declaration was the cause of the trouble that they had with the Gentiles; they even acted as if Joseph Smith had nothing to do with the speech. The Mormon Apostle Orson Hyde stated:

> Now I don't know of any man in this church that has gone deeper into matters than he [Sidney Rigdon] did in Far West in his oration on the 4th of July. He was the cause of our troubles in Missouri, and although brother Joseph tried to restrain him, he would take his own course, . . . (*Millennial Star*, vol. 5, page 104)

Brigham Young went so far as to say:

> Elder Rigdon was the prime cause of our troubles in Missouri, by his fourth of July oration. (*Times and Seasons*, statement by Brigham Young at the church trial of Sidney Rigdon, October 1, 1844, vol. 5, page 667)

Wilford Woodruff, who later became president of the Mormon Church, stated:

> I will commence by asking where has Elder Rigdon been since he made his flaming speech in Far West, which had a tendency to bring persecution upon the whole church especially the head of it? (*Times and Seasons*, November 1, 1844, vol. 5, page 698)

Before Sidney Rigdon made his "declaration," the Mormon's had put up a "tall liberty pole." John D. Lee related what happened:

> About three days after the proclamation of Rigdon had been made, there was a storm of rain, during which the thunder and lightnings were constant and terrible. The liberty pole in the town was struck by lightning, and shivered to atoms. This evidence from the God of nature also convinced me that the Mormon people's liberties, in that section of the country, were not to be of long duration. (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, page 63)

Ebenezer Robinson made this comment concerning the destruction of the liberty pole:

> A tall liberty pole was raised on which floated the "stars and stripes." A stand was erected for the officers and orator of the day, . . .
>
> At the conclusion of the oration the vast multitude shouted, Hosanna! Hosanna! Hosanna!!! three times, in confirmation of the declaration of independence made by the speaker. But to show the displeasure of our Heavenly Father, as we verily believe, a few days after, a thunder storm arose, and passing over the place, a shaft of lightning struck the liberty pole and rived it into more than a thousand atoms. This struck dismay into the hearts of some, but we were told at the time, that Joseph Smith, Jr., walked over the splinters and prophesied that as he "walked over these splinters, **so we will trample our enemies under our feet**." This gave encouragement to the fearful and timid. (*The Return*, October 1889, typed copy page 54)

CONCLUSION

From the evidence presented we see that the Mormon leaders aroused their people to a state of intense excitement, and they must at least bear part of the blame for the war which followed.

5. THE DANITES

The historian Hurbert Howe Bancroft made this statement concerning the Mormons in Missouri:

> About this time arose the mysterious and much dreaded band that finally took the name of Danites, or sons of Dan, concerning which so much has been said while so little is known, some of the Mormons even denying its existence. But of this there is no question. . . . They were originally termed Daughters of Gideon, Destroying Angels—the gentiles say devils—and, finally, Sons of Dan, or Danites, from one of whom was prophesied he should be a serpent in the path. . . . they formed a kind of death society, desperadoes, thugs, hashshashiyun—in plain English, assassins in the name of the Lord. (*History of Utah*, photomechanical reprint of 1889 edition, pages 124-125)

David Whitmer, one of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon, made this statement:

> If you believe my testimony to the Book of Mormon; if you believe that God spake to us three witnesses by his own voice, then I tell you that in June, 1838, God spake to me again by his own voice, from the heavens, and told me to "separate myself from among the Latter Day Saints, for as they sought to do unto me, so should it be done unto them." In the spring of 1838, the heads of the church and many of the members had gone deep into error and blindness. I had been striving with them for a long time to show them the errors into which they were drifting, and for my labors I received only persecutions. In June, 1838, at Far West, Mo., **a secret organization was formed**, Doctor Avard being put in as the leader of the band; a certain oath was to be administered to all the brethren to bind them to support the heads of the church in everything they should teach. **All who refused to take this oath were considered dissenters from the church, and certain things were to be done concerning these dissenters, by Dr. Avard's secret band.** I make no farther statements now; but suffice it to say that my persecutions, for trying to show them their errors, became of such a nature that I had to leave the Latter Day Saints; and as I rode on horseback out of Far West, in June 1838, the voice of God from heaven spake to me as I have stated above. I was called out to hold the authority which God gave me. (*An Address to All Believers in Christ*, by David Whitmer, Richmond, Mo., 1887, pages 27-28)

In the *Comprehensive History of the Church*, the Mormon historian B. H. Roberts gives us the following information concerning the secret band known as the "Danites":

> It is in this testimony and principally in the statement of Dr. Avard, that **the existence of the "Danites" in the "Mormon" church is affirmed.** Avard declared that about four months before the date of his testimony,—which would be in the month of July, 1838—"a band called the 'Daughter of Zion' (afterwards called the 'Danite Band') was formed of the **members** of the Mormon church, the original object of which was to drive from the county of Caldwell all those who dissented from the Mormon church; in which they succeeded admirably and to the satisfaction of all concerned." (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, by B. H. Roberts, vol. 1, pages 500-501)

Reed Peck gives this interesting information concerning the Danite Band:

> Some time previous to this secret meetings had been held in F West that excited much curiosity among those that had not been permitted to attend as it was easily discovered that something more than ordinary was in progress among the male members of the church Ignorant of the nature of these meetings I attend[ed] one about the last of June and heared a full disclosure of its object—Jared Carter Geo W. Robinson and Sampson Avard, under the instruction of the presidency, had formed a secret military society, called the "daughter of Zion" and were holding meetings to initiate members The principles taught by Sampson Avard as spokesman were that "As the Lord had raised up a prophet in these last days like unto Moses it shall be the duty of this band to obey him in all things, and whatever he requires you shall perform being ready to give up life and property for the advancement of the cause When any thing is to be performed no member shall have the privilege of judging whether it would be right or wrong but shall engage in its accomplishment and trust God for the result
>
> It is not our business or place to know what is required by God, but he will inform us by means of the prophet and we must perform If any one of you see a member of the band in difficulty in the surrounding

country contending for instance with an enemy, you shall extricate him **even if in the wrong** if you have to do with his adversary as Moses did with the Egyptian **put him under the sand** and both pack off to Far West and we will take care of the matter ourselves. No person shall be suffered to speak evil or disrespectfully of the presidency The secret signs and purposes of the society are not to be revealed on pain of **death** &c &c About 50 persons were initiated into the Society at the time I was introduced and to save time the oath was administered to all the novices at once of which I took advantage by remaining silent and accordingly avoided taking it

I was appointed Adjutant of the band in consequence I suppose of my holding that office in the 59th Reg Missouri Militia I did not think it policy to reject the appointment though I declared to my trusty friends that I would never act in the office — All the principles of the Society tended to give the presidency unlimited power over the property, persons and I might say with propriety **lives** of the members of the church as physical force was to be resorte[d] to if necessary to accomplish their designs **The blood of my best friend must flow by my own hands if I would be a faithful Danite should the Prophet command it** Said A McRae in my hearing "If Joseph should tell me to **kill** Vanburen in his presidential chair I would immediately start and do my best to assassinate him let the consequences be as they would — Having been taught to believe themselves invincible in the defense of their cause though the combined power of the world were in array against them, and that the purposes of God were to be accomplished through their instrumentality, the wicked destroyed, by force of arms the "nations subdued," and the kingdom of Christ established on the Earth, they consider themselves accountable only at the bar of God for their conduct, and consequently acknowledged no law superior to the "word of the Lord through the prophet" Do you suppose said a zealous Danite at a time when the sheriff of Daviess County held a State's warrant against Joseph Smith that the prophet will condescend to be tried before a judge? I answered that Smith would in all probability submit knowing that in case resistance was made the officers would call in the strength of other counties to enforce the law "What, said he, do we care for other counties or for the state or whole United States."

The independence of the church was to be supported it[s] laws and the behests of the presidency enforced by means of this loyal band of Danites, under command of Jared Carter, the terrible brother of Gideon bearing the additional title of "Captain Genl of the Lords hosts" His subalterns were Maj Genl Sampson Avard Brigd Genl C. P. Lott Coln Geo W Robinson also a lieut Coln Maj. Secretary of War an Adjatant, Captains of fifties & Captains of tens and all these officers with the privates were to be under the administration of the presidency of the church and wholly subject to their control At meeting for the organization of the Danites Sampson Avard presented the society to the presidency who blessed them and accepted their services as though they were soon to be employed in executing some great design They also made speeches to the society in which great military glory and conquest were represented as awaiting them, victories in which one should chase a thousand and two put ten thousand to flight, were portrayed in the most lively manner, the assistance of Angels promised and in fine every thing was said to inspire them with zeal and courage and to make them believe that God was soon to "bring to pass his act, his strange act" or by them as instruments to perform a marvelous work on the Earth In the fore part of July the "brother of Gideon" or Jared Carter Capt Genl of the Danites having complained to Joseph Smith of some observations made by Sidney Rigdon in a sermon was tried for finding fault with one of the presidency and deprived of his station and Elias Higbee was appointed in his stead

Carter's punishment according to the principles of the Danites should have been **death** In the evening after the trial I was in company with Maj Genl Sampson Avard Dimick B Huntington Capt of the Guard, Elias Higbee the new capt Genl and David W. Patten one of the twelve apostles and member of the high counsel of the church all of whom had sat with the presidency on the trial. D. B. Huntington stated that **Joseph declared during the examination that he should have cut Carters throat on the spot** if he had been alone when he made the complaint Huntington also said that on his trial Carter came within a finger point of **losing his head**. Sampson Avard related at the same time the arrangements that had been made by the presidency and officers present at the trial respecting the dissenters — Said he, "all the head officers are to be furnished by the presidency with a list of dissenters both in Ohio and Missouri and if for example I meet with one of them who is damning and cursing the presidency, I can curse them too and if he will drink I can get him a bowl of brandy and after a while take him by the arm and get him one side in the brush when **I will into his guts in a minute and put him under the sod**." When an officer has disposed of a dissenter in this way he shall inform the presidency, and them only with whom it shall remain an inviolable secret. In July the law of consecration took effect which required every person to give up to the bishop all surplus property of every discription not necessary for their present support Sampson Avard the most busy actor and sharpest tool of the Presidency informed John Corrill and Myself that "all persons who attempted to deceive and retain property that should be given up would meet with the fate of Ananias and Saphira who were **killed by Peter**." ("The Reed Peck Manuscript," pages 9-12, typed copy)

John Corrill gave this information concerning the Danites:

> Some time in June last, a few individuals began to form a society that should be agreed in all things. In order to this, they bound themselves under very close restrictions. As this society began to increase they secretly entered into solemn covenants, before God, and bound themselves under oath to keep the secrets of the society, and covenanted to stand by one another in difficulty, whether right or wrong, but said they would correct each others wrongs among themselves. As the presidency stood next to God, or between God and the church, and was the oracle through which the word and will of God was communicated to the church, they esteemed it very essential to have their word, or the word of God through them, strictly adhered to. They therefore

entered into a covenant, that the word of the presidency should be obeyed, and none should be suffered to raise his hand or voice against it; for, as they stood at the head of the church, it was considered no more than reasonable that they knew more of the will of God than any others did; consequently, all things must be in submission to them, and moreover, all tattling, lying, and backbiting, must be put down, and he that would not submit willingly should be forced to it, or leave the county. Now this secret combination was directly opposed to the former revelation, and especially the book of Mormon, which declared that God worketh not in secret, and all such as did should be destroyed. Many were opposed to this society, but such was their determination and also their threatenings against them, that those opposed dare not speak their minds on the subject. They said they meant to cleanse their own members first, and then the church. In order to carry on their operations, they organised themselves into companies of fifties and tens, with a captain to each company, that they might be ready to act in concert on any occasion. It was supposed by the church at large, that this organization was for the purpose of resisting a mob, if any should arise against them; many of this secret society itself did not understand the true intention of their leaders. Who first started this society I know not, but Doctor Samson Arverd was the most prominent leader and instructor, and was assisted by others. The first presidency did not seem to have much to do with it at first: they would, however, go into their meetings occasionally, and sanction their doings. Arverd was very forward and indefatigable in accomplishing their purposes, for he devoted his whole talents to it, and spared no pains; and, I thought, was as grand a villian as his wit and ability would admit of. How much he was assisted by the presidency I know not, but I thought that they stood as wire workers behind the curtain. Be this as it may, they ran into awful extremes, for it seemed that they felt justified, and thought it was the will of God to use any measures whatever, **whether lawful or unlawful**, to accomplish their purpose, and put down those that opposed them. In this they perverted the former belief and notions of the church; for the church always believed that judgments, pestilence, disease, famine, great troubles and vexations, were sooner or later to be poured out upon all the wicked, and cut them off in the course of time, and this, they supposed, would be done by God himself, and the object of gathering together was, that they might purify themselves, and stand in holy places appointed of God for that purpose, and thus escape these judgments. But, now, it began to be taught that the church, instead of God, or, rather, the church in the hands of God, was to bring about these things; and I was told, but I cannot vouch for the truth of it, that some of them went so far as to contrive plans how they might scatter poison, pestilence, and disease, among the inhabitants, and make them think it was judgments sent from God. But here let me remark, that this was known only to some half dozen or so of the leaders, and not to the church, nor even the great majority of this secret society. I accused Smith and Rigden of it, but they both denied it promptly. Be this as it may, it was clearly evident to me that the leaders of this faction intended to set up a monarchical government, in which the presidency should tyranize and rule over all things. In fact there was so much tyranny and oppression exercised, that for several weeks many persons dare not speak their minds, nor let them be known; and I have learned of late, that a constitution was formed, savouring all the spirit of monarchy, and adopted by the leaders and some others of this society; but I conclude that but few knew about it, for I never heard one lisp on the subject, until Arverd exposed it, after he was arrested.

Some individuals went so far as to state, that **they would kill any person, if the presidency would say it was the will of God**; for these things were necessary sometimes to save the church from corruption and destruction. All the while it was preached to them that they must purify themselves from all evil, for the time was now at hand when every thing that offended in the kingdom of God must be cast out. This they determined to do, whether by fair means or foul, regardless of consequences. They sometimes went by the name of the Big Fan; this, I supposed, was figurative of their intentions to cleanse the chaff from the wheat. They also assumed the name of "The Daughter of Zion," and afterwards were called "Danites." Why they assumed these last names I never knew, but always supposed that they took it from the scriptures, which speaks of them, the first prophetically, and the last historically. (See Mich. iv. 13, read the whole chapter; also Judges, xvii, & xviii. chapters.)

This society increased, as near as I could learn, to the number of three hundred. (*A Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints*, by John Corrill, 1839, pages 30-32)

John D. Lee, who was himself a member of the Danite band, made this statement concerning the organization:

> At the same Conference another organization was perfected, or then first formed—it was called the "Danites." The members of this order were placed under the most sacred obligations that language could invent. They were sworn to stand by and sustain each other. Sustain, protect, defend, and obey the leaders of the Church, under any and all circumstances unto death; and to **disobey** the orders of the leaders of the Church, or divulge the name of a Danite to an outsider, or to make public any of the secrets of the order of Danites, was to be punished **with death**. And I can say of a truth, **many have paid the penalty** for failing to keep their covenants. They had signs and tokens for use and protection. The token of recognition was such that it could be readily understood, and it served as a token of distress by which they could know each other. When the sign was given it must be responded to and obeyed, even at the risk or certainty of death. The Danite that would refuse to respect the token, and comply with all its requirements, was stamped with dishonor, infamy, shame, disgrace, and his fate for cowardice and treachery was death.
>
> This sign or token of distress is made by placing the right hand on the right side of the face, with the points of the fingers upwards, shoving the hand upwards until the ear is snug up between the thumb and fore-finger. (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, photomechanical reprint of 1880 edition, pages 57-58)

William Swartzell gave this information concerning the Danite Band:

> 14th. Some talk of a meeting—for what purpose I do not know—it is called a Daranite meeting. It was held in a grove, in the woods, adjoining brother White's house, where a number of benches were made out of trees split in two. Sentinels, armed with pistols, swords, and guns, were posted on the outskirts of the grove, while the Daranites, as they were called, occupied the centre. Just as these things were going on, brother Higby asked me if I could eat strong meat. I answered him that I could, if the meat had a good scent. The answer deprived me of being then let into the secret, or being admitted to the meeting. As I walked by the side of brother Barne's, towards the place of meeting. I asked him what this meant; he answered me by saying that it was going to prove who were the men of God, and who were not; adding, further, that I had better not come along with him. So I walked back to the place where we had started from, where I found brother Sherry, and I spoke to him about it, and he said it was no good thing that they were about, and that he had no faith in this Daranite business. After the meeting adjourned, brother Thayer said to me, "Ah! brother Swartzell, you should have been at the meeting; you should have heard all about the Daranite business, for brother Joseph preached, and brother Hiram, and brother Rigdon." I told him what brother Barnes had said to me. He (brother Thayer) replied, "I dare not tell you what they said or preached; but never mind, next Saturday is another Daranite meeting, and then I will cause you to come in, too, to learn this mystery—provided no one objects to your being a Daranite, or a **man of war**!" This, thought I, is going into the merits of the cause; but brother Thayer cautioned me to say nothing about it. . . .
>
> 21st. This day we had a great Daranite meeting. The brethren assembled in the grove—myself among the rest. The Daranites were all armed; some had swords, some had pistols, and others had guns and cow-hides. (Rather a singular meeting this, when no enemy was in view.) A circle was formed, in the midst of which, the regular Daranites seated themselves, while sentinels, well armed guarded the outposts, and secured the usual entrance to the place of meeting, so that no one could enter except a regular member, or those desirous of being initiated. The grove was situated between Grand River and a large prairie, well timbered and beautifully shaded. Here the Daranites held their scout meetings; and placed their guards to prevent any intrusion. Applicants for membership, (having made their intention to become members known at one of the usual meetings for worship,) were brought within the guards a short distance, where seats were provided for them; and where they remained until all things were prepared for their reception, when they were initiated in companies of eleven at a time. So that each company, after initiation, should choose a Captain, and remain the even number, ten. Such was the state of affairs when I chose to become a Daranite. About fifty of us were passed by our conductors, through the guards, and seated as candidates for membership in the Daranite band.
>
> After singing a hymn, and prayer by the High Priest, (Lyman White,) some of those who had previously been sworn, while reviewing us, made some remarks, such as "They are good looking fellows," "They will make good soldiers," accompanied with smiles and laughter. For my own part, I thought it too serious a matter to laugh at. Lyman White, High Priest, was the orator, and expounder of the ceremonies. He held in his hand a cow-hide, on the end of which, was about a pound of lead, with a string to it, passed around his wrist; and he said that every Daranite should have such a weapon. The High Priest performed the ceremonies, and commented upon the order of things with his head uncovered, and hair cut in a peculiar manner. He declared that if any of the brethren had any cause for enmity against his fellow, that they should retire by themselves a short distance, within the guards, and settle it, and become reconciled to each other immediately; and if they could not settle the difference between themselves, they should select a third person to act as umpire between them; and if a reconciliation was not then produced, they could not be enrolled among the Daranites until the matter had been brought before the high council, and settled. If any man had aught against himself, it was necessary that he should make it up with God; and that he should immediately ask to be cleansed; as this, also, was requisite, before he could become a Daranite. I considered that I had a great deal against myself; but perceiving that they had no discernment of spirit, I said nothing; and as no other person found fault with me, I was initiated into the mysteries of Daraniteism. The promised revelation, said to have been received from heaven by Joseph Smith, Jr., then was, or should have been, possessed by me, in order that I might be "A man of God, and a son of Thunder." Joseph Smith, Jr., preached to us some time on this subject; (which words I do not recollect;) but he told us what we must do on certain occasions, &c. The preparation for the favorable reception of the oath, was by progressive caution; and, at the very moment when it was about being administered—when curiosity was on tip-toe—permission was given to any who desired, or were faint of heart, to withdraw.
>
> The High Priest stood up in the centre of a circle formed by eleven men, (that being the number initiated at a time,) and administered to them the oath, word by word, each one of the circle at the same time repeating the word after him, with uplifted holy [or wicked, I know not which,] hands. The following is the oath, as near as I can recollect:
>
> "Now I do solemnly swear, by the eternal Jehovah, that I will decree to hear and conceal, and never reveal this secret, at the peril of committing perjury, and the **pains of death**, and my body be given to be shot, and laid in the dust. Amen."
>
> After the administration of the oath, he charged us to "prove faithful in whatever I commit to your trust, come life, or come death. Though you should be brought before the mouth of the enemy's cannon, you must not attempt to run away, or falter in your duty, or betray the trust reposed, no matter what might be the consequences, or you will be shot down by your own officers! If one should run away, he might betray the Daranites; and if any of you should run away, and betray this trust which is committed to you, though he should be five thousand miles distant, **the Destroying Angels will pursue him, and take his life**—have him shot privately, so that it may not be found out or known to men." And he further charged us, "that if any brother should have stolen a horse, or committed any other offence, and is arraigned before a justice of the peace for trial, you must, at the risk of your lives, rescue him, and **not permit him to be tried by the Gentile law**; but bring him before our tribunal, (or court of justice,) and let him be tried by our own High Council."

When the High Priest had delivered himself of these charges, agreeably to the order of things, he next informed us that he would give us a sign "whereby ye may know each other anywhere, (either by day or by night,) and if a brother be in distress. It is thus: To clap the right hand to the right thigh, and then raise it quick to the right temple, the thumb extending behind the ear." He then gave us the pass-word—which was to be spoken at the moment of giving the hand of fellowship—"Who be you?" Answer—"Anama." "This word, *anama*," he further informed us, "is, by interpretation, *a friend*. This, then, is the sign to distinguish ourselves from all other people under heaven."

We (the eleven, of whom I was one,) then stepped off a few paces, for the purpose of choosing our captain. I suggested brother James Sloan as a suitable person. While the High Priest was initiating others, we proceeded to elect brother Sloan as our captain, by acclamation and uplifted hands.

After all the candidates were initiated, and captains elected, we were all brought back again and seated, when the High Priest gave us another charge which is, as near as I can recollect, in the following words—"That every Daranite must hold himself in readiness, at a moment's warning, by day or by night. Each one of you must be equipped with a gun, or a cow-skin, or a pistol, &c., according to your different stations; each one of you to have on hand, (when called upon to go at a moment's warning, asking no questions,) one pound of powder, and one hundred bullets."

One captain admonished us to be"'true and faithful. I will be with you in life or death. I expect to be one in the great battle of Gog and Magog, until the blood shall come up to the horse-bridles. If in battle one of you should be so unfortunate as to be shot down, you must have faith enough to rise up and shoot again." I thought to myself "Oh! of how little faith am I." Though I went into this measure, yet after witnessing all this impious ceremony, I confess I then heartily disapproved of it; and if I did wrong in so doing, I pray God, through the merits of my Saviour, to forgive me.

I have not stated every thing accurately, perhaps, as my memory does not always serve me fully; but that which I have stated, in the presence of God I know to be true. (*Mormonism Exposed, Being a Journal of a Residence in Missouri from the 28th of May to the 20th of August, 1838*, by William Swartzell, Pittsburgh, 1840, pages 17-18, 21-23)

Robert Kent Fielding made this statement concerning Joseph Smith and his Danite Band:

> As long as his authority was accepted he was willing to tolerate dissent, but when he was placed on the definsive and confronted with a democratic mechanism which might dethrone him, he took steps to more firmly secure his position. From there the pattern of the future was easily discernible. As dissent was eliminated from within and the tempo of external pressure mounted, the authority of the Prophet was increased. Those who favored his elevation were placed in positions of power within the organizations of the Church and thus increased the tendency to centralization. Finally in Missouri, the "Danites" were formed outside the regular Church organization but apparently with the approval of Smith and all vestiges of democracy fled before their threat of terror. ("The Growth of the Mormon Church in Kirtland, Ohio," Ph.D. dissertation, page 132 of typed copy)

The Mormon writer Leland Gentry gives us this information:

> Concurrently, John N. Sapp, a former Mormon, went before the clerk of Carroll County and made affidavit charging that the Mormons had organized among them a body of men called "Danites" who were "pledged to support Joseph Smith and Lyman Wight in opposition to the laws of the State of Missouri." Joseph Dickson, the clerk, immediately forwarded this notarized statement to Governor Boggs and appended a note from the Carroll "Committee on Safety" to the effect that the residents of northern Missouri had good reason to believe that Sapp's testimony was true. (*A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri*, page 292)

On pages 362-364 of the same dissertation Leland Gentry gives this information concerning the Danites:

> The Band went by several titles. In its initial stage, it was referred to as the "Big Fan" or "Brothers of Gideon," while it was known as the "Daughters of Zion" in its second phase. Somewhere along the line, the term "Danite" was adopted, and this was the name by which it was known during its final phase of operation.
>
> . . . There were about three hundred men belonging to the Danite order.
>
> Recruitment for the Order was by means of personal contact of carefully screened individuals; meetings were secretive and carefully guarded. Danite teachings were not to be discussed, even with fellow Danites, outside of secret Danite chambers. Members of the Organization were placed under solemn covenant and a penalty of death not to reveal any secrets committed to them. Punishment in the system was to be secretly and summarily carried out, while those in need of discipline were to be punished by their own peers, even for civil offenses not involving the Society itself.
>
> Secret signs and tokens of recognition were taught, enabling Danites to detect a friend under any circumstances. The "Signal of distress," once given, must be responded to, even at the risk of certain death. Danites were also sworn to help a brother in need without taking time to inquire into the nature of his difficulty. Members were taught to obey the instructions of their leaders without hesitation and without question, and were admonished to "prove faithful" in all things committed to their trust, "come life or come death."
>
> Avard took advantage of important Latter-day Saint teachings to further the growth of his Danite band. He taught his followers that they were living in a "new and different dispensation," one in which the Kingdom of God would break in pieces and consume all earthly kingdoms. **The duty of all noble and loyal Danites was to waste away the Gentiles by stealing their goods and consecrating them to the Kingdom of God.** If any questioned this procedure, the reply was given that the earth is the Lord's, not man's, and that the laws of the land do not apply when one commits himself to God alone.

ATTEMPTED EXPLANATIONS

Mormon writers have been somewhat divided concerning the Danite Band. Some have denied that it even existed. Others have admitted its existence but denied that Joseph Smith was connected with it. Still others have admitted that it existed and had Church approval.

The Mormon writer Ivan J. Barrett stated:

> The affidavit drawn up by Marsh about an oath-bound band among the Mormons known as the Danites has caused the Church to suffer abuse, misrepresentation, and slander regarding every vile deed committed and imagined for almost a century after the affidavit was sworn to by Marsh before Jacobs, justice of the peace of Ray County, Missouri. Writers to this day who should know better bring in this Danite band which never existed. John Taylor to Vice President Colfax said when the Danite story was brought up, "I was there and knew to the contrary; and so did the people of Missouri, and so did the Governor." (*More Remarkable Stories of How We Got the Revelations in the Doctrine and Covenants*, by Ivan J. Barrett, Extension Publications, B.Y.U., page 20)

John Taylor, who became the third president of the Mormon Church, stated:

> I have heard a good deal about Danites, but I never heard of them among the Latter-day Saints. If there was such an organization, I never was made acquainted with it . . . (*History of the Church*, vol. 3, page 168, footnote)

The Mormon Apostle John A. Widtsoe admitted that Dr. Avard tried to organize a secret band but denied any support from the Church:

> Untruth once uttered, needs support. Therefore, another lie is invented to bolster up the first. Yet another is required to defend the second; and so on, continuously. The process goes on until a flood of untruth washes upon the rock of truth. By this method the evil one has filled the earth with error. That is the hard way of the liar: unless he repents, he must continue to lie.
>
> This principle is well illustrated in the persecutions of Mormonism. Those who have set out to destroy the Church, and there have been such attempts from its organization, have been driven to invent untruth, which has greatly multiplied, to the injury of innocent people.
>
> Among the first of such untruths about the Church, was the story of a secret oath-bound society called the Danites, or by some other name, used by the Church for evil purposes.
>
> The fact of the matter is that the Church has never fostered a secret society, Danite or any other. Its work is sacred; therefore cannot be secret. . . .
>
> A Doctor Sampson Avard, . . . won the following of a number of men. To them he explained that he had been called by the Presidency of the Church, to form a secret organization for the accomplishment of some important work for the Church, but of a very secret nature. Then, after he had won the confidence of the group, he proceeded to explain that this society had authority to plunder and rob non-Mormons, for the upbuilding of the kingdom of God. When the true design of the society was thus revealed, the duped brethren rejected his teachings. As soon as this villainy was brought to the attention of the Presidency, Avard was excommunicated from the Church. A band of Danites, organized by the Church, is but a phantom of Church enemies . . . in every instance, reputable writers have not dared to say that the Danites really existed, . . . If the nonsensical charge, that the Mormons were a murderous lot, had been true, it would have been known by more than the few untruthful hearts who have fostered the Danite myth, usually in the hope of personal gain thereby. . . .
>
> Today informed, intelligent people know that the Danites, if they ever existed, were not connected with the Church. Truth wins out at last, though sometimes the battle is severe and long. Some haters of the Church, who undoubtedly know better, try, even now, to perpetuate the Danite myth. (*Gospel Interpretations*, by John A. Widtsoe, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1947, pages 245-250)

The Mormon apologist Hugh Nibley states:

> It is significant that those who have written on the Danites, from Bennett to Brooks, have not bothered to mention that the earliest and fullest discussion of the subject is by Joseph Smith himself. Is it not odd that they will not consider this account— . . . (*Sounding Brass* by Hugh Nibley, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1963, page 217)

The statement Dr. Nibley refers to is found in the *History of the Church*, vol. 3, pages 178-182:

> . . . Satan himself was no less busy in striving to stir up mischief in the camp of the Saints: and among the most conspicuous of his willing devotees was one Doctor Sampson Avard. . . . he stated that he had the sanction of the heads of the Church for what he was about to do; and by his smiles and flattery, persuaded them to believe it, and proceeded to administer to the few under his control, an oath, binding them to everlasting secrecy to everything which should be communicated to them by himself. Thus Avard initiated members into his band, firmly binding them, by all that was sacred, . . . and would often affirm to his company that the principal men of the Church had put him forward as a spokesman, and a leader of this band, which he named Danites.
>
> Thus he duped many, which gave him the opportunity of figuring as a person of importance. He held his meetings daily, and carried on his crafty work in great haste, to prevent mature reflection upon the

matter by his followers, until he had them bound under the penalties of death to keep the secrets and certain signs of the organization by which they were to know each other by day or night.

After those performances, he held meetings to organize his men into companies of tens and fifties, appointing a captain over each company. After completing this organization, he went on to teach the members of it their duty under the orders of their captains; he then called his captains together and taught them in a secluded place, as follows:

> Avard's Instructions to His Captains.
>
> My brethren, as you have been chosen to be our leading men, our captains to rule over this last kingdom of Jesus Christ—and you have been organized after the ancient order—I have called upon you here today to teach you, and instruct you in the things that pertain to your duty, and to show you what your privileges are, and what they soon will be. Know ye not, brethren, that it soon will be your privilege to take your respective companies and go out on a scout on the borders of the settlements, and take to yourselves spoils of the goods of the ungodly Gentiles? for it is written, the riches of the Gentiles shall be consecrated to my people, the house of Israel; and thus you will waste away the Gentiles by robbing and plundering them of their property; and in this way we will build up the kingdom of God, and roll forth the little stone that Daniel saw cut out of the mountain without hands, and roll forth until it filled the whole earth. For this is the very way that God destines to build up His kingdom in the last days. If any of us should be recognized, who can harm us? for we will stand by each other and defend one another in all things. If our enemies swear against us, we can swear also. [The captains were confounded at this, but Avard continued.] Why do you startle at this, brethren? As the Lord liveth, I would swear to a lie to clear any of you; and if this would not do, I would put them or him under the sand as Moses did the Egyptian; and in this way we will consecrate much unto the Lord, and build up His kingdom; and who can stand against us? And if any of us transgress, we will deal with him amongst ourselves. And if any one of this Danite society reveals any of these things, I will put him where the dogs cannot bite him.
>
> At this lecture all of the officers revolted, . . .
>
> Avard replied, and said there was no laws that were executed in justice, and he cared not for them, this being a different dispensation, . . .
>
> Avard's teachings were still manfully rejected by all. Avard then said that they had better drop the subject, although he had received his authority from Sidney Rigdon the evening before. The meeting then broke up; the eyes of those present were opened, Avard's craft was no longer in the dark, and but very little confidence was placed in him, even by the warmest of the members of his Danite scheme.
>
> When a knowledge of Avard's rascality came to the Presidency of the Church, he was cut off from the Church, and every means proper used to destroy his influence, at which he was highly incensed, and went about whispering his evil insinuations, but finding every effort unavailing, he again turned conspirator, and sought to make friends with the mob.
>
> And here let it be distinctly understood, that these companies of tens and fifties got up by Avard, were altogether separate and distinct from those companies of tens and fifties organized by the brethren for self defense, in case of an attack from the mob. . . . Therefore, let no one hereafter, by mistake or design, confound this organization of the Church for good and righteous purposes, with the organization of the "Danites," of the apostate Avard, which **died almost before it had existed**. (*History of the Church*, by Joseph Smith, vol. 3, pages 178-182)

There are several reasons why this statement attributed to Joseph Smith cannot be accepted. One of the most important is that it contradicts another statement made by him on January 3, 1844:

> The **Danite system** alluded to by Norton **never had any existence**. It was a term made use of by **some of the brethren** in Far West, and grew out of an expression **I made use of** when the brethren were preparing to defend themselves from the Missouri mob, in reference to the stealing of Macaiah's images (Judges chapter 18)—If the enemy comes, **the Danites** will be after them, meaning **the brethren** in self defense. (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 165)

Notice that in the first statement Joseph Smith admits that there was a Danite Band, whereas in the second he denies its existence. Furthermore, in the first statement he claims that Avard named the group "Danites," but in the second he states that it "was a term made use of by some of the brethren in Far West, and grew out of an expression *I made use of*."

Toward the end of the first statement Joseph Smith says that the "companies of tens and fifties got up by Avard, were altogether separate and distinct from those companies of tens and fifties organized by the brethren for self defense, in case of an attack from the mob." He also states: "Therefore, let no one hereafter, by mistake or design, confound this organization of the Church for good and righteous purposes, with the organization of the 'Danites,' of the apostate Avard, which died almost before it had existed."

While it is true that there were two organizations—i.e., the "Danites" and the "Armies of Israel"—the two were not really as "separate and distinct" from each other as Joseph Smith would have us believe. Actually, the Danites served in the "Armies of Israel." The Mormon writer Leland Gentry states:

> The so-called "Armies of Israel" created at Far West and Adam-ondi-Ahman by order of General Alexander Doniphan were later confused with the Danites. The confusion was natural, since both groups were broken down into smaller units and since **many Danites also belonged to the legitimate militia**. The latter made no visible attempt, apparently, to distinguish between their services for one group or the other. (*A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri From 1836 to 1839*, page 362)

Thus we see that the "Danites" and the "Armies of Israel" were not really so distinct.

In the first statement concerning the Danites Joseph Smith stated:

> When a knowledge of Avard's rascality came to the Presidency of the Church, he was cut off from the Church, and every means proper used to destroy his influence, at which he was highly incensed, and went about whispering his evil insinuations, but finding every effort unavailing, he again turned conspirator, and sought do make friends with the mob. (*History of the Church*, vol. 3, page 181)

It does not take much research to show that this statement is completely false. Leland Gentry admits that the Danites were in existence in June, 1838, but Avard was not excommunicated until March, 1839. In an extract from the minutes of a conference held March 17, 1839, we read:

> . . . elder George W. Harris made some remarks relative to those who had left us. After the conference fully expressed their feelings upon the subject, it was unanimously voted that the following persons be excommunicated from the church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, viz: George M. Hinckle, Sampson Avard, John Corrill, Reed Peck, Wm. W. Phelps, Frederick G. Williams, Thomas B. Marsh, Burr Riggs, and several others. After which the conference closed by prayer. (*Times and Seasons*, vol. 1, page 15)

Thus we see that Joseph Smith's statement is completely untrue. Joseph Smith stated that as soon as the presidency found out about Avard's teachings they excommunicated him and then he turned conspirator and "sought to make friends with the mob." What actually happened was that the presidency were well aware of Avard's teachings and supported him. When Avard was later arrested, he turned against the church and testified against Joseph Smith. According to the *History of the Church* his testimony was given on November 13, 1838 (*History of the Church*, vol. 3, page 209). It was three months after his testimony against the church that he was finally excommunicated.

In spite of these facts, Mormon writers still continue to propagate this untruthful story. The Mormon historian Joseph Fielding Smith stated:

> These Danites did subscribe to some oath of vengeance on their enemies. However, as soon Joseph Smith discovered what was going on, he put a stop to it and Avard was excommunicated. (*Essentials in Church History*, by Joseph Fielding Smith, page 227)

The Mormon writer John J. Steward states:

> . . . Avard told his men he had received his authority from Rigdon, whose fiery speech of July Fourth had emboldened him in the plan. But when Avard started talking about putting their enemies "under the sand as Moses did the Egyptian," some of the brethren dropped their oath of secrecy and divulged the whole nefarious business to Joseph. Dr. Avard was tried before the High Council, found guilty of teaching false doctrine, and excommunicated. Thus ended the notorious Danites, before they had really gotten underway. (*Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet*, by John J. Stewart, Salt Lake City, 1966, page 119)

Dr. Hugh Nibley quotes Lorenzo Dow Young, who told a similar falsehood:

> "From the meeting I went directly to Brother Brigham and related the whole history of the affair. He said he had **long suspicioned** that something wrong was going on, but had seen no direct development. He added we will go at once to brother Joseph **who has suspicioned** that some secret wickedness was being carried on by Dr. Avard. Dr. Avard was **at once** cited before the authorities of the Church and cut off for his wickedness. He turned a bitter enemy of the saints." (*Sounding Brass*, by Hugh Nibley, page 220)

From the information quoted above it is very obvious why we cannot believe Joseph Smith's statement concerning the Danites.

JOSEPH SMITH TO BLAME

The Mormon writer William E. Berrett makes the following statement concerning the Danites:

> Such a band as the "Danites" **did exist**, as historians affirm; . . . The organization had been for the purpose of **plundering and murdering** the enemies of the Saints. (*The Restored Church*, by William E. Berrett, Salt Lake City, 1956, pages 197-198)

Although Mr. Berrett admits that the Danite band did exist, and that it was for the purpose of "plundering and murdering the enemies of the Saints," he claims that the Mormon Church leaders were not responsible for it being formed. However, David Whitmer, one of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon, claimed that Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon were responsible. In an interview, which was published in the *Kansas City Daily Journal*, David Whitmer stated:

> . . . they issued a decree organizing what was termed the "Danites, or Destroying Angels," who were bound by the most fearful oaths do obey the commandments of the leaders of the church. **The Danites consisted only of those selected by Smith and Rigdon.** They t[h]reatened myself, John Whitmer, Oliver Cowdery and Lyman Johnson with **the vengeance of the Danites** . . . (*Kansas City Daily Journal*, June 5, 1881)

The Mormon argument that Joseph Smith had nothing to do with the Danites breaks down rapidly when we begin to examine the facts. Several men who had been members of the Mormon Church testified that

the Danites were supported by the church. Thomas B. Marsh, who had been President of the Council of the Twelve Apostles, made this statement in an affidavit given October 24, 1838:

> "They have among them a company, considered true Mormons, called the Danites, who have taken an oath to support the heads of the Church in all things that they say or do, whether right or wrong. Many, however, of this band are much dissatisfied with this oath, as being against moral and religious principles." (*History of the Church*, vol. 3, page 167, footnote)

Ebenezer Robinson felt that the "Danites" had LDS Church approval. He stated:

> Heretofore, the church had strenuously opposed secret societies, such as Free-Masons, Knights of Pithias, and all that class of secret societies, not considering the "Order of Enoch" or "Danites" of that class; . . . (*The Return*, by Ebenezer Robinson, vol. 2, no. 6, June, 1890, typed copy)

Even some of those who remained faithful admitted that the Danites were a church organization. Oliver Boardman Huntington stated the following in his diary:

> But a few weeks before, and but a few rods from this same place, I first formed a knowledge, and took the first mistic step in the new and unknown bonds of **the brothers and ites of Dan**; entered an apprentice in the divine brotherly union; . . . This society of **Danites** was condemned by the public like the rest of Mormonism; . . . (Diary of Oliver Boardman Huntington, vol. 1, page 36, typed copy at Utah State Historical Society)

The following is found in the Biographical Sketch of Luman Andros Shurtliff:

> About this time I was invited to unite with a society called the **Danite** society. It was got up for our personal defense, also for the protection of our families, property and religion. Signs and pass words were given by which members could know the other wherever they met, night or day. (Biographical Sketch of Luman Andros Shurtliff, page 32, Utah State Historical Society)

The memory of the "Danites" was not soon forgotten. On September 22, 1846, the Nauvoo Legion was taken through "the old Missouri Danite drill." Hosea Stout records the following in his journal:

> We then had a drill muster for an (h)our or so. I took the command by order of the Col. After drilling a while **I took them through the Old Missouri Danite drill**. (*On the Mormon Frontier, The Diary of Hosea Stout*, edited by Juanita Brooks, University of Utah Press, 1964, vol. 1, page 197)

On another occasion Hosea Stout wrote:

> Saturday March 21st 1846. This morning some of the teams began to move . . . we then went on again performing as we rode some **Danite evolutions** of horsemanship as practised in the War in Davis County Missouri in the fall of 1838. (*On the Mormon Frontier*, vol. 1, pages 140-141)

Under the date of June 5, 1847, Hosea Stout wrote:

> To day the Omahas were to come in & I was ordered to meet them . . .
>
> We received them as usual formed on horse back according to the **Danite** system of horsemanship and consequently I was in the center of the line. (*On the Mormon Frontier*, vol. 1, page 259)

In a footnote on page 141 of the same volume, Juanita Brooks states:

> 17. These "Danite evolutions of horsemanship" are mentioned several times by Stout, Lee, and other contemporary writers. Some were used in southern Utah as a part of parades and celebrations as late as the 1860's.

After the Mormons arrived in Utah, Brigham Young made this statement:

> If men come here and do not behave themselves, they will not only find the **Danites**, whom they talk so much about, biting the horses' heels, but the scoundrels will find them biting their heels. In my plain remarks, I merely call things by their **right names**. Brother Kimball is noted in the States for calling things by their right names, and you will excuse me if I do the same. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 5, page 6)

Like many other Mormon writers, Leland Gentry claims that Joseph Smith was not fully aware of what Dr. Avard was doing. He stated:

> Sampson Avard particularly used the Kingdom of God concept to great advantage. He taught his followers that what they did was for the Kingdom and had the unqualified support of Joseph Smith. Avard then bound his followers to secrecy under pain of death so that none could inquire openly for himself. In this manner, he capitalized upon the religious credulity of many faithful Saints and hid his secret works from the rest of the Church, Joseph Smith included.
>
> The craftiness of Sampson Avard must not be underestimated. His use of the Kingdom-concept was as ingenious as it was perverse. In his instructions to his Danite captains, for example, he allegedly taught that stealing was not wrong providing one did it in support of the Kingdom of God. (*A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri From 1836 to 1839*, page 325)

On page 322 of the same book Leland Gentry stated:

> In time, however, under the leadership of Avard, the movement assumed a third purpose entirely foreign to the spirit of Mormonism; stealing from the Gentiles. . . . During the very trying period known as the "Mormon War," some of the Danites did rob their enemies' homes and then consecrated the property thus taken as "spoils of war." "It was frequently observed among the troops," said John Clemenson, "that the time had come when the riches of the Gentiles should be consecrated to the Saints."

While the argument that stealing is "foreign to the spirit of Mormonism" may sound quite convincing to Mormons today, it does not hold much water for those who are well versed in early Mormon history. Mary Ettie V. Smith, for instance, charged that the Mormon Apostle Orson Hyde received goods which were taken from the Gentiles while the Mormons were in Kanesville:

> The notorious gamblers of this region, among the Gentiles, somewhat famed about this time, stood no chance with this band of Mormons; for while they were professedly strangers, they had a system of secret signs by which they were understood by each other, and they could thus play into the hands of their friends unsuspected.
>
> The horses, and other booty purchased or stolen, was forwarded at once to Kanesville, and was there received by Orson Hyde, who, after assorting it, forwarded it on to the plains, or made such disposition of it as would place it beyond the reach of the Gentiles, in case suspicion should be directed towards them. Orson Hyde is one of the "Twelve Apostles," and is often in the States. There are now many persons living by whom these facts can be proved. (*Mormonism: Its Rise, Progress, and Present Condition. Embracing the Narrative of Mrs. Mary Ettie V. Smith, of Her Residence and Experience of Fifteen Years with the Mormons*, Hartford, 1870, page 107)

Mrs. Smith also charged that Bill Hickman was involved in this stealing from the Gentiles:

> Somewhat along in the evening, William Hickman, one of the "Danites," came to the cabin door, and asked for Wallace, and seeing there was some trouble with us, came in and inquired what was the matter. He had not heard that our child was dead. Hickman said: "This will make it bad for us; but what a splendid night for our expedition, and things are in such a shape we cannot put it off?"
>
> Wallace pointed to our dead baby, under the open window, and made no reply.
>
> "Yes," said Hickman, "I see that is serious. But we must go."
>
> Hickman, although somewhat embarrassed, said they would fasten the door, as well as they could, but Wallace must go, and it was time they were there already; and, taking him by the arm, hurried him away, and they left me alone with my dead child. (*Mormonism: Its Rise, Progress, and Present Condition*, pages 70-71)

On pages 76-77 of the same book, Mrs. Smith stated:

> I asked Wallace, a few days after, where he went the night he left me with the wolves, and went with William Hickman.
>
> Wallace finally told me the whole story, as follows: saying he would trust my honor not to expose him.
>
> . . . . .
>
> Wallace said, "the President of the 'stake,' David Fulman [Fulmer?], had received the information, that a Gentile family by the name of Martin, were about to pass Garden Grove, on the Northern road, and that they had a great many cattle and horses. This Martin was a man of wealth, who was on his way across the plains, probably going to California.
>
> "The 'Danites' were therefore directed by Fulman [Fulmer] to intercept him, and take Martin's stock and tie them in the timber, where he would be unable to find them; and when he had passed on, they could be brought out, which we accordingly did—Hickman and myself, with some others. I have one yoke of oxen, and David Fulmer has one, and the rest was distributed among the men as they had need. Isaac Allred has also one yoke of the oxen."
>
> I asked Wallace if he thought that right. He said, "the Mormons believed, and it was undoubtedly true, that those who were not for us, were against us." In reply to another question, he said, "if the emigrants, when they lose their cattle, go on, and do not run against their fate by making us too much trouble, in looking for, or in the attempt to recover them, they are not harmed; otherwise they are put out of the way."

While these charges may seem incredible to a Mormon today, they are well within the realm of possibility, for in 1860 the Mormon Apostle Orson Hyde stated that a man may be influenced by the Spirit of the Lord to steal. He also stated that Bill Hickman "had done it years past." This information appears in *A Mormon Chronicle, the Diaries of John D. Lee*, vol. 1, page 328, footnote 67:

> John Bennion, who was Hickman's neighbor in Taylorsville, told an interesting story of the efforts made by the local Bishop and council to punish Hickman for horse stealing. When the Bishop and council had prepared their case against Hickman, **Orson Hyde** appeared at the meeting in time to stop public action. "After meeting Bp., council, & Elder Hyde had a long talk at my house," wrote Bennion. "Br. Hyde said, speaking of the stealing, that a man **may steal and be influenced by the spirit of the Lord to do it—that**

> **Hickman had done it years past**—Said that he never would institute a trial against a **brother for stealing from the Gentiles**, but stealing from his brethren, he was down on it. He laid down much on the subject.
>
> Sund., 14 Oct., 1860. Br. Hyde spoke on last nights intention to try Hickman. Gave it as **the word of the Lord to set him free** for the past, bid him go & sin no more. . . .

On page 339 of his book, Leland Gentry states:

> Danites were apparently taught to obey the commands of their superiors **without question** or hesitation. The consequences of any act, however dangerous, were not to be considered. (*A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri From 1836 to 1839*, page 339)

While such a teaching may seem extreme today, in the early period of Mormon history it was publicly taught. Heber C. Kimball, First Counselor to Brigham Young, once stated:

> . . . learn to do as you are told, . . . if you are told by your leader to do a thing, do it, **none of your business whether it is right or wrong.** (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, page 32)

On another occasion he made this statement:

> If you do things according to counsel and t**hey are wrong, the consequences will fall on the heads of those who counseled you, so don't be troubled.** (Statement by Heber C. Kimball, reported in *William Clayton's Journal*, page 334)

Since the Mormon people were receiving this type of teaching it is no surprise that they allowed themselves to be bound by oaths not to reveal the secrets of the Danite society. Leland Gentry made this statement:

> The secret motives and deeds of the Order were protected by means of secret oaths and covenants which every incoming member was required to take. According to Avard, the oath of secrecy was administered because the members felt that they "should be bound together by covenant, that those who revealed the secrets of the society should be put to death." The following is the Danite Oath as given by Avard:
>
> > In the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, I do solemnly obligate myself ever to conceal and never to reveal the secrets of this society called the Daughters of Zion. Should I ever do the same, I hold my life as the forfeiture.
>
> Swartzell's version is similar:
>
> > Now I do solemnly swear, by the eternal Jehovah, that I will decree to bear and conceal, and never reveal, this secret, at the peril of committing perjury, and [enduring] the pains of death, and my body to be shot and laid in the dust. Amen.
>
> John Clemenson testified at the trial that "Dr. Avard further taught that if anyone betrayed the secret designs of the society," he was to "be killed, laid aside, and nothing said about it." (*A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri From 1836 to 1839*, pages 335-336)

On page 730 of the same book, Leland Gentry stated:

> The organization was characterized by secret oaths, signs, and penalties for infraction of Danite covenants; promises were exchanged to protect or to help a fellow Danite regardless of the cost or circumstances, such action to be taken without question or hesitation. Those who joined the Order became so involved that it was impossible for them to withdraw without endangering their lives.

CUT THEIR THROATS!

It is very interesting to note that Orson Hyde, one of the Twelve Apostles in the Mormon Church, became very upset at Sidney Rigdon after Joseph Smith's death, and accused him of teaching murder when the Mormons were in Far West. The following statement by Orson Hyde appeared in the Mormon newspaper, the *Nauvoo Neighbor*:

> Elder Rigdon has been associated with Joseph and Hyrum Smith as a **counselor to the Church** and he told me in Far West that it was the imperative of the Church to obey the word of Joseph Smith, or the presidency, without question or inquiry, and that if there were any that would not, **they should have their throats cut** from ear [to] ear. (*Nauvoo Neighbor*, December 4, 1844)

This was a very damaging admission to make. Since Sidney Rigdon was a counselor to Joseph Smith in the First Presidency, it would be almost impossible to believe that Joseph Smith was not aware of what was going on.

Although Leland Gentry will not admit that Joseph Smith was involved with the Danites, he is almost forced to admit that Sidney Rigdon had something to do with them. On page 348 of his book he states:

> Sidney Rigdon's connection with the Danites is also buried in mystery. Although he denied that either he or Joseph Smith belonged to the Order, statements are credited to him during this period which have strong Danite overtones. Rigdon's biographer, Daryl Chase, allows that while the testimony given against Rigdon at the trial was one-sided, it does show that he "was one of the chief stormy centers on the Mormon side."

On page 351 of the same book, Leland Gentry states:

> Avard once stated that he had received his authority for heading the Danite order from Sidney Rigdon. The truth of this assertion, like all others from Avard, is open to question because of Avard's known anxiety to implicate anyone but himself. It is possible, in view of Rigdon's latter connections with the Church, that he may have had some remote connection with the Organization. (*A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri From 1836 to 1839*, page 351)

Sidney Rigdon made an affidavit in which he denied that he was a member of the Danite Band, yet he admitted that there was such an organization and claimed that it was formed by the Mormons for protection against the Gentiles:

> Some time previous to this, in consequence of the threatenings which were made by mobs, or those who were being formed into mobs, and the abuses committed by them on the persons and property of the citizens, an association was formed, called the Danite Band.
>
> This, as far as I was acquainted with it, (not being myself one of the number, neither was Joseph Smith, Sen.,) was for mutual protection against the bands that were forming and threatened to be formed for the professed object of committing violence on the property and persons of the citizens of Daviess and Caldwell counties. They had certain signs and words by which they could know one another, either by day or night. They were bound to keep these signs and words secret, so that no other person or persons than themselves could know them. (*History of the Church*, vol. 3, page 453)

The Mormon writer Klaus J. Hansen frankly admits that Sidney Rigdon helped organize the Danite Band:

> Sampson Avard, with the connivance and encouragement of Sidney Rigdon, had organized a secret military organization bound together by oaths and secret passwords. . . . Ostensibly, Avard had organized the band in self-defense against the depredations of the Missourians. But his real intentions went farther, and must be identified with Smith's ambitions to establish the political kingdom of God. Although the prophet repudiated Avard's excessive zeal and excommunicated him from the church, there can be no question that the germ for Avard's ideas must be sought in ideas that originated with the leader of Mormonism himself. (*Quest for Empire*, by Klaus J. Hansen, pages 57-58)

The Mormon argument that Joseph Smith was not aware of the Danite Band really begins to break down when the Mormon writer Leland Gentry has to admit that the First Presidency—including Joseph Smith—attended a Danite meeting:

> Increased pressures from doubtful **Danites** resulted in the only visit **Joseph** or **Hyrum Smith** ever made to **Danite meetings**. It is possible that Sidney Rigdon may have visited more than once. Avard informed those present at the meeting that "he had procured the **Presidency** to come there to show that what he had been doing was according to their direction and will." However, adds Peck, Avard "did not explain to the Presidency" before the assembly "what his teachings had been in that society." John Clemenson, also present for the same occasion, testified as follows:
>
> > The three composing the **Presidency** was at one of those meetings, and to satisfy the people, Dr. Avard called on Joseph Smith, Jr., who gave them a pledge that if he led them into difficulty, he would give them his head for a football and that it was the will of God these things should be so. The teacher and active agent of the society, [however], was Dr. Avard.
>
> It will be recalled that the Danite organization went through three stages of development, the longest of which was the second stage, namely, self-protection from mob violence. . . .
>
> It was during the very early period of stage number two that the **First Presidency** visited a **Danite meeting** at Avard's request. Although Avard "did not explain to the Presidency what his teachings had been in the society," he did justify its right to existence on the grounds that it was organized to protect the Saints. Owing to the unresponsive attitude of the Missouri Legislature toward requests for a local militia, the **First Presidency**, not understanding the full intent of Avard's mind, may have felt that the Society had a legitimate basis for existence. Hence **Joseph Smith's** statement that "it was the will of God these things should be so." This comment was nothing more than a commendation to those assembled that their services in defence of their brethren were acceptable unto the Lord and in line with His will. (*A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri From 1836 to 1839*, pages 342-343)

On page 362 of the same book, Leland Gentry states:

> The student stands aghast at the methods employed by Sampson Avard. Avard skillfully utilized numerous devices to construct and perpetuate his organization. He told his followers that he acted under Joseph Smith's direction and then swore his men to everlasting secrecy so that they could not inquire for themselves. He even induced the First Presidency to attend a Danite meeting and give their approval to what he was teaching, without, of course, informing them what his teachings were. He demonstrated outward allegiance to the Church himself by obeying the Law of Consecration and by urging his followers to do the same.

It would seem, then, that Mormon writers have backed themselves into a corner. The only reasonable thing for them to do now is to admit the whole truth about the Danites. Harold Schindler, a Mormon writer, does exactly that. He states:

One of the great controversies surrounding the Sons of Dan concerns the question of whether or not Joseph knew and approved of its existence prior to the society's public exposure in November, 1838. The point is relevant because if his denials of such knowledge are true, it marked the only occasion in Orrin Porter Rockwell's life when he strayed from the dictates of the church by entering into an unauthorized doctrinal venture. His close relationship and devoted obedience to the prophet makes it inconceivable that he would have failed to inform Joseph of the Danites. Even so, **the Prophet's absolute grip on the church precludes the possibility that Avard could have carried out an undertaking of such magnitude in secrecy**. Finally, the argument presents itself that the prophet probably encouraged the concept, since it played a dual role of preventing a recurrence of the Kirtland rebellion by uncovering potential apostates almost immediately while at the same time protecting the Mormons against their Gentile enemies. (*Orrin Porter Rockwell; Man of God, Son of Thunder*, by Harold Schindler, 1966, page 44)

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6. WAR IN MISSOURI

It was on July 4th, 1838, that Sidney Rigdon gave the fiery speech in which he stated:

> ". . . our rights shall no more be trampled on with impunity; the man, or the set of men who attempt it, do it at the expense of their **lives**. And that mob that comes on us to disturb us, it shall be between us and them a **war of extermination**; for we will follow them until the **last drop** of their blood is spilled; or else they will have to exterminate us, for we will carry the seat of war to their own houses and their own families, and one party or the other shall be **utterly destroyed**." (Remarks by Sidney Rigdon, as quoted in *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, by B. H. Roberts, vol. 1, page 441)

One month later the war commenced! The trouble started at an election in Davies County. John D. Lee gives this account:

> To return to the election at Gallatin:—The brethren all attended the election. All things seemed to pass off quietly, until some of the Mormons went up to the polls to vote. I was then lying on the grass with McBrier and a number of others. As the Mormons went to the polls, a drunken brute by the name of Richard Weldon, stepped up to a little Mormon preacher, by the name of Brown, and said
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> "Are you a Mormon preacher, sir?"
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> "Yes, sir, I am."
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> "Do you Mormons believe in healing the sick by laying on of hands, speaking in tongues, and casting out devils?"
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> "We do," said Brown.
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> Weldon then said, "You are a d---d liar. Joseph Smith is a d--d impostor."
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> With this, he attacked Brown, and beat him severely. Brown did not resent it, but tried to reason with him; but without effect. At this time a Mormon, by the name of Hyrum Nelson, attempted to pull Weldon off of Brown, when he was struck by half a dozen men on the head, shoulders and face. He was soon forced to the ground. Just then, Riley Stewart struck Weldon across the back of the head with a billet of oak lumber, and broke his skull. Weldon fell nearly on me, and appeared lifeless. The blood flowed freely from the wound. Immediately the fight became general.
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> Gallatin was a new town, with about ten houses, three of which were saloons. The town was on the bank of Grand river and heavy timber came near the town, which stood in a little arm of the prairie. Close to the polls, there was a lot of oak timber, which had been brought there to be riven into shakes or shingles, leaving the heart, taken from each shingle-block, lying there on the ground. These hearts were three square, four feet long, weighed about seven pounds, and made a very dangerous, yet handy weapon; and when used by an enraged man they were truly a class of instrument to be dreaded. When Stewart fell, the Mormons sprang to the pile of oak hearts, and each man, taking one for use, rushed into the crowd. The Mormons were yelling, "Save him!" and the settlers yelled, "Kill him; d--n him!" The sign of distress was given by the **Danites**, and all rushed forward, determined to save Stewart, or die with him. One of the mob stabbed Stewart in the shoulder. He rose and ran, trying to escape, but was again surrounded and attacked by a large number of foes. The **Danite sign of distress** was again given by John L. Butler, one of the captains of the Host of Israel. Butler was a brave, true man, and a leader that it was a pleasure to follow where duty called. Seeing the **sign**, I sprang to my feet and armed myself with one of the oak sticks. I did this because I was a **Danite**, and my oaths that I had taken required immediate action on my part, in support of the one giving the sign. I ran into the crowd. As I reached it, I saw Nelson down on the ground fighting for life. He was surrounded by a large number, who were seeking to murder him, but he had a loaded whip, the lash wrapped around his hand, and using the handle, which was loaded with several pounds of lead, as a weapon of defense. He was using it with effect, for he had men piled around him in all shapes. As I approached, a man sprang to his feet. He had just been knocked down by Nelson. As the man was rising, Nelson gave him a blow across the loins with the handle of his whip, which had the effect of straitening out the villain on the grass, and rendered him an inoffensive spectator during the remainder of the play. Captain Butler was then a stranger to me, and until I saw him give the **Danite sign of distress**, I had believed him to be one of the Missouri ruffians, who were our enemies. In this contest I came near committing a serious mistake. I had raised my club to strike a man when a Missourian rushed at him, and struck him with a loaded whip, and

called him a d--d Mormon. The man then gave the sign, and I knew how to act.

Capt. Butler was attacked from all sides, but, being a powerful man, he used his oak club with effect and knocked a man down at each blow that he struck, and each man that felt the weight of his weapon was out of the fight for that day at least. Many of those that he came in contact with had to be carried from the field for surgical aid. In the battle, which was spirited, but short in duration, nine men had their skulls broken, and many others were seriously injured in other ways. The severe treatment of the mob by the Danites, soon ended the battle. Three hundred men were present at this difficulty, only thirty of whom were Mormons, and only eight Mormons took part in the fight.

I was an entire stranger to all who were engaged in the affray, except Stewart, but I had seen the sign, and, like Sampson, when leaning against the pillar, I felt the power of God nerve my arm for the fray. It helps a man a great deal in a fight to know that God is on his side. After the violence ceased, Captain Butler called the Mormons to him, and . . . made a speech to the brethren. . . . Several of the Gentile leaders then requested us to lay down our clubs and go and vote. This Captain Butler refused, saying, "We will not molest any one who lets us alone, but we will not risk ourselves again in that crowd without our clubs." The result was, the Mormons all voted. It is surprising what a few resolute men can do when united. After voting, the Mormons returned home, fearing additional violence if they remained. (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, photomechanical reprint of 1880 edition, pages 58-60)

Reed Peck gives this information:

An exaggerated account of a bloody massacre of some of the Mormons was rapidly circulated through Caldwell County early next morning, the warriors marshalled and by 12 o clock 150 Danites with J Smith and S. Rigdon at their head were marching for Daviess County breathing vengeance against "the mob" for the attack made the previous day on their brethren At their approach the inhabitants not being sufficiently strong to oppose the Mormons of Caldwell and Daviess Counties then in array against them fled from their houses to make the woods their covert until the storm should pass or assistance be procured to expel what they termed a band of invaders The forces from Caldwell County remained in Daviess two days and in the time compelled one individual to sign an article binding him to keep the peace with the Mormons and attempted to frighten a Justice of the peace to sign the same but he drew one himself and signed it which was satisfactory ("The Reed Peck Manuscript," dated September 18, 1839, page 15 of typed copy)

John Corrill stated:

Instead of returning home again, as they ought to have done, they took a notion to make the citizens agree to live in peace, and not come out in mobs. They went to the house of Adam Black, a justice of the peace, and compelled him to sign a writing to that effect. (*A Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints*, 1839, page 34)

Joseph Smith admitted that he called upon Adam Black, justice of the peace, but claimed that they didn't threaten him:

Wednesday, 8.—After spending the night in counsel at Colonel Wight's, I rode out with some of the brethren to view the situation of affairs in that region, and among others, called on Adam Black, justice of the peace, . . . and politely requested him to sign an agreement of peace, but being jealous, he would not sign it, but said he would write one himself to our satisfaction, and sign it, which he did, . . . (*History of the Church*, vol. 3, page 59)

Joseph Smith also made an affidavit in which he stated:

Dr. Avard, with one or two others who had ridden ahead, went into Mr. Black's house; myself and some others went to the spring for water. I was shortly after sent for by Mr. Black, . . . Deponent then asked him if he would make said statement in writing, so as to refute the statement of those who had affirmed that he (Black) was one of the leaders of the mob. Mr. Black answered in the affirmative. Accordingly he did so, which writing is in possession of the deponent. The deponent further saith, that no violence was offered to any individual in his presence, or within his knowledge; and that no insulting language was given by either party, except on the part of Mrs. Black, . . . (*History of the Church*, vol. 3, page 71)

Sampson Avard, however, testified that they were planning on killing Adam Black if he did not sign the paper:

We visited Mr. Adam Black—about 150 or 200 men of us armed. Joseph Smith was commander; and if Black had not signed the paper he did, it was the common understanding and belief that he would have shared the fate of the dissenters. Sidney Rigdon and Lyman Wight were at Adam when we went to Black, and advised the movement. (*Senate Document 189*, page 2)

Be this as it may, Adam Black made an affidavit in which he claimed that the Mormons threatened his life:

Before me, William Dryden, one of the justices of the peace of said county, personally came Adam Black, who being duly sworn according to law, deposeth and saith: that on or about the 8th day of August, 1838, in the county of Daviess, there came an armed force of men, said to be one hundred and fifty-four, to the best of his information, and surrounded his house and family, and threatened him with instant death if he did not sign a certain instrument of writing, binding himself, as a justice of the peace for said county of Daviess, not to

molest the people called Mormons; and threatened the lives of himself and other individuals, and did say they intended to make every citizen sign such obligation, . . .

ADAM BLACK.

Sworn to and subscribed this the 28th of August, 1838.

W. DRYDEN,

Justice of the Peace of the County Aforesaid. (*History of the Church*, vol. 3, pages 64-65)

Reed Peck gives this information:

> Warrants were issued against J Smith L. Wight and many others engaged in this affair and cause found sufficient to put then under bonds for their appearance at court Representations of the hostile movements of the Mormons were sent by express to the neighboring counties which created considerable excitement and but a short time elapsed before it was rumored that the inhabitants of Daviess County were determined that the Mormons should be expelled from that county as it would be impossible to live in peace with them The citizens of Daviess were reinforced in the forepart of September by small parts from some of the adjoining counties and their threats alarming the Mormons the war cry was heard in Caldwell and volunteers speedily marched to resist the mob in case they commenced hostilities
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> At the same time petitions were sent by the presidency to the honorable Judge of the circuit court a resident of Ray County, praying his interposition in behalf of the Mormons who were threatened with expulsion from Daviess County, upon which Maj Genl D. R. Atchisom was instructed or ordered to raise an armed force, proceed to that place and restore order and preserve the peace between the two parties Genl Atchisom raised 500 mounted volunteers in Clay and Ray Counties and with this force arrived in Daviess County on or about the 13th of Sept in time to prevent any acts of hostility by either of the belligerent parties
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> A part of this company under command of Brig Genl Doniphan passed through Far West on their way to Daviess county with orders to cause all parties found under arms to disband immediately All the inhabitants of Caldwell were then under arms, a part in Far West and the remainder in Daviess County, but obedient to the order they dispersed and repaired to their homes many of them hoping it would be the last time they should be called from their respective avocations to support their cause by force of arms
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> But how vain their hopes when every succeeding step taken by their leaders at the head of their band was of a nature to fan the spark of opposition in Daviess till it was kindled to a flame which eventually spread far and wide and involved the society in one general ruin While the Mormons were embodied in Daviess County from the 10th to the 13th of September they subsisted principally on cattle, hogs honey &c taken from the "range" and from plantations belonging to the citizens of the county which could not fail to inflame the people as far as they became acquainted with the fact Individuals of the band informed me of this, further stating that on returning some of then carted into Caldwell County for their benefit at home, pork honey and wheat surreptitiously taken on the campaign They were furnished with a hint of this cheap mode of living by Joseph Smith in a letter written from F Wes[t] though it is quite likely that some genius among their leaders had invented and adopted the plan before the receipt of the letter The citizens of Daviess are accused by the Mormons of taking property from them in the same manner from which it would seem that each party was supporting itself by means of reprisals ("The Reed Peck Manuscript," dated September 18th, 1839, pages 15-17, typed copy)

The Mormon writer Leland Gentry stated:

> One of the important questions emerging from a study of the Mormon War is which of the troops from either side were legal and which were not. As shown in former portions of this work, men which at certain times were not authorized to act were, at other times, legitimate militia. This fact compounds rather than simplifies the problems. Moreover, both sides appear to have engaged in illegal as well as legal operations: The Mormons had their secret order of Danites, which organization was not officially empowered to act. The non-Mormons banded together in several unofficial companies to commit their deeds of mayhem. (*A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri From 1836 to 1839*, page 501)

Reed Peck goes on to state:

> The Mormons had no more than taken breath after their return from Daviess County before an express arrived from Dewitt calling for volunteers to succor the few Mormons that had collected in that place
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> You will recollect that two families from F West settled in Dewitt about the first of June The citizens of Carroll County soon after met and the expression of public feeling was that no Mormons should be admitted into the county as citizens Resolutions were passed and published setting forth the impossibility of living in amity with a community of Mormons, and a committee appointed to inform the two Mormon families in Dewitt of these transactions and request their departure from the county This notice being disregarded in a subsequent meeting it was resolved by the citizens to employ force to effect what mild measures had not accomplished but they attempted nothing till a company of Mormons from Canada took up their abode in Dewitt when acting on the principles of republicanism as defined by S. Rigdon they determined to eject then from the county and the Mormons were soon made sensible that decisive steps must be taken in order to sustain themselves in opposition to the forces daily collecting and the increasing prejudices of the community at large

The express from Dewitt informed that the mob had burned one Mormon house had shot at several individuals, and were increasing their numbers constantly from other counties The Mormons had possession of the town and had ranged their wagons for breast works The presidency with a large company of volunteers hastened to Dewitt and were permitted to enter the town without opposition though they passed in view of the mob and so with all that followed from Caldwell Co they had free ingress to but not even an express could return from the town to Far West The mob knew that people of other counties would render them all necessary assistance to accomplish their object therefore they did not fear the strength of Caldwell County and drawing the Mormons from home under arms was perhaps a part of their object in letting all pass thinking it would be considered a breach of the laws

A company of Militia that was stationed in Davies Co to keep the peace and one other company were called to Dewitt but being overawed by the mob could do nothing to effect a reconcileation

An Express was dispatched to the Governor by the Mormons and they report that his Excellency sent word, that as they had got themselves into a scrape they might fight their own battles

The mormons after being hemmed in Dewit a few days made a treaty and agreed to leave the county forthwith and were to be remunerated for the damage they sustained in consequence

It had been the boast of the Danites that if an attack was made upon the Mormo[n]s in Dewitt they would come down upon the mob from Caldwell like a thunderbolt and being compelled to evacuate the place after all their bravadoes the[y] returned in no enviable humour bringing intelligence that a company of the Dewitt mob with a cannon were on a line of march for Daviess County threat[e]ning to route the Mormons from that place also

On Sunday 14th Oct the day after the Mormons returned from Dewitt a company of Militia passed through Far West to take their stand in Daviess Co to oppose the Mobites that were marching from Dewitt On Monday 15th nearly all the male inhabitants of Caldwell County were congregated in Far West by order of the presidency, armed for war and burning to execute vengeance on their enemies. Joseph Smith addressed them and after capitulating the vexations to which the church had been subject and the persecutions they had endured in Missouri, informed them of the answer of the Governor to their petition and in continuation said the law we have tried long enough, who is so big a fool as to cry the law! the law! when it is always administered against us and never in our favor I do not intend to regard the law hereafter as we are made a set of outlaws by having no protection from it We will take our affairs into our own hands and manage for ourselves We have applied to the Govr and he will do nothing for us, the militia of the county we have tried and they will do nothing, all are mob the Governor is mob the the militia are mob and the whole state is mob.

We have yielded to the mob in Dewitt and now they are preparing to strike a blow in Daviess, but I am determined that we will not give another foot and I care not how many come against us, 10 or 10000 God will send his Angels to our deliverance and we can conquer 10000 as easily as 10 The manner of supplying the army in the expedition to be undertaken was not so artfully handled in the address as to superseede the necessity of observing to clear himself from unjust imputations That some may go from here and report that I taught you to steal" but I distinctly tell you all not to steal when you can get plenty without" and closed by relating an anecdote of a dutch man and his potatoes which I will repeat "A colonel quartered near an old dutchmans, the owner of a patch of fine potatoes proffered to purchase some for his men but was refused At night when relating the circumstance to the Regiment The Colonel said "now dont let a man of you be caught stealing that old dutchmans potatoes In the morning there was not a potatoe in the old mans field" He was followed in his address by Sidney Rigdon who spoke in a strain of vi[o]lence not describable aga[i]nst a certain few in the county that had said he "remained at home crying O dont! O dont! you are breaking the law you are bringing ruin on the society &c while others are out on expeditions to other counties doing all in their power to support the cause — While we are away that class are at home finding fault with our movements and thereby creating divisions and disturbance among the brethren when a perfect union is requisite in order to stand against the enemy That all might become one he proposed to the meeting that blood should first run in the streets of Far West that those traitors among them who had always opposed their doings should be slain and then the remainder could act in union No answer being made to this he next proposed that those persons should be forced to take their arms and march with the band on the morrow to Daviess County and if they refused they should be pitched on their horses with bayonets and placed in front of the battle" The latter proposition was answered with a hearty Amen from the congregation Should these traitors attempt to leave the county their lives should be the forfeit and their property confiscated for the use of the army Monday Evening a company of horses and two companies of footmen were organised consisting of about 300 men and before morning the company of horse reached Adam-endi-ahman Tuesday morning the two companies of footmen were early wending their way across the prairies and arrived in 'Diahman at sunset John Corrill W. W. Phelps John Cleminsen Reed Peck and several other anti Danites had the honor of being enrolled in one of these companies and under the bayonet resolutions marched to Daviess County where we saw the character or principles of the Danites fully exemplified

On Wednesday 17th Oct in consequence of a heavy snow fall an unusual occurrence at that season of the year most of the Mormons remained inactive in camp, only a sufficient number were out to procure the necessary supply of hogs cattle honey &c for the use of the army which they took as on former occasions from the range and plantations of the citizens (Missourians) In camp Pork beef & honey were denominated **bear buffalo & sweetoil** On Thursday (18) pursuant to an arrangement made the evening before by J & H Smith and Lyman Wight, D. W. Patton at the head of 40 men made a descent on Gallatin the county seat of Daviess, burned the only store in the place and brought the goods to Diahman and consecrated them to the bishop Joseph having taught that the ancient order of things had returned and the time had arrived for the riches of the Gentiles to be consecrated to the house of Israel (Mormons) There were about 20 men in Gallatin who fled at the approach of capt Patten and his company and these were all that the Mormons saw during the campaign excepting an occasional straggler more venturesome than his fellows

The citizens had un[i]versally fled leaving their all at the mercy of a merciless foe On the same day company of 50 men called the Fur company commanded by Capt Dunham (In camp Cap Black Haw) made their triumphal entry into 'Diahman laden with feather beds, quilts, clothes, clocks, and all varieties of light furniture taken from the deserted dwellings making the most uncouth appearance I ever beheld and were greeted as they passed with three deafening hurras from the whole camp On the same day Seymour Brunson McRae and about 20 others rode 15 or 20 miles to one of the branches of Grand River and called on an old gentleman whom they found at home with his family and after the customary salutations McRae observed that it was a "dam'd cold day" and introduced the company as a party of mobites come from Carroll County to drive out the Mormons The unsuspicious old man invited them to come in and warm and ordered dinner as he could not furnish them with whiskey which they pretended to be most anxious for After receiving their dinner and a treat of excellent honey they departed slyly taking the old gentlemans great coat a silk Hand__chief some woolen sheets woollen yarn a powder horn gun lock some knives and forks and many other articles as a means I suppose of informing their host whom he had entertained The next night A McRae and a small party went to Galletin and stripped the best furnished house of all its valuable furniture which they drew to 'Diahman and burned the dwelling to the ground All the property taken from the store in Gallatin and from private habitations was deposited with the bishop of Diahman and afterwards distributed among the society The Fur company and other parties were constantly bringing in plunder and reducing the dwellings to ashes and for ten days the mormons were employed in this way without opposition, pillaging houses harvesting the corn and collecting the horses, cattle and hogs of the frightened citizens making 'Diahman their place of rendezvous and depository of their ill gotten riches, foolishly flattering themselves that no notice would be taken of these transactions, while a few sane heads among them were wondering that men from other counties were not flocking in by hundreds to stop their mad career in the beginning The Militia that passed through Far West for the protection of the peace in Daviess had returned home having been informed by the Mormons that their presence was not necessary The citizens of Daviess, men women and children fled through the sno[w] in wagons on horseback and on foot after the plundering & burning was commenced as precipitately as though they had been invaded by a hostile band of Indians, but with this flood of testimony their calamitous report was not generally credited in other counties until men specially appointed for the purpose had visited Daviess county and returned with a confirmation of their story

The pacific disposition manifested by the Mormons on former occasions, their ready acceptation of dishonorable terms of peace in Jackson county, their willing compliance with the requisition of the people in removing from Clay county their recent troubles in Dewitt where on the demand of a hostile mob they again sacrificed their constitutional rights to obtain a peace all combined to impress the community with the belief that the Mormons would never act only upon the principle of Self defence The citizens of Daviess had complained of the Mormons before but unluckely for themselves could not establish anything against them more than was known to the public so when they fled in distress their cry was heard at first with as much indifference as the boy's who cried "the Wolf! the Wolf!" ("The Reed Peek Manuscript," dated 1839, pages 17-22 of typed copy)

John Corrill gives a similar account of conditions at that time:

> Smith preached that day pretty much from the same spirit, and requested a general meeting of all the male members on the next day. They accordingly met, and passed resolutions to the following effect. All the members of the church should take hold and help; those who had been backward in carrying on the warfare should now come forward, and their property should be consecrated, so far as might be necessary for the use of the army. If any man undertook to leave the place, and go to the enemy, he should be stopped and brought back, or **loose his life**. As soon as this meeting was over, they collected upon the public square, and called for volunteers. . . . I now saw plainly that they had become desperate, and their career would soon end; for I knew that their doings would soon bring the people on them, and I dreaded the consequences. I would have been glad to have left the county with my family, but I could not get away; the decree was passed, and there was no other chance for me and the other dissenters but to pretend to take hold with the rest. . . . The next day a company of about eighty mounted men went to Gallatin, where they found from ten to twenty men, who fled as they approached the town. They plundered a store and burnt it, and carried off some other property. Another company of seventy or eighty went to Millport, and on finding the place pretty much deserted they left it as they found it. Another company, of about the same size, went on to Grindstone Fork, and professed themselves to be citizens of Carroll. This they did, I was told, to find out who was against them. They also committed some little thefts. Another company, on foot, went somewhere in the country, and returned with a quantity of plundered property.
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> During these two days I laid by the fire with a lame leg. I clearly saw, from the remarks passing through the camp, and from their doings, that destruction to the Mormons was nigh at hand. I was astonished at the weakness and folly of the Mormons, to think they could possibly hold out in such a course.
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> I heard nothing from the leaders, but in the camp it was said that they meant not only to scatter the mob, but also to destroy those places that harbored them; that Gallatin and Millport were of that number; that the time had arrived for the riches of the gentiles to be consecrated to the house of Israel, but they meant to confine themselves to the mob characters in their plunderings. They conjectured that mob after mob, as they termed it, would arise against them, which they would have to subdue, one after another, even till they should reach St. Louis, where Wight said he meant to winter. Many had the weakness to believe that God would enable them to do it.
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> . . . It appeared to me also that the love of pillage grew upon them very fast, for they plundered every kind of property they could get hold of, and burnt many cabins in Davies, some say eighty, and some say one hundred and fifty. (*A Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints*, by John Corrill, 1839, pages 37-38)

Reed Peck gives us this information:

> By Express the Governor was informed of the depredations of the Mormons and flight of the inhabitants of Daviess and it seemes he issued an order to Maj Genl Clark to raise 400 mounted men and reinstate the citizens of Daviess in their homes Previous to the 25th of Oct a great part of the Mormons residing in Caldwell County had returned home with their dividend of plunder The Mormons continued their system of spoliation till their returning senses hinted to them the probable consequences when they commenced the erection of a small fort or Block house in 'Diahman in preparation for a siege
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> They had captured the cannon brought from Dewitt which they found buried in livingston county The people of Richmond in Ray county hearing that the Mormons were preparing to attack Richmon[d] removed their women and children across the river and kept a vigilant guard on the roads to Caldwell A company of 50 or 60 men was raised and received orders from Maj Genl Atchison to range the north line of the county to prevent a surprise of an attack was meditated by the Mormons
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> On the night of the 24th Oct this company under command of Capt Bogart was encamped on Crooked River 12 miles south of Far West and two miles south of the line of Caldwell cou____ Information was received in Far West about midnight that this company had taken some prisoners and burned some Mormon houses
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> David W. Patten was immediately placed at the head of 75 or 100 volunteers and proceeded within two miles of the militia or "mob" as the Mormons called them where they left their horses with a small guard and march silently on foot till hailed by the sentinel with, "Who comes there?"
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> Capt Patten answered, "friends" Sent[i]nel "Are you armed?" Patten. "We are" Sentinel. "Then lay down your arms"
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> Patten to his men "Fire" Some of the foremost men attempted to shoot but their pieces "snapped"
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> The Sentinel shot one of the "Friends" through the hip and ran into camp closely followed by the Mormons Day had just began to dawn when they rushed upon their enemies echoing their war cry "God and liberty" A few minutes decided the contest in favor of the Mormons The militia soon fled leaving their horses and baggage in camp One of their number was killed on the ground several wounded and one taken prisoner by the Mormons Gideon Carter brother of Jared (C) was killed in the battle and David W. Patten and one other of eight that were wounded of the Mormons died the following day Early in the morning intelligence of this battle was received in Far West and the presidency and Lyman Wight rode out to meet the victorious Mormons and marched at their head back to town
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> The prisoner taken by the Mormons was released on their march back with directions to follow a certain path which was pointed out to him but being suspicious of treachery he travelled in it but a short distance and left it for a safer way in the woods Certain movements convinced him that an ambush had been placed to cut off his return and he no sooner left the path than he discovered a man in the act of shooting — To save himself he "bent forward, ran crooked and dodged behind trees" but the cold hearted villain (I know him well) deliberately sent a ball through his hip and left him, thinking perhaps he had given him his death wound ("The Reed Peck Manuscript," pages 22-23 of typed copy)

John D. Lee gives the following account of the battle at Crooked River:

> The night White reached Far West, the battle of Crooked River was fought. Captain David Patton, alias Fear Not; one of the twelve apostles, was sent out by the prophet with fifty men to attack a body of Missourians, who were camping on the Crooked river. Captain Patton's men were nearly all, if not every one of them, **Danites**. The attack was made just before daylight in the morning. Captain Fear Not wore a white blanket overcoat, and led the attacking party. He was a brave, impulsive man. He rushed into the thickest of the fight, regardless of danger—really seeking it to show his men that God would shield him from all harm. But he counted, without just reason, upon being invincible, for a ball soon entered his body, passing through his hips, and cutting his bladder. The wound was fatal; but he kept on his feet, and led his men some time before yielding to the effects of the wound. The Gentiles said afterwards that Captain Patton told his men to charge in the name of Lazarus, "Charge, Danites, charge!" and that as soon as he uttered the command, which distinguished him, they gave the Danite Captain a commission with powder and ball, and sent him on a mission to preach to the spirits that were in prison. In this battle several men were killed and wounded on both sides. I do not remember all of the names of the Danites that were killed, but I do remember that a man by the name of Banion was killed, and one by the name of Jas. Holbrook was wounded. I knew a man by the name of Tarwater, on the Gentile side, that was cut up fearfully. He was taken prisoner. The Danites routed the Gentiles, who fled in every direction. The night being dark, Jas. Holbrook and another Danite met, and had a hand-to-hand fight, in which they cut each other fearfully with their swords before they discovered that they were friends. After the Gentiles retreated, the Mormons started for Far West, taking Tarwater along as a prisoner. After travelling several miles, they halted in a grove of timber, and released Tarwater, telling him he was free to go home. He started off, and when he was some forty yards from the Mormons, Parley P. Pratt, then one of the Twelve Apostles, stepped up to a tree, laid his gun up by the side of the tree, took deliberate aim, and shot Tarwater. He fell and lay still. The Mormons, believing he was dead, went on and left him lying where he fell. Tarwater came to, and reached home, where he was taken care of, and soon recovered from his wounds. He afterwards testified in court against the Mormons that he knew, and upon his evidence Parley P. Pratt was imprisoned in the Richmond jail, in 1839. . . .
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> I was at Far West when the Danites returned. They brought Captain Patton with them. He died that night, and his death spread a mantle of gloom over the entire community. It robbed many of their fond hope that they were invincible. If Fear Not could be killed, who could claim immunity from the missiles of death, hurled by Gentile weapons?
>
> I admit up to this time I firmly believed what the Prophet and his apostles had said on that subject. I had considered that I was bullet proof, that no Gentile ball could ever harm me, or any Saint, and I had believed that a Danite could not be killed by Gentile hands. I thought that one Danite could chase a thousand

> Gentiles, and two could put ten thousand to flight. Alas! my dream of security was over. One of our mighty men had fallen, and that by Gentile hands. My amazement at the fact was equal to my sorrow for the death of the great warrior apostle. I had considered that all the battles between Danites and Gentiles would end like the election fight at Gallatin, and that the only ones to be injured would be the Gentiles. We had been promised and taught by the Prophet and his priesthood that henceforth God would fight our battles, and I looked as a consequence for a bloodless victory on the side of the Lord, and that nothing but disobedience to the teachings of the priesthood could render a Mormon subject to injury from Gentile forces. (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, pages 73-75)

John Corrill makes this statement concerning the attack upon the militia:

> This battle produced great excitement among the people, and the Mormons found in a day or two that it was **militia instead of a mob** that they had assailed. Captain Bogard had collected a company and got permission to guard Buncum, and was there encamped for that purpose when they fell on him. The excitement increased rapidly, and in a day or two the whole country, seemingly, was in arms. At this I was greatly alarmed, for I expected the people would turn out en masse against Far West, without order or regulation, and massacre and destroy without mercy, and that nothing could stop them. I tried to contrive some plan to get away with my family, but I could not effect it. T. B. Marsh, O. Hyde, and some others, made their escape in the night, with their families, but were followed the next day by twenty horsemen from Far West without success. (*A Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints*, 1839, page 39)

Thomas B. Marsh was President of the Council of the Twelve Apostles in the Mormon Church. Orson Hyde was also an Apostle. Both of these Apostles made affidavits against the Mormon Church. These affidavits are found in the *History of the Church*, vol. 3, page 167. Unfortunately, however, some of the most important information in Marsh's affidavit is not included. Because of the importance of these affidavits we are including them in their entirety at this point:

> AFFIDAVIT OF THOMAS B. MARSH
>
> At the request of a committee of the citizens of Ray county, I make the following statement in relation to the recent movements, plans, and intentions of the Mormons in the Counties of Caldwell and Daviess:
>
> Shortly after the settlement of the difficulties at DeWitt, in Carroll county, a call was made by the Mormons at Far West, in Caldwell county, for volunteers to go to Daviess County to disperse the mob, as they said. On the day before this, Joseph Smith, the prophet, had preached a sermon in which he said that all the Mormons who refused to take up arms, if necessary, in the difficulties with the citizens, **should be shot or otherwise put to death**; and as I was there with my family, I thought it most prudent to go and did go with my wagon as the driver. We marched to Adam-ondi-Ahman and found no troops or mob in Davies county. Scouting parties frequently went out and brought in intelligence that they had seen from three to five hundred men. We got to Diahmon [*sic*] on Tuesday evening, and on the next day a company of about eighty Mormons, commanded by a man fictitiously named Captain Fearnaught, marched to Gallatin. They returned and said they had run off from Gallatin twenty or thirty men, and had taken Gallatin—had taken one prisoner and another had joined the company. I afterwards learned from the Mormons that they had burnt Gallatin and that it was done by the aforesaid company that marched there. The Mormons informed me that they had hauled away all the goods from the store in Gallatin and **deposited them at the Bishop's storehouse at Diahmon** [*sic*]. On the same day, Lyman Wight marched about eighty horsemen for Mill Port [*sic*]. He returned before night and called for Joseph Smith and Hiram [*sic*] Smith, to report to them (said Hiram [*sic*] being counsellor [*sic*] of said Joseph, the Prophet) and said Wight reported that he had been in sight of Mill Port [*sic*]—saw no one to fight—but that the people had gone and left their houses and property. **The Prophet**, on hearing the property was left, commenced a reply and said: "We had better see to it," when Wight stopped him by saying, "Never mind, we will have a private council," and Smith replied, "Very well." The private council I did not hear. The men were determined to go to their [i.e., the non-Mormon] camps. The same evening a number of footmen came up from the direction of Mill Port [*sic*] laden with property which I was informed consisted of beds, clocks, and other household furniture. The same night, I think about three wagons were despatched [*sic*] for about forty bee gums, and the next day I saw several gums, when they were splitting them up and taking the honey, but few were engaged, for fear, as they said, they would be called on as witnesses against them. When Wight returned from Mill Port [*sic*] and informed Smith that the people were gone and the property left, Smith asked him if they had left any negroes for them, and Wight replied, no; upon which someone laughed and said to Smith, "You have lost your negro then." During the same time, a company called the Fur Company were sent out to bring in fat hogs and cattle, calling the hogs, bears, and the cattle, buffaloes. They brought in at one time seven cattle and at another time four or five belonging to the people of Daviess. Hogs were brought in dead, but I know not how many; I saw only two. They have among them a company consisting of all that are considered true Mormons, called the Danites, who have taken an oath to support the heads of the church in all things that they say or do, whether right or wrong; many, however, of this band, are much dissatisfied with this oath as being against moral and religious principles. On Saturday last, I am informed by the Mormons that they had a meeting in Far West, at which they appointed a company of twelve, by the name of the Destruction Company, for the purpose of **burning and destroying**; and that if the people of Buncombe came to do mischief upon the people of Caldwell and committed depredations upon the Mormons, they were to burn Buncombe; and if the people of Clay and Ray made any movements against them, this destroying company were t**o burn Liberty and Richmond**. This burning was to be done

secretly, by going as incendiaries. At the same meeting, I was informed, they passed a decree that no Mormon disenter should leave Caldwell county alive; and that such as attempted to do it, should be shot down and sent to tell their tale in eternity. In a conversation between Dr. Avard and other Mormons, said Avard proposed to start a pestilence among the Gentiles, as he called them, by poisoning their corn, fruit, &c., and saying it was the work of the Lord; and said Avard advocated lying for the support of their religion, and said it was no harm to lie for the Lord. The plan of said Smith, the Prophet, is to take this State, and **he professes to his people to intend taking the United States and ultimately the whole world**. This is the belief of the Church, and my own opinion of the Prophet's plans and intentions. It is my opinion that neither said Joseph Smith, the Prophet, nor any one of the principal men, who is [*sic*] firm in the faith, could be indicted for any offence in the county of Caldwell. The prophet inculcates the notion, and it is believed by every true Mormon, that **Smith's prophecies are superior to the law of the land**. I have heard the prophet say that he should yet tread down his enemies and walk over their dead bodies; that if he was not let alone, he would be a second Mahomet to this generation, and that he would make it one gore of blood from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic Ocean; that like Mahomet, whose motto, entreating for peace, was "The Alcoran or the Sword," so should it eventually be with us, "**Joseph Smith or the Sword**." These last statements were made during the last summer. The number of armed men at Adam-ondi-Ahman was between three and four hundred.

THOMAS B. MARCH [*sic*]

Sworn to and subscribed before me the day herein written.

HENRY JACOBS, J. P. Ray County, Mo.

Richmond Mo., October 24, 1838.

AFFIDAVIT OF ORSON HYDE

The most of the statements in the foregoing disclosure of Thomas B. March [*sic*] I know to be true; the remainder I believe to be true. ORSON HYDE

Richmond, October 24, 1838.

Sworn to and subscribed before me on the day above written.

HENRY JACOBS, J. P.

(*Correspondence, Orders*, etc., Missouri, 1841, pages 57-59, as quoted in *A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri From 1836 to 1839*, pages 412-414)

Joseph Smith made this statement concerning these affidavits:

> Thomas B. Marsh, formerly president of the Twelve, having apostatized, repaired to Richmond and made affidavit before Henry Jacobs, justice of the peace, to all the vilest slanders, aspersions, lies and calumnies towards myself and the Church, that his wicked heart could invent. . . . Orson Hyde was also at Richmond and testified to most of Marsh's statements. (*History of the Church*, vol. 3, pages 166-167)

The Mormon writer Leland Gentry states:

> The importance of the testimony of these men, particularly in the effect that it had upon Governor Boggs' final decision, cannot be overrated. (*A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri From 1836 to 1839*, page 412)

EXTERMINATING ORDER

On October 24, 1838, Austin A. King wrote Governor Bogg's a letter in which he stated:

> Until lately, I thought the Mormons were disposed to act only on the defensive; but their recent conduct shows that they are the aggressors, . . . Thursday they commenced their ravages upon the citizens, driving them from their homes and taking their property. Between 80 and 100 men went to Gallatin pillaging houses and the store of Mr. Strollings [Stollings], and the post-office, and then burnt the houses. They carried off the spoils on horse back and wagons, and now have them, I understand, in a storehouse, near their camp. Houses have been robbed of their contents—beds, clothing, furniture, &c. And all deposited, and they call it, "a consecration to the Lord."—At this time there is not a citizen in Daviess except Mormons. Many have been driven without warning, others have been allowed a few hours to start. The stock of the citizens have been seized upon, killed and salted by hundreds; and from 50 to 100 wagons are now employed in hauling in the corn from the surrounding country. They look for a force against them, and consequently preparing for a siege, building block houses, &c. They have lately organized themselves into a band of what they call "**Danites**," who are sworn to **obey their leading men** in whatever they say or do, **right or wrong**—and further, to put to **instant death those who will betray them**. There is another band of twelve called the "Destructives," whose duty it is to watch the movements of men and of communities, and to avenge themselves for supposed wrongful movements against them, by privately burning houses, property, and even laying in ashes towns, &c. . . .
>
> The Mormons expect to settle the affair at the point of the sword, and I am well warranted in saying to you that the people in this quarter of the State look to you for that protection, which they believe you will afford, when you have learned the facts. I do not pretend to advise your course, nor make any suggestions other than what I have stated; that it is utterly useless for the civil authorities to pretend to interpose. The Country is in great commotion, and I can assure you that either with or without authority, something will shortly have to be done. (Letter by Austin. A. King, printed in the *Missouri Argus* (St. Louis), November 8, 1838, as quoted in *Among the Mormons*, edited by William Mulder & A. Russell Mortensen, New York, 1958, page 101)

General David R. Atchison also wrote a letter to the governor, in which he stated:

> Liberty, October 22, 1838.
>
> To His Excellency, the Commander-in-chief.
>
> Sir:—Almost every hour I receive information of outrage and violence—of burning and plundering in the county of Daviess. It seems that the Mormons have become desperate, and act like madmen; they have burned a store in Gallatin; they have burnt Millport; they have, it is said, plundered several houses; and have taken away the arms from divers citizens of that county; a cannon that was employed in the siege of DeWitt, in Carroll county, and taken for a like purpose to Daviess county, has fallen into the hands of the Mormons. It is also reported that the anti-Mormons have, when opportunity offered, disarmed the Mormons, and burnt several of their houses.
>
> The great difficulty in settling this matter, seems to be in not being able to identify the offenders. I am convinced that nothing short of driving the Mormons from Daviess county will satisfy the parties opposed to them; and this I have not the power to do, as I conceive, legally. There are no troops at this time in Daviess county, nor do I deem it expedient to send any there, for I am well convinced that it would but make matters worse; for, sir, I do not feel disposed to disgrace myself, or permit the troops under my command to disgrace the state and themselves by acting the part of a mob. If the Mormons are to be driven from their homes, let it be done without any color of law, and in open defiance thereof; let it be done by volunteers acting upon their own responsibilities. (Letter by General David R. Atchison, as quoted in *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, by B. H. Roberts, vol. 1, page 464)

The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts calls David R. Atchison "The friend of Joseph Smith," yet on October 28, 1838, he joined with Samuel D. Lucas in writing the following to Governor Boggs:

> HEADQUARTERS OF THE 3RD AND 4TH DIVISION, MISSOURI MILITIA, RICHMOND, October 28, 1838.
>
> To the Commander-in-Chief, Missouri Militia:
>
> Sir:—From late outrages committed by the Mormons, civil war is inevitable. They have set the laws of the country at defiance, and are in open rebellion. We have about two thousand men under arms to keep them in check. The presence of the commander-in-chief is deemed absolutely necessary, and we most respectfully urge that your excellency be at the seat of war as soon as possible.
>
> Your most obedient servants,
>
> DAVID R. ATCHISON, M.G. 3rd Div.
>
> SAMUEL D. LUCAS, M.G. 4th Div.
>
> (*History of the Church*, vol. 3, page 176)

On October 27, 1838, Governor Boggs issued his "Exterminating Order":

> HEADQUARTERS MILITIA, CITY OF JEFFERSON, October 27, 1838.
>
> SIR:—Since the order of the morning to you, directing you to cause four hundred mounted men to be raised within your division, I have received by Amos Rees, Esq., and Wiley C. Williams. Esq., one of my aids, information of the most appalling character, which changes the whole face of things, and places the Mormons in the attitude of open and avowed defiance of the laws, and of having made open war upon the people of this state. Your orders are, therefore, to hasten your operations and endeavor to reach Richmond, in Ray county, with all possible speed. **The Mormons must be treated as enemies and must be exterminated or driven from the state**, if necessary for the public good. Their outrages are beyond all description. If you can increase your force, you are authorized to do so, to any extent you may think necessary. I have just issued orders to Major-General Wallock, of Marion county, to raise five hundred men, and to march them to the northern part of Daviess and there to unite with General Doniphan of Clay, who has been ordered with five hundred men to proceed to the same point for the purpose of intercepting the retreat of the Mormons to the north. They have been directed to communicate with you by express; and you can also communicate with them if you find it necessary. Instead, therefore, of proceeding as at first directed, to reinstate the citizens of Daviess in their homes, you will proceed immediately to Richmond, and there operate against the Mormons. Brigadier-General Parks, of Ray, has been ordered to have four hundred men of his brigade in readiness to join you at Richmond. The whole force will be placed under your command. L. W. BOGGS,
>
> Governor and Commander-in Chief.
>
> To General Clark.
>
> (*History of the Church*, vol. 3, page 175)

Ebenezer Robinson gives us this information:

> In the afternoon of the 30th of October, 1838, a large body of armed men were seen approaching Far West, whom we supposed were mobbers coming to attack the city, as at that time we did not know of the Governor's order calling out the Militia, consequently felt it our duty to make as successful a resistance as possible.
>
> Our men were collected upon the public square, where President Joseph Smith, Jr., delivered an address, in which he endeavoured to inspire the hearts of his hearers with courage, and deeds of valor, in defense of our families, our homes, and our firesides, in which he made this declaration that if the mob persisted in coming upon us, "We will play h--l with their apple cart." (*The Return*, by Ebenezer Robinson, vol. 2, no. 1, January, 1890, typed copy)

John Taylor, the third president of the Mormon Church, made this statement:

> Some 25 years ago, in Far West, a mob—one of those semi-occasional occurrences—had come against us with evil intent, placing themselves in position to give us battle; and there were not more than about 200 of us in the place. We had one fellow who was taken with a fit of trembling in the knees, and he ordered our people to retreat. As soon as Joseph heard this sound, he exclaimed, "Retreat! where in the name of God shall we retreat to?" He then led us out to the prairie facing the mob and placed us in position; and the first thing we knew a flag of truce was seen coming towards us. The person bearing it said that some of their friends were among our people for whose safety they felt anxious. . . . Joseph Smith, our leader, then sent word back by this messenger, said he, "Tell your General to withdraw his troops or I will send them to hell." I thought that was a pretty bold stand to take, as we only numbered about 200 to their 3,500; but they thought we were more numerous than we really were, . . . (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 23, page 37)

John D. Lee, however, made this statement:

> I do not believe that Joseph Smith had the least idea that he, with his little handful of men, could stand off that army that had come up against him. I know that now, but at that time I was full of religious zeal and felt that the Mormon Hosts of Israel were invincible. (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, photo-reprint of 1880 edition, page 81)

Joseph Smith's bold attitude was undoubtedly outward show, for John Corrill related the following:

> . . . General Doniphan informed us that General Lucas had the chief command. Smith appeared to be much alarmed, and told me to beg like a dog for peace, and afterwards said he had rather go to States-prison for twenty years, or had rather die himself than have the people exterminated. (*A Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints*, by John Corrill, 1839, page 41)

Reed Peck confirms John Corrill's statement and gives other important information:

> On the day following John Corrill and myself were dispatched by the presidency to see Genl Doniphan with instructions to "beg like a dog for peace" but the army by a circuitous route marched to Far West while we were hunting their encampment and when we rode in at sun set we beheld them drawn up a half mile from the line of the town A great part of the Mormons were formed in the Edge of the town fronting the militia, but others of them were going about with blank faces inquiring what should be done As soon as I alighted from my horse which I had rode hard I ran down to the Mormon lines and told Joseph Smith if he had any message to sen[d] Genl Doniphan I would carry it He expressed a wish for a compromise and got down from his horse to let me ride I mounted but not until I had asked him if it was consecrated property as I did not think it safe to ride a borrowed horse where I might possibly meet the owner By the time I left the Mormons the militia had retired from line and were building campfires and when I rode up to the outposts I was informed that the Genl would receive no communication that night I observed to the person addressing me that I particularly wished to see Genl Doniphan and if he would take my name in he would confer a special favor which he did reluctantly but soon returned and conducted me to the Genl's tent After delivering the message intrusted by Joseph I informed the Genl that there were many individuals among the Mormons who were as warmly opposed to the wicked transactions in Daviess County and the oppresive influence by which the church is led as any man in his army could be and that those men were now compelled to stand in the Mormon rank where in the event of a battle their blood would flow in defence of measures to which they had ever been averse Genl Doniphan was apprised of this fact and swore that nothing should be done to endanger the persons or property of that class He also said that he was determined to have a complete reorganization of society in the county before he returned and by the suffrages of the people it should be determined whether Caldwell would still be governed by priestcraft, and if the party in favor of good order prove to weak he would protect them from the county if they desired it I found that the innocent had no cause to fear unless the Mormons in their blind enthusiasm should provoke the army to an attack which would have undoubtedly ended in an indiscriminate slaughter as there were then 10,000 men under arms against them and 3000 in the confines of Caldwell County w[h]ich without a reinforcement would have been sufficient to subdue 700 Mormons On leaving Genl Doniphan directed that some of the principal men of Far West should meet him the next morning at a certain point between the army and Mormons to see what could be done — John Corrill W. W. Phelps, John Cleminson and myself were named by Genl Doniphan and Seymour Brunson and Geo M. Hinkel were added to the number by Joseph Smith The next morning we were informed that no steps could be taken towards a comprom[i]se until the arrival of the order from the Governor which was hourly expected (We faithfully reported to the presidency all that passed between us and Genl Doniphan J. Smith said that a compromise must be made on some terms honorable or dishonorable) The Order did not arrive till late in the afternoon An hour or so before sun set Maj Genl Lucas of Jackson County, commander in chief of all the forces then in Caldwell, with 4 or 5 Brig Genls rode up and delivered us a copy of the order and spoke in favor of a treaty not deeming it expedient to act with the rigor prescribed by his excellency the Governor The first thing required by Genl Lucas was that Joseph Smith S. Rigdon Geo W. Robinson P. P. Pratt and Lyman White, the latter being then in Far West though a resident of Daviess should give themselves up as hostages until the following morning when if a treaty could not be made they should be delivered again to the Mormons and not a hair of their heads injured for the performance of which the officers pledged their honor and the honor of the state — If these men would not come forward the army (3500) strong was to march into Far West and take them

One hour only being given for these men to decide and surrender themselves we expeditiously got them together and firstly read them the order of the Governor . . .

After reading the order and reporting the propositions of the officers John Corrill observed that very likely the first term of treaty would be for the Mormons to leave the state Joseph answer[ed] that he did not care, he would be glad to get out of the damnable state Joseph decided that they must give themselves up, that it would not do to resist the Militia of the state acting under the order of the Governor. He also said that the church must comply with whatever the officers required

Exccepting these five men the Mormons were entirely ignorant of what was passing hourly expecting an attack from the Mob Militia as they called them and when the stated time had expired for these men to surrender themselves, they not having arrived on the ground the army was put in motion the alarm was raised among the Mormons who rushed to their breastworks and bound up their heads in handkerchiefs in preparation for a coming fight the drums beat, horns blew & men shouted and it seemed that nothing could prevent the effusion of blood should the Militia come within reach of the Mormon Rifles To prevent serious confusion John Corrill and myself hastened forward and informed the officers of the advancing army that the men were close at hand. J Smith first arrived and plead with Genl Lucas for permission to remain over night with his family promising to comply with any terms he should name even if it were for the whole church to leave the state forthwith Genl Lucas told them that they must go to camp with him and bade them forward As they closed their heavy columns around these men the army made the welkin ring with the most terriffic shouts that ever slated the ears of mortals The savage war cry of the Indians could not compare with their yells of triumph as they marched back to camp with five individuals under their guardianship and they only in the character of hostages On the same night about 80 or 100 of the Mormons who were engaged in the Crooked River Battle being suspicious on learning that they would in case of a surrender be called to answer as criminals for their conduct, took horses and fled across a part of the Indian County into the state of Illinois Sampson Avard the instrument in the hands of the presidency for carrying into effect every measure of oppression in the church, the main actor in the organization of the Danites and while there was peace their thunder bolt of War, the scourge of every man that would not passively yield to but dared to oppose the principles of the new church government also fled leaving the people to extricate themselves from the difficulties into which they had plunged by following pernicious counsel and his examples of obediance to the will of the presidency

On Thursday morning the terms of treaty were handed to Coln Hinkel which were in substance as follows The Mormons should deliver up their leaders to be tried and punished

Those who had taken up arms should make an appropriation of their property to pay debts and damages

The arms should be surrendered and receipted for

And lastly the Mormons should remove from the State

Whether Coln Hinkel read these propositions to the Mormons I am not prepared to say, but having heard them converse upon the subject previous to the surrender I can but be confident that they understood the terms — About nine in the morning the Mormons marched out and formed a hollow square with the militia drawn up on three sides and grounded their arms consisting of about 600 stand They next marched back into Far West and were placed under a close guard for several hours The militia marched through the village some of them shouting as they passed the disarmed Mormons "Charge Danites! Charge!" The men who surrendered themselves as hostages were detained as state prisoners under the first article of the treaty & taken under guard of the Jackson troops to Independence.

The remainder of the Mormo[n]s were confined to Far West by a strong guard around the town until the arrival of Maj Genl Clark with his forces a few days after the surrender . . .

Genl Clark caused Smith and his fellow prisoners to be brought from Jackson County to Richmond for examination also Before the Mormons were set at liberty in Far West they were compelled to sign a deed of trust which would if it had been lawful taken from them all their property to pay debts and damages The Mormons in 'Diahman were instructed by an express from their brethren in Far West to surrender which they did when the state troops appeared before the place

The citizens of Daviess found after the surrender many of their horses and much of their household furniture in 'Diahman and Far West. Bureaus clocks &c were found secreted in the brush near Far West having been placed there by persons not willing to have them found in their houses By permission from Genl Clark the agents for the Whitmers, Cowdery & Johnson searched and recovered most of the property taken from them by Geo W Robinson and others the June before Some horses, wagons an[d] much other property were stolen from the Mormons by some of the militia who were villains enough to plunder. One Mormon was killed though not instantly by a blow received on the head after being taken prisoner by a scouting party near Far West and many of the Mormons were abused in various ways before they left the state

But the most tragical story of the war is yet untold

Soon after the last expedition to Davies, the Mormons in a small settlement on the Eastern line of Caldwell County collected at Hawns mills and formed something like an alliance with a small neighboring settlement of Missourians in which each party promised to inform the other when any danger threatened them as the Mormons there would know the intentions of their brethren and the other party would very likely be apprised of the movements of the mob

Under this arrangement the Mormons at Hawns Mills numbering 30 or 40 hoped to be secure but while the troops were encamped before Far West they were surprised by a body of men 200 strong from livingston and Daviess Counties calling themselves militia but were acting without orders On discovering the hostile approach of this party one of the Mormons swung his hand and cried for peace but his cry was answered by a discharge of rifles which deprived him only of a finger The Mormons immediately took shelter in a Black Smith Shop and tried to defend themselves Their blood thirsty assailants would grant no quarter, they rushed up and poured in a deadly fire through the crevices window and door of the log building and a total extermination would have been the fate of the

> Mormons had they not in desparation broke from the shop and fled through a shower of bullets After the firing had ceased some of the party enter[e]d the shop and despatched the wounded and searched the dead A boy between 10 and 15 years of age who had sheltered himself under the bellows and remained unhurt through the action came forward begging them to spare his life, but deaf to pleading innocence they deliberately and literally blew out his brains the rifle being discharged close to his head An old gentleman by the name of McBride finding himself pursu[e]d in his flight and on the point of being overtaken turned and gave up his gun and surrendered himself a prisoner, and then without the power to resist was cut to pieces with a part of a scythe placed in a handle for a corn cutter In this horrid affray 17 Mormons were killed, several were wounded and among them were one or two women Seven of the mob were wounded but none mortally
>
> Of this massacre no notice has been taken by the authorities though many of the principal actors are known to the public
>
> . . . .
>
> As soon as the weather would admit after the surrender the Mormons commenced removing from the state generously aiding each other and contributing profusely for the assistance of the poor.
>
> Being compelled as a people to leave their county and their homes within a stated time great quantities of property were thrown into market simultaneously opening a field for speculators who now reap the advantages of labor done by the banished Mormons ("The Reed Peck Manuscript," 1839, pages 24-31 of typed copy)

Ebenezer Robinson made this statement concerning the "Mormon War":

> Thus, within the short space of four months from the time the church made that threatening boast that if a mob should come upon us again, "we would carry the war to their own houses, and one party or the other should be utterly destroyed," we found ourselves prisoners of war, our property confiscated, our leaders in close confinement, and the entire church required to leave the state or be exterminated. (*The Return*, vol. 2, no. 2, February, 1890, typed copy)

BLAME FOR THE WAR

Although we must not try to justify the actions of the non-Mormons in Missouri (especially concerning the massacre at Haun's Mill), we cannot accept the explanation given by many Mormon historians. They claim that the non-Mormons were completely to blame and that the Mormons were persecuted because of their religion. We must remember that Brigham Young once stated: "Elder Rigdon **was the prime cause of our troubles in Missouri, by his Fourth of July oration**" (*Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, page 667).

T. Edgar Lyon, who is himself a Mormon writer, makes this statement concerning a book written by Milton V. Backman:

> When Dr. Backman deals with the Missouri and Illinois periods of L.D.S. history he loses much of the objectivity which characterized his analyses in the earlier and later chapters. Little is explained about the part the Saints played in producing the trouble they encountered, and the unwise actions of Sidney Rigdon, which contributed greatly to the expulsion from Missouri are ignored. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, vol. 1, no. 1, Spring 1966, page 143)

It should be remembered that Sidney Rigdon said that if a war started it would be a war of "extermination." When Governor Boggs issued his "infamous" Exterminating Order, he stated that the Mormons "must be exterminated or driven from the state, if necessary for the public good." The Mormon writer Harold Schindler stated: "It was more than coincidence that Boggs chose that particular word in his instructions to General Clark" (*Orrin Porter Rockwell; Man of God, Son of Thunder*, page 58).

While we feel that Governor Boggs was wrong in driving the Mormons out of Missouri (the innocent with the guilty), the Mormons should remember that they drove the dissenters out of Caldwell County. In the letter to the dissenters they stated:

> . . . out of the county you shall go, and no power shall save you. And you shall have three days after you receive this communication to you, including twenty-four hours in each day, for you to depart with your families peaceably; which you may do undisturbed by any person; but in that time, if you do not depart, we will use the means in our power to cause you to depart; for go you shall. . . . there is but one decree for you, which is depart, depart, or a more **fatal calamity** shall befal you. (Letter to the dissenters, as quoted in *Senate Document 189*, February 15, 1841, pages 188-189)

Thus we see that the Mormons drove out the dissenters without due process of law. Therefore, they had no right to complain when the Missourians did the same thing to them. Sidney Rigdon, according to Reed Peck, stated that when a "body of people have individuals among them with whom they do not wish to associate and a public expression is taken against their remaining among them and such individuals do not remove it is the principle of republicanism itself that gives that community a right to expel them forcibly and no law will prevent it."

With the Mormon leaders talking like this, is it any wonder that they were driven from Missouri? The tragedy of the whole matter, however, was that the innocent had to suffer with the guilty.

The Mormon writer Klaus J. Hansen feels that one of the main reasons the Mormons were persecuted was because of their idea of "a temporal kingdom of God."

> Yet the burden of responsibility must not be placed, in the fashion of the defenders of Mormonism, entirely on the Gentiles. What the apologists have done is to project twentieth-century Mormon values and practices

into the nineteenth century. They, understandably, can see no reason why anybody would want to persecute them. Neither can they concede this possibility to their ancestors. Consequently, in the eyes of the apologists, the cessation of conflict is primarily evidence of a matured American society willing to accept the religious peculiarities of Mormonism. What the apologists do not want to admit is that Mormonism itself had to undergo fundamental changes in order to make possible its acceptance by society at large.

. . . .

As long as the Saints, however, exerted all their efforts toward the realization of a temporal kingdom of God on earth, conflict with their environment was inevitable. One enemy of the Saints asked the pointed question, if the Mormons were entirely the victims of the ill will of their neighbors, "why have they come into violent conflict with the people in all their seven places of settlement? For they have tried every different kind of people, from New York, through Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri, to Salt Lake. Are all the people of all those places incurably vicious, mobbers and trespassers on religious right?" (*Quest for Empire*, by Klaus J. Hansen, 1967, pages 149-150)

William Harris made this interesting observation:

> Of this Missouri war, as it has been called, a great deal has been said, and public opinion, at the time, generally censured the conduct of Missouri. That the Missourians carried the matter too far, and treated the Mormons with an unnecessary degree of cruelty, in many instances, there can be no doubt; but that there was great cause of aggravation, there can be just as little. The truth is, that while the Mormon body, as a church, interfere with the pecuniary and political acts of its members—assuming the sole direction of both, it will be impossible for them to live in peace in any community. The necessary consequence of their regarding the words of Smith as the words of the Lord, is, that he can unite them whenever it may be necessary to effect his purposes. This, probably, would produce no jealousy, if his acts were confined to ecclesiastical government; but when they extend to controlling the political and pecuniary interests of his followers, it must inevitably produce distrust and enmity. Such a community, thus united, held the rights of the neighboring citizens in their own hands; and in every contest they must come off victors. They have a capacity for secrecy, which enables them to commit any act of depredation, without the fear of detection; and when a crime has been committed by one of them, they are so united to each others' interests, as to render it almost impossible, through a legal formula, to obtain a conviction. Is it any wonder, then, that a body thus controlled—their interests confined within themselves, and inimical in its nature, to that of the other citizens, should excite jealousy? And when we consider the materials of which the church is made, the amount of ignorance, bigotry, and arrogance, that is displayed by its members, is it at all surprising that an explosion should take place between them and those by whom they are surrounded? Now, even admitting that the Mormons were honest, yet taking all things into consideration, the Missourians acted in the commencement of the difficulties, as would almost any community in the country. I do not justify their mobs; on the contrary I say that a mob in no case is justifiable; but I do say, that as society is now constituted, mobs will arise under certain circumstances in any community. Let, then, those who have regarded the Missourians as a set of unprincipled desperadoes, because of their conduct towards the Mormons, bethink them, that the same scenes, under the same circumstances, would, in all probability, have been enacted in their own neighborhoods. It was not the mere religion of the Mormons, that exasperated the Missourians; it was their arrogance—their united purpose to protect each other, and to infringe on the rights of other citizens—their thefts, and their concealments of each others' crimes,—these were all, under the circumstances, injuries without legal remedies, and, although this does not justify a mob, yet there are few communities in this country, that would not, if placed in the same situation, have been exasperated to violence. (*Mormonism Portrayed*, by William Harris, Warsaw, Illinois, 1841, pages 34-35)

MORMON CRIMES

The following appeared in the *Salt Lake Tribune* on October 6th, 1875:

> I also met a gentleman named Brown, who resided in Gallatin, when the Mormons sacked that place and burned the principal houses. This was after they had been harassed considerably by their enemies, and he was inclined to sympathize with them at first, but was rather rudely converted by having his father's house set on fire by the sparks from the store-house. About the same time Millport, (a little town in Davis county) was plundered and partially burned by a band of Mormons; . . .

The Mormon writer Leland Gentry makes this observation:

> Latter-day Saint historians have generally been **unwilling** to concede that the Mormons of 1838 did the burning or plundering which the non-Mormons charged against them. (*A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri From 1836 to 1839*, page 383)

According to the *History of the Church*, Joseph Smith stated that the mob burned their own houses:

> The mob seeing that they could not succeed by force, now resorted to strategem; and after removing their property out of their houses, which were nothing but log cabins, they fired them, and then reported to the authorities of the state that the "Mormons" were burning and destroying all before them. (*History of the Church*, vol. 3, pages 163-164)

Hyrum Smith, Joseph's brother, made an affidavit in which he stated:

> After being cut short in their intended designs, the mob started up a new plan. They went to work and moved their families out of the county and set fire to their houses; and **not being able to incense the "Mormons" to commit crimes**, they had recourse to this stratagem to set their houses on fire, and send runners into all the counties adjacent to declare to the people that the "Mormons" had burnt up their houses and destroyed their fields; and if the people would not believe them, they would tell them to go and see if what they had said was not true.
>
> Many people came to see. They saw the houses burning; and, being filled with prejudice, they could not be made to believe but that the "Mormons" set them on fire; which deed was most diabolical and of the blackest kind; for indeed the "Mormons" did **not** set them on fire, nor meddle with their houses or their fields. (*History of the Church*, vol. 3, pages 408-409)

The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts stated:

> It was a cunning piece of diabolism which prompted the mob of Daviess county to set fire to their own log cabins, destroy some of their own property and then charge the crime to the saints. (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 1, page 463, footnote 29)

Brigham Young, the second President of the Mormon Church, made this statement:

> I am personally and most intimately acquainted with the history of Joseph Smith and this people, for twenty-two years. There are a great many people that are not; and they have thought we have been persecuted from state to state, and from place to place, because of our wickedness and lawless acts among the people. . . . but I can say to those who do not understand and know our history, that we have been persecuted because we believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and do just as he has told us, and not because of the evil acts of Joseph Smith.
>
> . . . .
>
> To my certain knowledge, men and women left the counties of Davies and Caldwell, in the upper part of the state of Missouri, set fire to their own buildings, drove off their cattle killed and slayed, (I know, and could name the people), and then swore the "Mormons" had done it. Now this circumstance came under my certain knowledge. Says I, can it be possible that men can become so corrupt, and so sunken in wickedness? I say this for the information of those who do not understand and know this people from the beginning. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 1, pages 40-41)

The Mormon writer Pearson H. Corbett made this statement:

> . . . the governor dispatched an order to General John B. Clark, telling him to mobilize the state militia for immediate action against the Mormons. The communique contained further misinformation: "The Mormons have burned and pillaged many homes, driven off stock, and are destroying crops. The towns of Gallatin and Millport are in ashes." (*Hyrum Smith—Patriarch*, Salt Lake City, 1963, page 184)

The statements quoted above seem to show that there has been a tendency by Mormon writers to blame everything on to the Missourians. After examining the evidence, however, the Mormon writer Leland Gentry stated:

> The evidence tends to support the view that **both sides** engaged in incendiary acts.
>
> The charge of theft raises another interesting point. As formerly noted, the Danites were taught to take from the Gentiles and consecrate to the Church. Nearly every person who testified at the trial against the Mormon leaders made mention of this fact. John Clemenson stated that "it was frequently observed among the troops [at Diahman] that the time had come when the riches of the Gentiles should be consecrated to the Saints." Jeremiah Myers testified that "the consecrated property . . . was dealt out to those in need" by Bishop Vinson Knight. (*A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri From 1836 to 1839*, pages 385 & 387)

On pages 426-427 of the same book. Leland Gentry states:

> It must be acknowledged that the fears which the non-Mormons entertained against the Saints were real. The **charges of burning and stealing** had partial foundation in **fact**, and these actions were interpreted as acts of war. To the Saints, however, these deeds were mere acts of **retaliation**, necessities laid upon them as a result of similar doings by the mobs. Moreover, **that which was taken was considered to be "consecrated property" belonging to the Church**. It was dealt out carefully to those in dire need.
>
> The role of the Danites in the Mormon War is not clear. There is little doubt that some participated in the Battle of Crooked River, and several are known to have done so in the burnings and plunderings in Daviess County. The meeting in Far West over which Sidney Rigdon allegedly presided has all the earmarks of being Danite-inspired. The formation of a "Destruction Company," thoroughly Danite in intent, was most unfortunate for the Saints in view of future developments. It laid them open to further charges of aggression.

On pages 328-329 of his book, Leland Gentry also states:

> By the time that Doniphan ordered the Saints to form in their own defense, the Danite movement had entered its third phase, namely, **pillaging, spoiling, and burning the property of all who opposed the Saints**.

On page 729, Leland Gentry stated:

> To help insure the departure of the dissidents, a secret organization was formed among the Saints known as the Danite Band. This Order went through three principal stages of development. First, it was organized to **drive out the Dissenters**. Having accomplished this object, the Society's members pledged themselves to protect the lives and property of their brethren against all comers. At the peak of the Mormon War, the movement assumed its third and final object, namely **plundering and burning the property of non-Mormon enemies**. It is likely that this Organization was responsible for many of the excesses later charged against the Saints in general.

On March 1, 1845, Isaac Scott wrote a letter in which he stated:

> The Church cut me off in Missouri for no crime only opposing Daniteism, stealing, swearing, lies etc. I have seen them there steal thousands of dollars worth of property and heard them afterwards swear in court they did not do it. They have tried to get me to join them since, but I could not do it under such circumstances. (Letter quoted in *Among the Mormons*, edited by W. Mulder & A. R. Mortensen, page 155)

John D. Lee gives this interesting information concerning the plundering and burning that went on:

> The burning of houses, farms, and stacks of grain was generally indulged in by each party. Lawlessness prevailed, and pillage was the rule.
>
> The Prophet, Joseph Smith, said it was a civil war; that by the rules of war each party was justified in spoiling his enemy. This opened the door to the evil disposed, and men of former quiet became perfect demons in their efforts to spoil and waste away the enemies of the Church. I then found that men are creatures of circumstances, and that the occasion calls forth the men needed for each enterprise. I also soon saw that it was the natural inclination of men to steal, and convert to their own use that which others possessed. What perplexed me most was to see that religion had not the power to subdue that passion in man, but that at the first moment when the restrictions of the Church were withdrawn, the most devout men in our community acted like they had served a lifetime in evil, and were natural-born thieves.
>
> . . . I joined in the general patrol duty, and took part in daily raids made under either Major Brunson or Capt. Alexander McRay, now Bishop of a Ward in Salt Lake City. I saw much of what was being done by both parties.
>
> I also made several raids under Captain Jonathan Dunham, alias Black Hawk. . . .
>
> While I was engaged with the Mormon troops in ranging over the country, the men that I was with took a large amount of loose property, but did not while I was with them burn any houses or murder any men. Yet we took what property we could find, especially provisions, fat cattle and arms and ammunition. But still **many houses were burned and much damage was done by the Mormons**, . . . Frequent attacks were made upon the Mormon settlements. The Mormons made an attack on Gallatin one night, and carried off much plunder. I was not there with them, but I talked often with them and learned all the facts about it. The town was burnt down, and everything of value, including the goods in two stores, was carried off by the Mormons. I often escaped being present with the troops on their thieving expeditions, by loaning my horses and arms to others who liked that kind of work better than I did. . . . A company went from Adam-on-Diamond and burned the house and buildings belonging to my friend McBrier. Every article of moveable property was taken by the troops; he was utterly ruined. This man had been a friend to me and many others of the brethren; he was an honorable man, but his good character and former acts of kindness had no effect on those who were working, as they pretended, to build up the Kingdom of God. The Mormons brought in every article that could be used, and much that was of no use or value was hauled to Adam-on-Diamond. Men stole simply for the love of stealing. Such inexcusable acts of lawlessness had the effect to arouse every Gentile in the three Counties of Caldwell, Carroll and Daviess, as well as to bring swarms of armed Gentiles from other localities. (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, photo-reprint of 1880 edition, pages 70-72)

After the Mormons had surrendered, General Wilson wrote a letter in which he stated:

> It would astonish you to see the **immense piles of stolen property** which has been brought in, and deposited by the Mormons, consisting of almost everything to be found at a farm house, and much remaining yet concealed. Large quantities have been found in and near town. I have been making all possible exertions to collect and preserve this property for the owners, but I find it hard to do, as these dirty thieves are more skillful in pilfering, than any I have yet seen. . . .
>
> I write in a miserable shanty, called "The Lord's Storehouse," late at night, after having been well soaked in rain during the day, and much fatigued. (*Correspondence, Orders, etc,, Missouri*, 1841, as quoted in *A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri From 1836 to 1839*, page 499)

John D. Lee made this statement concerning the stolen property:

> . . . my neighbors, who had committed crimes and larcenies, were then receiving fearful punishment for all they had done. The punishment, however, was in a great part owing to the fault of the people. When the Gentiles found any of their property that had been stolen, they became very abusive.
>
> Every house in Adam-on-Diamond was searched by the troops for stolen property. They succeeded in finding very much of the Gentile property that had been captured by the Saints in the various raids they made through the country. Bedding of every kind and in large

> quantities was found and reclaimed by the owners. Even spinning wheels, soap barrels and other articles were recovered. Each house where stolen property was found was certain to receive a Missouri blessing from the troops. The men who had been most active in gathering plunder had fled to Illinois, to escape the vengeance of the people, leaving their families to suffer for the sins of the bleeding Saints. (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, photomechanical reprint of 1880 edition, page 89)

The Mormon writer Harold Schindler states that the Mormons took "wagonloads of plunder":

> In retaliation Danites struck at Gallatin and two other towns, Millport and Grindstone Fork. The three onslaughts occurred simultaneously and had a crushing impact on the Missourians who were unaccustomed to Mormon resistance. When Captains Lyman Wight, David W. Patten, and Seymour Brunson rode into Far West at the head of their companies, the sight of wagonloads of plunder was offensive to a number of less aggressively inclined Saints. (*Orrin Porter Rockwell; Man of God, Son of Thunder*, University of Utah Press, 1966, page 50)

The Mormon writer Leland Gentry gives this interesting information:

> On the way back to Diahman, John L. Butler, also a member of Brunson's command, discovered some cows belonging to the non-Mormons feeding in a nearby field. By using a gourd shell filled with salt, Butler induced the animals, about forty in number, to follow him to Adam-ondi-Ahman. Johnson refers to these cattle as a "godsend indeed for our famishing people." The animals were laughingly referred to as "buffalo" in the Mormon camp. (*A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri From 1836 to 1839*, page 382)

Even John Whitmer, one of the witnesses to the Book of Mormon, told of the criminal acts of the Mormons:

> After they had driven us and our families, they commenced a difficulty in Daviess County, adjoining this county, in which they began to rob and burn houses, etc. etc., took honey which they, (the Mormons) called sweet oil, and hogs which they called bear, and cattle which they called buffalo. Thus they would justify themselves by saying, "We are the people of God, and all things are God's; therefore, they are ours." The old inhabitants were not slack in paying them in their own coin. Thus war and bloodshed commenced and the result was the Church was driven from this land, the pure in heart and innocent, as well as the more wicked, save a few dissenters who were left here to fulfill some of the former commandments. (*John Whitmer's History*, page 22)

Sidney Rigdon admitted that the Mormons butchered cattle and hogs "which came into the place," but he was unwilling to admit that his people had stolen them:

> At this critical moment, with death staring us in the face, in its worst form, cut off from all communication with the surrounding country, and all our provisions exhausted, we were sustained as the children of Israel in the desert, only by different animals, — they by quails, and we by cattle and hogs, which came walking into the camp; for such it truly was, as the people were living in tents and wagons, not being privileged with building houses.
>
> What was to be done in this extremity? Why, recourse was had to the only means of subsistence left, and that was to butcher the cattle and hogs which came into the place. **Without asking who was the owner**, or without knowing; and what to me is remarkable is, that a sufficient number of animals came into the camp to sustain life during the time in which the citizens were besieged by the mob. This, indeed, was but coarse living: but such as it was, it sustained life.
>
> From this circumstance the cry went out that the citizens of De Witt were **thieves** and plunderers and were **stealing cattle and hogs**. (Testimony of Sidney Rigdon, quoted in the *History of the Church*, vol. 3, page 452)

Ebenezer Robinson, however, admitted that the Mormons had been guilty of stealing and burning houses:

> After the Governor sent word to the brethren by their messenger, as stated in our last, that "if they had got into a difficulty with the citizens they must fight it out," they felt justified in pursuing the course they did in plundering the store in Gallatin, and burning the houses in Davies county; which action, together with the attack on Bogart's camp, completely aroused the whole upper country. (*The Return*, by Ebenezer Robinson, vol. 2, no. 1, January, 1894 typed copy)

In a "court of inquiry" which followed the trouble in Missouri, Burr Riggs testified:

> While in Diahmon I saw a great deal of plunder brought in, consisting of beds and bed clothes; I also saw one clock, and I saw 36 head of cattle drove in, and put into a pen. All the above property was called consecrated property; and I heard John L. Butler, one of the Mormons who was engaged in assisting to drive the cattle in, say that they had taken the cattle from the citizens of the Grindstone Fork; and said he had made a valuable expedition. I saw Ebenezer Robinson there, who had a gun-barrel in his hand. I asked him where he got it, and he told me that the evening before he had set a barn on fire, and that he heard the gun go off while the house was burning, and he went back and got the barrel out of the ruins of the barn. (*Senate Document 189*, Missouri, February 15, 1841, page 29)

It is interesting to note that Ebenezer Robinson later admitted that he was in a party which set fire to a house and barn, but he denied that he had personally started the fire:

> As will be seen, the writer's name does not appear in the list of those discharged. The reason undoubtedly is because our name had been mentioned by W. W. Phelps, one of the witnesses for the state as having seen us with a burnt gun barrel. The circumstance was this, during the burning in Davies county, the writer accompanied a party of our men who visited a farm house belonging to a Missourian, which was deserted by its owner. Some of the party set fire to the house and barn and the party left the place. After getting some half a mile away, we heard the report of a gun in the burning barn.
>
> The next day a few of us rode out to the place, and in the ashes of the barn found a gun barrel, which the writer took back to camp and related the circumstance of finding it in the ashes, to those in camp, and this Mr. Phelps was present. Thus this, to us, worthless gun barrel became undoubtedly the principal cause of our being detained longer a prisoner.
>
> The above was the only time we were present at any house burning during all the troubles. (*The Return*, by Ebenezer Robinson, vol. 2, no. 3, March, 1890, typed copy)

Juanita Brooks gives us this interesting information:

> The term "Fur Company" had been coined during the 1838-39 troubles in Missouri. It referred to two or three small bands of mounted horsemen who went disguised on raiding expeditions from which they secured horses, cattle, or at times goods. They were especially avid in their search for firearms. Quite a number of writers, both Mormon and non-Mormon mention the fur companies by name. (*On the Mormon Frontier—The Diary of Hosea Stout*, edited by Juanita Brooks, vol. 1, page 64, footnote)

Under the date of September 16, 1845, Hosea Stout recorded the following in his journal:

> I . . . ordered Capt J. D. Hunter to guard the Nauvoo House with a part of his **Fur Company** . . . (*On the Mormon Frontier*, vol. 1, page 64)

Although the testimony of non-Mormons and those who later apostatized from the church shows that the Mormons were guilty of many crimes in Missouri, some of the statements made by faithful members of the church are absolutely devastating. Benjamin F. Johnson, for instance, made this statement:

> On my arrival I was at once introduced into active duties, on guard at night, and in scouting by day or raiding upon the enemy, as the case might require. I was now nineteen years of age. . . . we were being hemmed in on all sides by our enemies and were without food. . . . our only possible chance was to go out in foraging companies and bring in whatever we could find, without regard to ownership; and in this way corn, beef, cattle, hogs, bee stands, chickens, etc., with anything and everything left in the country that would sustain a thousand people, we took wherever it was found. Thus we did our best to obtain food, dividing it as was needed. (*My Life's Review*, by Benjamin F. Johnson, Independence, Mo., 1947, pages 36-37)

On pages 38 and 39 of the same book, Benjamin Johnson relates the following:

> . . . I started upon a two-year-old colt which by some circumstance I had got astride of, and fell into rank with a company of near twenty mounted men, with Cornelius P. Lot as our Captain. I soon learned our destination was to Taylor's on Grand River, about nine miles above, where it was said arms and ammunition were held for the use of the mob. . . . There were two men with a number of women and children, and all affirmed that there was nothing of the kind there. After a thorough search of houses, barns, etc., our captain ordered a search in the cornfields to hunt the cornshocks, which soon resulted in the discovery of arms and ammunition and of their falsehoods. The females hastily took from the houses what they could carry, and here I might say there was almost a trial of my faith in my pity for our enemies, even those who were plotting our destruction. Among the women was one, young married and apparently near her confinement, and another with small children and not a wagon, and many miles away from any of their friends, and snow had begun already (in November) to fall. My sympathies were drawn toward the women and children, but I would in no degree let them deter me from duty. So while others were pillaging for something to carry away, I was doing my best to protect, as far as possible, the lives and comfort of the families who were dependent on getting away upon horseback. When the horses were brought up for their use, there was one animal with a side saddle, on which the young woman was to get away; but it was taken away by one Sloan, who had kept the boarding house where I stayed, a man of education and apparently a gentleman. It was too much for me, so I took the animal away from him by force, and put her upon it, and then got from another a roll of homemade cloth and fastened it on behind her. While others were doing the burning and plunder, my mission was of mercy so far as duty would permit. But of course I made enemies at home, and became more known by those who were our avowed enemies. Before noon we had set all on fire and left upon a circuitous route towards home.

Benjamin Johnson relates that he was later recognized as being one of the men who burned the houses:

> General Wilson soon arrived with his 700 mob militia and every man in Diahman was marshaled into rank and marched with all arms into Wilson's camp. . . . We were then, under guard, marched out upon the street to be insulted, abused and taunted by our enemies. As I was marching with others, one of the Taylors, whose place I had seen burned, came up to me in company with Col. Sashed Woods, of Dewitt fame, and said while pointing to me, "This is one of the men who burnt my father's place." Colonel Wood looked at me and asked if it was so. I answered, "Yes sir." . . . Here I was at once

> put under strong guard, a prisoner in General Wilson's camp. (*My Life's Review*, pages 43-44)

Oliver Boardman Huntington, another faithful member of the Mormon Church, recorded the following in his journal:

> Open hostilities had previously commenced on both sides, by the mobs burning one or two houses, and committing several outbreaks upon the brethren in the country around. . . . it was my natural turn to glory in excitement, . . . every day, almost, brought fresh news of some new outrage and outbreak, on one side; and the next would be a signal revenge or victory on the other; yet my desires were not satisfied, for I wished and desired to be in the midst of the scene; and often in vain spent tears, implored my father to let me go with the scouting parties.
>
> I was always an obedient boy, and wanted to do everything by His consent, and it was seldom that I done anything of consequence without. At the time that Galeton was to be burned, I pleaded with father to let me go; but to no effect. On the appointed day I went to the top of the hill; a little above the well known pile of burnt stones, half covered with earth, which the prophet said was the remains of an ancient altar, even an altar that Adam built, and stood nearly on the spot where He also said, once stood Adams Tower; in sight of the spot in the valley where Adam blessed his sons, when they called him Michael. I say I stood there and cast my eyes in the direction of Galeton, as near as I could judge, and saw the smoke rising towards Heaven, which filled me with ambition, the love of excitement, tumult and something new.
>
> In tears I looked far over the trees and wished and sighed and wished again that I was there, and that I was older, for then I thought father would not attempt to stop me from going when I pleased, and with mingled feeling of sadness and sorrow I stood along on the Prairie and cried. The next day I went to Bishop Knights and saw the plunder, and O what lots, I thought; and heard them tell, in what order they took the place, marching up on the run, and one man who was in such a fright to save his life, that he ran from the store to his horse, and on his way, pulled out his knife, and in stead of untieing his horse, cut the reins, mounted and dashed into the woods out of sight in almost the twinkling of an eye. The store they burned, but the goods were preserved. ("Oliver Boardman Huntington Journal," pages 31-32, typed copy, Utah State Historical Society)

On page 34 of the same journal, Mr. Huntington tells what the Mormon's did with the plunder before they surrendered:

> The day on which they [the Missouri Militia] arrived, by the request of some of our leading men, they camped out of the city and on the other side of the river, to stay until the next day; and none to disturb us until they came over to receive our arms. As there had been a great many things plundered by us which were then in our houses we thought it good to get one night to get it all out of our houses to a general place of deposit. Therefore nearly all the brethren were employed in taking all plundered property to a general plunder depot; that they should not know who had this mans or that mans, and thereby perhaps save some lives. This employment lasted until daylight. . . . At the appointed hour the brethren were at Lyman Wights new block building, not finished, where also all the plundered property was stowed, . . .

On pages 37 and 38 Oliver B. Huntington states:

> I will now return to the night after we laid down our arms, which was a night long to be remembered by all who witnessed the scenes of that night; for no sooner had the army finished their night duties of camp than they repaired to Adams altar which was near the house where the plundered property was stowed, . . .
>
> Our curiosity was a little gratified when we came to see them pick out personal property from among the confused mess that filled and surrounded the plunder house, for every man thought the property he lost was the best, or at least every one nearly took and claimed the best he saw, that was of the kind he had; so that the poorest property was left to them that came last, and it came like to have ended in an un civil war.
>
> . . . "Well," some may say, "you had no business to steal and plunder their property and drive them off." But remember they were the aggressers, and commenced upon our innocent and unoffending brethren, and burned their houses, drove off their cattle, plundered their property, raved with plundering and put to death much as the[y] could. So we thought it no more than right to pay them off in their own coin, which we done as well as we knew how, and be sure we knew how as well as they.

Albert P. Rockwell wrote the following in a letter to his father, dated October 29, 1838:

> . . . the companies are called Dan because [the] Prophet Daniel has said the Saints shall take the Kingdom & possess it for ever. . . . the Missouri mob have all left Davis Co. the fear of God rests down upon them and they flee when no man persueth, the Brethren are fast returning from the northern Campaign with hearts full of gratitude, not a drop of blood has been spilt, the Mob disperse by hundreds on the approach of the **Danites**, . . . Thursday 25 . . . 70 horsemen started for the encampment of the mob . . . the mob was secreted behind the bank of the River 4 of the Brethren were wounded. David Patten was one of them, a Rush was now made by the Brethren on the mob secreted, when a terrible but short conflict ensued in less than 2 minutes the mob was seen making their escape up the opposite bank, . . . leaving about 70 Horses with saddle Bridles some arms Blankets Tents waggons &c. which were taken as the spoil of our enemies. . . . Now Father come to Zion & fight for the Religion of Jesus, many a Hoary head is seen with their armour about them bold to defend their Masters cause. You may ask if the Prophet goes out with the Saints to Battle? I answer he is a

Prophet to go before the people as in times of old & if you wish to know what sword he carries, just turn to the book of Mormon & see the sword that Nephi took from Laban when he slew him you there will see what he has got. Is not this marvelous? Well when you come [to] Zion you will learn many marvelous things which will strengthen you in the faith & which are for the edification of the Saints. Bro. Joseph has unsheathed his sword & in the name of Jesus declares that it shall not be sheathed again until he can go into any country or state in safety & peace . . . ("Albert P. Rockwood Papers," letter dated October 29, 1838, Coe Collection, Yale University Library)

CONCLUSION

From the evidence we have presented there can be no doubt that the Mormon leaders approved of the Danite Band and the crimes which they committed in Missouri.

7. AFTER THE WAR

Under the date of November 1, 1838, Joseph Smith wrote the following in the *History of the Church*:

> Brothers Hyrum Smith and Amasa Lyman were brought prisoners into camp. The officers of the militia held a court martial, and sentenced us to be shot, on Friday morning, on the public square of Far West as a warning to the "Mormons." However, notwithstanding their sentence and determination, they were not permitted to carry their murderous sentence into execution. (*History of the Church*, vol. 3, pages 190-191)

Under the date of November 11, 1838, we find this statement by Joseph Smith:

> General Clark informed us that he would turn us over to the civil authorities for trial. (*History of the Church*, vol. 3, page 209)

The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts wrote:

> Finding that he was debarred from proceeding by court-martial, General Clark turned over his first group of prisoners together with the second group, numbering fifty-six, to be examined in a court "of inquiry" at Richmond before Judge Austin A. King The prisoners were accused of "treason, murder, arson, burglary, robbery, larceny and perjury.'' (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 1, pages 498-499)

The "court of inquiry" began on November 12, 1838. Harold Schindler states: "All testimony heard in Judge King's court can be found in *Correspondence, Orders, etc.,* pages 97-151. . . . This also was published as *Senate Document No. 189*, 26th Congress, 2nd Session, 1841" (*Orrin Porter Rockwell; Man of God, Son of Thunder*, page 63). Juanita Brooks gives us this interesting information:

> October 31, 1838, really marked the end of the Danite Band. All were ordered to bring whatever loot they had taken to a central place where it could not be identified with any specific person. Joseph Smith and several of the leaders surrendered and were confined in Liberty Jail, and those who had participated in the Battle of Crooked River fled into the unsettled stretches of Iowa to the north. . . .
>
> In the minds of the Missourians, the twenty-eight men who fled north were the Danites, and their absence removed the stigma from other members. Some of the Danite leaders had turned state's evidence; others had scattered. Charles C. Rich and Hosea Stout were among those who fled, and for three months were absent from their wives. (*On the Mormon Frontier, The Diary o0f Hosea Stout*, vol. 1, Introduction, pages xv-xvi)

Sampson Avard, the leader of the Danite Band, was one of those who turned state's evidence. Joseph Smith made this comment concerning him:

> Friday, November 2.—About this time Sampson Avard was found by the mob secreted in the hazel brush some miles from Far West, and brought into camp, where he and they were "hail fellows well met;" for Avard told them that Daniteism was an order of the Church, and by his lying tried to make the Church a scape-goat for his sins. (*History of the Church*, vol. 3, pages 192-193)

In the testimony he gave Sampson Avard stated:

> Sampson Avard, a witness produced, sworn, and examined on behalf of the State, deposeth and saith: That about four months since, a band, called the Daughters of Zion, (since called the Danite band,) was formed of the members of the Mormon church, the original object of which was to drive from the county of Caldwell all those who dissented from the Mormon church; in which they succeeded admirably, and to the satisfaction of those concerned. I consider **Joseph Smith jr.**, as the prime mover and **organizer of this Danite band**. The officers of the band, according to their grades, were brought before him, at a school-house, together with Hiram Smith and Sidney Rigdon: the three composing the first presidency of the whole church. Joseph Smith, jr., blessed them, and prophesied

over them: declaring that they should be the means, in the hands of God of bringing forth the millenial kingdom. It was stated by Joseph Smith, jr., that it was necessary this band be bound together by a covenant, that those who revealed the secrets of the society should be put to death. The covenant taken by all the Danite band was as follows, to wit: They declared, holding up their right hands, "In the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, I do solemnly obligate myself ever to conceal, and never to reveal, the secret purposes of this society called the Daughters of Zion. Should I ever do the same, I hold my life as the forfeiture." The prophet Joseph Smith, jr., together with his two counsellors, (Hiram Smith and Sidney Rigdon,) were considered as the supreme head of the church; and the Danite band feel themselves as much bound to obey them, as to obey the Supreme God. Instruction was given by Joseph Smith, jr., that **if any of them should get into a difficulty, the rest should help him out; and that they should stand by each other, right or wrong.** This instruction was given at a Danite meeting, in a public address. As for Joseph Smith, jr., and his two counsellors, the witness does not know they ever took the Danite oath. . . .

At the meeting on Monday, when persons met from all parts of the county of Caldwell, Joseph Smith, jr., took the pulpit, . . . In the address, he related an anecdote about a captain who applied to a Dutchman to purchase potatoes, who refused to sell. The captain then charged his company, several times, not to touch the Dutchman's potatoes. In the morning the Dutchman had not a potatoe left in his patch. This was in reference to touching no property in our expedition to Daviess county that did not belong to us, but he told us that the children of God did not go to war at their own expense. . . . Lyman Wight observed, that, before the winter was over, he thought we would be in St. Louis, and take it. Smith charged them that they should be united in supporting each other. Smith said, on some occasions, that one should chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight; that he considered the United States rotten. He compared the Mormon church to the little stone spoken of by the Prophet Daniel; and the dissenters first, and the State next, was part of the image that should **be destroyed** by this little stone. The council was called on to vote the measures of Smith; which they did unanimously. On the next day Captain Patten (who was called by the prophet Captain Fearnaught) took command of about one hundred armed men, and told them that he had a job for them to do, and that the work of the Lord was rolling on, and they must be united. He then led the troops to Gallatin, saying he was going to attack the mob there. He made a rush into Gallatin, dispersed the few men there, and took the goods out of Stolling's store, and carried them to Diahmon, and I afterwards saw the storehouse on fire. When we returned to Diahmon, the goods were deposited in the Lord's storehouse, under the care of Bishop Vincent Knight. Orders were strictly given that all the goods should be deposited in the Lord's storehouse. No individuals were to appropriate any thing to themselves until a general distribution should be made. Joseph Smith, jr., was at Adam on Diahmon, giving directions about things in general connected with the war. When Patten returned from Gallatin to Adam on Diahmon, the goods were divided or apportioned out among those engaged; and these affairs were conducted under the superintendence of the first presidency. A part of the goods were brought to Far West. On their arrival, under the care of Captain Fearnaught, President Rigdon shouted three hosannahs to the victors. On the day Patten went to Gallatin, Colonel Wight went to Millport, as I understood. I saw a great many cattle, beds, furniture, &c., brought into our camp by the Mormons. . . . It was about the time that the militia came out lately to Far West, under General Lucas, that our prophet assembled the troops together at Far West, into a hollow square, and addressed them, and stated to them that the kingdom of God should be set up, and should never fall; and for every one we lacked in number of those who came against us, the Lord would send angels, who would fight for us; and that we should be victorious. . . . Some months ago I received orders to destroy the paper concerning the Danite Society; which order was issued by the first presidency, and which paper, being the constitution for the government of the Danite Society, was in my custody, but which I did not destroy. It is now in General Clark's possession. . . . This paper was taken into President Rigdon's house, and read to the prophet and his councillors, and was unanimously adopted by them as their rule and guide in [the] future. After it was thus adopted, I was instructed by the council to destroy it, as, if it should be discovered, it would be considered treasonable. This constitution, after it was approved by the first presidency, was read, article by article, to the Danite band, and unanimously adopted by them. . . . There was another writing drawn up in June last, which had for its object to get rid of the dissenters, and which had the desired effect; . . . I have [heard] the prophet say that it was a fortunate thing what we got rid of the dissenters, as they would have endangered the rolling on of the kingdom of God as introduced, and to be carried into effect, by the Danite band; that they, the dissenters, were great obstacles in the way; and that, unless they were removed, the aforesaid kingdom could not roll on. This paper against the dissenters was draughted by Sidney Rigdon, . . .

About the time the dissenters fled, President Rigdon preached a sermon from the text, "Ye are the salt of the earth; but if the salt hath lost its savor, wherewith shall it be salted? It is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and be trodden under foot of men"—commonly called the salt sermon; in which the dissenters were called the salt that had lost its savor, and that they should be trampled upon and driven out by the saints; which was well understood by the Danites to be a part of their duty to do.

When General Lucas's men marched up to Far West, Smith told me, as I understood him, that he had said to one of the militia captains not to come any farther, as he might get into danger. Smith, after erecting his bulwarks, (the night after General Lucas arrived,) asked me if I did not think him pretty much of a general; and I answered in the affirmative. We were advised, all the time, to fight valiantly, and that the angels of the Lord would appear in our defence and fight our battles. (*Senate Document 189*, 26th Congress, 2d Session, pages 1-6 and 9)

On page 21 of the same document, Sampson Avard stated:

> I was continually in the society of the presidency, receiving instructions from them as to the teachings of the Danite band; and I continually informed them of my teachings; and they were apprised of my course and teachings in the Danite society. (*Senate Document 189*, page 21)

During the "Mormon War" Wyatt Cravens was taken prisoner by the Mormons. In his testimony he made this statement:

> Seven men came out, and I was placed under their guard, and told by Wight that they would escort me off, and let me go about my business. We started back, and, after getting near a field, the captain of the guard and one of them, rode off ahead, saying they saw some one. Shortly after, the, captain returned alone. He declared that I should be guarded no farther, and pointed out the path I should take; which led around the fence. I then thought the man who had not returned had been placed round the fence to kill me; but I was determined to do the best I could to make my escape. In passing on, I discovered my direction would lead me to where I thought the man was placed, and I took off to the right, and immediately I was ordered to stop by some person, whom I recognised to be the man of the guard who left with the captain of the guard, and did not return. I fled, and turned my head to look, and saw the man with his gun in a shooting position; and shortly after, while running, I was shot by him; and I made my way to Ray county. (*Senate Document 189*, page 11)

Morris Phelps was another witness called in behalf of the State. In his testimony he stated:

> I have been in two Danite meetings. The first, I did not make any exception to; and, in the second, the following exceptionable [doctrine] was inculcated: "that we should take spoil, or plunder, in some cases;" but it was objected to, and I have never attended a Danite meeting since. The day before the Mormons went to Adam on Diahmon, J. Smith, jr., in an address, told an anecdote of a Dutchman, who had been applied to by a captain to purchase potatoes, &c. Rigdon, in speaking of dissenters, who were unwilling to fight mobs, said that they ought to be pitched upon their horses with pitchforks and bayonets, and forced into the front of the battle, and their property confiscated to the use of the army. The anecdote spoken of above, about the Dutchman, was told by Smith, after Rigdon's address, and without any application of it by him. And further this deponent saith not. (*Senate Document 189*, pages 11-12)

John Corrill, who had been a very prominent Mormon, also testified for the State. The following is taken from his testimony:

> President Rigdon last summer preached a sermon, commonly called the Salt sermon, which seemed to have for its object to produce a feeling among the people to get rid of the dissenters, for crimes alleged, and because they disagreed with them. In a few days there seemed considerable excitement among the people, and the dissenters left, as I advised them they were in danger. I was afterwards invited to one of these meetings, where an oath, in substance the same as testified to by Dr. Avard, was administered. The society was ultimately organized into companies, and captains of tens and fifties were appointed. I took exceptions only to the teaching as to the duties of that society, wherein it was said, if one brother got into any kind of a difficulty, it was the duty of the rest to help him out, **right or wrong**. At the second, or at least the last meeting I attended, the presidency, (to wit: Joseph Smith, jr., Hiram Smith, and Sidney Rigdon,) and also George W. Robertson, was there. There was at this meeting a ceremony of introducing the officers of the society to the presidency, who pronounced blessings on each of them, as introduced, exhorting to faithfulness in their calling, and they should have blessings. After this, President Smith got up and made general remarks about, in substance, as follows: relating the oppressions the society had suffered, and they wanted to be prepared for further events; but said he wished to do nothing unlawful, and, if the people would let him alone, they would preach the gospel and live in peace. Towards the close, he observed to the people that they should obey the presidency, and, if the presidency led them astray, they might destroy them. In the last, or in some public meeting, Joseph Smith. jr. said: if the people would let us alone, we would preach the gospel to them in peace; but, if they came on us to molest us, we would establish our religion by the sword, and that he would become to this generation a second Mahomet.
>
> About April last, I heard Joseph Smith, jr. and President Rigdon (who appeared to be vexed, on account of troubles and lawsuits they had had), say, that they would suffer vexatious lawsuits no longer, and that they would resist even an officer in the discharge of his duty. . . .
>
> This Mormon church has been represented as being the little stone spoken of by Daniel, which should roll on and crush all opposition to it, and ultimately should be established as a temporal as well as a spiritual kingdom. These things were to be carried on through the instrumentality of the Danite band, as far as force was necessary; if necessary, they being organized into bands of tens, fifties, &c. ready for war. The teachings of that society led them to prohibit the talkings of any persons against the presidency; so much so, that it was dangerous for any man to set up opposition to any thing that might be set on foot, and I became afraid to speak my own mind. I objected to the course of Dr. Avard, in reference to the Danite band. I rather thought Joseph Smith, jr. upheld him, and would not allow any objections to him. . . . On Monday, Joseph Smith, jr. made a speech; and some resolutions were passed, purporting that those persons who would not engage in their undertaking, their property should be consecrated [confiscated] to the use of those who did engage in their undertaking. On Sunday, Joseph Smith, jr., in his discourse, spoke of persons taking, at some times, what, at other times, would be wrong to take; and gave as an example the case of David eating the shewbread, and also of the Saviour and his Apostles plucking the ears of corn and eating, as they passed through the cornfield. . . . President Rigdon, in a speech, said that those who were unwilling to go into the war ought to [be] put upon their horses with guns and bayonets, and forced into the front of the war—having reference to those who heretofore had been backward in defending themselves and families. No persons were suffered to leave the county in this extreme time, and I met with Phelps to consult as to what we ought to do.

After the troops got to Diahmon, in all about four or five hundred men, I heard Lyman Wight addressing a portion of the men, who were there, (perhaps eight or ten:) "that the earth was the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, with the cattle upon a thousand hills; and if I was an hungry, I would not tell you;" that the Saints of the Lord had the same privilege or rights. After that, or perhaps the next day, I saw a drove of some four or five cattle pass along, and asked what cattle these were; and was answered that they were a drove of buffalo; others observed, they were cattle a Methodist priest had consecrated. . . . I think the original object of the Danite band was to operate on the dissenters; but afterwards it grew into a system to carry out the designs of the presidency; and, if necessary to use physical force to upbuild the kingdom of God; it was to be done by them. This is my opinion as to their object, and I learned it from various sources connected with that band. It was my understanding that Dr. Avard's teaching in the Danite society proceeded from the presidency. (*Senate Document 189*, pages 12-14)

James C. Owens testified:

James C. Owens, a witness produced, sworn, and examined on behalf of the State, deposeth and saith: In the morning of the day that the militia arrived at Far West, I heard Joseph Smith, jr., in a speech to the Mormon troops, say that he did not care any thing about the coming of the troops, nor about the laws; that he had tried to please them. If they lived together, it wouldn't please them; if they scattered, it wouldn't please them; and that he did **not intend to keep the laws**, or to please them any longer;—that they were a damned set, and God should damn them, so help him Jesus Christ: that he meant to go on then, as he had begun, and take his own course, and kill and destroy, and told the men to fight like angels; that heretofore he had told them to fight like devils, but now he told them to fight like angels—that angels could whip devils. I think in this speech it was that he said what they lacked in number, the Lord would make up by sending angels, and send two angels where they lacked one man. He swore considerably, and observed that they might think that he was swearing; but that God Almighty would not take notice of him in cursing such a damned set as they were. He further stated that they pretended to come out as militia, but that they were all a damned set of mobs. He stated at that, or some other time, that as they had commenced consecrating in Daviess county, that he intended to have the surrounding counties consecrated to him; that the time had come when the riches of the Gentiles should be consecrated to the Saints.

While the last expedition was in progress in Daviess county, a portion of the troops returned to Far West, to whom, and to the people assembled, I understood Sidney Rigdon had read a letter from Joseph Smith, jr. I asked him to read it to me; which he did, and it was, as near as I can recollect, as follows: That the enemy was delivered into their hands, and that they need not fear; that this had been given to him by the spirit of prophesy, in the name of Jesus Christ. Sidney Rigdon appeared to rejoice at the information, and give into the thing. A few days before the militia got to Far West, Joseph Smith, jr., observed that he didn't intend to obey the laws any longer, that he had a great many writs served on him, and that he was of age, and did not intend to have another served on him. And further this deponent saith not. (*Senate Document 189*, pages 14-15)

John Cleminson was another witness called in behalf of the State. The following statements are taken from his testimony:

John Cleminson, a witness, produced, sworn, and examined, in behalf of the State, deposeth and saith: Some time in June, I attended two or three Danite meetings; and it was taught there, as a part of the duty of the band, that they should support the presidency in all their designs, right or wrong; that whatever they said was to be obeyed, and whoever opposed the presidency in what they said, or desired done, should be expelled from the county, or have their lives taken. The three composing the presidency was at one of those meetings; and to satisfy the people, Dr. Avard called on Joseph Smith, jr., who gave them a pledge, that if they led them into a difficulty he would give them his head for a foot-ball, and that it was the will of God these things should be so. The teacher and active agent of the society was Dr. Avard, and his teachings were approved of by the presidency. Dr. Avard further taught as a part of their obligation, that if any one betrayed the secret designs of the society, they should be killed and laid aside; and nothing said about it.

I heard Sidney Rigdon's sermon, commonly called the "salt sermon," and its purport and design was about as other witnesses have stated before me. When process was filed against Joseph Smith and others, in my office as clerk of Caldwell circuit court, for trespass, Joseph Smith jr. told me not to issue that writ; that he did **not** intend to submit to it; . . . I felt myself intimidate and in danger, if I issued it, knowing the regulation of the Danite band.

On the Monday prior to the last Daviess expedition, I heard Mr. Rigdon say that those who had heretofore been backward in taking up arms in defending themselves ought to, or should, be put upon their horses with bayonets and pitchforks; and Smith said, forced into the front of the battle; and that the property of those who would not go into the war should be consecrated to the use of those who did. Mr. Smith said their beef, corn, and potatoes they would take.

I went in the expedition to Daviess in which Gallatin was burnt, as I felt myself compelled to go from the regulations which had been made. . . .

When we first went to Daviess, I understood the object to be to drive out the mob, if one should be collected there; but when we got there, we found none. I then learned the object was, from those who were actively engaged in the matter, to drive out all the citizens of Daviess and get possession of their property. . . . A great deal of other property was brought into the Mormon camps; but [I do not] know where it came from, but understood it to be consecrated property. It was frequently observed among the troops, that the time had come when the riches of the Gentiles should be consecrated to the Saints. (*Senate Document 189*, pages 15-16)

Reed Peck was also called as a witness for the State. In his testimony he stated:

> A short time after Cowdrey and the Whitmers left Far West, (sometime in June,) George W. Robertson and Philo Dibble invited me to a Danite meeting. I went; and the only speaker was Dr. Avard, who explained the object of the meeting, and said that its object was, that we might be perfectly organized to defend ourselves against mobs; that we were all to be governed by the presidency, and do whatever they required, and uphold them; that we were not to judge for ourselves whether it were right or wrong; that God had raised up a prophet who would judge for us; and that it was proper we should stand by each other in all cases—and he gave us an example: If we found one of the Danites in a difficulty, in Ray or Clay for instance, we should rescue him, if we had to do with his adversary as Moses did with the Egyptian—put him in the sand. It made no difference whether the Danite was to blame, or not; they would pack to Far West, and there be taken care of. The question was asked, whether it would extend to a legal process? Avard answered, not. The Danite oath was administered to about 30 or 40 persons at this meeting. . . . I was present at one meeting when the officers of the society were presented and introduced to the presidency, each officer receiving a blessing from them. Avard stated that he had procured the presidency to come there, to show the society that what he had been doing was according to their direction or will; and while there, the presidency approved of Avard's course in the society. Dr. Avard, however, did not explain to the presidency what his teaching had been in the society.
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> I heard Avard, on one occasion, say that the Danites were to consecrate their surplus property, and to come in by tens to do so; and if they lied about it—he said Peter killed Annanias and Sapphira, and that would be an example for us. . . . I heard Joseph Smith, jr., in a speech, say, in reference to stealing, that in a general way he did not approve of it; but that, on one occasion, our Saviour and his disciples stole corn in passing through the cornfields, for the reason that they could not otherwise procure anything to eat. He told an anecdote of a Dutchman's potatoes, and said, in substance, that a colonel or captain was quartered near a Dutchman, from whom he wished to purchase some potatoes, who refused to sell them. The officer then charged his men not to be caught stealing the Dutchman's potatoes; but next morning he found his potatoes all dug. . . . Mr. Rigdon proposed that blood should first begin to flow in the streets of Far West; but his proposition did not carry. The proposition was then made, and carried unanimously, that those who hung back should be pitched upon their horses and made to go, and placed in the front of the army. . . . I saw a company of about fifty, called a fur company, come once. Some had one thing, and some another: one I saw with a feather bed; another had some spun yarn. I understood from some of those who were bringing property that they were to take it to the bishop's store, and deposite it; and if they failed to do so, it would be considered stealing.
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> As the property was brought in, there was a general shout of hurrah, and waving of hats, by those in camp. . . . The goods taken in Gallatin were generally understood in camp to have been deposited with the bishop, as consecrated property. When the companies would return from their expeditions, they would make their reports to the presidency who were there. . . . After the Mormon troops returned to Far West from Daviess, I saw several of the captains of tens who had been in that expedition making out a list of their men, for the purpose, as they said, of being handed in, that they might receive their portion of the spoils.
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> . . . I saw the militia, and I went down to them with a flag. I met with General Doniphan, who received me and told me they were about 1,300 in number, and that they were militia.
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> On my return to town, I met with Joseph Smith, jr., and informed him that the troops were militia, under General Doniphan's command, (as I then supposed was the case.) Mr. Smith asked me their number, and I told him. He replied, "Keep up good courage; we can whip that number, if they make an attack upon us." Some other person came up at the time, and inquired of me their number; and Mr. Smith answered that Mr. Phelps (who was a judge of numbers, having seen troops before) said that there were about 250, as he would suppose. Mr. George Robinson then whispered to me not to tell the men the number of the militia—that it would frighten them, or damp their courage. . . .
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> Reed Peck deposeth and further saith: That Jonathan Dunham was in the last expedition to Daviess, and was captain of a company of 50, which I have spoken of as called the Fur Company. He went under the fictitious name of Captain Black Hawk. . . . Some time previous to the difficulties in Daviess, the first time when the militia went out there for the purpose of keeping the peace, I heard Joseph Smith, jr., in a public address, say that he had a reverence for the constitution of the United States and of this State; but, as for the laws of this State, he did not intend to regard them, nor care any thing about them, as they were made by lawyers and blacklegs. . . . I think it was the last of June, or first of July last, that I heard Dr. Avard say that he had just returned from a council with the presidency, . . . In that council, Avard said, an arrangement was made to dispose of the dissenters, to wit: that all the head officers of the Danite band should have a list of the dissenters, both here and in Kirtland; "And," said he, "I will tell you how I will do them: when I meet one damning the presidency, I can damn them as well as he; and, if he wanted to drink, he would get a bowl of brandy, and get him half drunk, and, taking him by the arm, he would take him to the woods or brush, and said he would be into their guts in a minute, and put them under the sod." He gave this as an example of the way they should be disposed of. The only motive for getting rid of the dissenters in this way, as far as I ever learned, was, that, if they remained among the Mormons, they would introduce a class there that would ultimately endanger their lives, and destroy the church; and if they were suffered to go out from among them, they would be telling lies on them in the surrounding country.
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> These reasons I gathered from Mr. Rigdon's salt sermon. And Mr. Rigdon said, in the same sermon, that he would assist to erect a gallows on the square, and hang them all. Joseph Smith, jr., was present, and followed Mr. Rigdon, after he had made the above declaration, and said he did not wish to do any thing unlawful. He then spoke of the fate of Judas, and said that Peter had hung him, (Judas;) and said that he approved of Mr. Rigdon's sermon, and called it a good sermon.
>
> And further this deponent saith not. (*Senate Document 189*, pages 17-21)

In the testimony of George M. Hinkle we find the following:

> There was much mysterious conversation in camps, as to plundering, and house-burning; so much so, that I had my own notions about it; and, on one occasion, I spoke to Mr. Smith, jr., in the house, and told him that this course of burning houses and plundering, by the Mormon troops, would ruin us; that it could not be kept hid, and would bring the force of the State upon us; that houses would be searched, and stolen property found. Smith replied to me, in a pretty rough manner to keep still; that I should say nothing about it; that it would discourage the men; and he would not suffer me to say any thing about it. . . .
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> I saw a great deal of plunder and bee-steads brought into camp; and I saw many persons, for many days, taking the honey out of them; I understood this property and plunder were placed into the hands of the bishop at Diahmon, named Vincent Knight, to be divided out among them, as their wants might require.
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> There were a number of horses and cattle drove in; also, hogs hauled in dead with the hair on; but whose they were, I know not. They were generally called consecrated property. . . .
>
> I have heard Joseph Smith, jr. say that he believed Mahomet was a good man; that the Koran was not a true thing, but the world belied Mahomet, as they had belied him, and the Mahomet was a true prophet.
>
> The general teachings of the presidency were, that the kingdom they were setting up was a temporal kingdom; that it was the little stone spoken of by Daniel. Until lately, the teachings of the church appeared to be peaceable, and that the kingdom was to be set up peaceably; but lately a different idea has been advanced—that the time had come when this kingdom was to be set up by forcible means, if necessary. It was taught, that the time had come when the riches of the Gentiles were to be consecrated to the true Israel. This thing of taking property was considered a fulfilment of the above prophecy. . . .
>
> The morning that I marched out of Far West, to meet the militia to confer with them, as above referred to, Joseph Smith, jr. made a speech to the troops who were called together, in which he said: That the troops which were gathering through the country were a damned mob; that he had tried to please them long enough; that we had tried to keep the law long enough; but, **as to keeping the law of Missouri any longer**, **he did not intend to try to do so**. That the whole State was a mob set; and that, if they came to fight him, he would play hell with their apple-carts. He told his people that they heretofore had the character of fighting like devils; but they should now fight like angels, for angels could whip devils.
>
> While in Daviess, on the last expedition, I mentioned the great difficulties the course they were pursuing would likely get them into; the reply was by a number of them, that, as the citizens had all fled, there would be none to prove it by but themselves, and they could swear as they pleased in the matter. . . . While the last expedition was in progress in Daviess county, a portion of the troops returned to Far West, and was paraded in the square before Sidney Rigdon's house. Rigdon addressed them in a cheering and encouraging manner in the course they were pursuing. He held in his hand a letter from Joseph Smith. jr., in Daviess county, in which, he said, there was a profound secret, and the boys who were present were sent away. The letter, as near as I recollect it, was as follows: That our enemies were now **delivered into our hands**, and that we should have victory over them in every instance. The letter stated that, in the name of Jesus Christ, **he knew this by the spirit of prophecy**.
>
> Since the return from Daviess, Joseph Smith, jr., told me, in reference to his plans, that if the citizens of Richmond and surrounding country rose and went out there to fight them, that he intended to have men slip in behind them, and lay waste the county, and burn their houses. In the council in Far West, a few days before the militia came out, I recollect, in making arrangments for the war, the presidency was to have the supreme rule, and that their war office, or headqarters, was to be at Diahmon, where, Joseph Smith, jr., said, they could have all necessary preparations to carry on the war in a warlike manner; and they were to have gone in a day or two to take their seats.
>
> At the time Joseph Smith, jr., and myself, were under guard at Far West, he manifested a great disposition to converse about our difficulties, and said he heard I had turned against him; and proposed to me the idea of hanging together, and not testifying against each other; and if we suffer, all suffer together. I felt myself awkwardly situated, as I had heard that there was a combination of the Danites against me. I told him I would testify to nothing but the truth, let it fall on whom it would. And further this deponent saith not. (*Senate Document 189*, pages 21-25)

John Raglin testified as follows:

> John Raglin, a witness for the State, produced, sworn, and examined, deposeth and saith: I was in Gallatin when the Mormons made an attack upon it, which took place one Thursday in October. All the persons that were there left the town; and the Mormons, as I believe, they were to the number of about 150 or 200, all armed, took possession of the town; and the store and other houses were burnt, as I learned, that evening. And further this deponent saith not. (*Senate Document 189*, page 26)

In the testimony of Allen Rathbun we find the following:

> On the day before the battle with Bogart, I was in Far West; and early in the morning Daniel Carn, one of the defendants here, asked me to help him grease his wagon. I did so, and asked him where he was going. He said he was going out to Mr. Raglin's, in Daviess county; that there were about forty bee-stands there, that they were going for. . . . Late that evening, I saw Mr. Carn's wagon at his grocery door, in Far West. I saw Carn and Huntingdon unloading it. The wagon was loaded with one bee-gum, and household stuff, consisting of beds, or bed clothes, kinder tied up; also there were onions in the wagon. Mr. Carn, that evening, remarked that there would be in, that night, a considerable number of sheep and cattle; and further remarked, that it looked to him sometimes that it was not right to take plunder, but that it was according to the directions of Joseph Smith, jr., and that was the reason why he did it. (*Senate Document 189*, page 26)

Jeremiah Myers made this statement in his testimony:

> About this time, myself and another man returned to camp, at Diahmon. That evening I saw store-goods at the bishop's store; and was informed by Mahlon Johnston, one of the company to Gallatin, that the goods taken from the store in Gallatin were the goods I saw deposited at the bishop's store; they were called and considered consecrated property; and that they were to be dealt out by the bishop to those who stood in need.
>
> I saw parties going out and coming in while in camp, but saw no property come into our camp; but I saw a pen of cattle, which were called buffalo. (*Senate Document 189*, page 27)

In Burr Riggs' testimony the following appears:

> Burr Riggs, a witness for the State, produced, sworn, and examined, deposeth and saith: In the latter part of June last, immediately after the witness and Cowdery left Far West, I fell into company with Joseph Smith, jr., and Geo. W. Robinson. Jos. Smith, jr., said there were certain men using their influence against the proceedings of the presidency, and if they were suffered to go on they would do great injury. And Smith told Robinson, the first man he heard speaking against the presidency, and against their proceedings, he must tie him up and give him thirty-nine lashes; and if that would not do, give him thirty-nine more, until he was sorry for what he had said; and Robinson said he would do it. . . . Two or three days before the surrender of the Mormons to the militia at Far West, I heard Jos. Smith, jr. say that the sword was now unsheathed, and should not again be sheathed until he could go through these United States, and live in any county he pleased, peaceably. . . . there was a meeting in Far West, in which Mr. Sidney Rigdon presided. There were present about 60 or 100 men; a guard was put around the house, and one was placed at the door. Mr. Rigdon said that the last man had run away from Far West that was going to; that the next man who started, he should be pursued and brought back, dead or alive. This was put to vote, and agreed to, without any one objecting to it. He further said, that one man had slipped his wind yesterday, and had been thrown aside into the brush for the buzzards to pick, and the first man who lisped it should die. . . . When Mr. Rigdon was instructing the spy company, or apparently in conversation with them, above referred to, I heard it said that if they could not get rid of the mob in any other way, they could poison them to death. (*Senate Document 189*, pages 28-30)

In his testimony, Jesse Kelly claimed that a Mormon captain stated that they were going to take the entire State:

> The captain asked us if we belonged to the mob, and we replied not; . . . the captain then said, if we did not wish to fight them, we must leave the State; for we intend said he, after we get possession of Daviess, to take Livingston; and after that, keep on, **till we take possession of the whole state**. (*Senate Document 189*, page 31)

Addison Price made a similar statement in his testimony:

> It was said by several of the company, that, as soon as they had rid Daviess county, they would have Livingston, and, before they stopped, they intended to have the State. (*Senate Document 189*, page 32)

John Whitmer, one of the witnesses to the Book of Mormon, gave this testimony in behalf of the State:

> John Whitnear [Whitmer], a witness for the State, produced, sworn, and examined, deposeth and saith: About the 17th of April last, at a meeting of perhaps fifteen or twenty-five in Far West, Joseph Smith, jr., spoke in reference to difficulties they had, and their persecutions, &c., in and out of the church. Mr. Smith said he did not intend in future to have any process served on him, and the officer who attempted it should **die**; that any person who spoke or acted against the presidency of the church, should leave the country or die; that he would suffer no such to remain there; that they should **lose their head**. George W. Harris, who was there present, observed, "the head of their influence, I suppose." Smith replied, Yes, he would so modify it. Mr. Rigdon then got up, and spoke in connexion with what Mr. Smith had been saying; and in speaking of the head of their influence, he said that he meant that ball on their shoulders, called the head, and that they should be followed to the ends of the earth. Mr. Rigdon further remarked, that he would suffer no process of law to be served on him hereafter.
>
> Some time in June, after Mr. Rigdon had preached his "salt sermon," I held conversations with several Mormons on the subject of that sermon, and the excitement produced by the course and conduct of the presidency. Among others, I conversed with Alanson Ripley. I spoke of the supremacy of the laws of the land, and the necessity of, at all times, being governed by them. He replied, that as to the technical niceties of the law of the land, he did not intend to regard them; that the kingdom spoken of by the prophet Daniel had been set up, and that it was necessary every kingdom should be governed by its own laws. I also conversed with George W. Robinson, on the same subject, who answered, (when I spoke of being governed by the laws and their supremacy,) "when God spoke he must be obeyed, whether his word came in contact with the laws of the land or not; and that, as the kingdom spoken of by Daniel had been set up, its laws must be obeyed." I told him I thought it was contrary to the laws of the land to drive men from their homes; to which he replied, such things had been done of old, and that the gatherings of the saints must continue, and that dissenters could not live among them in peace.
>
> I also conversed with Mr. J. Smith, jr., on this subject. I told him I wished to allay the (then) excitement, as far as I could do it. He said the excitement was very high, and he did not know what would allay it; but remarked, he would give me his opinion, which was, that if I would put my property into the hands of the bishop and high

council, to be disposed of according to the laws of the church, he thought that would allay it, and that the church after a while might have confidence in me. I replied to him, I wished to control my own property. In telling Mr. Smith that I wished to be governed by the laws of the land, he answered, "Now, you wish to **pin me down to the law**." And further, this deponent saith not. (*Senate Document 189*, pages 32-33)

George W. Worthington made these statements in his testimony:

George W. Worthington, a witness on behalf of the State, produced, sworn, and examined, deposeth and saith: It was on Thursday, about the 18th day of October last, that Gallatin was taken by the Mormons. I reside in about a quarter of a mile of town. About one hundred Mormons, commanded by Captain Patten, as I have since learned, rushed into town; seven or eight of the citizens were there, who immediately fled. A portion of the Mormons (about fifty) surrounded my house. They took a horse, saddle, and bridle, out of my yard, belonging to John A. Williams of Daviess county. . . . I looked towards the storehouse, and saw the smoke in the roof; and in a short time the flames burst out of the top of the house. I thought it best then for me to put out, seeing they were burning. It alarmed me, and I fixed, and did start, that evening, leaving something like $700 worth of property in my house. After I left, my house was burnt, and the property gone. Since then, I have seen some of my property in a vacant house in Diahmon; some in a house said to be bishop Knight's; all in Diahmon. (*Senate Document 189*, page 34)

Joseph H. McGee made these statements in his testimony:

Joseph H. McGee, a witness for the State, produced, sworn, and examined, deposeth and saith: On Thursday, the 18th day of October, I was at Mr. Worthington's, in Daviess county, when the Mormons made an attack upon Gallatin. Mr. Worthington had a pair of saddle-bags in my shop, (in Gallatin,) with notes and accounts in them; and he requested me to go up to the shop, and try to secure them. When I went up, the Mormons had broken open my shop, and taken them out; one of them had put the saddlebags on his horse, and I asked him for them. He answered, that he had authority from Captain Hill to take them, and would not let me have them. He then told me I must go up to the store. I went along; and when I arrived there, Clark Hallett, one of the defendants, told him that he knew little Joe McGee; that there was no harm in him, and to let him go. I was then turned loose. While at the store, I saw the Mormons taking the goods out of the store house, and packing many of the articles off on their horses; a number of barrels and boxes were rolled out before the door. When these men who had goods packed before them, rode off, I heard a man, who remained at the store, halloo to one of them to send four wagons. I went down to Mr. Worthington's; and, in returning towards the store again, a short time after, I saw the smoke and flames bursting from the roof of the store house, and three men coming out of the house, who immediately rode off. The balance of the company had just previously left, except two, who were at Mr. Yale's, a citizen there, guarding him. I heard Parley Pratt order the men to take out the goods before the house was set on fire. (*Senate Document 18*9, page 34)

Porter Yates testified as follows:

Porter Yates, a witness for the State, produced, sworn, and examined, deposeth and saith: I was at Gallatin, at my father's, when the Mormons made an attack upon it and burnt it. When they surrounded my father's house, they took two guns—one a shot gun, and one rifle. In going to the door. I saw one of them taking my mare out of the stable. I went over to see what he was doing; who observed "that it was a pretty good mare," and was about putting a bridle upon her. I told him, if she went. I would go along, (as I was determined to stick to my nag.) He replied, that he wanted me to go. I then caught my mare, and went with the company to Diahmon, . . . I left before the store was set on fire; but I heard some of the company command to take all the goods out before setting the house on fire. . . .

I was in Diahmon three days, and during that time saw a great deal of plunder brought in. Companies went out every day. A great deal of honey was also brought in, also cattle and hogs—all which was called consecrated property. I was a stranger to most of the men I saw. And further this deponent saith not. (*Senate Document 189*, page 36)

Benjamin Slade related the following in his testimony:

After the assembly had got into the house, a guard was placed at the door. Mr. Rigdon got up, and, in a speech, said that the time had now come in which every man must take his part in this war; and that they had been running away, and leaving Caldwell county, and that the last man had now left the county, that should be allowed to do so. A formal vote, by way of resolution, or covenant, was put—that, if any man attempted to leave the county, any one of the company then present was to kill him, and say nothing about it, and throw him into the brush. . . . I heard Mr. Rigdon say that "yesterday a man had slipped his wind, and was thrown into the brush;" and, said he, "the man that lisps it shall die." (*Senate Document 189*, page 36-37)

In his testimony Ezra Williams stated:

I was in Captain Patten's company when he took Gallatin and robbed the store. The goods were packed off (a great many of them) before the men, on their horses. My captain often gave me some, which I packed off before me, to Diahmon. They were deposited in a house on the river bank. And further this deponent saith not. (*Senate Document 189*, page 37)

Another witness for the State was Addison F. Green. He made the following statement concerning Sidney Rigdon:

> I heard Sidney Rigdon (speaking of those who would attempt to leave the county at that time) say, "it was the duty of any present, if they saw such movements, to stop the men;" and if they persisted in going, he said something about sending them to the other world, to tell their hellish news; or something like this. (*Senate Document 189*, page 38)

Timothy Lewis made this statement:

> I was out on none of their scouting parties, but saw a great deal of property and plunder brought in, which was said to be consecrated property by those who brought it in, as well as by others. Those who were active in plundering, said they intended to consecrate all the property in Daviess county, and take the county to themselves. They said there was no law in this State, but that a law was about to be established by a higher Power, to be given by revelation. (*Senate Document 189*, page 38)

Patrick Lynch stated:

> Patrick Lynch, a witness for the State, produced, sworn, and examined, deposeth and saith: I was living in Gallatin, a clerk in Strolling's store, when the Mormons took that place, which was about the middle of October last. When the Mormons had approached to within fifty or one hundred yards of the storehouse, I left, having first locked the door, and deposited the key in my pocket. I ran into the brush, between one hundred and two hundred yards of the storehouse, where I saw them taking the goods from the house; some were packed off on horses; and after that, when near half a mile off, I saw wagons, apparently loaded, which I believed to be goods from the store. I have found a number of articles taken from the store in Diahmon, since the surrender of arms there by the Mormons . . . The books have not been recovered, but the notes I found in the house of Bishop Knight, at Diahmon, . . . In about three hours after the Mormons took Gallatin, I returned, and found the store-house burnt. The post office and treasurer's office were kept in the storehouse, and the records, papers, &c., belonging to each were either taken off by the Mormons or consumed by the fire. And further this deponent saith not. (*Senate Document 189*, pages 38-39)

William W. Phelps, a very prominent Mormon, also gave testimony for the State. In his testimony he made these statements:

> William W. Phelps, a witness on the part of the State, produced, sworn, and examined, deposeth and saith: That, as early as April last, at a meeting in Far West of eight or twelve persons, Mr. Rigdon arose, and made an address to them, in which he spoke of having borne persecutions, and law-suits, and other privations, and did not intend to bear them any longer; that they meant to resist the law, and, if a sheriff came after them with writs, then would **kill him**; and, if any body opposed them, they would take **off their heads**. George W. Harris, who was present, observed, You mean the head of their influence, I suppose? Rigdon answered, he meant that lump of flesh and bones called the skull, or scalp. Joseph Smith, jr., followed Mr. Rigdon, approving his sentiments, and said, that was what they intended to do. Both, in their remarks, observed, that they meant to have the words of the presidency to be as good and undisputed as the words of God; and that no one should speak against what they said. . . . Hiram Smith was not in Far West at this time, and [I] think he was not in the country. Some time in June, steps were taken to get myself and others out of the county of Caldwell, and efforts were made to get the post office from me, (being postmaster,) by a demand for it. . . . I was then notified to attend a meeting. . . . After my case was disposed of, another man's was taken up; he attempted to speak in his defence, and said he was a republican. Several rushed up towards him, and stopped him, telling him if he had any thing to say in favor of the presidency, he might say it, and that was their republicanism. Joseph Smith, jr., Sidney Rigdon, and Hiram Smith, **who compose the first presidency**, were there. It was observed in the meeting, that, if any person spoke against the presidency, they would hand him over to the hands of the Brother of Gideon. . . . Not a great while after this, secret or private meetings were held; I endeavored to find out what they were; and I learned, from John Corrill and others, they were forming a secret society called Danites, formerly called the Brother of Gideon. In the meeting above referred to, in which I was present, one man arose to defend himself; and he was ordered to leave the house, but commenced to speak; Avard then said, "Where are my ten men?" Thirty or more men arose up: whereupon the man said he would leave the house. . . . In the fore part of July, I being one of the justices of the county court, was forbid by Joseph Smith, jr., from issuing any process against him. . . , A few days before the 4th day of July last, I heard D. W. Patten (known by the fictitious name of Captain Fearnaught) say that Rigdon was writing a declaration, to declare the church independent. I remarked to him, I thought such a thing treasonable—to set up a government within a Government. He answered, it would not be treasonable if they would maintain it, or fight till they died. . . . I was at the meeting the Monday before the last expedition to Daviess, . . . Joseph Smith, jr., I think it was, who addressed the meeting, and said, in substance, that they were then about to go to war in Daviess county; that those persons who had not turned out, their property should be taken to maintain the war. This was by way of formal resolution, and was not objected to by any present. A motion was then made, by Sidney Rigdon, that the blood of those who were thus backward should first be spilled in the streets of Far West; a few said, Amen to this. But immediately Mr. Joseph Smith, jr., before Rigdon's motion was put, rose, and moved that they be taken out into Daviess county, and, if they came to battle, they should be put on their horses with bayonets and pitchforks, and put in front: this passed without a dissenting voice. There was a short [speech] made then, by Joseph Smith, jr., about carrying on the war; in which he said it was necessary to have something to live on; and, when they went out to war, it was necessary to take spoils to live on. This was in reference to the dissenters, as well as to the people of

Daviess, where they were going. In this speech, he told the anecdote of the Dutchman's potatoes.

. . . I went on to Diahmon a few days after the Mormon troops had gone out. I went on to the tavern, late at night, where I found Joseph Smith, jr., Hiram Smith, and others. . . . Some time before day I awoke, and found Lyman Wight and Captain Fearnaught in the house; . . . Wight asked J. Smith, twice, if he had come to the point now to resist the law; that he wanted this matter now distinctly understood. . . . Smith replied, the time had come when he should resist all law. In the fore part of the night after my arrival, I heard a good deal of conversation about drawing out the mob from Daviess. I heard J. Smith remark, there was a store at Gallatin, and a grocery at Millport; and in the morning after the conversation between Smith and Wight about resisting the law, a plan of operations was agreed on, which was: that Captain Fearnaught, who was present, should take a company of 100 men, or more, and go to Gallatin, and take it that day; to take the goods out of the store in Gallatin, bring them to Diahmon, and burn the store. . . . When I arose in the morning, some of the companies were gone; but I saw Lyman Wight parade a horse company, and start off with it towards Millport. I also [saw] a foot company the same day go off.

On the same day, in the evening, I saw both these companies return; the foot company had some plunder, which appeared to be beds and bedclothes, &c. They passed on towards the bishop's store, but I know not what they did with the plunder. . . . I was invited to a school-house, where it was said the people had assembled. . . . A guard was placed around the house, and one at the door.

Mr. Rigdon then commenced making covenants, with uplifted hands. The first was, that, if any man attempted to move out of the county, or pack their things for that purpose, that any man then in the house, seeing this, without saying any thing to any other person, should kill him, and haul him aside into the brush; and that all the burial he should have should be in a turkey buzzard's guts, so that nothing of him should be left but his bones. That measure was carried in form of a covenant, with uplifted hands. After the vote had passed, he said, Now see if any one dare vote against it, and called for the negative vote; and there was none. The next covenant, that, if any persons from the surrounding country came into their town, walking about—no odds who he might be—any one of that meeting should kill him, and throw him aside into the brush. This passed in a manner as the above had passed. The third covenant was, "conceal all these things." Mr. Rigdon then observed that the kingdom of heaven had no secrets; that yesterday a man had slipped his wind, and was dragged into the hazel brush; and, said he, "the man who lisps it shall die." (*Senate Document 189*, pages 43-46)

After the inquiry some of the Mormons were released. Harold Schindler states:

> Most of the defendants were released or admitted to bail when the perplexed judge was unable to pin-point laws prohibiting membership in a society such as the Sons of Dan.
>
> Allen Joseph Stout wrote in his journal: "The only crime that was proved against me was that of being a Danite which was sworn to by Sampson Avard; but since they could find no law on the case, I was set at liberty and returned home." (*Orrin Porter Rockwell*, by Harold Schindler, 1966, page 63)

Joseph Smith, however, was not released. The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts stated:

> The testimony taken before Judge King is published by the legislature of Missouri, in its collection of *Documents, Correspondence, Orders, etc.*, and makes altogether sixty-five pages of matter. The "evidence" is made up almost exclusively of the statements of apostates, and the saint's bitterest enemies among the "old settlers;" and of the sixty-five pages which it fills, less than four is occupied with testimony for the defense.
>
> The court found sufficient cause for holding most of the prisoners on one or the other of the offenses charged, and held them to appear before the courts in the respective counties where the crimes were alleged to have been committed. Joseph Smith, Lyman Wight, Caleb Baldwin, Hyrum Smith, Alexander McRae, and Sidney Rigdon were held for **treason** against the state, **murder, burglary, arson, robbery** and **larceny**; and were committed to prison without bail in Liberty, Clay county, . . . (*A Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 1, pages 499-500)

The Liberty Jail

The Mormon writer Klaus J. Hansen claims that Judge Austin A. King conducted the inquiry in a "very biased manner," yet he admits that the evidence cannot be entirely discounted:

> . . . the testimony given at the trial was offered by enemies of the Mormons or personal enemies of Smith, including a number of apostates. But, although such testimony has to be viewed with considerable caution, it cannot be discounted entirely, especially in view of Smith's subsequent endeavors in behalf of the political kingdom of God. The evidence of the apostates, in fact, reveals how far Smith had attempted to go in establishing that kingdom. (*Quest for Empire*, by Klaus J. Hansen, Michigan State University Press, 1967, page 152)

The Mormon writer Leland Gentry states:

> While imprisoned in Liberty, the Prophet and his brethren made at least two attempts to escape. (*A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri From 1836 to 1839*, page 578)

Speaking of the second attempt to escape, Joseph Smith stated:

> We should have taken a habeas corpus before the high judge and escaped the mob in a summary way; but unfortunately for us, the timber of the wall being very hard, our auger handles gave out, and hindered us longer than we expected; we applied to a friend, and a very slight incautious act gave rise to some suspicions, and before we could fully succeed, our plan was discovered; we had everything in readiness, but the last stone, and we could have made our escape in one minute, and should have succeeded admirably, had it not been for a little imprudence or over-anxiety on the part of our friend.
>
> The sheriff and jailer did not blame us for our attempt; it was a fine breach, and cost the county a round sum; . . . (*History of the Church*, by Joseph Smith, vol. 3, page 292)

Joseph Smith finally did escape, however. John Whitmer stated:

> Smith and those others were tried by those officers for treason, etc., but found that they were not legally authorized to execute them after having found them guilty of many breaches of the law of the land, they put them in the hand of civil officers of the government, to be tried by the law of the land, and were committed to jail; but before the trial came on, which was named to some of the counties of this state, where the people were not so much prejudiced against them, as they were moved from Clay County to the county where they were to be tried, they hired the guard to let them go, etc., . . . money hired those base and corrupt men, who let them go; and this through the wickedness of those to whom their safe-keeping were committed, these men escaped the justice of the law of the land which they had transgressed, and went unpunished at this time. (*John Whitmer's History*, page 22)

Ebenezer Robinson wrote:

> They took a change of venue to another county, and the sheriff detailed a guard to accompany him in their removal. The first night the guard were allowed to get intoxicated, when the prisoners mounted two fine horses and quietly rode to Quincy, Illinois. A few weeks later the writer saw the Sheriff at Quincy, making Joseph Smith, Jr., a friendly visit, and received pay for the horses. (*The Return,* vol. 2, no. 4, April, 1890, typed copy)

On page 255 of her book, *No Man Knows My History*, Fawn Brodie stated that Joseph Smith bribed the sheriff for $800, and in a footnote she gives this documentation:

> "Memoirs of President Joseph Smith," *Saints' Herald*, vol. LXXXI (November 13, 1934), page 1454. "Young Joseph" remembered the sheriff coming to collect the $800 from his father.

Harold Schindler makes this statement concerning the escape:

> While many Missourians still pressured to have the Mormons hanged, several officials in high places, perhaps Boggs himself, had come to the realization that an "escape" would be convenient to all concerned, since the fugitives certainly would leave the state at the first opportunity, and it was unlikely they would return with a grand jury indictment hanging over their heads. Accordingly, Sheriff Morgan and his guards conveniently became intoxicated during the ride to Boone County. Late that night the five prisoners galloped across the border into Illinois. (*Orrin Porter Rockwell*, by Harold Schindler, page 65)

In Illinois the Mormons built the town of Nauvoo. We shall deal with this period in the next chapter.

8. A TREASONOUS PLOT

It was in Nauvoo, Illinois, that Joseph Smith did the most toward planning a kingdom which he hoped would eventually rule every nation. In the Preface to his book, *Quest for Empire, The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History*, Klaus J. Hansen states:

> . . . the idea of a political kingdom of God, promulgated by a **secret** "Council of Fifty," is by far the most important key to an understanding of the Mormon past.

On page 24 of the same book, we find the following statement:

> Certain non-Mormons, curiously enough, seem to have known more about the political ambitions of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young than most faithful Latter-day Saints.

It was in 1838 that Thomas B. Marsh, President of the council of the Twelve Apostles in the Mormon Church, left the Mormons and made an affidavit in which he stated: . . .

> The plan of said Smith, the Prophet, is to take this State, and he professes to his people to intend **taking the United States and ultimately the whole world**. This is the belief of the Church, and my own opinion of the Prophet's plans and intentions. (Affidavit of Thomas B. Marsh, as printed in *A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri From 1836 to 1839*, by Leland Gentry, Brigham Young University, 1965, page 414)

In 1842 John C. Bennett wrote his book, *The History of the Saints*. In this book he charged Joseph Smith with treason. Klaus J. Hansen states:

> Joseph Smith was riding the crest of power. The apostate John C. Bennett, who took every chance to blacken the reputation of his erstwhile leader and denounce him publicly, charged that the prophet had dreamt of making Nauvoo the base of operations for **a Mormon empire** that was at first to include Missouri, Illinois, and the Territory of Iowa. "The remaining states were to be licked up like Salt, and fall into the immense labyrinth of glorious prophetic dominion, like the defenceless lamb before the mighty king of the forest!" (*Quest for Empire*, page 51)

Robert Bruce Flanders feels that John C. Bennett was exaggerating, but he admits that there is "a kernel of truth" in his accusation:

> Perhaps John C. Bennett's most sensational and alarming charge against the Mormons was that they had "a vast and deep-laid scheme . . . for conquering the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri, and erecting upon the ruin of their present governments **a despotic military and religious empire**, the head of which, as **emperor and pope** [would be] **Joseph Smith**, . . . and his ministers and viceroys, the apostles, high priests, elders, and bishops of the Mormon Church." As stated by Bennett the idea was absurd, as was his earlier suggestion that the Nauvoo Legion should make a holy war of revenge on Missouri. But there was **a kernel of truth** in the imputation of an imperious, expansionist Mormonism, and events kept the idea alive and nurtured gentile apprehension. (*Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi*, by Robert Bruce Flanders, University of Illinois Press, 1965, page 278)

COUNCIL OF FIFTY

Not long before his death, Joseph Smith formed a secret organization known as the "Council of Fifty." The Mormon writer John J. Stewart states:

> (The Prophet established a confidential Council of Fifty, or "Ytfif," comprised of both Mormons and non-Mormons, to help attend to temporal matters, including the eventual development of a **one-world government**, in harmony with preparatory plans for the second advent of the Saviour.) (*Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet*, by John J. Stewart, Salt Lake City, 1966, page 204)

John D. Lee made this statement concerning the Council of Fifty:

> The same winter he [Joseph Smith] organized what was called the "Council of Fifty." This was a **confidential** organization. A man by the name of Jackson belonged to it, though he did not belong to the Church. This Council was designated as a law-making department, but no record was ever kept of its doings, or if kept, they were burned at the close of each meeting. Whenever anything of importance was on foot this Council was called to deliberate upon it. (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, photo-reprint of 1880 edition, page 173)

Klaus J. Hansen gives us this information:

> The Council of Fifty, according to charter member Benjamin F. Johnson, consisted of "a select circle of the prophet's most trusted friends, including the twelve [apostles] but not all the constituted authorities of the Church.". . . Joseph Smith established the precedent that the president of the church should also be the president of the Council of Fifty, a custom followed both by Brigham Young and John Taylor. . . .
>
> What Smith taught in these meetings is largely a matter of conjecture, because the deliberations and actions of the Council of Fifty were then and still remain for the most part shrouded in secrecy. . . . Secrecy at times went so far that papers accumulated during a meeting were burned at the close of the session. . . . Ultimately, therefore, the whole world would be aware of the existence of the Council of Fifty. In fact, it is difficult to see how it could have been otherwise, since world government was to be one of the Council's primary missions.
>
> . . . It is known that the president of the church also served as president of the Council . . The discussions on political theory in that organization leave no doubt that the temporal laws of the kingdom of God were to be based on a modified version of the Constitution of the United States. . . . The Council of Fifty was the "highest court on earth." As such, it considered itself superior to any codifications of the law, even that of a constitution. (*Quest for Empire*, pages 61-68)

On pages 4 and 5 of the same book, Klaus Hansen states:

> Even among the Mormons, few were themselves aware of the revolutionary implications inherent in the concept of the political kingdom of God as taught by their prophet Joseph Smith to a small group of faithful followers, after he had initiated them into a secret Council of Fifty in the spring of 1844. . . . Indeed, if few Mormons, in 1844, knew what kind of kingdom their prophet had organized that year, fewer know today.

The Mormon writer J. D. Williams made this statement:

> And in the case of the Grand Council of the Kingdom, the Church obviously contemplated far more than "giving advice." Believed to have been organized in March, 1844, the Grand Council (or "Council of Fifty") was to be the government of the Kingdom of God (which Kingdom was not the Church but the ultimate governing body for **all mankind**). The Council was composed of two non-Mormons and forty-eight to fifty Mormon high priests. . . .
>
> The picture is one of a **secret government**, responsible not to the governed but to ecclesiastical authority, which will provide benign rule for all people, **without election**. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Summer, 1966, pages 46-47)

Klaus J. Hansen informs us that the "Council of Fifty" wore special robes, had secret signs, and bore some resemblance to Freemasonry:

> Bennett's secret order bore some remarkable similarities to certain masonic rituals and practices. This was also true of Smith's Council of Fifty. . . . John C. Bennett was able to convince Smith that a masonic lodge in Nauvoo might be a considerable asset to the Saints. . . . On March 15, 1842, the Grand Master of Illinois, Abraham Jonas, installed the lodge. Most of the leading Mormons joined the organization. Smith himself was initiated as a master mason on the following day, March 16. . . .
>
> Whether or not there existed any direct connection between the government of the kingdom of God and Freemasonry cannot be determined. But it is significant that the Nauvoo Lodge was installed three weeks before Smith received his revelation about the political kingdom of God. The oaths of secrecy administered in the Lodge in 1842 could serve as a means of preparation and of testing to determine to whom the prophet could entrust the more important and potentially more dangerous secrets revealed to the Council of Fifty in 1844. It is, therefore, to be expected that many charter members of the Council of Fifty in 1844 belonged to the Nauvoo Lodge. . . . members of the Council of Fifty, like the Freemasons, donned special robes in their private ceremonies, and "offered up" secret signs. (*Quest for Empire*, pages 55-56)

William Clayton recorded the following in his diary concerning a meeting of the "Council of Fifty" held after Joseph Smith's death:

> . . . all the members of the council of the K. of G. in the camp except brother Thomas Bullock, went unto the bluffs and selecting a small, circular, level spot surrounded by bluffs and out of sight, we clothed ourselves in the priestly garments and offered up prayer to god for ourselves, this camp and all pertaining to it, the brethren in the army, our families and all the Saints, President Young mouth. We all felt well and glad for this privilege. . . . Albert Carrington and Porter Rockwell

> . . . having no clothing with them, stood guard at a little distance from us to prevent interruption. (Diary of William Clayton, as quoted in *Quest for Empire*, page 111)

According to John D. Lee, Brigham Young taught that members of the Council were to keep its proceedings secret, and that J. Pack, who had revealed some of the secrets plead for forgiveness and stated that they could cut his head off if he didn't prove true. John D. Lee makes this entry in his journal, under the date of March 30, 1849:

> . . . Pres. B. Y. took the Floor. Said that Bro. Pack had not wisdom enough to keep the Secrets of this Council locked up in his own Breast & there was others. Cahoons Fath[er] is an other men that is not fit to Sit in the councils of the Gods. Members of this council should be men of firmness and integrity, that when they leave this council Room that the things that belong to this council should be as safe as though it was locked up in the silent vaults of Eternity, but such things must be overcome or the men who indulge in them will be droped from this council. I mean Just what I say. J. Pack pled for Forgiveness, Said try me a little longer. Then, if I don't prove true, deal with me as you think proper, if it is to cut my head off, & [he] wept bitterly like a child. His request was granted. (*A Mormon Chronicle, The Diaries of John D. Lee*, vol. 1, pages 103-104)

Richard D. Poll, Professor of History at Brigham Young University, made this statement concerning the "Council of Fifty":

> (3) To prepare for this assumption of priesthood responsibility, Joseph Smith organized the nucleus of the kingdom of God prior to his death.
>
> (4) This nucleus, the secret Council of Fifty or General Council, conducted this preparatory world from its establishment in Nauvoo until the 1880's, perhaps longer. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Autumn 1967, page 135)

On page 136 of the same issue, Richard D. Poll states that the records of the "Council of Fifty" are not available:

> The Council of Fifty is likely to remain a tantalizingly mysterious body until its records become available for study, . . .

Klaus J. Hansen makes a similar statement:

> The official records of the Council of Fifty, with one small significant exception, are not available for research at the present time, although their existence cannot be doubted. (*Quest for Empire*, page 214)

Brigham Young spoke of the "kingdom of God" in 1874. He stated that he would not tell the names of the members, or read the constitution, but he stated that the constitution was given by revelation:

> The Prophet gave a full and complete organization to this kingdom the Spring before he was killed. This kingdom is the kingdom that Daniel spoke of, . . . to rule the nations of the earth, . . .
>
> Now I want to give you these few words—the kingdom of God will protect every person, every sect and all people upon the face of the whole earth, in their legal rights. I shall not tell you the names of the members of this kingdom, neither shall I read to you its constitution, but the constitution was given by **revelation**. The day will come when it will be organized in strength and power. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 17, pages 156-157)

The historian Juanita Brooks makes this statement concerning the "Council of Fifty":

> Though the initial revelation on the subject was received on April 7, 1842, the organization was not completed with its full membership until March 4, 1844. This also was a secret organization, the activities of which have found little place in Mormon history in spite of the fact that it was probably the most important group in the whole organization. (*On the Mormon Frontier; The Diary of Hosea Stout*, edited by Juanita Brooks, University of Utah Press, 1964, vol. 1, page XVII)

On page 161 of his book, *Quest for Empire*, Klaus Hansen gives us this information:

> In a writ issued for the arrest of prominent citizens of Nauvoo for "treasonable designs against the state," mention was made of a private council of which the accused supposedly were members. Whoever originated the complaint must have had some information regarding the Council, for six of the seven persons named in the complaint belonged to the Council of Fifty.

On pages 56 and 57 of the same book, we find this statement:

> The secret meetings and activities of the Council of Fifty, especially if misinterpreted by the Gentiles, might well have made Smith vulnerable to the charge of treason.

JOSEPH MADE KING

Thomas Ford, the Governor of Illinois, made this statement a few months after Joseph Smith's death:

> It was asserted that Joseph Smith, the founder and head of the Mormon Church, had caused himself to be **crowned and annointed king** of the Mormons: . . . (*Nauvoo Neighbor*, January 1, 1845)

William Marks, who had been a member of the secret "Council of Fifty," admitted in 1853 that Joseph Smith had been ordained to be a king before his death:

> I was also witness of the introduction (secretly,) of a kingly form of government, in which **Joseph suffered himself to be ordained a king**, to reign over the house of Israel forever; which I could not conceive to be in accordance with the laws of the church, but I did not oppose this move, thinking it none of my business. (*Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ*, St. Louis, July, 1853, page 53)

According to Dan Jones, Wilson Law heard Joseph Smith say that "the kingdom referred to was already set up, and that **he was the king over it**" (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, pages 568-569).

The Mormon writer Klaus J. Hansen, who wrote his master's thesis on the "Political Kingdom of God" at the Brigham Young University, made this statement:

> The scriptures indicated that Christ would rule as king over the kingdom of God. Smith took this idea quite literally and thought it only logical that he, as predecessor of the Saviour, should enjoy certain prerogatives of royalty. Consequently, shortly before his death, the prophet apparently had himself ordained as "king on earth." Brigham Young, upon his arrival in the Salt Lake Valley, likewise reportedly had this ceremony performed in the Council of Fifty. . . .
>
> The title of king may have been a metaphor, but the power deriving from the office was not. In this respect it is especially important to recall that Smith held his political office by divine right and not by popular sovereignty. However metaphorical these royal pretensions may have been, Smith apparently knew that they were so potentially dangerous as to be entrusted only to the initiated. (*Quest for Empire*, pages 66-67)

In his master's thesis, Klaus J. Hansen tells that George Miller, who had been a member of the "Council of Fifty," admitted that Joseph Smith was ordained to be a king:

> Rumors implying that the Prophet assumed royal pretensions are somewhat substantiated by George Miller who stated on one occasion that "In this council we ordained Joseph Smith as king on earth." ("The Theory and Practice of the Political Kingdom of God in Mormon History, 1829-1890, master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959, typed copy, page 114)

In *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Mr. Hansen frankly admits:

> . . . Joseph Smith **did** start a political kingdom of God and a Council of Fifty; he **was** made **king** over that organization; . . . (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Summer 1966, page 104)

On page 103 of the same, article Mr. Hansen states:

> William Marks, president of the Nauvoo Stake, joined the Council of Fifty—a secret political organization with executive, legislative, and judicial powers intended as a nucleus government for a projected Mormon nation state— only because of his strong ties of fealty to Joseph Smith. He witnessed Joseph's installation as **king** over that organization with the greatest distaste. Others, less loyal to Joseph, openly broke with him over such doctrines while he was still alive. In fact, this break precipitated the events leading to the murder of the Mormon prophet.

George Miller, who claimed that Joseph Smith was ordained king, referred to the members of the "Council of Fifty" as **princes**:

> . . . Brigham Young having sent an express to me to meet them in council at winter quarters, and bring James Emmit with me (as he had also in Joseph Smith's life-time been organized into the council of the "**fifty princes of the Kingdom** . . ." (Statement by George Miller, as quoted in *Joseph Smith and World Government*, by Hyrum L. Andrus, Salt Lake City, 1963, page 83)

The Mormon Apostle Parley P. Pratt made this statement:

> This Priesthood, including that of the Aaronic, holds the keys of revelation of the oracles of God to man upon the earth; the power and right to give laws and commandments to individuals, churches, rulers, nations and the world; to appoint, ordain, and establish constitutions and kingdoms; to appoint **kings**, presidents, governors or Judges, and to ordain **or anoint** them to their several holy callings, also to instruct, warn, or reprove them by the word of the Lord. (*Key to the Science of Theology*, 1855, page 66)

In his book, *History of Illinois,* Governor Thomas Ford made this statement:

> "It seems, from the best information that could be got from the best men who had seceded from the Mormon Church, that Joe Smith about this time conceived the idea of making himself a temporal **prince** as well as spiritual leader of his people. He instituted a new and select order of the priesthood, the members of which were to be priests and kings temporally and spiritually. These were to be his nobility, who were to be the upholders of his **throne**. He caused himself to be **crowned** and

> anointed **king** and priest, far above the rest; and he prescribed the form of an oath of allegiance to himself, which he administered to his principal followers. . . . **The Mormons openly denounced the government of the United States as utterly corrupt**, and as being about to pass away, and to be replaced by the government of God, to be administered by his servant Joseph." (*History of Illinois*, as quoted in *Quest for Empire*, page 155)

G. T. M. Davis made this statement concerning Joseph Smith being ordained king:

> "The great aim of Joseph Smith was evidently to clothe himself with the most unlimited power, civil, military and ecclesiastical, over all who became members of his society. . . . The first step taken by him, was to satisfy his people that he had received a revelation from God, . . . and gave the following as the substance of his revelation. . . . That he (Joseph) was a descendant from Joseph of old through the blood of Ephraim. And that God had appointed and ordained that he, with his descendants, should rule over all Israel, meaning the Latter Day Saints or Mormons, the Indian tribes and ultimately the Jews and Gentiles. That the authority with which God had clothed him, being "Jure Divino," extended over all mankind, and was paramount and superior to any Human authority. Joe further stated that God had revealed to him, that the Indians and Latter Day Saints, under Joe as their **king**, and **ruler**, were to conquer the Gentiles, and that their subjection to this authority was to be obtained by the **sword**! From this revelation, he enforced upon them that it was necessary he should be crowned **king**, and they, believing in the gross imposition, yielded to his edict. Joe was accordingly crowned king under God, over the immediate house of Isreal. This ceremony was performed in 1842, by a council of fifty in number, denominated the "ancient of days." And thence-forward his authority as such was recognized and obeyed by the church and its authority in all respects and under all circumstances. The peculiar attributes of his power, Joe insisted, were—that he could direct the actions of the entire House of Isreal; that they were bound to obey his commands, whatever they may be—and that finally the whole earth was to become under subjection to him.—He further impressed upon the council crowning him, that God's desire was, as revealed to him, (Joe,) that, for the time being, this was to remain a perfect **secret** until God should reveal to the contrary. And accordingly Joe swore them all to present **secrecy, under the penalty of death**! . . . (Article in the *St. Clair Banner*, September 17, 1844, page 2)

The Mormon writer Kenneth W. Godfrey (Director of the LDS Institute at Stanford University) admits that Joseph Smith was ordained king:

> Antagonism toward the Mormon Prophet was further incited when it was **correctly** rumored, that he had been ordained "King over the Immediate House of Israel" by the Council of Fifty. (*Brigham Young University Studies*, Winter, 1968, pages 212-213)

Among other things, Dr. Godfrey's footnote refers us to the "Diary of George A. Smith, May 9, 1844." This diary is in the "Library of the Church Historian."

From the evidence given above, it would appear that Joseph Smith wanted to establish an independent government. Klaus J. Hansen makes this comment:

> . . . the political kingdom of God required of its citizens a separate loyalty that was difficult to harmonize with loyalty to the United States. (*Quest for Empire*, page 119)

JOSEPH FOR PRESIDENT

In 1844 the "Council of Fifty" decided to run Joseph Smith for the presidency of the United States. Klaus J. Hansen stated:

> . . . the Council of Fifty, while seriously contemplating the possibility of emigration, also considered a rather spectacular alternative, namely, to run its leader for the presidency of the United States in the campaign of 1844. . . . Smith and the Council of Fifty seem to have taken the election quite seriously, much more so, indeed, than both Mormons and anti-Mormons have heretofore suspected. (*Quest for Empire*, page 74)

Just a short time previous to this, Joseph Smith had stated that he did not wish to participate in politics:

> . . . but as my feelings revolt at the idea of having anything to do with politics, I have declined, in every instance, having anything to do on the subject. I think it would be well for politicians to regulate their own affairs. I wish to be let alone, that I may attend strictly to the spiritual welfare of the Church. (*History of the Church*, by Joseph Smith, vol. 5, page 259)

Even though Joseph Smith had made this statement in 1843, in 1844 he announced that he was a candidate for the presidency of the United States. The Elders of the Church were actually called to electioneer for Joseph Smith. Brigham Young made this statement at a special meeting of the Elders, April 9, 1844:

> It is now time to have a President of the United States. Elders will be sent to preach the Gospel and **electioneeer**. (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 822)

At the same meeting Heber C. Kimball made this statement:

> We are going to arrange a plan for Conferences, and we design to send Elders, to all the different States to get up meetings and protracted meetings, and **electioneeer for Joseph** to be the next **President**. (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 325)

John Taylor, who became the third President of the Mormon Church, stated:

> It was thought by many that when Joseph Smith offered himself as a candidate for President of the United States that it was a dangerous and foolish policy, and, in fact, it was quite difficult for many to bring their feelings up to that point. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 9, page 339)

John D. Lee gave this interesting information:

> A convention was called, and the Prophet was nominated as a candidate for the Presidency. He set forth his views in the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, . . . At this convention, the Elders were assigned missions to different States. I was sent to stump the State of Kentucky, with ten elders to assist me.
>
> Brigham Young said to me, "You had better shut up the Seventies' Hall, and obey, perhaps, the last call of the Prophet." Things looked rather equally before I left, and but little prospect of growing better. I left Nauvoo on the 4th of May, 1844, with greater reluctance than I had on any previous mission. It was hard enough to preach the gospel without purse or scrip, but it was nothing compared to offering a man with the reputation that Joseph Smith had, to the people as a candidate for the highest gift of the nation. I would a thousand times rather have been shut up in jail, than to have taken the trip, but I dared not refuse. (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, photo-reprint of 1880 ed., pages 148-149)

The Mormon writer John J. Stewart refers to those who were sent to campaign as "political missionaries":

> Immediately following the conference, several dozen men were assigned by the Quorum of Twelve to carry the Prophet's political manifesto to the various cities and states of the Union, and campaign for his election to the presidency. The apostles themselves would soon travel forth to head this vast force of **political missionaries**. (*Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet*, by John J. Stewart, Salt Lake City, 1966, page 209)

Claire Noall makes this statement concerning Joseph Smith's candidacy:

> Joseph did not long keep secret his desire to enter the White House. Within ten days after Willard had nominated him to the national presidency, the Prophet had drawn up his "Views" for the government of the United States. (*Intimate Disciple: Portrait of Willard Richards*, by Claire Noall, Salt Lake City, 1957, page 209)

Robert Bruce Flanders gives this interesting information:

> The second strategic move to "establish dominion of the Kingdom" as Miller put it was to run Joseph Smith for President in 1844. Though the decision was made before the formal establishment of the Council of Fifty, it was the work of that nascent inner circle.
>
> . . . the Mormons were serious about Smith's candidacy. . . . George Miller said that the campaign was planned by the Council of Fifty. Elders were to go on campaigning missions to every state in the Union, . . . "All things are going on gloriously," wrote Brigham Young in May. "We shall make a great wake in the nation. . . . We have already received several hundred volunteers to go out electioneering and preaching, and more offering. . . ." The campaign was to be "the entire united effort of all the official members of the Church," said Miller. "At no period had there been half so many elders in the vineyard in proportion to the number of members in the Church." (*Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi*, pages 299, 301 and 302)

Willard Richards wrote the following in a letter dated June 20, 1844:

> . . . Your views about the nomination of General Smith for the Presidency are correct. We will gain popularity and external influence. But this is not all: we mean to elect him, and nothing shall be wanting on our part to accomplish it; . . . (Letter by Willard Richardsm, as quoted in *Intimate Disciple*, page 418)

At first the Mormons wanted James Arlington Bennett to be Joseph Smith's running mate. The Mormon writer John J. Stewart refers to this man as "a rank opportunist":

> . . . James Arlington Bennett . . . like the other two Bennetts, was above all else a rank opportunist. James Arlington Bennett had become intrigued with what he had read and heard of the Prophet Joseph and the Mormon people. Although he never had a serious interest in the LDS religion, he allowed Brigham Young to baptize him, in the Atlantic ocean near his mansion on Long Island, later referring to the event as "a frolic in the Atlantic." (*Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet*, page 166)

John J. Stewart's opinion of James Arlington Bennett was probably correct, for in a letter to Joseph Smith, dated October 24, 1843, Bennett stated:

> "I may yet run for a high office in your state, when you would be sure of my best services in your behalf; therefore, a known connection with you would be against our mutual interest. . . . In short, I expect to be yet, through your influence, governor of the State of Illinois." (*History of the Church*, by Joseph Smith, vol. 6, pages 72-73)

On June 24, 1845, Brigham Young made a statement which revealed a great deal about the character of James Arlington Bennett:

> Received a letter from James Arlington Bennett of New York, in which he applies to be consecrated a general of the Nauvoo Legion, that he may "fight Napoleon's battles over again, either in Nauvoo or elsewhere." This wild spirit of ambition has repeatedly manifested itself to us by many communications received from various sources, suggesting schemes of blood and empire; as if the work of the Lord was intended for personal aggrandisement. (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, page 429)

Under the date of November 18, 1845, we find this statement in Brigham Young's history:

> I received a letter from James Arlington Bennett urging me to appoint him military commander-in-chief in the church, the spirit of the letter shows a thirst for personal aggrandizement unbecoming a servant of God. (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, page 528)

Even though the Mormons must have been aware that James Arlington Bennett was a "rank opportunist," they wanted him to be Joseph Smith's running mate. On March 4, 1844, Joseph Smith instructed Willard Richards to write to Mr. Bennett. In this letter we find the following:

> Your friends here consider your letter about the Governorship of Illinois just like every man in your quarter, mere sport, child's sport; for who would stoop to the play of a single State, when the whole nation was on the board?—a cheaper game!
>
> General Smith says, if he must be President, Arlington Bennett must be Vice-President. . . . your name will appear in our next paper as our candidate for Vice-President of the United States. . . .
>
> Dear General, if glory, honor, force, and power in righteous principles are desired by you, now is your time. You are safe in following the counsel of that man who holds communion with heaven; and I assure you, if you act well your part, victory's the prize.
>
> . . . .
>
> Commence at your own mansion and stay not, only for electioneering purposes, till by some popular route you reach Nauvoo; and if you preach Mormonism it will help you.
>
> . . . .
>
> On the 6th of April is our special conference at Nauvoo. I wish you could be here on that occasion, but the time is too short. From that period our Elders will go forth by hundreds or thousands and search the land, preaching religion and politics; and if God goes with them, who can withstand their influence? (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, pages 231-232)

Under the date March 6, 1844, this statement is recorded in Joseph Smith's history:

> The *Neighbor* publishes the name of James Arlington Bennett as candidate for Vice-President. (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 236)

On March 8, 1844, Joseph Smith found out that James A. Bennett "was a native of Ireland, and therefore was not constitutionally eligible to be Vice-President" (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 244). Since Mr. Bennett was not eligible, Sidney Rigdon was chosen as Joseph Smith's running mate.

Some Mormons have claimed that Joseph Smith was not serious in his attempt to become President of the United States. The Mormon historian Joseph Fielding Smith, for instance, made this statement:

> There was no thought on the part of President Joseph Smith or the Saints that he would be elected, but it gave to them an opportunity to express their feelings, and to sustain a candidate who would advocate their rights against oppression. (*Essentials in Church History*, by Joseph Fielding Smith, Salt Lake City, 1942, page 356)

It is true that Joseph Smith did not have much chance of winning. In fact, the Mormon writer Kenneth W. Godfrey states:

> It is highly probable that in spite of the determined efforts of "ordained" political campaigners, the Mormon leader would not have received a single electoral vote. (*Brigham Young University Studies*, Winter 1968, page 212)

Nevertheless, the Mormon leaders took Joseph Smith's candidacy very serious. Claire Noall, a Mormon writer, states:

> I discovered a great deal of evidence to support an earnest campaign for Joseph Smith as a candidate for the national presidency. (*Intimate Disciple*, page 616)

Klaus J. Hansen makes it clear that the Mormon leaders took Joseph Smith's candidacy very serious:

> As a result, the Council of Fifty decided to send all available elders on missions to campaign for Joseph Smith and to preach Mormonism at the same time. . . . In the privacy of the Council of Fifty, Smith clearly viewed his candidacy more seriously than in public. This discrepancy suggests, as do the denials of polygamy, that the prophet's public statements must be taken with caution. Smith's own care in keeping the, true purposes

> of his candidacy secret indicates that he knew that the public at large would treat him as demented if it learned of his actual hopes; but this realization also reveals that he at least knew what he was doing.
>
> . . . .
>
> If Smith had not believed his election in 1844 to be a possibility, why did he enlist the entire man-power of the church in a quixotic venture? (*Quest for Empire*, pages 78-79)

Joseph Smith made this statement on January 29, 1844:

> If you attempt to accomplish this, you must send every man in the city who is able to speak in public throughout the land to electioneer . . . David Yearsly must go, — Parley P. Pratt to New York, Erastus Snow to Vermont, and Sidney Rigdon to Pennsylvania.
>
> . . . Hyrum, Brigham, Parley and Taylor must go. Clayton must go, or he will apostatize. . . . There is oratory enough in the Church to carry me into the presidential chair the first slide. (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 188)

On March 7, 1844, Joseph Smith stated:

> As to politics. I care but little about the presidential chair. I would not give half as much for the office of President of the United States as I would for the one I now hold as Lieutenant-General of the Nauvoo Legion.
>
> . . . .
>
> When I get hold of the Eastern papers, and see how popular I am, I am afraid myself that I shall be elected; . . . (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 243)

The fact that Joseph Smith would allow himself to be crowned king shows that he was obsessed with the idea of gaining power. It is possible that Joseph seriously believed that he would become President, and that he would be able to rule over the people of the United States.

The attempt by Joseph Smith to become President was evidently a treasonous plot to bring the United States Government under the rule of the Priesthood. Klaus J. Hansen stated:

> But what if, through a bold stroke, he could capture the **United States for the kingdom**? The Council of Fifty thought there might be a chance and nominated the Mormon prophet for the Presidency of the United States. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Autumn, 1966, page 67)

George Miller, who had been a member of the "Council of Fifty," made this statement in a letter dated June 28, 1855:

> It was further determined in Council that all the elders should set out on missions to all the States to get up an electorial ticket, and do everything in our power to have Joseph elected president. If we succeeded in making a majority of the voters converts to our faith, and elected Joseph **president**, in such an event **the dominion of the kingdom would be forever established in the United States**; and if not successful, we could fall back on Texas, and **be a kingdom** notwithstanding. (Letter written by George Miller, dated June 28, 1855, as quoted in *Joseph Smith and World Government*, by Hyrum Andrus, Salt Lake City, 1963, page 54)

Instead of going to Texas the Mormons settled in the Great Salt Lake valley. Hyrum Andrus admits that Smith had "even considered the alternative of establishing the Saints in the capacity of an independent **nation**, should all other alternatives fail" (*Joseph Smith and World Government*, page 60).

Before the election Joseph Smith was assassinated. Thus he was unable to establish the kingdom he had planned.

It is strange that, Joseph Smith would establish a secret "Council of Fifty," for in the Book of Mormon all secret societies, bands, oaths and covenants are condemned. In Helaman 6:22 we read:

> And it came to pass that they did have their signs, yea, their secret signs, and their secret words; and this that they might distinguish a brother who had entered into the covenant, . . .

In verse 26 we read that these oaths and covenants came from the Devil:

> Now behold, **those secret oaths and covenants** . . . were put into the heart of Gadianton by that **same being** who did entice our first parents to partake of the forbidden fruit—

In the 8th chapter of Ether, verses 18 and 19, we read:

> And it came to pass that they formed a secret combination, even as they of old; which combination is most abominable and wicked above all, in the sight of God;
>
> **For the Lord worketh not in secret combinations.**
>
> . . .

The Book of Mormon not only condemns secret societies, but it also states that there will be "no kings" in America:

And this land shall be a land of liberty unto the Gentiles, and there shall be **no kings** upon the land, who shall raise up unto the Gentiles.

For he that raiseth up a **king** against me shall **perish**, for I, the Lord, the king of heaven, will be their king, . . . (Book of Mormon, 2 Nephi 10:11 & 14)

It is almost unbelievable that Joseph Smith would allow himself to be ordained king after publishing the Book of Mormon which contains a warning against this very thing.

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9. TEMPLE WORK

In order to really understand the Mormon Kingdom and the hold it has upon its people it is necessary to know about the work which goes on in Mormon temples. The ceremonies that are performed in these temples are secret, and only "worthy" members of the Mormon Church may participate.

BAPTISM FOR DEAD

The Mormon doctrine of baptism for the dead was first practised in Nauvoo, Illinois. Wilford Woodruff, the fourth President of the Mormon Church, made this statement:

> Joseph Smith himself (many of you may recollect the time) went into the Mississippi River one Sunday night after meeting, and baptized a hundred. I baptized another hundred. The next man, a few rods from me, baptized another hundred. We were strung up and down the Mississippi, baptizing for our dead. But there was no recorder, we attended to this ordinance without waiting to have a proper record made. But the Lord told Joseph that he must have recorders present at these baptisms—men who could see with their eyes and hear with their ears, and record these things. Of course, **we had to do the work over again**. Nevertheless, that does not say the work was not of God. (*The Deseret Weekly*, vol. 42:554, April 25, 1891, as quoted in *Temples of the Most High*, N. B. Lundwall, Salt Lake City, 1962, page 69)

On May 2, 1843, Charlotte Haven wrote a letter in which she stated:

> Last Sunday morning the Judge came in and soon proposed a walk, . . . we spied quite a crowd of people, and soon perceived there was a baptism. Two elders stood knee-deep in the icy cold water, and immersed one after another as fast as they could come down the bank. We soon observed that some of them went in and were plunged several times. We were told that they were baptized for the dead who had not had an opportunity of adopting the doctrines of the Latter Day Saints. So these poor mortals in ice-cold water were releasing their ancestors and relatives from purgatory! We drew a little nearer and heard several names repeated by the elders as the victims were douched, and you can imagine our surprise when the name **George Washington** was called. So after these fifty years he is out of purgatory and on his way to the "celestial" heaven! It was enough, and we continued our walk homeward. (*Overland Monthly*, December 1890, pages 629-230)

Many of the baptisms for the dead which were performed in Joseph Smith's day had to be done over. Brigham Young, the second President of the Mormon Church, stated:

> Joseph in his life time did not receive every thing connected with the doctrine of redemption, . . .
>
> I have said that a man cannot be baptized for a woman, nor a woman for a man, and it be valid. . . . Well then, what has been our course on former occasions? Why, here go our beloved sisters and they are baptized in the river or the font for their uncles, for their fathers, for their grandfathers and great grandfathers. (*Millennial Star*, vol. 6, page 121)

On April 9, 1857, Wilford Woodruff made these comments concerning this matter:

> I will bring up one thing which will show that the position I take is correct, —viz., baptism for the dead. When that was first revealed, we rejoiced in it; and, as soon as we had an opportunity, we began to be baptized for our dead. **A man would be baptized for both male and female**. . . . I went forward and was baptized for all my dead relatives I could think of, both male and female, as did others; but, afterwards, we obtained more light upon the subject, and President Young taught the people that men should attend to those ordinances for the male portion of their dead friends, and females for females. . . . How did we feel when we first heard the living could be baptized for the dead? We all went to work at it as fast as we had an opportunity, and were baptized for everybody we could think of, without respect to sex. I went and was baptized for all my friends, grandmothers, and aunts, as those of the male sex; but how was it? Why, by-and-by, it was revealed, through the servants of the Lord, that females should

> be baptised for females, and males for males; but the full particulars of this order was not revealed till after the days of Joseph: therefore this shows an advance in the building up of the kingdom, the gathering of Israel, and the warning of the nations of the earth. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 5, pages 84-85)

Brigham Young once stated: "Hundreds and thousands, I suppose, were baptized before any record was kept all, and they were baptized over, and a record kept . . . the Lord did not reveal everything at once; but I need not dwell on this any longer" (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 18, page 241).

The Mormon leaders teach that the spirits of people who have died cannot enter the kingdom of heaven until a Mormon is baptized for them by proxy. They admit, however, that there is a possibility that some of the spirits may not receive the work which they do for them. Heber C. Kimball, who was a member of the First Presidency of the Mormon Church, once stated:

> For instance, I have got a father who died before "Mormonism" came; I go to brother Brigham . . . he takes me and baptizes me for my father, I acting as proxy, . . .
>
> Perhaps my father may not receive the Gospel. If he don't, my baptism will not do him any good. You might as well go and be baptized for a devil as for a man who will not receive the Gospel in the spirit world. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 5, page 90)

Some people have wondered why these baptisms, if they are really necessary, could not be performed in heaven. The Mormon historian Joseph Fielding Smith explains:

> It is easy to understand how they in person could believe in Christ and even obtain the spirit of repentance; but **water is an element of this world**, and how could spirits be baptized in it, or receive the laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost? The only way it can be done is vicariously, someone who is living acting as a substitute for the dead. (*Doctrines of Salvation*, vol. 2, page 141)

Joseph Fielding Smith's argument is not too convincing, for he states that the souls of fish "lived before they were placed naturally in this earth," and that the "fishes of the sea" will be "recreated, or renewed, through the resurrection, for they too are living souls" (*Doctrines of Salvation*, vol. 1, pages 63 and 74). Since Joseph Fielding Smith maintains that the souls of fish are "in the similitude of their bodies," we would assume that there would have to be something for them to swim in.

Daniel H. Wells, who was a member of the First Presidency of the Mormon Church, gave another reason why baptisms could not be performed in heaven:

> You **cannot grapple a spirit to baptize it**, neither can you perform the sealing ordinances in the spirit, . . . (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 16, page 240)

Joseph Smith made this statement concerning baptism for the dead:

> Chrysostum says that the Marchionites practiced baptism for their dead. "After a catechumen was dead, they had a living man under the bed of the deceased; then coming to the dead man, they asked him whether he would receive baptism, and he making no answer, the other answered for him, and said that he would be baptized in his stead; and so they baptized the living for the dead." The church of course at that time was degenerate, and the particular form might be incorrect, but the thing is sufficiently plain in the Scriptures, hence Paul, in speaking of the doctrine, says, "Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? Why are they then baptized for the dead?" (1 Cor. xv:29). (*History of the Church*, vol. 4, page 599)

Bible scholars are divided as to the meaning of the verse which Joseph Smith quotes. Some claim that it means one thing, and others believe that it means something else. The Mormons, of course, believe that it applies to temple work, where a living person is baptized in behalf of someone that has died. Now, even if this verse does apply to a living person being baptized for someone else, as the Mormons maintain, this does not prove that faithful Christians were practicing it. Paul does not say that **we** are baptized for the dead, but rather that **they** are baptized for the dead. The use of the word "they" instead of the word "we" could make a great deal of difference in the meaning of the statement. If a Protestant made the statement, "Why do **they** then pray for the dead, if the dead rise not at all," it would not mean that he was endorsing the Catholic doctrine of prayers for the dead. However, if a person made the statement, "Why do **we** then pray for the dead, if the dead rise not at all," we would assume that he believed in prayers for the dead.

A good discussion of 1 Corinthians 15:29 is found in the pamphlet, *Baptism for the Dead*:

> A careful reading of this epistle shows that the Apostle Paul writes to the Corinthian Saints using the words "I," "we," "ye," "you," when referring to them and/or himself all the way through his message; but when he mentions baptism for the dead, he changes to "they." "What shall they do?" "Why are they then baptized for the dead?" In the verses following, he returns to the use of "we" and "you." Thus he seems to disassociate himself and the righteous Saints from the methods used by those groups who at that time were practicing baptism for the dead.
>
> The Apostle Paul did not urge his hearers to practice the principle, nor did he command it. He merely used the case as an illustration. Paul did not worship the "unknown God" of the pagans because he found an altar to the pagan unknown god (Acts 17:23) . . . There is no mention of baptism for the dead in the Bible up until Paul—and no mention afterward. Paul, as well as the other apostles, rather than endorsing baptism for the dead as then practiced, seems to have exercised a

> counteracting influence upon this ordinance, for it was perpetuated only among heretics.
>
> The Bible contains no specific authorization of this doctrine. Christ does not mention it, nor do any of the apostles, save Paul; who makes only an indirect reference to it. *(Baptism for the Dead*, by Charles R. Hield and Russell F. Ralston, pages 23-24)

The fact that Christ never mentioned baptism for the dead is strong evidence that no such doctrine existed in the early Christian church.

The Mormon Apostle Orson Pratt admitted that the Bible does not contain any information as to how baptism for the dead should be performed. His excuse for the Bible not containing this information was that it was probably lost or taken out of the Bible. He stated:

> This doctrine of baptism for the dead, must have been well understood by them, . . . Now when, and in what manner was this doctrine communicated to them? It may have been fully developed to them in the epistle which he says that he had previously written to them. This doctrine may have been as important as baptism to the living. Does the written or unwritten word of God with which Christendom are acquainted, inform them anything about how this ceremony is to be performed? Does it inform them who is to officiate? Who is the candidate in behalf of the dead? What classes of the dead are to be benefitted by it? Does scripture or tradition inform us in what particular baptism for the dead will affect them in the resurrection? Does it inform us whether baptism for the dead can be administered in all places, or only in a baptismal font, in a temple consecrated for that purpose? **All these important questions remain unanswered by scripture** and tradition. (*Orson Pratt's Works*, 1891 edition, page 205)

It is interesting to note that in trying to establish the doctrine of baptism for the dead, Joseph Smith contradicted his own "inspired version" of the Bible. Hebrews 11:40 is often used by members of the Mormon Church to prove that work for the dead is necessary. This verse reads:

> God having provided some better thing for **us**, that they without us should not be made perfect.

Joseph Smith changed this verse to read as follows in the Inspired Version of the Bible:

> God having provided some better things for **them** through their sufferings, for without **sufferings** they could not be made perfect.

In Section 128 of the *Doctrine and Covenants*, Joseph Smith had to ignore his own rendition of this verse in trying to establish the doctrine of baptism for the dead. He quoted the King James Version instead. In verse 15 he said:

> . . . these are principles in relation to the dead and the living . . . their salvation is necessary and essential to our salvation, as Paul says concerning the fathers—that they without us cannot be made perfect—neither can we without our dead be made perfect.

In verse 18 he said: ". . . what is that subject? It is the baptism for the dead. For we without them cannot be made perfect; neither can they without us be made perfect." Joseph Smith certainly contradicted himself with regard to Hebrews 11:40.

ENDLESS GENEALOGIES

Baptism for the dead is now performed only in temples. The Mormon people are very zealous about this work for the dead, for they believe they are saving their ancestors. John Taylor, who became the third President of the Church, stated: "we are the only people that know how to save our progenitors, . . . we in fact are the **saviours of the world**, if they ever are saved; . . ." (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, page 123). Wilford Woodruff, who became the fourth President of the Church, felt that he had saved John Wesley, Columbus, and all of the Presidents of the United States except three:

> The dead will be after you, they will seek after you as they have after us in St. George. They called upon us, knowing that we held the keys and power to redeem them.
>
> I will here say, before closing, that two weeks before I left St. George the spirits of the dead gathered around me, wanting to know why we did not redeem them. . . . These were the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and they waited on me for two days and two nights. . . . I straightway went into the baptismal font and called upon brother McCallister to baptize me for the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and fifty other eminent men, making one hundred in all, including **John Wesley**, **Columbus**, and others; I then baptized him for **every President of the United States**, except three; and when their cause is just, somebody will do the work for them. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 19, page 229)

The Mormons are now spending millions of dollars doing genealogical research in order to find the names of those who have died so that they can do proxy baptism for them. Bruce R. McConkie, who is a member of the First Council of the Seventy, has made this statement concerning this matter:

> Before vicarious ordinances of salvation and exaltation may be performed for those who have died they must be accurately and properly identified. Hence, genealogical

research is required. . . . the Church maintains in Salt Lake City one of the world's greatest genealogical societies. Much of the genealogical source material of various nations of the earth has been or is being microfilmed by this society; **millions of dollars** is being spent; and a reservoir of hundreds of millions of names and other data about people who lived in past generations is available for study. (*Mormon Doctrine*, Salt Lake City, 1966, pages 308-309)

Heber J. Grant, the seventh President of the Church, once stated:

> "I am deeply interested in genealogical work. . . . I have in my employ a sister who devotes **all her time** to the preparation of genealogical records. Last year I expended in the neighborhood of $200.00 per month during the entire year for genealogical research work pertaining to the families to which I belong in direct descent and through marriage." (*Temple Mormonism*, New York, 1931, page 10)

The *Deseret News* told of a woman who searched fifteen years to find the names of some of her ancestors:

> "You may hunt for years before you find what you're looking for," Mrs. Triptow said, "then you might discover it all at once."
>
> She proved it one day last month, when in one minute she found the names of four new ancestors for whom she had **searched 15 years**. She spotted their names and christening dates in the Bedlington (England) parish register printout at the Genealogical Society library. (*Deseret News*, Church Section, April 23, 1966, page 14)

Wallace Turner gives this information concerning genealogical research:

> This microfilming of records is a tremendous work, growing in scope continually, operated entirely for the benefit of the ancestor tracing that leads to the vicarious Temple ceremonies. As of July 1, 1965, the microfilm division had a total of 406,682 rolls of microfilm of 100 feet each. There were records from all over the world. Just consider that even from the Bahamas they have 608 rolls containing about 780,000 separate pages of records. The total microfilm load included 579,679,800 pages of documents. There were more than 5 billion names in the files.
>
> The church puts about $4 million a year into the Genealogical Society. It has 575 employees and is run by a board which includes two apostles. The microfilm unit sends crews all over the world to locate and photograph records. . . . The negative microfilms are stored in a great vault system dug out of the rocks of Cottonwood Canyon in the Wasatch Mountains southeast of Salt Lake City. This underground storage system was produced by the church at a cost of $2.5 million. It has six vaults, which each will hold a million rolls of film. As of July 1, 1965, the church had just over 400,000 rolls, not enough to half fill one vault. During 1964, the microfilming units worked in fourteen countries. (*The Mormon Establishment*, Boston, 1966, pages 81-82)

Robert Mullen makes the following statements concerning the storage vaults and the genealogical work done by the Church:

> You see three huge bank-like vault doors. One, you are told, weighs fifteen tons and could withstand almost any known blast. Each of these vault doors leads to a 350-foot long room, extending even farther back into the granite mountain. These immense rooms, also lined with softly painted steel, and floored and lighted like the most modern offices, are connected with three cross extensions of similar design. . . .
>
> The vaults have their own self-contained power plant, their own emergency supplies, fresh air filters, and other equipment to endure even a severe atomic attack, which one can only suppose was at least at the back of the minds of designers and builders. But the vaults are not reserved for emergency use; they are in daily service as the principal storage area for the 250 million or more feet of microfilm in the Church's genealogical library. . . . The most recent acquisition, for example, are microfilms of every birth and death in New Zealand since records were kept. . . .
>
> Today genealogical work is a favorite occupation with many of the Church members. On a normal business day in Salt Lake City you will find perhaps one hundred men and women entering the centrally located genealogical headquarters and peering into the big reading machines on which microfilms are projected. Others will be consulting Church experts, furnishing the family names and other material that can be fed into the information retrieval computers. (*The Latter-day Saints: The Mormons Yesterday and Today*, New York, 1966, pages 193-195)

The Mormon Apostle LeGrand Richards boasts:

> Already, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has one of the largest and best genealogical libraries in the world. . . .
>
> For the preservation of these records the Church has carved from granite mountains only 22 miles from Salt Lake City a giant series of storage vaults. There is nearly 700 feet of solid granite above the six huge vaults which have been carved almost 500 feet into the heart of the granite. . . .
>
> It is safe to predict that in the not too far distant future, the Church Genealogical Library will not only be the best in the world but will also be a repository of most all other genealogical libraries. (*A Marvelous Work and a Wonder*, Salt Lake City, 1966, page 192)

Many people have wondered why the Mormon Church spends so much time and money searching for the names of the dead when there are so many people starving to death. It would seem far better to spend this money and time on the living and let the Lord take care of the dead. The Mormon leaders admit that

they will never be able to find all of the names until the Lord gives them during the millennium. The Mormon Apostle LeGrand Richards states:

> This work will obviously have to continue throughout the thousand years of the millennium when the Savior will reign upon this earth. At present, we are dependent upon the written records that have been kept. But during the millennium we will have direct communication with the heavens, when all the names and information concerning those who are ready and worthy of baptism will be revealed. (*A Marvelous Work and a Wonder*, page 178)

Since the Mormon leaders believe that the Lord will have to provide many of the names anyway, would it not be better to spend this time and money helping the living instead of searching for the names of the dead? Because of this emphasis on work for the dead, one Mormon has compared the Church to the ancient Egyptians. The Egyptians spent a fantastic amount of time and money building pyramids and doing other work for their dead. In fact, the Great Pyramid of Khufu "covers an area of about thirteen acres and contains more than 2,300,000 blocks of stone, each weighing an average of two and one-half tons. It has been computed that the blocks, if cut to sections one foot square, would reach two-thirds of the way around the earth at the equator" (*The Biblical World*, page 465).

The Book of Mormon states that the false churches "rob the poor because of their fine sanctuaries; . . ." (2 Nephi 28:13), yet the Mormon Church is spending millions of dollars building beautiful temples. The Salt Lake Temple, for instance, cost between 3 and 4 million dollars and took almost 40 years to build. According to figures given to N. B. Lundwall by the Church Historian's Office, the Church has spent $16,925,000.00 on temples alone, and these figures do not include the Temple in Oakland, California. If we added the millions of dollars spent for genealogical research the figures would amount to a great deal more. Thus it appears that the Mormons are similar to the ancient Egyptians in their attitudes toward the dead. Joseph Fielding Smith, a member of the First Presidency of the Church, made this statement:

> . . . the greatest commandment given us, and made obligatory, is the temple work in our own behalf and in behalf of our dead. (*Doctrines of Salvation*, vol. 2, page 149)

On page 146 of the same book, Joseph Fielding Smith states:

> The Prophet Joseph Smith declared, "The greatest responsibility in this world that God has laid upon us is to **seek after our dead**."

The statements are very different from the words of Christ found in Mark 12:29-31:

> And Jesus answered him. The first of all the commandments is, Hear, O Israel; The Lord our God is one Lord:
>
> And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength: this is the first commandment.
>
> And the second is like, namely this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. **There is none other commandment greater than these.**

There are two scriptures written by Paul which have been used against the genealogical work done by members of the Mormon Church. The first is found in 1 Timothy 1:4:

> Neither give heed to fables and **endless genealogies**, which minister questions, rather than godly edifying which is in faith: so do.

The second is found in Titus 3:9:

> But **avoid** foolish questions, and **genealogies**, and contentions, and strivings about the law; for they are **unprofitable and vain**.

ELIJAH THE PROPHET

In Malachi, the 4th chapter, verses 5 and 6, we read the following:

> Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord:
>
> And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse.

These verses are very important to the Mormon Church, for it is claimed that Elijah the Prophet appeared in the Kirtland Temple and opened the "door of salvation" for those who are dead, thus fulfilling this prophecy. In the Introduction to volume 2 of the *History of the Church* the following appears: "The work done by Elijah was to open the door of salvation for the dead." The Mormon Apostle LeGrand Richards states:

> To which church in all the world today can one go, other than The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and be told of Elijah's coming in fulfilment of this prophecy? His coming is of the utmost importance in the sight of God . . .

> When the keys of this dispensation for the turning of the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, had been committed, by Elijah, into the hands of Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery, they proceeded to explain the new and strange doctrine of baptism for the dead to their associates and the membership of the Church. They made it plain that the children here upon the earth can be baptized for their loved ones who have passed away without enjoying this privilege. The knowledge of this great truth has caused the "heart of the children" to turn "to their fathers" and the children to seek out their genealogy so they can be baptized for their kindred dead. (*A Marvelous Work and a Wonder*, pages 169 and 171)

Upon careful examination we find that verses 5 and 6 of the 4th chapter of Malachi could not apply to an appearance of Elijah in the Kirtland Temple because the Bible makes it very clear that this prophecy was fulfilled in Christ's day. In fact, Jesus himself said that it was fulfilled. In order to understand the words of Jesus we must understand that the name *Elias* is the Greek word for the Hebrew name *Elijah*. Any good dictionary has this information in it, but a person does not have to consult a dictionary to find this information. The Bible itself proves this to be true. James tells us that Elias prayed and it rained not for the space of three years and six months (James 5:17), but 1 Kings 17:1 makes it clear that it was Elijah, thus proving that Elijah and Elias are two names for the same person. Elijah is the Old Testament name and Elias is the New Testament name, just the same as Noe is the New Testament name for Noah of the Old Testament (see 1 Peter 3:20). Therefore, any time Elijah is mentioned in the New Testament he is called Elias. With this thought in mind we can see that the prophecy of the coming of Elijah was fulfilled in John the Baptist. Jesus said:

> And from the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force.
>
> For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John.
>
> And if ye will receive it, **this is Elias** [or Elijah], which was to come. (Matthew 11:12-14)

Matthew 17:10-13 makes it even clearer that the prophecy concerning the coming of Elijah has already been fulfilled in John the Baptist:

> And his disciples asked him, saying, Why then say the scribes that Elias must first come?
>
> And Jesus answered and said unto them, Elias truly shall first come and restore all things.
>
> But I say unto you, that **Elias** [or Elijah] i**s come already, and they knew him not**, but have done unto him whatsoever they listed, Likewise shall also the Son of man suffer of them.
>
> Then the disciples understood that **he spake unto them of John the Baptist**.

Verse 6 of the 4th chapter of Malachi contains this information concerning Elijah:

> And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse.

The Mormon Church claims that this prophecy was fulfilled in their temple work; however, the Bible makes it clear that this prophecy has been fulfilled by John the Baptist. In Luke 1:13 and 17 we read:

> But the angel said unto him, . . . thou shalt call his name John. . . .
>
> And he shall go before him in the spirit and power of **Elias**, [or Elijah] **to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children**, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just; to make ready a people prepared for the Lord.

Now that we know that Elias is the New Testament name for Elijah, we can certainly see that Joseph Smith made a mistake when he claimed that he saw both Elias and Elijah in the Kirtland Temple. In the *Doctrine and Covenants*, Section 110, verses 12 and 13, we read:

> After this, **Elias** appeared, and committed the dispensation of the gospel of Abraham, . . .
>
> After this vision had closed, another great and glorious vision burst upon us; for **Elijah** the prophet who was taken to heaven without tasting death, stood before us, . . .

It is interesting to note that Joseph Smith made the same mistake in Section 27 of the *Doctrine and Covenants*, for he spoke of Elias and Elijah as two separate persons. Joseph Smith also made the same mistake concerning the Prophet Isaiah. Esaias is the New Testament name for Isaiah; however, Joseph Smith spoke of Isaiah and Esaias as two separate people (see *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 76, verse 100).

ALL IN VAIN?

Perhaps the most embarrassing thing to the Mormon Church concerning the doctrine of baptism for the dead is the Book of Mormon itself. The Book of Mormon is supposed to contain the "fulness of the everlasting Gospel." In the *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 42, verse 12, we read:

> And again, the elders, priests, and teachers of this church shall teach the principles of my gospel, **which are in the Bible and the Book of Mormon, in the which is the fulness of the gospel**.

Joseph Smith stated that the angel told him the following:

> He also said that the **fulness of the everlasting gospel was contained in it**, as delivered by the Savior to the ancient inhabitants. (*Pearl of Great Price*, Joseph Smith—History 1:34)

Even though the Book of Mormon is supposed to contain the fulness of the gospel, it never mentions the doctrine of baptism for the dead, not even once! The word "baptism" is mentioned 25 times in the Book of Mormon. The word "baptize" is mentioned 28 times. The word "baptized" is mentioned 85 times, and the word "baptizing" is mentioned 6 times, but the doctrine of baptism for the dead is not even mentioned once.

The excuse that the doctrine of baptism for the dead was removed from the Bible certainly would not prove true in the case of the Book of Mormon. The Catholics never had the Book of Mormon and therefore they could not have removed it.

Actually, the Book of Mormon condemns the doctrine of baptism for the dead. It plainly indicates that there is no chance for a person to repent after death if he has known the gospel and has rejected it. In Alma 34:33 to 35 we read:

> And now, as I said unto you before, as ye have had so many witnesses, therefore, I beseech of you that ye do not procrastinate the day of your repentence until the end; for after this day of life, which is given us to prepare for eternity, behold, if we do not improve our time while in this life, then cometh the night of darkness wherein there can be **no** labor performed.
>
> Ye cannot say, when ye are brought to that awful crisis, that I will repent, that I will return to my God. Nay, ye cannot say this; for that **same** spirit which doth possess your bodies at the time that ye go out of **this life**, that **same** spirit will have power to possess your body in that eternal world.
>
> For behold, if ye have **procrastinated** the day of your repentance even until **death**, behold, ye **have** become subjected to the spirit of the devil, and he **doth seal** you his; therefore, the Spirit of the Lord **hath withdrawn** from you, and hath **no** place in you, and the devil hath **all power over you**; and **this is the final state of the wicked**.

So we can plainly see from these words that are found in the Book of Mormon that those who rejected the gospel in this life will never have another chance to receive it. Therefore, baptism would avail them nothing. Those who have received the gospel in this life need no work done for them. This leaves only little children and those who have never had a chance to accept the gospel. The Book of Mormon states that little children are saved without baptism:

> Wherefore, if little children could not be saved without baptism, these must have gone to an endless hell. (Moroni 8:13)

The Book of Mormon also teaches that those who have died without the law need no baptism:

> For behold that **all** little children are **alive in Christ**, and **also all they that are without the law.** For the power of redemption cometh on **all them** that have no law; wherefore, he that is not condemned, or he that is under no condemnation, cannot repent; and **unto such baptism availeth nothing**— (Moroni 8:22)

Therefore, according to the Book of Mormon, there is no class of people that baptism for the dead could help. Those who have not had the law need no baptism, therefore, it would be vain to search out their genealogies and be baptized for them. Those who have heard and rejected the gospel do not have another chance for repentance, therefore, baptism for the dead could not help them. There is no one, then, that baptism for the dead could help, it is all in vain. Millions of dollars that could be used to help and save the living are spent in doing work for the dead, which, according to the Book of Mormon, is all in vain.

Certainly the fact that the Book of Mormon does not mention baptism for the dead should prove to a Mormon that it is a false doctrine. Truly, it is going beyond the teachings of Christ. Since the Book of Mormon claims to contain the fulness of the gospel and does not even mention baptism for the dead we can conclude that it is a false doctrine. When a glass is full of water it can contain no more, and since baptism for the dead is not found in the "fulness of the gospel" we can conclude that it is no part of the gospel. In the Book of Mormon we read:

> And whoso shall **declare more** or less than this, and establish it for **my doctrine**, the same cometh of evil, and is **not** built upon my rock; but he buildeth upon a sandy foundation, and the gates of hell stand open to receive such when the floods come and the winds beat upon them. (Book of Mormon, 3 Nephi 11:40)

TEMPLE MARRIAGE

The Mormon Church teaches that it is necessary for a person to be married or sealed in the temple so that he can obtain the highest exaltation in the hereafter. This work is done for both the living and the dead. The doctrine of temple marriage comes from Section 132 of the *Doctrine and Covenants*. This is a revelation given to Joseph Smith on July 12, 1843. Joseph Fielding Smith, a member of the First Presidency of the LDS Church, makes this statement concerning temple marriage:

> If you want salvation in the fullest, that is exaltation in the kingdom of God, so that you may become his sons and his daughters, you have got to go into the temple of the Lord and receive these holy ordinances which belong to that house, which cannot be had elsewhere. (*Doctrines of Salvation*, vol. 2, page 44)

On page 60 of the same book, Joseph Fielding Smith states:

> It fills my heart with sadness when I see in the paper the name of a daughter or a son of members of this Church, and discover that she or he is going to have a ceremony and be married outside of the temple of the Lord, because I realize what it means, **that they are cutting themselves off from exaltation in the kingdom of God**.
>
> **Sorrow in resurrection if no eternal marriage.** These young people who seem to be so happy now, when they rise in the resurrection—and find themselves in the condition in which they will find themselves—then there will be **weeping** and **wailing**, and **gnashing of teeth**, and **bitterness of soul**; . . .

On page 61 of the same book, the following statement appears:

> **Civil marriage makes servants in eternity.**

On page 62 of the same book, this statement appears:

> **Celestial marriage make Gods in eternity.**

The Mormon Apostle LeGrand Richards states:

> From this revelation, it will be seen that men can **become Gods** and enjoy a "fulness and a continuation of the seeds forever and ever," only by observing the new and everlasting covenant of marriage, and that without marriage they can only become "**ministering servants**, to minister for those who are worthy of a far more, and an exceeding, and an eternal weight of glory." (*A Marvelous Work and a Wonder*, by LeGrand Richards, 1966 ed., page 313)

The Mormon leaders teach that those who married in the temple will have children forever. Bruce R. McConkie, of the First Council of Seventy, explains:

> Those who gain eternal life (exaltation) also gain **eternal lives**, meaning that in the resurrection they have **eternal** "**increase**," "a continuation of the **seeds**," a "continuation of the **lives**." Their spirit **progeny** will "continue as innumerable as the stars; or, if ye were to count the sand upon the seashore ye could not number them." (*D. & C.* 131:1-4; 132:19-25, 30, 55)
>
> "Except a man and his wife enter into an everlasting covenant and be married for eternity, while in this probation, by the power and authority of the holy priesthood," the Prophet says, "they will cease to increase when they die; that is, they will **not** have any **children** after the resurrection." (*Mormon Doctrine*, by Bruce R. McConkie, 1966 ed., page 238)

Joseph Fielding Smith states:

> What is eternal life? It is to have "a continuation of the seeds forever and ever." (*Doctrines of Salvation*, by Joseph Fielding Smith, vol. 2, 1960 ed., page 9)

Joseph Fielding Smith makes this statement concerning those who are not married in the LDS Temple:

> Restrictions will be placed upon those who enter the terrestrial and telestial kingdoms, and even those in the celestial kingdom who do not get the exaltation; **changes** will be made in their bodies to suit their condition; and there will be no marrying or giving in marriage, nor living together of men and women, because of these restrictions. (*Doctrines of Salvation*, vol. 2, page 73)

Mormon theology teaches that even God Himself has a wife and that in the pre-existence we lived as His sons and daughters. The Mormon Apostle Milton R. Hunter makes this statement:

> Jesus is man's spiritual brother. We dwelt with Him in the spirit world as members of that large society of eternal intelligences, which included **our heavenly parents** . . . (*Gospel Through the Ages*, by Milton R. Hunter, 1958 ed., page 21)

On pages 98-99 of the same book, Milton R. Hunter states:

> The stupendous truth of the existence of a **Heavenly Mother**, as well as a Heavenly Father, became established facts in Mormon theology. A complete realization that we are the **offspring** of **Heavenly Parents—**that we were begotten and born into the spirit world and grew to maturity in that realm—became an integral part of Mormon philosophy. Those verities are basic in the Gospel plan of eternal progression.
>
> The prophets of our dispensation have clearly explained the doctrine of heavenly **parenthood**. In the words of President Joseph F. Smith, and his counselors, John R. Winder and Anthon H. Lund; "Man, as a spirit, was **begotten** and **born** of **Heavenly Parents**, and reared to maturity in the eternal mansions of the Father prior to coming upon the earth in a temporal body to undergo an experience in mortality."

Because many of God's spirit children are still "waiting to take tabernacles," the Mormon leaders teach that Mormons should have large families and that birth control is undesirable. Joseph Fielding Smith, of the LDS First Presidency, stated:

> **Birth control is wickedness.** The abuse of this holy covenant has been the primary cause for the downfall of nations. . . .
>
> When a man and a woman are married and they agree, or covenant, to limit their offspring to two or three, and practice devices to accomplish this purpose, they are guilty of iniquity which eventually must be punished. Unfortunately this evil doctrine is being taught as a virtue by many people who consider themselves cultured and highly educated. . . .
>
> It should be understood definitely that this kind of doctrine is not only not advocated by the authorities of the Church, but also is **condemned** by them as **wickedness** in the sight of the Lord.
>
> President Joseph F. Smith has said in relation to this question: ". . . Possibly no **greater sin** could be committed by the people who have embraced this gospel than to prevent or to destroy life in the manner indicated." . . . President Brigham Young has this to say about birth control, an abomination practiced by so-called civilized nations, but nations who have forsaken the ways of life:
>
> > There are multitudes of pure and holy spirits waiting to take tabernacles, now what is our duty? . . . It is the duty of every righteous man and woman to prepare tabernacles for all the spirits they can.
>
> Moreover, may we not lose our own salvation if we violate this divine law?
>
> **Birth control leads to damnation.** Instructing the mothers of the Church, President Joseph F. Smith said in June, 1917: "I regret, I think it is a crying **evil**, that there should exist a sentiment or a feeling among any members of the Church to curtail the birth of their children. I think that is a **crime** wherever it occurs, . . . I have no hesitancy in saying that I believe that is one of the greatest **crimes** of the world today, this **evil practice**. (*Doctrines of Salvation*, vol. 2, 1960 ed., pages 87-89)

The Mormon authorities teach that it is impossible for a person to receive the highest exaltation without marriage. The Mormon Apostle Milton R. Hunter remarked:

> Marriage is not only a righteous institution, but obedience to this law is **absolutely necessary** in order to obtain the **highest exaltation** in the Kingdom of God. (*Gospel Through the Ages*, 1958, page 119)

Non-Mormon writers have stated that the Apostle Paul was probably not married, but Bruce R. McConkie, of the First Council of Seventy, states: "Paul himself was married. Of this there is no question" (*Mormon Doctrine*, 1966, page 119). Some of the early Mormon leaders have taught that Jesus was married, but there is not much said on this subject today.

If the Mormon doctrine of "sealing" is true we would expect to find evidence that Jesus was married in the temple. No such evidence has been found. Dr. Hugh Nibley states:

> 5. Before deciding whether Jesus was a polygamist we would have to know whether he was married. If he was that information has been withheld. Some of the recently discovered early Christian writings from Egypt imply very clearly that he was married, but of course they don't prove it, since their authority has yet to be determined. I know of no official teaching of the Church to the effect that Jesus was a polygamist. There are all sorts of things we don't know about Jesus, and this is one of them. (Letter by Hugh Nibley to Morris Reynolds, May 12, 1966)

If the doctrine of eternal marriage is so important, we would expect to find it mentioned hundreds of times throughout the Bible and Book of Mormon. But we find that it is not mentioned once in either the Bible or the Book of Mormon. In fact, Jesus seems to have taught just the opposite:

> And Jesus answering said unto them, The children of this world marry, and are given in marriage: But they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage: Neither can they die any more: for they are equal unto the angels; and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection. (Luke 20:34-6)

While Joseph Fielding Smith feels that the early Christians "received their endowments," he admits that they did not have a temple:

> The saints of the primitive Christian Church did not have access to a temple. The temple in Jerusalem was the only temple, and it had fallen into the hands of unbelievers—wicked men—and therefore those members of the Church in that dispensation could not perform this labor for dead in the temple. Therefore all ordinances they performed for the dead had to be performed elsewhere. (*Doctrines of Salvation*, vol. 2, page 169)

The Mormon Apostle LeGrand Richards frankly admits that temple marriage did not come from the Bible:

> This glorious principle of eternal marriage did **not** come to the Prophet Joseph Smith by reading the Bible, but through the revelations of the Lord to him. (*A Marvelous Work and A Wonder*, page 195)

Temple marriage or sealing, as it is called by the Mormon people, was—like many other doctrines—not part of the original Mormon faith. The first edition of the *Doctrine and Covenants*, published in 1835, condemned such a teaching. On page 251 of the 1835 edition of the *Doctrine and Covenants*, we read as follows:

> . . . we believe, that **all** marriages in this church of Christ of Latter Day Saints, should be solemnized in a **public** meeting, or feast, prepared for that purpose: and that the solemnization should be performed by a presiding high priest, high priest, bishop, elder, or priest,

not even prohibiting those persons who are desirous to get married, of being married by other authority.

. . . . .

4 All legal contracts of marriage made **before** a person is baptized into this church, should be held **sacred and fulfilled**.

This section on marriage was so diametrically opposed to the teachings of the Mormon Church, that it finally had to be completely removed from the *Doctrine and Covenants*. It was removed from the 1876 edition when the revelation on plural marriage and sealing was put in. Joseph Fielding Smith makes these statements concerning the removal of the section on marriage:

> At this conference two other articles were also received, read, approved, and ordered to be printed in the *Doctrine and Covenants*, one on **marriage** and the other on laws and government. These two articles appeared in each edition of the *Doctrine and Covenants* from the first edition in 1835, until 1876. . . .
>
> WHY ARTICLE ON MARRIAGE WAS DELETED. In the days of Nauvoo, the Lord gave Joseph Smith a revelation on marriage; that revelation appears under date of July 12, 1843. . . . It would not have been consistent to have allowed that article on marriage to stay in when it contradicted the revelation given to the Prophet Joseph Smith, so they took it out, and very properly. That is a matter of history that we ought to be familiar with.
>
> FALSE TEACHINGS OF ARTICLE ON MARRIAGE. I want to read from this article on marriage to show you that it is not a revelation and could not be: "According to the custom of all civilized nations, marriage is regulated by laws and ceremonies; therefore, we believe that all marriages in this Church of Christ of Latter-day Saints should be solemnized in a public meeting or feast prepared for that purpose,"— (I do not believe that at all. We solemnize marriages in the temple of the Lord, at an altar. We do not have a crowd, and it is not a feast.) — "And that the solemnization should be performed by a presiding high priest, high priest, bishop, elder, or priest, not even prohibiting those persons who are desirous to get married, of being married by other authority."
>
> I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT. I believe every marriage in this Church should be performed by a high priest who is appointed by the one who holds the keys to perform that ceremony for time and eternity, at the altar in the house of the Lord, and it ought not to be performed anywhere else.
>
> . . . . .
>
> So it would be inconsistent, I say, to keep that article in here, when the revelation known as section 132 came to the Prophet Joseph Smith and was added to the revelations in the *Doctrine and Covenants*. (*Doctrines of Salvation*, vol. 3, pages 194-197)

CONNECTED WITH POLYGAMY

The revelation which contains the information on temple marriage is also the revelation which contains the teaching of polygamy—i.e., section 132 of the *Doctrine and Covenants*. Therefore, polygamy and temple marriage stand or fall together; or, in other words, they are indissolubly interwoven. Charles Penrose, who was later sustained as first counselor in the First Presidency, made this perfectly clear in a conference at Centerville, Utah:

> Elder Charles W. Penrose spoke a short time . . . He showed that the revelation that had been the subject of attention was only one published on Celestial Marriage, and if the doctrine of **plural marriage was repudiated so must** the glorious principle of **marriage for eternity, the two being indissolubly interwoven with each other**. (*Millennial Star*, vo1. 45, page 454)

This statement by Charles Penrose certainly makes it clear that a person cannot believe in the doctrine of temple marriage without also believing in polygamy. The following appeared in the *Millennial Star*, vol. 15, page 226:

> We cannot be married to our husbands for eternity, without subscribing to the **law that admits a plurality of wives**.

The Mormon Apostle Orson Pratt stated:

> . . . if **plurality of marriage is not true** or in other words, if a man has no divine right to marry two wives or more in this world, **then marriage for eternity is not true**, and your faith is all vain, and all the sealing ordinances and powers, pertaining to marriages for eternity are **vain, worthless, good for nothing**; for **as sure as one is true the other also must be true**. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 21, page 296)

While the Mormon people no longer are allowed to practice polygamy, they have not repudiated the doctrine. The Mormons still teach that polygamy is practiced in heaven. The Mormon writer John J. Stewart makes it very clear that plural marriage is still an "Integral part of LDS scripture." In his book, *Brigham Young and His Wives*, copyright 1961, Mr. Stewart states:

> The Church has **never**, and certainly will never, renounce this doctrine. **The revelation on plural marriage is still an integral part of LDS scripture, and always will be.** If a woman, sealed to her husband for time and eternity, precedes her husband in death, it is his privilege to marry another also for time and eternity, providing that he is worthy of doing so. Consider, for instance, the case of President Joseph Fielding Smith of the Council

> of the Twelve, one of the greatest men upon the earth . . . After the death of his first wife President Joseph Fielding Smith married another, and each of these good women are sealed to him for time and eternity. (*Brigham Young and His Wives*, page 14)

Joseph Fielding Smith makes this comment concerning his "wives":

> I get a great deal of comfort out of the thought that if I am faithful and worthy of an exaltation, my father will be my father, . . . and **my wives** will be mine in eternity. I don't know how some other people feel, but that is a glorious thought to me. That helps to keep me sober. (*Doctrines of Salvation*, vol. 2, page 67)

While Mormon men are allowed more than one wife in heaven, a woman can have but one husband. Joseph Fielding Smith states:

> When a man and a woman are married in the temple for time and all eternity, and then the man dies and the woman marries another man, she can be married to him for **time only**.
>
> When a man marries a woman who was married previously to her husband in the temple but who has now died, he does so, or should, with his eyes open. If the children are born to this woman and her "time" husband, he has **no** claim upon those children. They go with the mother. This is the law. Certainly a man cannot in reason expect to take another man's wife, after that man is dead, and rear a family by her and then claim the children.
>
> If he wants a family of his own, then he should marry a wife that he can have in eternity. (*Doctrines of Salvation*, vol. 2, pages 78-79)

At one time Brigham Young became so zealous to establish polygamy that he declared that a man who would not enter into polygamy would have his wife taken from him in the resurrection and given to another:

> Now, where a man in this church says, "I don't want but **one wife**, I will live my religion with **one**." He will perhaps be saved in the Celestial kingdom; but **when he gets there he will not find himself in possession of any wife at all**. He has had a talent that he has hid up. He will come forward and say, "Here is that which thou gavest me, I have not wasted it, and here is the **one** talent," and he will not enjoy it, but it will be taken and given to those who have improved the talents they received, and he will find himself **without any wife, and he will remain single forever and ever**. . . . I recollect a sister conversing with Joseph Smith on this subject. She told him: "Now don't talk to me; when I get into the celestial kingdom, if I ever do get there, I shall request the privilege of being a ministering angel; that is the labor that I wish to perform. I don't want any companion in that world; and if the Lord will make me a ministering angel, it is all I want." Joseph said, "Sister, you talk very foolishly, you do not know what you will want." He then said to me: "Here, Brother Brigham, you seal this lady to me." I sealed her to him. This was my own sister according to the flesh. Now, sisters, do not say, "I do not want a husband when I get up in the resurrection.". . . If in the resurrection you really want to be single and alone, and live so forever and ever, and be made servants, while others receive the highest order of intelligence and are bringing worlds into existence, you can have the privilege. They who will be **exalted** cannot perform all the **labor**, they must have **servants** and **you can be servants to them**. (*Deseret News*, vol. 22, September 17, 1873, page 517)

One of the greatest evidences against the truthfulness of temple marriage, or sealing, is the fact that Joseph Smith established it in an untruthful manner. After preaching on it in 1843 he got back into the standard and denied it. This important information is given to us by George A. Smith:

> Whereupon, the Prophet goes up on the stand, and, after preaching about everything else he could think of in the world, at last hints at the idea of the law of redemption, makes a bare hint at the **law of sealing, and it produced such a tremendous excitement that** as soon as he had got his dinner half eaten, **he had to go back to the stand, and unpreach all that he had preached**, and left the people to guess at the matter. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 2, page 217)

It would be hard to imagine Jesus getting up and unpreaching any of his sermons. He did not unpreach his sermons just because the people did not like what he said. This in itself is strong evidence against temple sealing. If it was a true doctrine why would Joseph Smith have to get up and deny it?

Verse 26 of Section 132 in the *Doctrine and Covenants* clearly teaches that after a man is sealed in the temple, he can commit any sin he wishes except murder, and still come forth in the first resurrection to enter into exaltation. The only stipulation being that he must be destroyed in the flesh and be turned over to the buffetings of Satan; however, after this is over he will rise in the first resurrection to his exaltation. Verse 26 reads as follows:

> Verily, verily, I say unto you, if a man marry a wife according to my word, and they are sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise, according to mine appointment, and he or she shall commit any **sin or transgression** of the new and everlasting covenant whatever, and **all manner of blasphemies**, and if they commit no murder wherein they shed innocent blood, **yet they shall come forth in the first resurrection, and enter into their exaltation**; but they shall be destroyed in the flesh, and shall be delivered unto the buffetings of Satan unto the day of redemption, saith the Lord God.

Joseph Smith told William Clayton that nothing (except murder) could prevent him from inheriting eternal life. His words are found in the *History of the Church*, vol. 5, page 391:

> Your life is hid with Christ in God, and so are many others. **Nothing but the unpardonable sin can prevent you from inheriting eternal life for you are sealed up by the power of the priesthood unto eternal life**, having taken the step necessary for that purpose . . . The unpardonable sin is to shed innocent blood, or be accessory thereto.

The Apostle Orson Pratt explained this doctrine in very clear language:

> In speaking of this, I will qualify my language by saying, that the Saint who has been sealed unto eternal life and falls into transgression and does **not repent, but dies in his sin**, will be afflicted and tormented after he leaves this vale of tears until the day of redemption; **but having been sealed with the spirit of promise** through the ordinances of the house of God, **those things which have been sealed upon his head will be realized by him in the morning of the resurrection**. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 2, page 260)

William E. Berrett, Vice Administrator of the Brigham Young University, stated:

> No man or woman, though married in the temple, may escape punishment for his or her sins, or for violations of their sacred covenants . . . Nevertheless, after one or both of them, as the case may be, have paid the penalty for their sins, if the marriage covenant has not been renounced by them or broken by the shedding of innocent blood they will be **resurrected together into the glory, as God has promised**. (*The Restored Church*, 1956, page 644)

To say that once a person has received certain temple ceremonies he can live like he pleases and yet receive salvation is not only shocking to the moral sense, but also contrary to the teachings of the Bible and the Book of Mormon. In the Book of Mormon we read:

> And he that endureth not unto the end, the same is he that is also hewn down and cast into the fire, from whence they can **no more return**, because of the justice of the Father. (3 Nephi 27:17)

In 3 Nephi 27:19 of the Book of Mormon, we read:

> And no unclean thing can enter into his kingdom; therefore nothing entereth into his rest save it be those who have washed their garments in my blood, because of their faith, and the repentance of all their sins, and their **faithfulness unto the end**.

In contradiction to this the Mormon Apostle Orson Pratt said:

> Consider the great blessings that have been already conferred upon us, having been sealed up by the Holy Spirit of promise to come forth with the just and inherit all things; and these have been recorded for our benefit. If we transgress, we shall have to suffer for that transgression here in the flesh; and after we lay our bodies down, we shall suffer in the spirit-world, until we have suffered enough for our sins, unless we have shed innocent blood. . . .
>
> Here is something that is permanent; . . . And if we should be cut off in the flesh and sent down to be punished in the spirit-world, and there be buffeted by those spirits, and still retain our memories, we can say these sufferings will not endure forever, **but we shall enjoy all that has been put upon our heads**, and, through the Priesthood, and signs and tokens that have been revealed, **come forth in the first resurrection, and pass by the sentinels and the Gods that stand to keep the way to eternal lives. And if there be thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers, we shall come in possession of them, for this is the promise of the Almighty.** (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 8, page 106)

A SECRET CEREMONY

While the revelation commanding temple marriage is printed in the *Doctrine and Covenants*, the ritual itself is supposed to be kept secret. Nevertheless, a number of Mormons became alienated from the Mormon Church and exposed the ceremony. Several of these exposés have been printed.

Because the ritual is kept secret many false impressions and charges of gross immorality have been circulated. On April 20, 1846, Hosea Stout recorded the following in his journal:

> There was also some news papers read giving an account of the saying of the world about us and also Thomas C. Sharp's account of the endowment which was a most rediculous & willful perversion of the truth but he has evidently been taught some thing of the true order by some traiterous apostate. (*On the Mormon Frontier*, edited by Juanita Brooks, vol. 1, page 154)

Wesley P. Walters has located an article in Thomas Sharp's paper, the *Warsaw Signal*, which could have caused this response from Hosea Stout. This article was printed on February 18, 1846. It claimed that the ceremonies were very immoral:

> The saints have endeavored to keep the ceremony of the endowment perfectly quiet; but some of them have let the cat out of the bag and disclosed all. We have the story from two different sources, . . .

> There must always be two candidates, a male and female presented for the endowment at once. These must pay one dollar each as a fee. . . . The candidates are first taken into a room together, where they are stripped of all their clothing and are made to wash each other from head to foot. They are then separated and pass into different rooms, where they are oiled—with perfumed sweet oil, by one of the functionaries of the church. They then pass into another room still separate, where one of the Twelve pronounces a blessing upon them and gives them extensive powers and privileges—such as a plurality of wives to the male, and other similar blessings to the female. This ceremony being ended, the candidates are brought together, still in a state of nudity, into a room where they are allowed to remain together, alone, as long as they see proper. They are then invested with their robes and take their departure. (*Warsaw Signal*, February 18, 1846, page 2)

In response to this article a woman who had been through the endowments wrote a letter to Thomas Sharp stating that the ceremony had been misrepresented:

> Mr. Sharp:—Dear Sir:—I discover by your paper, in what you have published in regard to the Mormon endowments, given of late in the temple, that you have been wrongly informed at least; so far as actual experience has taught me . . .
>
> I went into this pretended holy operation, in company with 14 others, all sisters in the Mormon church, . . . We were first received past the Guard into a private room, on the north side of the Temple—this was the room of preparation or purification—We were divested of all our apparel, and in a state of perfect nudity we were washed from head to foot,—a blanket was then thrown about our persons, and then commencing at the head we were anointed from head to foot with sweet oil scented (I think) with lavender. We were then clothed in white robes. All this was done by sisters in the church—none others were present—it is false to say that men and women are admitted together in an indecent manner. We were then conducted into a room called the Garden of Eden; here we found several of our brethren robed in white also, and apparently in a soperific state. We were presented before them and a voice from the Lord awoke them from sleep. After a considerable ceremony, which I do not recollect much of, we were left by the Lord and soon a very dandy-like fellow appeared with a black cap on, that had a long tail attached to it; he appeared very familiar—and by his very insinuating and friendly manner induced some of our sisters to eat of the "forbidden fruit." Soon after the voice of the Lord appeared again in the garden; we all appeared frightened, and both men and women huddled together into the corner of the room, as if in the act of hiding. The fellow in the black cap presents himself before the Lord and engages in a controversy, boasting of what he had done. The Lord pronounces a curse upon him—he gets down upon his belly and crawls off. . . . We were then presented with aprons, which we put on about this time, a sword was shook at us through the partition of the room, which was to guard the Tree of Life. After considerable ceremony, which I do not recollect, we were passed into another room, which was dark and was dreary. This was called the Terrestrial Kingdom; immediately the dandy in the black cap made his appearance; at first he appeared very sly—peeping about, and when he found the Lord was not present, he became very familiar and persuasive. Said he, "here we are, all together, and all good fellows well met. Some Methodists, some Presbyterians, some Baptists, some Quakers, some Mormons, and some Strangites, &c. &c. Come let us drink together." In this way he tempted us, and we partook with him. After a considerable parade and ceremony, we passed into another room, or Celestial Kingdom. Here I saw some of the Twelve, and particularly Brigham Young, with a white crown upon his head, and as I have since been told, representing God himself. We passed this room without much ceremony into another. I have forgotten what it represented; not much of interest transpired here, & we were conducted back and put in possession of our clothing . . .
>
> In the different apartments of this singular farce, we took upon ourselves oaths and obligations not to reveal the secrets of the priesthood. . . . In one place I was presented with a new name, which I was not to reveal to any living creature, save the man to whom I should be sealed for eternity, or after the resurrection. This name was _____; and from all that I can gather, all the females had the same name given them, but we are not allowed to reveal it to each other, under no less penalty than to have our throats cut from ear to ear, our hearts torn out, &c. , &c. I have forgotten a part of the penalties. In one place something was spoken to me which I do not recollect—the meaning was "marrow in the bone," the token was a firm hold of the hand, pressing the finger nails firmly into the wrist of the right hand. . . .
>
> Now, sir, this is the substance of the Mormon endowment. . . . Yours, EMELINE. (*Warsaw Signal*, April 15, 1846, page 2)

Increase McGee Van Dusen and his wife exposed the temple ritual in 1847. Their account was reprinted several times. Many other accounts were printed in the nineteenth century. Just after the turn of the century many Mormons were questioned concerning the temple ritual in the "Proceedings Before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate in the Matter of the Protests Against the Right of Hon. Reed Smoot, A Senator from the State of Utah, to Hold His Seat." This testimony was printed by the United States Government in four volumes. We will have more to say about this later. On February 12, 1906, the *Salt Lake Tribune* published the temple ceremony. In 1931 W. M. Paden published a pamphlet entitled, "Temple Mormonism—Its Evolution, Ritual and Meaning." This is supposed to be one of the most accurate accounts of the ceremony. In the last few years John L. Smith and William J. Whalen have published accounts of the ritual.

A few years ago we reprinted Paden's *Temple Mormonism*. While Paden's work is essentially accurate, some changes have been made in the ceremony over the years. Since we wanted to publish the most accurate account possible, we had a couple who have done work for the dead and have been through the temple about fifty times revise Paden's work. Recently, a man who has been through the temple about 120 times agreed to help us. He has brought the ceremony right up to date. Although the account does not include every word spoken during the ceremony, he feels that it contains all

of the essential elements and that they are accurate. The reader will find this account in the next chapter.

Actually, we can get some idea of what goes on in the temple simply by searching through Mormon publications. For instance, Brigham Young made this statement concerning the "Law of Chastity," part of the temple ceremony, in a public speech delivered March 16, 1856:

> . . . in this congregation there are men and women who, with uplifted hands to heaven, before the Father, the Son, and all the holy angels, made solemn **covenants** that they never would do thus and so. For example, one obligation is, "I will never have anything to do with any of the daughters of Eve, unless they are given to me of the Lord." Men will call God to witness that they never will transgress this law, and promise to live a virtuous life, so far as intercourse with females is concerned; but what can you see? A year will not pass away before some few of them are guilty of creeping into . . . bed with the wives of their brethren, . . . (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 3, page 246)

On December 13, 1857, Heber C. Kimball, a member of the First Presidency, stated:

> You Elders of Israel, have you not entered into covenant that you never would betray one another? . . . We were present and committed those covenants to you, and you made them with God, and we were witnesses. When you got your **endowments**, did you not make a covenant not to speak against the anointed? (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, pages 126-127)

The fact that the Mormons receive secret words, signs and grips in the temple which they feel are necessary for a person to gain exaltation in Heaven is obvious from several statements made by the Mormon leaders. Joseph Smith himself stated:

> Sunday. May 1, 1842.—I preached in the grove, on the keys of the kingdom, charity, &c. The keys are certain signs and words by which false spirits and personages may be detected from true, which cannot be revealed to the Elders till the Temple is completed. . . . There are signs in heaven, earth and hell; the Elders must know them all, to be endowed with power, to finish their work and prevent imposition. The devil knows many signs, but does not know the sign of the Son of Man, or Jesus. (*History of the Church*, by Joseph Smith, vol. 4, page 608)

Brigham Young, the second President of the Mormon Church, made this statement:

> Your endowment is, to receive all those ordinances in the House of the Lord, which are necessary for you, after you have departed this life, to enable you to walk back to the presence of the Father, passing the angels who stand as sentinels, being enabled to give them the **key words, the signs and tokens**, pertaining to the Holy Priesthood, and gain your eternal exaltation in spite of earth and hell. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 2, page 31)

Joseph Fielding Smith, a member of the First Presidency, stated:

> If you would become a son or a daughter of God and an heir of the kingdom, then you must go to the house of the Lord and receive blessings which there can be obtained and which cannot be obtained elsewhere; . . . Sons and daughters have access to the home where he dwells, and you cannot receive that access until you go to the temple. Why? Because you must receive certain **key words** as well as make covenants by which you are able to enter. If you try to get into the house, and the door is locked, how are you going to enter, if you haven't your key? You get your key in the temple, which will admit you. (*Doctrines of Salvation*, 1960 ed., vol. 2, page 40)

The fact that there are washing and anointing ceremonies is proven by a statement Brigham Young made on December 26, 1845:

> Elders Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt and I were present in the Temple this morning . . . Every man that comes in, is washed and anointed by good men . . . (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, pages 552-553)

In a speech given at a Missionary Conference in Oslo, Norway, Alvin R. Dyer, who is now a member of the First Presidency, stated that "a new name" is given to those who go through the endowment ceremony:

> I call your attention now to the washing and anointing that you received in the Temple. All of you have been through the Temple, I assume. When you went into the washing and anointing room where you were washed and annointed with water and oil, you were given a new name, and you were promised that someday you would be called up to be a king and priest; or a queen and a priestess. Don't ever suppose that that is for this life. It is not. It is for the next life, and the Lord is preparing today the rulers that will be administrators of these degrees of Glory after the Spirit World. (Speech by Alvin R. Dyer, March 18, 1961)

The Mormon Apostle James E. Talmage revealed the following concerning the temple ceremony:

> The temple endowment . . . includes a recital of the most prominent events of the creative period, the condition of our first parents in the Garden of Eden, their disobedience and consequent expulsion from that blissful abode, their condition in the lone and dreary world . . .
>
> The ordinances of the endowment embody certain obligations on the part of the individual, such as covenant and promise to observe the law of strict virtue and chastity, to be charitable, benevolent, tolerant

> and pure; to devote both talent and **material means** to the spread of truth and the uplifting of the race; . . . (Statement by James E. Talmage, as quoted in *Mormon Doctrine*, by Bruce R. McConkie, 1966 ed., page 227)

One of the most revealing statements by Brigham Young about the temple endowment was recorded in the diary of L. John Nuttall:

> When we got our washings and anointing under the hands of the Prophet Joseph at Nauvoo, we had only one room to work in, with the exception of a little side room or office where we were washed and anointed, had our garment placed upon us and received our new name; and after he had performed these ceremonies, he gave the key-words, signs, tokens, and penalties. Then after, we went into the large room over the store in Nauvoo, Joseph Smith divided up the room the best that he could, hung up the veil, marked it, gave us our instructions as we passed along from one department to another, giving us signs, tokens, penalties, with the key-words pertaining to those signs. And after we had got through, Brother Joseph turned to me and said, "Brother Brigham, this is not arranged right, but we have done the best we could under the circumstances in which we are placed, and I want you to take this matter in hand and organize and systematize all these ceremonies with the signs, tokens, penalties, and key-words." I did so and each time I got something more so that when we went through the Temple at Nauvoo I understood and knew how to place them there. We had our ceremonies pretty correct. (Recorded in "Diary of L. John Nuttall," February 7, 1877, as quoted in *God, Man, and the Universe*, by Hyrum L. Andrus, 1968, page 334)

As we carefully examine this statement we find that Brigham Young mentioned washings, anointings, garments, the new name, key-words, signs, tokens and penalties. He also stated that there was a "veil' with certain marks on it.

According to a "Price List Issued by The General Board of Relief Society" on June 1, 1968, those who desired to go through the temple must have the following "Articles for Temple Wear":

MEN	WOMEN
Robe	Robe
Cap	Veil
Apron	Apron
Shield	Shield
Garments (old style)	Garments (old style)
Trousers	Dress
Shirt	Slip
Tie	Hose
Belt	Shoes or heavy moccasins
Hose	
Shoes or heavy moccasins	

Those who have been through the temple are required to wear "garments" for the rest of their lives, although most Mormons do not wear the "old style" garments except in the temple. William J. Whalen makes this statement concerning the "garments":

> The devout Mormon who has received his "endowments" in the temple will **wear sacred temple undergarments at all times**. Resembling a union suit, now abbreviated at the knees, the undergarments are worn by both men and women, awake and sleeping. It is said that older Mormons refuse to take off these garments completely even while taking a bath; they will hang one leg out of the tub so that they will never lose contact with the garments. Mystic signs are embroidered on them to remind the wearers of their temple obligations. (*The Latter-day Saints in the Modern Day World*, by William J. Whalen, 1964, pages 18-19)

On page 168 of the same book, William J. Whalen states that "the garment was a long union suit of muslin or linen with the specified cabalistic marks. It has been abbreviated in recent years especially in the interests of feminine fashions. The full-length garment is still worn in the temple."

The fact that the garments have been abbreviated is very interesting, for the early Mormon leaders taught that they could not be changed. Joseph F. Smith, the sixth President of the Mormon Church, made this statement before the changes were made:

> The Lord has given unto us **garments** of the holy priesthood, and you know what that means. And yet there are those of us who **mutilate** them, in order that we may follow the foolish, vain and (permit me to say) indecent practices of the world. In order that such people may imitate the fashions, they will not hesitate to **mutilate** that which should be held by them the most **sacred** of all things in the world, next to their own virtue, next to their own purity of life. They should hold these things that God has given unto them **sacred, unchanged and unaltered** from the very pattern in which God gave them. Let us have the moral courage to stand against the opinions of fashion, and especially where fashion compels us to break a covenant and so commit a **grievous sin**. (*The Improvement Era*, vol. 9:813, as quoted in *Temples of the Most High*, page 276)

The following statement by a woman who had been through the endowment ritual was reprinted in the *Salt Lake Tribune* on February 12, 1906:

> She then told me to put on my garments. These are made in one piece. On the right breast is a square, on the left a compass, in the center a small hole, and on the knee a large hole, which is called the "stone." We were told that as long as we kept them on no harm could befall us, and that when we changed them we were not to take them all off at once but slip out a limb at a time and immediately dive into the clean ones. The neck was **never to be cut low**, or the sleeves **short**, as that would be patterning after the fashion of the gentiles.

Although Joseph F. Smith had stated that the garments should not be altered from "the very pattern in which God gave them," women's fashions caused the arms and legs to be shortened and the neck line to be lowered. The "old style" which is worn in the temple still comes down to the wrists and the ankles.

The fact that the temple garments were modified is evident from an article which appeared in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 4, 1923:

> Coming not as an order, nor as a rule to be rigidly enforced, but rather permissive in character, is a recent outgiving of the first presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. It concerns the garments worn by members of the church who have been married in the temple, or who have participated in other ceremonies performed or rites observed therein.
>
> While minor modifications of the temple garment, it is said, have been made at various times during past years, the latest order in permission is regarded by younger members of the church as most liberal and acceptable. Among the older membership the optional change is variously received. Some of the pioneer stock look upon any deviation from the old order as a **departure** from what they had always regarded as an inviolable rule. Others of long standing in the church accept the change as a progressive move intended to add to personal comfort.
>
> Old Style Uncomfortable
>
> In the old days the temple garment was made of plain, unbleached cotton cloth. Unbleached linen was as far afield in "finery" as the devotee was permitted to go. No buttons were used on the garment. Tape tie-strings took their place. The garment itself was uncomfortably large and baggy. But despite these imperfections, the old-style garment is faithfully adhered to by many of the older and sincerely devout members of the church. These regard the garment as a **safeguard against disease and bodily harm**, and they believe that to alter either the texture of cloth or style, or to abandon the garment altogether would bring evil upon them.
>
> One good woman of long membership in the church, hearing of the change that has recently come about, went to the church offices and uttered **fervid objection**. "I shall **not alter my garments, even if President Grant has ordered me to do so.** My garments now are made as they were when I was married in the endowment house, long before the temple was built. The pattern was revealed to the Prophet Joseph and Brother Grant has **no right to change it**," she said.
>
> Explanation was made that the first presidency had merely issued permission to those who so desired to make the modifying change; that any member of the church who preferred to adhere to the original style was at perfect liberty to do so.
>
> President Charles W. Penrose says that modification of the garment is elective with each individual member of the church who has gone through the temple. The change in style is permitted for various good reasons, chief among which are promotion of freedom of movement in the body and cleanliness. Formerly the sleeves were long, reaching **to the wrists**. While doing housework the women would **roll up the sleeves**. If sleeves were to be rolled up they might as well be made short in the first place for convenience, it was argued. Permission **to abbreviate is now given**, but it is not an order and is not compulsory, it is explained.
>
> Is Generally Welcomed
>
> Encasing the lower limbs the old-style garment reaches to **the ankles** and is looked upon by young members as baggy, uncomfortable and ungainly. The young of the gentler sex complained that to wear the old style with the new and finer hosiery gave the limbs a knotty appearance. It was embarrassing in view of the generally accepted sanitary shorter skirt. Permission is therefore granted by the first presidency **to shorten the lower garment**. Also buttons are permitted to take the place of the tie-strings.
>
> Young men of the church, especially those who take exercise or play games at gymnasiums favor the shorter garment. The permission granted is hailed by them as a most acceptable and progressive one. Altogether, and except in few instances, the permissive modification is welcomed as a sanitary move and a change looking to the comfort and health of those who wear temple garments.
>
> Instead of the old style, coarse, unbleached, irritating material of which temple garments were once made, the finer knitted goods, and even silks, are now used. These materials and modified styles are officially **approved**, but such alterations are optional with each individual, and by no means compulsory, church officials desire it understood. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, June 4, 1923)

The Mormon leaders now seem to put more emphasis on the importance of the marks in the garment rather than the garment itself. On August 31, 1964, the First Presidency of the Mormon Church sent the following letter to Presidents of Stakes and Bishops of Wards:

> Dear Brethren:
>
> The calling of men into military training renders it desirable to reaffirm certain observations heretofore made in the matter of **wearing the temple garment**.
>
> 1. The covenants taken in the temple incident and attached to the wearing of garments contemplate that **they will be worn at all times**. No exception to these covenants is found anywhere in the ceremonies. These covenants run between the one making them and the Lord. These covenants so made take on the nature of commandments of the Lord.
>
> 2. In the early days of the Church the Lord announced that where men prevented his Saints from carrying out the commandments he had given them, the Lord would relieve the Saints from rendering obedience to the commandment, and would visit the iniquity and transgression involved in such disobedience upon the heads of those who "hindered" his work. The Lord said this rule was given for the consolation of the Saints . . .

3. Where the military regulations are of a character that "hinders", that is, makes impossible the wearing of the regulation garments, either in training on the drill grounds or in combat zones, effort should be made to wear underclothing that will approach as near as may be the normal garment.

Where military regulations require the wearing of two-piece underwear, such underwear should be properly marked, as if the articles were of the normal pattern. If circumstances are such that different underwear may be turned back to the wearer from that which he sends to the laundry, then the marks should be placed on small pieces of cloth and sewed upon the underwear while being worn, then removed when the underwear is sent to the laundry, and resewed upon the underwear returned.

The wearing of the normal garment should be resumed at the earliest possible moment.

4. Every effort should be made to **protect the garments from the gaze and raillery of scoffers**. This may cause considerable inconvenience at times, but tact, discretion, and wisdom can do much to alleviate this inconvenience. If the scoffing became unbearable and the wearer should decide that the Lord would consider he was really "hindered" by the scoffers from wearing the garments, and if he should therefore lay them aside, then the wearer should resume the wearing of the normal garment at the earliest possible moment.

A certain amount of curiosity and light comment may be frequently expected, wherever, for one cause or another, the garments are brought into view, but this is not the "hindering" of which the Lord spoke as excusing obedience.

The blessings flowing from the observance of covenants are sufficiently great to recompense for all mere inconveniences.

The wearing of the garment is the subject of direct covenant between the Lord and the covenant maker, who must determine to what extent he will keep his covenants. To break our covenants is to lose the protection and blessings promised from obedience thereto.

Sincerely yours,
[Signed] David O. McKay
Hugh B. Brown
N. Eldon Tanner
The First Presidency

The Presiding Bishopric of the church sent the following to Bishops and Stake Presidents:

Removal or Exposure of Temple Garments

The following letter was sent to bishops August 23, 1955. It is reproduced here for the information of new bishops and for more convenient reference.

Dear Brethren:

The First Presidency have suggested that we communicate with you on the subject of this letter.

It is being observed that some Latter-day Saint men and women, some of whom are presiding officers and teachers in both stake and ward positions, are removing their temple garments to wear abbreviated clothing in varying degrees when working around their homes, when traveling by auto, or camping out-of-doors. In some instances, brethren who have been through the temple are removing their shirts while mowing the lawns and performing other out-door responsibilities, thus exposing the upper garment to full view.

Such removal of the temple garment, or exposure to more or less public view, is not in keeping with its significance or its sacred purpose.

It is suggested you use your influence in encouraging Latter-day Saints to avoid these practices. It may be advisable to read this letter before the various meetings of your ward officers and teachers. If our leaders set the proper example, it will be helpful in correcting such practices where they exist and in guarding against their development in the future.

Faithfully your brethren,
THE PRESIDING BISHOPRIC
(Signed) Bishop Joseph L. Wirthlin
Bishop Thorpe B. Isaacson
Bishop Carl W. Buehner

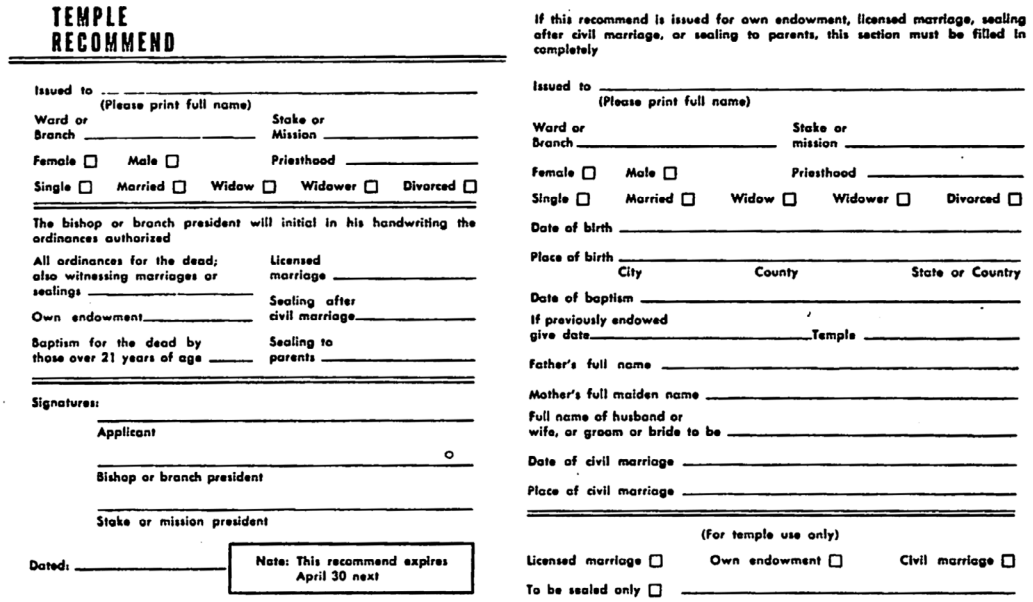
(Letter from The Presiding Bishopric, photographically reprinted in *I Visited the Temple*, by John L. Smith, 1966, page 28)

Before a person can go through the endowment ritual he must have a "Temple Recommend." On the next page the reader will find a photograph of the "Recommend."

In order to obtain a "recommend" the applicant must be in good standing in the Mormon Church. He is supposed to be questioned by the Bishop. On the next page the reader will find instructions which were sent to "Bishops of Wards and Presidents of Stakes" by the First Presidency of the Mormon Church.

The Mormon leaders sometimes claim that "every member" of the Church can go through the temple if they live a worthy life. This, of course, is not true, for Negroes cannot receive their endowments in the temple regardless of how "worthy" of a life they lead.

In the following chapter the reader will find the Mormon temple ceremony as it is performed today.



TEMPLE RECOMMEND

Issued to _____
(Please print full name)

Ward or Branch _____ Stake or Mission _____

Female ☐ Male ☐ Priesthood _____

Single ☐ Married ☐ Widow ☐ Widower ☐ Divorced ☐

The bishop or branch president will initial in his handwriting the ordinances authorized

All ordinances for the dead; also witnessing marriages or sealings _____ Licensed marriage _____

Own endowment _____ Sealing after civil marriage _____

Baptism for the dead by those over 21 years of age _____ Sealing to parents _____

Signatures:

_____
Applicant

_____
Bishop or branch president

_____
Stake or mission president

Dated: _____

Note: This recommend expires April 30 next

If this recommend is issued for own endowment, licensed marriage, sealing after civil marriage, or sealing to parents, this section must be filled in completely

Issued to _____
(Please print full name)

Ward or Branch _____ Stake or mission _____

Female ☐ Male ☐ Priesthood _____

Single ☐ Married ☐ Widow ☐ Widower ☐ Divorced ☐

Date of birth _____

Place of birth _____
City County State or Country

Date of baptism _____

If previously endowed give date _____ Temple _____

Father's full name _____

Mother's full maiden name _____

Full name of husband or wife, or groom or bride to be _____

Date of civil marriage _____

Place of civil marriage _____

(For temple use only)

Licensed marriage ☐ Own endowment ☐ Civil marriage ☐

To be sealed only ☐ _____

A photograph of a "temple recommend." (Courtesy, James D. Wardle) [Appoximately 1962]

To Bishops of Wards and
Presidents of Stakes:

Dear Brethren:

Recent experiences emphasize the need of greater care and attention being exercised in the issuing of recommends to the Temple. Applicants in too many cases seem to be more appreciative of going through the House of the Lord than deeply conscious of the obligations they take upon themselves by so doing.

Enclosed herewith is a copy of a recommendation for the new Temple Recommend. It includes everything which was in the old recommend and a few additional questions.

We wish particularly to call your attention to the instructions printed thereon. You will note that the obligation of the personal interview of the applicant by the Bishop will now take the place of the "statement to be filled in by the applicant" as heretofore practiced.

Therefore, in your careful interrogation of the applicant, you will please keep in mind the following standards and principles of the Church, and others which are equally essential to worthiness to go through the Temple of the Most High:

1. Are you morally clean and worthy to enter the temple?
2. Will you and do you sustain the General Authorities of the Church, and will you live in accordance with the accepted rules and doctrines of the Church?

2a. Do you have any connection, in sympathy or otherwise, with any of the apostate groups or individuals who are running counter to the accepted rules and doctrines of the Church?

3. Are you a full tithe payer?

3a. Are you exempt from paying tithes?

4. Do you keep the Word of Wisdom?
5. Do you always wear the regulation garments?
6. Will you earnestly strive to do your duty in the Church, to attend your sacrament, priesthood, and other meetings, and to obey the rules, laws, and commandments of the Gospel?
7. Have you ever been denied a recommend to any Temple? If so, ascertain date of refusal, name of Bishop, Ward, Stake and obtain clearance from previous Bishop before issuing recommend.
8. Have you ever been divorced?

The Bishop is the "common judge in Israel" and upon him and his counselors rests the great responsibility of encouraging the membership of the Ward so to live as to be worthy of the blessings of the Temple.

As indicated on this new form, the President of the Stake will continue as heretofore to pass upon the recommendations of the Bishop.

Ever praying the Lord to guide you and inspire you in this important phase of your duties as a Bishop, we remain

Sincerely yours,

David O. McKay
Henry D. Moyle
Hugh B. Brown

DIRECTIONS TO BISHOPS AND BRANCH PRESIDENTS

The recommend in this book is valid for all the Temples of the Church, and for all Ordinances. When issuing a Recommend for all ordinances for the dead only, please use only the left-hand side of the recommend. However, when the applicant is recommended for Own Endowment, Marriage, Sealing after Civil Marriage or Sealing to Parents, then both sides of this Recommend must be completed in full.

Make the recommend in triplicate. Deliver the white and buff copies to applicant to take to Stake President for his signature, retain pink copy in the book. The applicant must deliver the white and buff copies to the first temple he enters after obtaining this recommend: the white copy will be retained by the temple and will subsequently be filed in the temple in the district in which the applicant holds Church membership; the buff copy will be stamped and returned to the applicant. THE BUFF COPY, PROPERLY STAMPED, WILL THEN ADMIT THE APPLICANT TO ANY TEMPLE IN THE CHURCH.

A photograph of instructions sent from the First Presidency of the Church to bishops of wards, and presidents of stakes. (Courtesy, James D. Wardle) [Appoximately 1962]

10. THE TEMPLE CEREMONY

BY A TEMPLE WORKER

In order for a member of the L.D.S. Church to enter the temple a "Temple Recommend" must be obtained. This is received by being interviewed and having the "Temple Recommend" signed by the applicant's Bishop or Branch President and one of the Stake or Mission Presidency.

When arriving at the temple the "recommend" is shown to the attendant at the recommend desk, who checks it to make sure that it is signed correctly. He then stamps the recommend with the date that the recommend expires.

The first ceremony in the temple is that of Baptism for the Dead.

BAPTISM FOR THE DEAD

Brother (or Sister) _____, having been commissioned of Jesus Christ, I baptize you, for and in behalf of _____, who is dead, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Next comes the Confirmation for the Dead.

CONFIRMATION FOR THE DEAD

Brother (or Sister) _____, in the name of Jesus Christ, we lay our hands upon your head for and in behalf of _____, who is dead, and confirm you a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and say unto you: Receive the Holy Ghost. Amen.

In the Salt Lake Temple there is also the Reconfirmation for the Dead.

RECONFIRMATION [Salt Lake Temple]

Brother (or Sister) _____, in the name of Jesus Christ, we lay our hands upon your head for and in behalf of _____, who is dead, and confirm you a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and say unto you: Receive the Holy Ghost, and confirm upon you all your former Church and Temple blessings. Amen.

After the Baptism and Confirmation for the Dead are done, the person who is doing work for the dead is ready to be washed with water, anointed with oil and clothed in the garment of the Holy Priesthood. This is the beginning of the Endowment Ceremony.

WASHING & ANOINTING ROOM FOR MEN

For the men who go to the Temple, they go to the dressing room for men known as the Washing and Anointing Room. This dressing room for men is separate from the dressing room for women. In the dressing room the man who is going through the temple for his own endowment removes all of his clothing, which he puts into a private locker. He then puts on a white piece of cloth, with a hole in the center for his head. This hangs down over the front and back of the man, but is open at the sides. This is called a shield. He goes to the area where the washings and anointings take place. If he is doing work for the dead he is ordained an Elder for the dead person.

ORDINATION FOR THE DEAD

Brother _____, having authority we lay our hands upon your head and confer upon you the Melchizedek Priesthood and ordain you an Elder in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, for and in behalf of _____, who is dead, and seal upon you every grace, gift and authority appertaining to this office in the Holy Melchizedek Priesthood, for and in his behalf, in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

If the man is going through the temple for his own endowment he is already an Elder. He is then directed to a booth where he waits to be washed. The temple worker there holds out his hand to take the garment the man is holding, and the man enters the booth to be washed with water.

The temple worker puts his right hand under running water and proceeds to wash the individual's body. As he recites the ceremony the temple worker touches each part of the body mentioned in the ceremony with his fingers or hand.

WASHING — OF MEN

Brother _____, having authority, I wash you preparatory to your receiving your anointings (for and in behalf of _____, who is dead), that you may become clean from the blood and sins of this generation. I wash your head, that your brain and your intellect may be clear and active; your ears, that you may hear the word of the Lord; your eyes, that you may see clearly and discern between truth and error; your nose, that you may smell; your lips that you may never speak guile; your neck, that it may bear up your head properly; your shoulders, that they may bear the burdens that shall be placed thereon; your back, that there may be marrow in the bones and in the spine; your breast, that it may be the receptacle of pure and virtuous principles; your vitals and bowels, that they may be healthy and strong and perform their proper functions; your arms and hands, that they may be strong and wield the sword of justice in defense of truth and virtue; your loins, that you may be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth, that you may have joy in your posterity; your legs and feet, that you may run and not be weary, and walk and not faint.

The washing is then confirmed.

CONFIRMATION OF WASHING — OF MEN

Brother _____, having authority, we lay our hands upon your head (for and in behalf of _____, who is dead), and seal upon you this washing, that you may become clean from the blood and sins of this generation, through your faithfulness, in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

Next he enters another part of the booth where there is a stool on which he sits while another temple worker dips out of a horn some oil and proceeds to anoint the individual's body.

ANOINTING — OF MEN

Brother _____, having authority, I pour this holy anointing oil upon your head (for and in behalf of _____ , who is dead), and anoint you preparatory to your becoming a king and a priest unto the Most High God, hereafter to rule and reign in the House of Israel forever. I anoint your head that your brain and your intellect may be clear and active; your ears, that you may hear the word of the Lord; your eyes, that you may see clearly and discern between truth and error; your nose, that you may smell; your lips, that you may never speak guile; your neck, that it may bear up your head properly; your shoulders, that they may bear the burdens that shall be placed thereon; your back, that there may be marrow in the bones and in the spine; your breast, that it may be the receptacle of pure and virtuous principles; your vitals and bowels, that they may be healthy and strong and perform their proper functions; your arms and hands, that they may be strong and wield the sword of justice in defense of truth and virtue; your loins, that you may be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth, that you may have joy in your posterity; your legs and feet that you may run and not be weary and walk and not faint.

The anointing is then confirmed and sealed.

CONFIRMATION OF ANOINTING — OF MEN

Brother _____, having authority we lay our hands upon your head (for and in behalf of _____ , who is dead), and confirm upon you this anointing, wherewith you have been anointed in the Temple of our God preparatory to becoming a king and a priest unto the Most High God hereafter to rule and reign in the House of Israel forever; and seal upon you all the blessings hereunto appretaining, through your faithfulness, in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

He now enters to be clothed with the garment that he brought with him.

CLOTHING — OF MEN

Brother _____, having authority, I place this garment upon you (for and in behalf of _____ , who is dead) which you must wear throughout your life. It represents the garment given to Adam when he was found naked in the Garden of Eden, and is called the Garment of the Holy Priesthood. Inasmuch as you do not defile it, but are true and faithful to your covenants, it will be a shield and a protection to you against the power of the destroyer until you have finished your work on the earth. With this Garment I give you a new name, which you should always remember, and which you must keep sacred and never reveal except at a certain place that will be shown you hereafter. The name is "_____."

He then goes back to his locker, removes his shield, and puts on his white clothing, which he rented or brought with him. This includes white shirt, trousers, belt, socks, tie and moccasins. This is put over the garment. He then carries in his hand the temple clothing which he will put on later in the ceremony.

The women have been going through similar proceedings in a different area. In the dressing room for women, the women put on over the garment a white slip, dress, hose and moccasins.

For those who come to do work for the dead and the Washing, Anointing and Clothing have already been done, they are given a little slip of paper with the birth date and name of the person who has died.

The new name is given to those who are getting their own endowment, also if a person is going through the complete endowment for a dead person.

After being dressed in white clothing the men and women receive a new name for the dead. To the men it is said to them as follows:

Brother _____, having authority, I give you a **new name** for and in behalf of _____, who is dead, which name you should always remember, and which you must keep sacred and never reveal except at a certain place that will be shown you hereafter. The new name is: _____.

The Brethren and Sisters then go to the Creation Room. The men all sit on one side of the room and the women sit together on the opposite side.

CREATION ROOM

Brethren and Sisters:

All of the brethren in this company should have been ordained, and each of the brethren and sisters should have been washed, anointed and clothed in a garment of the Holy Priesthood, and should have received a new name.

If any one of you has forgotten the new name, or has not received all of these ordinances in connection with this company, please stand.

LECTURER: Brethren, you have been washed and pronounced clean, or that through your faithfulness, you may become clean from the blood and sins of this generation. You have been anointed to become hereafter kings and priests unto the Most High God, to rule and reign in the House of Israel forever.

Sisters, you have been washed and anointed to become queens and priestesses to your husbands.

Brethren and Sisters, if you are true and faithful, the day will come when you will be chosen, called up and anointed kings and queens, priests and priestesses, whereas you are now anointed only to become such. The realization of these blessings depends upon your faithfulness.

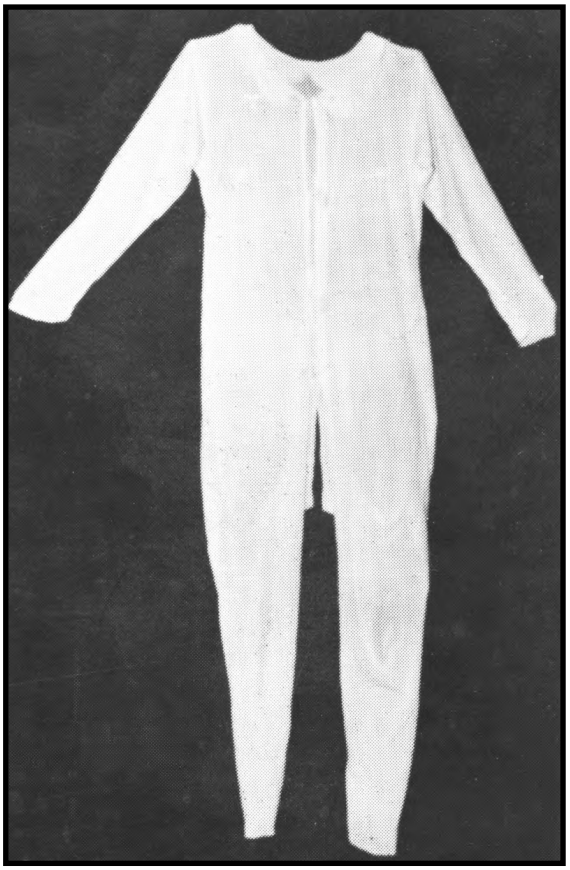
You have had a garment placed upon you, which, you were informed, represents the garment given to Adam when he was found naked in the Garden of Eden, and which is called the Garment of the Holy Priesthood. This you were instructed to wear throughout your life. You were informed that it will be a shield and a protection to you if you are true and faithful to your covenants.

You have had a new name given unto you, which you were told never to divulge nor forget. This new name is a keyword which you will be required to give at a certain place in the temple today.

These Endowments are to prepare you for exaltation in the Celestial Kingdom.

If you proceed and receive your full Endowments, you will be required to take upon yourselves sacred obligations, the violation of which will bring upon you the judgment of God; for God will not be mocked. If any of you desire

James D. Wardle
in Temple Clothing



Temple Garment

James D. Wardle Demonstrates Penalties

to withdraw rather than accept these obligations, of your own free will and choice, you may now make it known by raising your hands.

Brethren and Sisters, as you sit here, you will hear the voices of three persons who represent Elohim, Jehovah and Michael. Elohim will command Jehovah and Michael to go down and organize a world. You will be told of the six creative periods. They will also tell of the organization of man in their own likeness and image, male and female. However, man will not be seen until after he becomes mortal.

Now, kindly give your attention.

THE CREATION — FIRST DAY

ELOHIM: Jehovah, Michael, See yonder is matter unorganized. Go ye down and organize it into a world like unto the other worlds that we have heretofore organized. When you have finished, call your labors the First Day and bring me word.

JEHOVAH: We will go down.

MICHAEL: We will go down.

JEHOVAH: Michael, see, here is matter unorganized, we will organize it into a world like unto the other worlds that we have heretofore formed, we will call our labors the First Day and return and report.

MICHAEL: We will return and report our labors of the First Day, Jehovah.

JEHOVAH: Elohim, we have been down as thou hast commanded and have organized a world like unto the other worlds that we have heretofore formed and we have called our labors the First Day.

SECOND DAY

ELOHIM: It is well. Jehovah, Michael, return again to the world that you have organized and divide the waters, the great waters call ye seas and the dry land call ye earth, form mountains and hills, great rivers and small streams to beautify and give variety to the face of the earth and call your labors the Second Day and return and report.

JEHOVAH: We will return to the earth that we have organized.

MICHAEL: We will return, Jehovah.

JEHOVAH: Michael, let us divide the great waters, and call it seas and the dry land we will call earth, we will form mountains and hills, great rivers and small streams to beautify and give variety to the face of the earth and we will call our labors the Second Day, Jehovah.

JEHOVAH: Elohim, we have been down as thou hast commanded, we have divided the great waters and called it seas and the dry land we have called earth, we have formed mountains and hills, great rivers and small streams to beautify and give variety to the face of the earth. We have called our labors the Second Day. This is our report.

THIRD DAY

ELOHIM: It is well. Jehovah, Michael, go down again. Divide the light from the darkness, call the light day and the darkness night. Cause the lights in the firmament to appear. The greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night. Cause the stars also to appear, to give light to the earth the same as with other worlds we have heretofore formed. When you have done this, call your labors the third day, and return and report.

JEHOVAH: We will go down.

MICHAEL: We will go down.

JEHOVAH: Michael, we will divide the light from the darkness. We will call the light day, and the darkness night. We will cause the lights in the firmament to appear. The greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night. I will cause the stars also to appear, to give light to the earth, the same as with other worlds we have heretofore formed. We will call our labors the Third Day, and return and report.

MICHAEL: We will return and report our labors of the Third Day, Jehovah.

(Elohim, Jehovah and Michael continue with the work of the creative periods of the 4th, 5th and 6th Days.)

CREATION OF ADAM & EVE

ELOHIM: Jehovah, see, the earth which we have formed, there is no man to till and take care of it. We will form man in our own likeness and image.

JEHOVAH: We will do so, Elohim.

ELOHIM: Brethren and Sisters, this is Michael, who helped form the earth. When he awakes from the sleep which we have caused to come upon him he will be known as Adam and having forgotten everything, will become as a little child.

Adam, awake!

Jehovah, is it good for man to be alone?

JEHOVAH: It is not good for man to be alone, Elohim.

ELOHIM: We will cause a deep sleep to come upon this man whom we have formed and make for him a woman to be a companion and a helpmeet for him.

Brethren, close your eyes as if you were asleep. All the brethren will please arise.

Adam, awake, see the woman which we have formed to be a companion and an helpmeet for you. What will you call her?

ADAM: Eve.

ELOHIM: Why will you call her Eve?

ADAM: Because she is the Mother of all living.

ELOHIM: That is right, Adam. She is the Mother of all living. We will plant a garden eastward in Eden, and there we will put the man whom we have formed. Jehovah, introduce Adam into the Garden.

JEHOVAH: It shall be done, Elohim.

ELOHIM: The brethren will now follow Adam and the sisters will follow Eve, and we will introduce you into the Garden.

THE GARDEN OF EDEN

ELOHIM: Adam, see this garden which we have planted for you. Of every tree of the garden thou mayst freely eat, but of the tree of knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat of it. Nevertheless, thou mayst choose for thyself. But remember that I forbid it, for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die. Now be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and have joy in your posterity. Now remember this commandment and go to dress this garden and keep it. We will go away, but we will return and give you further instructions.

ADAM: Let your minds be calm. We shall be visited soon.

LUCIFER: Well, Adam, you have a new world.

ADAM: A new world?

LUCIFER: Yes, a new world, patterned after the old one where we used to live.

ADAM: I know nothing of any other world.

LUCIFER: Oh, I see, your eyes are not yet opened. You must eat some of the fruit of this tree. Adam, here is some of the fruit of that tree. It will make you wise.

ADAM: I will not partake of it.

LUCIFER: Oh, you will not! Well, we shall see! Eve, here is some of the fruit of that tree, it will make you wise. It is delicious to the taste and very desirable.

EVE: Who are you?

LUCIFER: I am your brother.

EVE: You, my brother, and come here to tempt me to disobey Father?

LUCIFER: I have said nothing about Father. Eve, here is some of the fruit of that tree. It will make you wise.

EVE: But Father said that in the day we ate thereof we should surely die.

LUCIFER: Ye shall not surely die but shall be as the gods; ye shall know good from evil, virtue from vice, light from darkness, health from sickness, pleasure from pain. And thus your eyes shall be opened and you will have knowledge.

EVE: Is there no other way?

LUCIFER: There is no other way.

EVE: Then I will partake.

LUCIFER: That is right. Now go and get Adam to partake.

EVE: Adam, here is some of the fruit of that tree; it is delicious to the taste and very desirable.

ADAM: Eve, do you know what fruit that is? I shall not partake. Do you not know that Father commanded us not to eat of the fruit of that tree?

EVE: Do you intend to obey all of Father's commandments?

ADAM: Yes, all of them.

EVE: Do you not recollect that Father commanded us to be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth? Now I have partaken of the forbidden fruit, and shall be cast out, while you will be left a lone man in the Garden of Eden.

ADAM: Eve, I see that it must be so. I will partake that man might be.

LUCIFER: Yes, that is right.

EVE: I know thee now. Thou art Lucifer, who was cast out of Father's presence for rebellion.

LUCIFER: Oh, I see you are beginning to get your eyes open.

ADAM: What apron is that you are wearing?

LUCIFER: This is an emblem of my power and priesthoods.

ADAM: Priesthoods?

LUCIFER: Yes, priesthoods.

ELOHIM: Jehovah, let us go down and see the man Adam in the Garden of Eden.

JEHOVAH: We will go down, Elohim.

ADAM: I hear someone coming.

LUCIFER: See, you are naked. Take some fig leaves and make you aprons. Father will see your nakedness. Quick, hide.

ADAM: Brethren and Sisters, put on your aprons.

ELOHIM: Adam! Adam! Adam, where art thou?

ADAM: I heard thy voice and I hid myself because I was naked.

ELOHIM: Who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree whereof I commanded thee thou shouldst not partake?

ADAM: The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree and I did eat.

ELOHIM: Eve, what is this that thou hast done?

EVE: The serpent beguiled me and I did eat.

ELOHIM: Lucifer! Lucifer, what hast thou been doing here?

LUCIFER: Oh, the same thing that has been done in other worlds.

ELOHIM: And what is that?

LUCIFER: I gave them some of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.

ELOHIM: Lucifer, because thou hast done this thou shalt be cursed above all the beasts of the field. Upon thy belly shalt thou go and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.

LUCIFER: If thou curseth me for doing the same thing that has been done in other worlds I will take the spirits that follow me and they shall possess the bodies thou createst for Adam and Eve.

ELOHIM: I will put enmity between thee and the seed of the woman, thou mayst have power to bruise his heel, but he shall have power to crush thy head. Depart.

Eve, because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of Satan and hast eaten of the fruit whereof I commanded thee thou shouldst not eat, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow shalt thou bring forth children. Nevertheless thou mayst be saved in child-bearing. Thy desire shall be to thy husband and he shall rule over thee.

Adam, because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife and hast eaten of the fruit of the tree, cursed is the ground for thy sake. In sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou return unto the ground from whence thou wast taken; for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.

Jehovah, let cherubim with a flaming sword be placed to guard the way of the tree of life, lest Adam put forth his hand and partake of the tree of life and live forever in his sins.

JEHOVAH: It shall be done, Elohim. Let cherubim and a flaming sword be placed to guard the way of the tree of life, lest Adam put forth his hand and partake of the tree of life and live forever in his sins. It is done, Elohim.

THE LAW OF OBEDIENCE

ELOHIM: Eve, because thou wast the first to partake of the forbidden fruit, if you will covenant that you will keep the law of your husband, etc. . . . Adam, if you will covenant that you will obey the law of Elohim, we will give unto you the law of obedience and sacrifice and we will provide a Saviour for you that you may come back into our presence, and with us partake of eternal life and exaltation.

EVE: Adam, I now covenant to obey your law as you obey our Father.

ADAM: Elohim, I now covenant that from this time forth I will obey your law and keep your commandments.

ELOHIM: It is well, Adam.

Jehovah, inasmuch as Adam and Eve have discovered their nakedness, make coats of skins for them.

JEHOVAH: It shall be done, Elohim.

Brethren and Sisters, the garment that was placed upon you in the washing room was to cover your nakedness and represents the coat of skins spoken of. Anciently it was made of skins. With this garment you received your new name.

It is done, Elohim.

ELOHIM: We will now put the sisters under covenant to obey the law of their husbands. Sisters, arise, raise your right hand to the square. Each of you do covenant and promise that you will obey the law of your husband and abide by his council in righteousness. Each of you bow your head and say yes.

SISTERS: Yes.

ELOHIM: That will do. Brethren, arise.

You and each of you do covenant and promise that you will obey the law of God and keep His commandments. Each of you bow your head and say yes.

BRETHREN: Yes.

ELOHIM: That will do.

LAW OF SACRIFICE

ELOHIM: When Adam was driven out of the Garden of Eden he built an altar and offered sacrifices, and after many days an angel of the Lord appeared unto Adam, saying: Why dost thou offer sacrifices unto the Lord? And Adam said unto him: I know not, save the Lord commanded me. And then the angel spake saying: This thing is a similitude of the Sacrifice of the Only Begotten of the Father, which is full of grace and truth. Wherefore, thou shalt do all that thou doest in the name of the Son, and thou shalt repent and call upon God in the name of the Son forevermore. The posterity of Adam down to Moses and from Moses to Jesus Christ offered up the first fruits of the field and the firstlings of the flock, which continued unto the death of Jesus Christ. Which ended sacrifice by the shedding of blood.

A couple will now come to the altar. Brethren and Sisters, this couple at the altar represent all of you as if at the altar, and you must remember that you are under the same obligations that they will be. We are instructed to give unto you the law of sacrifice as contained in the Old and New Testaments, which is that you do sacrifice all that you have, including your own lives, if necessary, for the building up of the Kingdom of God on the earth.

All arise. Each of you bring your right arm to the square. You and each of you do covenant and promise before God, angels, and these witnesses at this altar that you will keep the law of sacrifice as contained in the Old and New Testaments, which has been explained to you. Each of you bow your head and say yes.

BRETHREN & SISTERS: Yes.

ELOHIM: That will do.

FIRST TOKEN OF THE AARONIC PRIESTHOOD

We are required to give unto you the First Tokens of the Aaronic Priesthood. Before doing this, however, we desire to impress upon your minds the sacred character of the First Token of the Aaronic Priesthood, with its accompanying name, sign and penalty, together with that of all the other Tokens of the Holy Priesthood, with their accompanying names, signs and penalties, which you will receive in the temple this day. They are most sacred and are guarded by solemn covenants and obligations of secrecy to the effect that under no condition, even at the peril of your life, will you ever divulge them, except at a certain place that will be shown you hereafter. The representation of the penalties indicates different ways in which life may be taken.

The First Token of the Aaronic Priesthood is given by clasping the right hands together and by placing the joint of the thumb over the first knuckle of the hand, in this manner.

Adam, we give unto you the First Token of the Aaronic Priesthood. We desire all to receive it. All arise.

If any of you have not received this Token, please raise your hand.

The name of this Token is the new name that you received in the washing and anointing room. If any of you have forgotten your new name, please stand.

The sign of the First Token of the Aaronic Priesthood is made by bringing the right arm to the square the palm of the hand to the front, the fingers close together and the thumb extended. This is the sign. The execution of the penalty is represented by placing the thumb under the left ear, the palm of the hand down, and by drawing the thumb quickly across the throat, to the right ear, and dropping the hand to the side.

If I were going through the temple today either for myself or for the dead, and had been given John as my new name, I would say, after making the sign, I, John, do covenant and promise that I will never reveal the First Token of the Aaronic Priesthood, together with its accompanying name, sign and penalty, rather than do so I would suffer my life to be taken.

All arise.

The sign of the First Token of the Aaronic Priesthood is made by bringing the right arm to the square; the palm of the hand to the front, the fingers close together and the thumb extended. This is the sign.

Now repeat in your minds after me the words of the covenant, at the same time representing the execution of the penalty.

I, _____ (think of the new name) do covenant and promise that I will never reveal the First Token of the Aaronic Priesthood, together with its accompanying name, sign and penalty. Rather than do so I would suffer my life to be taken.

That will do.

(If any of the brethren or sisters make a mistake in the execution of the penalty, the execution of the penalty is done over.)

It is necessary to repeat the sign and the execution of the penalty. The sign of the First Token of the Aaronic Priesthood is made by bringing the right arm to the square, the palm of the hand to the front, the fingers close together, and the thumb extended. This is the sign. It is not necessary to repeat again the words of the covenant in representing the execution of the penalty, but let the name of the token pass through your mind. The execution of the penalty is represented by placing the thumb under the left ear, the palm of the hand down, and by drawing the thumb quickly across the throat to the right ear, and dropping the hand to the side.

ELOHIM: Jehovah, see that Adam is driven out of this beautiful garden into the lone and dreary world, where he may learn by his own experience the good from the evil.

JEHOVAH: It shall be done, Elohim. The brethren will follow Adam and the sisters will follow Eve into the Lone and Dreary World.

ADAM: The first two rows of brethren and sisters please stand.

THE LONE AND DREARY WORLD

ADAM: Brethren and Sisters, this room represents the Telestial Kingdom, or the world in which we now live. When Adam was driven out of the Garden of Eden, he built an altar and offered prayer and these are the words he uttered:

O God, hear the words of my mouth!
O God, hear the words of my mouth!
O God, hear the words of my mouth!

LUCIFER: I hear you. What is it you want?

ADAM: Who are you?

LUCIFER: The god of this world. What is it you want?

ADAM: I was calling upon Father.

LUCIFER: Oh, I see, you want religion. I'll have some preachers along presently.

PREACHER: You have a fine congregation here.

LUCIFER: Oh, are you a preacher?

PREACHER: Yes.

LUCIFER: Have you ever been to college and been trained for the ministry?

PREACHER: Why, certainly. A man cannot preach unless he has been trained for the ministry.

LUCIFER: Well, do you preach the orthodox religion?

PREACHER: Yes, that is what I preach.

LUCIFER: Well, if you'll preach your orthodox religion to this people and convert them, I'll give you — let me see—five thousand a year.

PREACHER: Well, you know that five thousand is a small sum when you take into consideration the great amount we have to pay to learn to preach.

LUCIFER: If you succeed I will raise your salary.

PREACHER: I'll do my best. Good morning, sir.

ADAM: Good morning.

PREACHER: I understand you are looking for religion?

ADAM: I was calling upon Father.

PREACHER: I'm glad to hear you were calling upon Father. Let us now sing a hymn:

When I can read my title clear,
In mansions in the sky.
I'll bid farewell to all my fears,
And wipe my weeping eyes.

Do you believe in a God who is without body, parts or passions, who sits on the top of a topless throne, whose center is everywhere and circumference nowhere; who fills the universe and yet is so small that He can dwell in your heart? Do you believe in this Great Being?

ADAM: No. I cannot comprehend such a Being.

PREACHER: That is the beauty of it. Perhaps you believe in hell, that great bottomless pit which is full of fire and brimstone, into which the wicked are cast and where they are continually burning and yet are never consumed?

ADAM: No, I do not believe in any such place.

PREACHER: I am sorry for you.

LUCIFER: I am sorry, very, very sorry. What is it you want?

ADAM: I am waiting for messengers from Father.

(Instructions from Elohim are given to Jehovah, and from Jehovah to Peter, James and John.)

PETER: Good morning. What are you doing here?

LUCIFER: We teach the philosophies of men, mingled with Scripture.

PETER: And how is it accepted by this congregation?

LUCIFER: Oh, very well with all except this man (Adam) he doesn't believe anything we preach.

PETER: Good morning, sir. What do you think of the preaching of this gentleman?

ADAM: I cannot comprehend it.

PETER: Can you give us some idea concerning it.

ADAM: He tells of a God who is without body, parts or passions, and of a hell without a bottom, into which the wicked are cast and where they are continually burning and yet never consumed. I do not believe in any such doctrine. I am waiting for messengers from Father.

PETER: That is right. We commend you for your integrity. Good day. We will probably visit you again soon.

LUCIFER: Now is the great day of my power. I reign from the rivers to the end of the earth. There is none who dares make afraid.

PREACHER: Shall we ever have any apostles or prophets?

LUCIFER: No, but there may be some who will profess revelation or apostleship. Just test them by asking them to perform a great miracle, such as cutting off an arm or some other member of the body and restoring it so that the people may know they come with power.

(Peter, James and John return and report to Jehovah, and Jehovah reports to Elohim. Instructions from Elohim are given to Jehovah, and from Jehovah to Peter, James and John.)

PETER: I am Peter.

JAMES: I am James.

JOHN: I am John.

LUCIFER: Yes, I thought I knew you. Do you know who these men are? They claim to be apostles. Test them.

PREACHER: Are you the Apostles of the Lord Jesus Christ?

PETER: We are.

PREACHER: Why, he said we should have no more apostles and if any should come professing to be such I was to ask them to cut off an arm or some other member of the body and restore it, so that the people may know they come with power.

PETER: We do not satisfy man's curiosity in that manner. It is a wicked and an adulterous generation that seeketh for a sign. Do you know who that man is? Why, that is Lucifer!

PREACHER: What! the Devil?

PETER: Yes, I believe that is one of his names. I would advise you to have a settlement with him and get out of his employ.

PREACHER: But if I leave his employ, what will become of me?

PETER: We will preach the gospel unto you with the rest of Adam's posterity.

PREACHER: That is good. I would like to have a settlement.

LUCIFER: I am willing to keep my word and fulfill my part of the agreement. I promised to pay you if you would convert this people, but they have nearly converted you. You can get out of my kingdom. I want no such men in it.

PETER: (to Adam) Have you any tokens or signs?

LUCIFER: Have you any money?

PETER: We have enough for our needs.

LUCIFER: You can buy anything in this world for money.

PETER: (to Adam) Do you sell your tokens or signs for money? You have them, I presume?

ADAM: I have them, but I do not sell them for money. I am waiting for messengers from Father.

LUCIFER: I have something to say concerning this people. If they do not live up to every covenant they make at these altars in this temple this day, they will be in my power.

THE LAW OF THE GOSPEL

PETER: A couple will now come to the altar. Brethren and Sisters, this couple at the altar represent all of you as if at the altar, and you must remember that you are under the same obligations that they will be. We are instructed to give unto you the Law of the Gospel, also a charge to avoid all lightmindedness, loud laughter, evil speaking of the Lord's Anointed, the taking of the name of God in vain and every other unholy and impure practice.

All arise. Each of you bring your right arm to the square.

You and each of you do covenant and promise before God, angels and these witnesses at this altar that you will keep the Law of the Gospel as it has been explained to you. Each of you bow your heads and say yes.

BRETHREN & SISTERS: Yes.

THE ROBES OF THE HOLY PRIESTHOOD

PETER: We are instructed to clothe you in the robes of the Holy Priesthood. Place the robe on the left shoulder, place the cap with the bow over the right ear, replace the apron, tie the girdle with the bow on the right side and put on the moccasins. Those who are wearing slippers and intend using them as moccasins will please remove them from their feet and put them on as part of the temple clothing.

You may now proceed to clothe.

PETER: Satan, we command thee to depart.

LUCIFER: By what authority?

PETER: (right arm to the square) In the name of Jesus Christ our Master.

Adam, we are true messengers from Father.

ADAM: How shall I know that you are true messengers?

PETER: By our giving unto you the token and sign given you in the Garden of Eden.

ADAM: (taking Peter by the right hand) What is that?

PETER: The first token of the Aaronic Priesthood.

ADAM: Has it a name?

PETER: It has.

ADAM: Will you give it to me?

PETER: I can not, for it is the new name, but this is the sign. (right arm elevated to the square) And this is the execution of the penalty. (Thumb of right hand across the throat)

ADAM: Brethren and Sister, these are true messengers from Father. I exhort you to give strict heed to their counsel and teachings and they will lead you in the ways of life and salvation.

SECOND TOKEN OF THE AARONIC PRIESTHOOD

PETER: A couple will now come to the altar. We are instructed to give unto you the Second Token of the Aaronic Priesthood with its accompanying name, sign and penalty. Before doing this, however, we desire to impress upon your minds the sacred character of the Second Token of the Aaronic Priesthood with its accompanying name, sign and penalty. They are most sacred and are guarded by solemn covenants and obligations of secrecy to the effect that under no condition, even at the peril of your life will you ever divulge them, except at a certain place that will be shown you hereafter. The representation of the penalty indicates different ways in which life may be taken.

The Second Token of the Aaronic Priesthood is given by clasping the right hands together and by placing the joint of the thumb between the first and second knuckles of the hand, in this manner.

Adam, we give unto you the Second Token of the Aaronic Priesthood.

We desire all to receive it. All arise. If any of you have not received this token, please raise your hand.

The name of this token is your own first given name if you are going through the temple for yourself, or the first given name of the person for whom you are officiating.

PETER: The sign of the second token of the Aaronic Priesthood is made by bringing the right hand in front of you, with the hand in cupping shape the right arm forming a square, the left arm being raised to the square. This is the sign. The execution of the penalty is represented by placing the right hand on the left breast, drawing the hand quickly across the body and dropping the hands to the sides.

If I were going through the temple for the first time this day for my own endowments—my first given name being Thomas—I would say: I, Thomas, do covenant and promise that I will never reveal the second token of the Aaronic Priesthood, with its accompanying name, sign and penalty. Rather than do so I would suffer my life to be taken.

All arise.

The sign of the second token of the Aaronic Priesthood is made by bringing the right hand in front of you, with the hand in cupping shape, the left arm being raised to the square. This is the sign.

Now repeat in your minds after me the words of the covenant, at the same time representing the execution of the penalty.

I, _____ (think of the first given name), do covenant and promise that I will never reveal the second token of the Aaronic Priesthood, together with its accompanying name, sign and penalty. Rather than do so I would suffer my life to be taken.

That will do.

(If one of the brethren or sisters makes a mistake in the execution of the penalty, the execution of the penalty is repeated.)

Brethren and Sisters, it is necessary to repeat the sign and the execution of the penalty. The sign of the second token of the Aaronic Priesthood is made by bringing the right hand in front of you, with the hand in cupping shape, the right arm, forming a square, and the left arm being raised to the square. This is the sign. It is not necessary to repeat again the words of the covenant in representing the execution of the penalty, but let the name of the token pass through your mind. The execution of the penalty is represented by placing the right hand on the left breast, drawing the hand quickly across the body, and dropping the hands to the sides.

(Peter, James and John return and report to Jehovah, and Jehovah reports to Elohim. Instructions from Elohim are given to Jehovah, and from Jehovah to Peter, James and John.)

PETER: We have been instructed to have you place your robe on the right shoulder, preparatory to receiving the first token of the Melchizedek Priesthood, and entering into the Terrestrial World. You may now do so.

The brethren will follow Adam and the sisters will follow Eve into the room representing the Terrestrial World.

THE TERRESTRIAL WORLD

Law of Chastity

PETER: A couple will now come to the altar. We are instructed to give unto you the Law of Chastity. To the sisters it is that no one of you will have sexual intercourse with any of the sons of Adam, except your legal and lawful husband. To the brethren it is that no one of you will have sexual intercourse with any of the daughters of Eve, except your legal and lawful wife.

Sisters, please arise. Each of you bring you right hand to the square. You and each of you do covenant and promise before God, angels and these witnesses at this altar that you will keep the Law of Chastity, as it has been explained to you. Each of you bow your head and say yes.

SISTERS: Yes.

PETER: That will do.

Brethren, arise. Each of you bring your right hand to the square. You and each of you do covenant and promise before God, angels and these witnesses at this altar that you will keep the Law of Chastity as it has been explained to you. Each of you bow your head and say yes.

BRETHREN: Yes.

PETER: That will do.

FIRST TOKEN of the MELCHIZEDEK PRIESTHOOD

OR THE SIGN OF THE NAIL

PETER: We are instructed to give unto you the first token of the Melchizedek Priesthood or sign of the nail. This is done by bringing your right hand forward in a vertical position, fingers close together, thumb extended. And the person given the token places the tip of his forefinger in the center of the palm and the thumb on the back of the hand, in this manner. We desire all to receive it. All arise.

If any of you have not received this token, please raise your hand.

The sign of the first token of the Melchizedek Priesthood or sign of the nail is made by bringing the left hand in front of you with the hand in cupping shape, the left arm forming a square, the right hand is also brought forward, the fingers close together, and the thumb is placed over the left hip. This is the sign. The execution of the penalty is represented by drawing the thumb quickly across the body and dropping the hands to the side.

The name of this token is The Son, meaning the Son of God.

If I were going through the temple today either for myself or for the dead, I would say, after making the sign, I covenant in the name of the Son that I will never reveal the first token of the Melchizedek Priesthood or sign of the nail, with its accompanying name, sign or penalty. Rather than do so I would suffer my life to be taken.

All arise.

Each of you make the sign of the first token of the Melchizedek Priesthood or sign of the nail by bringing the left hand in front of you with the hand in cupping shape, the left arm forming a square, the right hand is also brought forward, the palm down, the fingers close together and the thumb extended and the thumb is placed over the left hip. This is the sign.

Now repeat in your minds after me the words of the covenant at the same time representing the execution of the penalty.

I covenant in the name of the Son that I will never reveal the first token of the Melchizedek Priesthood or sign of the nail, with its accompanying name, sign or penalty. Rather than do so I would suffer my life to be taken.

That will do.

(If any of the brethren or sisters makes a mistake in the execution of the penalty, the execution of the penalty is repeated.)

Brethren and Sisters, it is necessary to repeat the sign and the execution of the penalty. The sign of the first token of the Melchizedek Priesthood, or sign of the nail, is made by bringing the left hand in front of you with the hand in cupping shape, the left arm forming a square; the right hand is also brought forward the palm down, the fingers close together, the thumb extended, and the thumb is placed over the left hip. This is the sign. It is not necessary to repeat again the words of the covenant in representing the execution of the penalty, but let the name of the token pass through your mind. The execution of the penalty is represented by drawing the thumb quickly across the body and dropping the hands to the sides.

PETER: We will return and report.

(Peter, James and John return and report to Jehovah, and Jehovah reports to Elohim. Instructions from Elohim are given to Jehovah and from Jehovah to Peter, James and John.)

LAW OF CONSECRATION

PETER: A couple will now come to the altar. We are instructed to give unto you the Law of Consecration as contained in the book of Doctrine and Covenants; this I will explain, it is that you do consecrate yourselves, your time, talents and everything with which the Lord has blessed you or with which he may bless you to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, for the building up of the Kingdom of God on the earth and for the establishment of Zion.

All arise. Each of you bring your right arm to the square.

You and each of you do covenant and promise before God, angels and these witnesses at this altar that you will keep the Law of Consecration as contained in this the book of Doctrine and Covenants, which is that you do consecrate yourselves, your time, talents and everything with which the Lord has blessed you or with which he may bless you to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints for the building up of the Kingdom of God on the earth and for the establishment of Zion.

Each of you bow your head and say yes.

BRETHREN & SISTERS: Yes.

SECOND TOKEN of the MELCHIZEDEK PRIESTHOOD
The Patriarchal Grip or Sure Sign of the Nail

PETER: We are instructed to give unto you the second token of the Melchizedek Priesthood, the Patriarchal Grip or Sure Sign of the Nail, and to instruct you in the true order of prayer and to give you further instructions preparatory to going through the veil.

The second token of the Melchizedek Priesthood, the Patriarchal Grip or Sure Sign of the Nail is given by clasping the right hands together and by interlocking the little finger and by placing the forefinger of the right hand on the center of the wrist, in this manner. We desire all to receive it. All arise.

If any of you have not received it, please raise your hand.

The name of the second token of the Melchizedek Priesthood, the Patriarch Grip or Sure Sign of the Nail will not be given you at this stage of the endowment, but will be given later on.

The sign is made by raising both hands high above the head and by lowering your hands to the side, saying:

Pay lay ale
Pay lay ale
Pay lay ale

When Adam was driven out of the Garden of Eden he built an altar and offered prayer and these are the words he used, repeated three times.

We desire all to receive it. All arise. Each of you make the sign of the second token of the Melchizedek Priesthood, the Patriarch Grip or Sure Sign of the Nail by raising both hands high above the head and by lowering your hands to the side.

BRETHREN & SISTERS:

Pay lay ale
Pay lay ale
Pay lay ale

PETER: That will do.

There is no penalty mentioned for this token, but you must remember that you are under just as strict an obligation to secrecy for this token and sign as you are for all the other tokens and signs of the Holy Priesthood which you have received in the temple this day, etc.

A lecture will next be given, which summarizes the instructions, ordinances and covenants, and also the tokens with their key words, signs and penalties, pertaining to the endowment which you have thus far received. You should try to remember and keep in mind all that you have heard and seen and may yet hear and see in this House. The purpose of this lecture is to assist you to remember that which has been taught you this day. You must keep in mind that you are under a solemn obligation never to speak, outside of the temples of the Lord, of the things you see and hear in this sacred place.

LECTURE BEFORE THE VEIL

LECTURER: Brethren and Sisters, these endowments as herein administered, long withheld from the children of men, pertain to the dispensation of the fulness of times and have been revealed to prepare the people for exaltation.

(The Lecturer explains to the brethren and sisters what they have gone through, from the Washing and Anointing Room to the time they receive this lecture. He mentions that they have received the keys of the Priesthood contained in these endowments.)

These are what are termed the mysteries of Godliness and they will enable you to understand the expression of Jesus made prior to his betrail—This is life eternal that they might know thee, the only true God and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent. May God bless you all. Amen.

THE PRAYER CIRCLE

PETER: We will now teach you the true order of prayer. We would like the witnesses to come forward and stand at the head of the altar and six other couples to come forward and form a circle around the altar.

John will instruct and lead the circle.

JOHN: If any of you have unkind feelings towards any member of this circle you are invited to withdraw, that the Spirit of the Lord may not be restrained. In this circle we are required to make all the signs and tokens of the Holy Priesthood.

(The signs and tokens of the Holy Priesthood are offered up, after which the couples form the true order of prayer and John kneels at the altar for prayer.)

PETER: The Sisters will unveil their faces and the Brethren and Sisters in the circle will return to their seats.

THE VEIL OF THE TEMPLE

PETER: We will now uncover the Veil.

Brethren and Sisters, this is the Veil of the temple. It is necessary to explain the marks on the Veil. These four marks are the marks of the Holy Priesthood and corresponding marks are found on your individual garment. This is the mark of the square.

(Peter explains that the meaning of this mark is to be a reminder of the covenants that were entered into this day.)

This is the mark of the compass. . . . That all truth is circumscribed into one great whole, and that desires, appetites and passions are to be kept within the bounds the Lord has established.

This is the navel mark. It is placed on the right side of the garment, over the navel, and is a reminder of the constant need of nourishment to body and spirit.

This is the knee mark. It is placed in the leg of the garment, over the knee cap, and indicates that every knee shall bow and every tongue confess that Jesus is the Christ.

These other three marks are for convenience, for working at the veil. Through this one the person representing the Lord puts his right hand to test our knowledge of the tokens of the Holy Priesthood; through this one he asks us certain questions, and through this one we give our answers.

Since all of you will have to go through the veil, we will show you how this is done.

The worker gives three taps with the mallet.

(Peter shows the brethren and sisters how this is done.)

THE FIVE POINTS OF FELLOWSHIP

LORD: What is that?

PETER: (acting as Adam) The second token of the Melchizedek Priesthood, the Patriarchal Grip or Sure Sign of the Nail.

LORD: Has it a name?

PETER: It has.

LORD: Will you give it to me?

PETER: I cannot. I have not yet received it. For this purpose I have come to converse with the Lord through the veil.

LORD: You shall receive it upon the five points of fellowship through the veil.

PETER: (The five points of fellowship are: inside of right foot by the side of right foot, knee to knee , breast to breast, hand to back and mouth to ear.)

(Peter, James and John return and report to Jehovah, and Jehovah reports to Elohim. Instructions from Elohim are given to Jehovah and from Jehovah to Peter, James and John.)

PETER: Brethren and Sisters, we are instructed to introduce you at the Veil, where you will receive the name of the second token of the Melchizedek Priesthood, the Patriarchal Grip or Sure Sign of the Nail, preparatory to your entering into the presence of the Lord.

Will the Veil workers please take their places at the Veil.

CEREMONY AT THE VEIL

(The worker gives three taps with the mallet.)

LORD: What is wanted?

WORKER: Adam, having been true and faithful, desires to converse with the Lord through the veil (for and in behalf of _____ who is dead).

LORD: Present him at the veil and his request shall be granted. What is that?

ADAM: The first token of the Aaronic Priesthood.

LORD: Has it a name?

ADAM: It has.

LORD: Will you give it to me?

ADAM: I will, through the veil (gives new name).

LORD: What is that?

ADAM: The second token of the Aaronic Priesthood.

LORD: Has it a name?

ADAM: It has.

LORD: Will you give it to me?

ADAM: I will, through the veil (first given name).

LORD: What is that?

ADAM: The first token of the Melchizedek Priesthood, or sign of the nail.

LORD: Has it a name?

ADAM: It has.

LORD: Will you give it to me?

ADAM: I will through the veil (The Son).

LORD: What is that?

ADAM: The second token of the Melchizedek Priesthood, The Patriarchal Grip or Sure Sign of the Nail.

LORD: Has it a name?

ADAM: It has.

LORD: Will you give it to me?

ADAM: I cannot. I have not yet received it. For this purpose I have come to converse with the Lord through the veil.

LORD: You shall receive it upon the five points of fellowship, through the veil. This is the name of the token— Health in the navel, marrow in the bones, strength in the loins and in the sinews, power in the priesthood be upon me and upon my posterity through all generations of time and throughout all eternity.

What is that?

ADAM: The second token of the Melchizedek Priesthood, the Patriarchal Grip or Sure Sign of the Nail.

LORD: Has it a name?

ADAM: It has.

LORD: Will you give it to me?

ADAM: I will, upon the five points of fellowship through the veil—Health in the navel, marrow in the bones, strength in the loins and in the sinews, power in the priesthood be upon me and upon my posterity through all generations of time and throughout all eternity.

LORD: That is correct.

(The worker gives three taps with the mallet.)

LORD: What is wanted?

WORKER: Adam, having conversed with the Lord through the veil, desires now to enter his presence.

LORD: Let him enter.

(Adam is admitted into the Celestial Room.)

THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY

(The right hands are clasped in the Patriarchal grip, while the parties kneel at the altar.)

Do you Brother _____ (acting as proxy for _____ who is dead), take Sister _____(acting as proxy for _____ who is dead) by the right hand and receive her unto yourself to be your lawful and wedded wife for time and for all eternity, with a covenant and promise that you will observe and keep all the laws, rites and ordinances pertaining to this Holy Order of Matrimony in the new and everlasting Covenant, and this you do in the presence of God, angels and these witnesses of your own free will and choice?

BROTHER: Yes.

Do you Sister _____ (acting as proxy for _____who is dead) take Brother _____ (acting as proxy for _____ who is dead) by the right hand and give yourself to him to be his lawful and wedded wife, and for him to be your lawful and wedded husband, for time and for all eternity, with a covenant and promise that you will observe and keep all the laws, rites and ordinances pertaining to this Holy Order of Matrimony in the new and everlasting Covenant; and this you do in the presence of God, angels and these witnesses of your own free will and choice?

SISTER: Yes.

By virtue of the Holy Priesthood and the authority vested in me, I pronounce you _____ and _____ legally and lawfully husband and wife for time and for all eternity, and I seal upon you the blessings of the holy resurrection with power to come forth in the morning of the first resurrection clothed with glory, immortality and eternal lives, and seal upon you the blessings of kingdoms, thrones principalities, powers, dominions and exaltations, with all the blessings of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and say unto you, be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth, that you may have joy and rejoicing in the day of the Lord Jesus Christ. All these blessings, together with all the blessings appertaining unto the new and everlasting covenant, I seal upon you by virtue of the Holy Priesthood, through your faithfulness, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

[The parties then kiss each other, which ends the ceremony.]

SEALING OF CHILDREN TO PARENTS CEREMONY

(Brother or Sister _____ you being proxy for _____ who is dead)

By the authority of the Holy Priesthood, I seal you _____ (acting as proxy for and in behalf of _____to your father _____ and to your mother _____, for time and all eternity, as an heir (or heirs) (with all the children) as though you were born in the new and everlasting covenant, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

THE SECOND ANOINTING

[This is the highest ceremony in the temple. It is not performed in all temples.]

11. CHANGES IN CEREMONY

NOTE: Major changes were made in the temple ceremony in April 1990.

The fact that changes have been made in the Mormon temple ceremony can be demonstrated by comparing earlier accounts with the one published in this book. Some of these changes were made after the turn of the century.

BLOODY OATHS

Ebenezer Robinson, who had been the editor of the *Times and Seasons*, made this statement concerning the endowment ritual:

> Here was instituted, undoubtedly the order of things which represented the scenes in the Garden of Eden, which was called in Nauvoo, the "Holy Order," a secret organization. The terrible oaths and covenants taken by those who entered there were known only to those who took them, as one of the members said to me, "I could tell you many things, but if I should, my life would pay the forfeiture." (*The Return*, vol. 2, pages 346-348, typed copy, page 153)

These oaths have been greatly modified since Joseph Smith's time. The changes were probably made within the last thirty or forty years. Below are comparisons of the oaths as they were published in *Temple Mormonism* with the way they are given today [1969].

As Printed in *Temple Mormonism*

We, and each of us, covenant and promise that we will not reveal any of the secrets of this, the first token of the Aaronic priesthood, with its accompanying name, sign or penalty. Should we do so; we agree that our **throats be cut from ear to ear and our tongues torn out by their roots**. (*Temple Mormonism*, page 18)

As Given Today (1969)

I, _____(think of the new name) do covenant and promise that I will never reveal the First Token of the Aaronic Priesthood, together with its accompanying name, sign and penalty. **Rather than do so I would suffer my life to be taken.** (see page 129)

As Printed in *Temple Mormonism*

We and each of us do covenant and promise that we will not reveal any of the secrets of this, the Second Token of the Aaronic Priesthood, with its accompanying name, sign, grip or penalty. Should we do so, we agree to **have our breasts cut open and our hearts and vitals torn from our bodies and given to the birds of the air and the beasts of the field**. (*Temple Mormonism*, page 20)

As Given Today (1969)

I, _____(think of the first given name), do covenant and promise that I will never reveal the second token of the Aaronic Priesthood, together with its accompanying name, sign and penalty. **Rather than do so I would suffer my life to be taken.** (see page 131)

As Printed in *Temple Mormonism*

We and each of us do covenant and promise that we will not reveal the secrets of this, the First Token of the Melchizedek Priesthood, with its accompanying name, sign or penalty. Should we do so, we agree that **our bodies be cut asunder in the midst and all our bowels gush out.** (*Temple Mormonism*, page 20)

As Given Today (1969)

I covenant in the name of the Son that I will never reveal the first token of the Melchizedek Priesthood or sign of the nail, with its accompanying name, sign or penalty. **Rather than do so I would suffer my life to be taken.** (see page 132)

To the early Mormon people these oaths were a very serious matter. In a discourse delivered December 13, 1857, Heber C. Kimball, a member of the First Presidency, stated:

> Judas lost that saving principle, and they took him and **killed him**. It is said in the Bible that his bowels gushed out; but they actually **kicked him until his bowels came out**.
>
> "I will suffer **my bowels to be taken out** before I will forfeit the covenant I have made with Him and my brethren." Do you understand me? Judas was like salt

> that had lost its saving principles—good for nothing but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men. . . . It is so with you, ye Elders of Israel, when you forfeit your covenants. . . . I know the day is right at hand when men will forfeit their Priesthood and turn against us and against the covenants they have made, and they will **be destroyed as Judas was**. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, pages 125-126)

On another occasion Heber C. Kimball stated: ". . . for if men turn traitors to God and His servants, their **blood will surely be shed**, or else they will be damned, and that too according to their covenants" (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 4, page 375). Jedediah M. Grant, second counselor to Brigham Young, said:

> I say, that there are men and women that I would advise to go to the President immediately, and ask him to appoint a committee to attend to their case; and then let a place be selected, and let that committee **shed their blood**. . . . I would ask how many covenant breakers there are in this city and in this kingdom. I believe that there are a great many; and if they are covenant breakers we **need a place designated, where we can shed their blood**. . . .
>
> Brethren and sisters, we want you to repent and forsake your sins. And you who have committed sins that cannot be forgiven through baptism, **let your blood be shed**, and let the smoke ascend, that the incense thereof may come up before God as an atonement for your sins, and that the sinners in Zion may be afraid. (*Deseret News*, vol. 6, page 235, reprinted in *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 4, pages 49-51)

On another occasion Jedediah M. Grant stated: "Do you think it would be any sin to **kill me** if I were to break my covenants? . . . Do you believe you would kill me if I broke the covenants of God, and you had the Spirit of God? **Yes**; and the more Spirit of God I had, the more I should strive to **save your soul by spilling your blood**, when you had committed sin that could not be remitted by baptism" (*Deseret News*, July 27, 1854). Brigham Young, the second President of the Mormon Church, made this statement:

> **This is loving our neighbor as ourselves**; if he needs help, help him; and if he wants salvation and it is **necessary to spill his blood** on the earth in order that he may be saved, **spill it**. Any of you who understand the principles of eternity, if you have sinned a sin **requiring the shedding of blood**, except the sin unto death, would not be satisfied nor rest until your **blood should be spilled**, that you might gain that salvation you desire. **That is the way to love mankind.** (Sermon by Brigham Young, delivered in the Mormon Tabernacle, February 8, 1857, printed in *Deseret News*, February 18, 1857; also reprinted in *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 4, pages 219-220)

For many other similar statements by the early Mormon leaders the reader should see pages 31-42 of this volume.

A person can only imagine how serious these oaths must have been to the Mormon people when the doctrine of "Blood Atonement" was practiced. Now that the oaths have been modified and the practice of "Blood Atonement" abandoned, the Mormon leaders do not have as much control over their people.

OATH OF VENGEANCE

One of the oaths was the source of so much trouble that the Mormon leaders finally removed it entirely from the endowment ritual. This oath was printed in *Temple Mormonism*, as follows:

> You and each of you do solemnly promise and vow that you will pray, and never cease to pray, and never cease to importune high heaven to avenge the blood of the prophets on this nation and that you will teach this to your children and your children's children unto the third and fourth generation. (*Temple Mormonism*, page 21)

A great deal of testimony has been given concerning this oath, and although all of the witnesses did not agree as to its exact wording, there can be little doubt that such an oath was administered to the Mormon people after Joseph Smith's death.

According to Joseph Smith's *History*, he made this statement just before his death:

> . . . I said to the company present, "I wish I could get Hyrum out of the way, so that he may live to **avenge my blood**, and I will stay with you and see it out." (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 520)

John D. Lee related the following:

> I was in Brigham Young's office about this time. His brother Joseph, and quite a number of others were present, when Brigham raised his hand and said, "I swear by the eternal Heavens that I have unsheathed my sword, and I will never return it until the blood of the Prophet Joseph and Hyrum and those who were slain in Missouri, is avenged. This whole nation is guilty of shedding their blood, by assenting to the deed, and holding its peace." "Now," said he, "betray me, any of you who dare to do so!" Furthermore, every one who had passed through their endowments, in the Temple, were placed under the **most sacred obligations to avenge the blood of the Prophet**, whenever an opportunity offered, and to teach their children to do the same, thus making the entire Mormon people sworn and avowed **enemies of the American natio**n. (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, photo-reprint of the 1880 ed., page 160)

On February 20, 1854, the Patriarch Elisha H. Groves made this statement in a "patriarchal blessing" given to William H. Dame:

> Thou shalt be called to act at the head of a portion of thy brethren and of the Lamanites in the redemption of Zion and the avenging of the blood of the Prophets, upon them that dwell in the earth. (*John D. Lee*, by Juanita Brooks, 1962, page 209)

Allen Joseph Stout seemed to have the "oath of vengeance" in mind when he made this statement concerning the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith:

> But I there and then resolved in my mind that I would never let an opportunity slip unimproved of **avenging their blood** upon the head of the enemies of the church of Jesus Christ. I felt as though I could not live; I knew not how to contain myself, and when I see one of the men who persuaded them to give up to be tried, I feel like cutting their throats yet. And I hope to live to **avenge** their blood; but if I do not **I will teach my children and children's children to the fourth generation** as long as there is one descendant of the murderers upon the earth. ("Journal of Allen Joseph Stout," pages 13-14, as quoted in *Orrin Porter Rockwell—Man of God, Son of Thunder*, by Harold Schindler, page 137)

Heber C. Kimball, who was a member of the First Presidency, made this statement on September 20, 1857:

> . . . the whole people of the United States are under condemnation. They consented to the death of Joseph, Hyrum, David, Parley, and lots of men, women, and children. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 5, page 253)

The Mormon Apostle Orson Hyde made these statements:

> The blood of Joseph and Hyrum was shed . . . Has the nation atoned for that blood? No. Have they offered to do it? They never have. . . . There was hardly a man, woman, or child that did not assent to the death of Joseph and Hyrum, but objected to the way in which it was done. "It is not exactly honourable or pleasing, but we are glad of it anyhow." That is the sentiment of the nation, and by that very sentiment they have drawn upon themselves the anger of God; and that blood has to be **atoned** for, and it has to be atoned for upon all those that have said, We are glad of it! — that have secretly said so and cherished that idea. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, page 154)

As late as October, 1885, the Apostle F. D. Richards made this statement:

> But, ah! the terrible fact exists that **the blood of the prophets is upon this nation** . . . the nation have not washed their hands from it. This accounts for the terrible hardness of heart that is to be found in this country. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 26, page 345)

Just after the turn of the century the Mormon leaders found themselves in serious trouble because of the "Oath of Vengeance." They were questioned at great length concerning this oath in the "Reed Smoot Case." The "Oath of Vengeance" remained in the temple ceremony after the "Reed Smoot Case" was printed. Stanley S. Ivins told us that he took this oath in 1914. It must have been removed sometime between then and 1937, for Francis M. Darter made this complaint in a lecture delivered February 28, 1937:

> The Law and prayer of Retribution, or divine judgment, against those who persecute the Saints, has been entirely removed from Temple services. . . . The reason why it was taken out, says one Apostle, was because it was offensive to the young people. (*Celestial Marriage*, by Francis M. Darter, 1937, page 60)

OTHER CHANGES

Because the practice of polygamy was abandoned a number of changes had to be made in the temple ceremony. For instance, when the men took the "Law of Chastity" in earlier times they agreed that they would "not have sexual intercourse with any other than your lawful wife or **wives**, . . . (*Salt Lake Tribune*, February 12, 1906). The words "or wives" have now been deleted.

In 1853, the Mormon Apostle Orson Pratt told how the first wife gave her husband a second wife in the endowment ceremony:

> The wife stands on the left hand of her husband, while the bride stands on her left. The President, then, puts this question to the wife: "Are you willing to give this woman to your husband to be his lawful and wedded wife for time and for all eternity? If you are, you will manifest it by placing her right hand within the right hand of your husband." The right hands of the bridegroom and bride, being thus joined, the wife takes her husband by the left arm, as if in the attitude of walking: . . . (*The Seer*, by Orson Pratt, February, 1853, page 31)

This portion of the ceremony has, of course, been completely deleted since the practice of polygamy was abandoned.

The account of the temple ceremony printed in the *Salt Lake Tribune* on February 12, 1906, states that the Devil offered the preacher "four thousand dollars a year." The preacher's salary has now been raised to five thousand dollars. This raise, however, is not sufficient to preserve the original meaning of the ceremony. In 1906 four thousand dollars was a great deal of money. This part of the ceremony was evidently intended to give the Mormon people the impression that ministers are servants of the Devil and that they receive a great deal of money for their services. (It should be remembered

that the Mormons claim that they do not have a paid ministry.) Today, many Mormons make well over five thousand dollars a year. Therefore, the ceremony does not give the same impression that it did in 1906. If the salary was raised to fifteen or twenty thousand dollars it would be more consistent with the idea which was originally intended.

The reader will note that at one place in the ceremony the words "Pay lay ale" are spoken three times (see page 132). One man has suggested that this is spelled "Pe, le, el." However this may be, there seems to have been a change made in this part of the ceremony, for the *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 12, 1906, gave the words as "Pale, Ale, Ale," and *Temple Mormonism* used the words "Pale, Hale, Hale."

The washing and anointing ceremonies seem to be more refined than they were in former times. A woman who had been through the endowment ritual before the turn of the century gave this account:

> One of the women, an officiating high priestess, told me to come behind the curtain . . . where I could hear a great deal of splashing and subdued conversation. I went, and after I was undressed, I had to step into a long bath, about half full of water, when another woman proceeded to wash me. I objected strongly to this part of the business, but she told me to show a more humble spirit. However, when she got down to my feet, she let me go, and I was turned over to the woman who had spoken to me first, and whose name was Bathsheba Smith (one of the widows of Apostle George A. Smith). She wore a large shiny apron, and her sleeves tucked up above her elbows. She looked thoroughly like business.
>
> Another woman was standing beside her with a large wooden spoon and some green olive oil in a cow's horn. This woman poured the oil out of the spoon into Bathsheba's hand, who immediately put it on my head, ears, eyes, mouth, and every part of my body, and as she greased me, she muttered a kind of prayer over each member of my body: My head, that I might have knowledge of the truths of God: my eyes, that I might see the glories of the kingdom, my mouth, that I might at all times speak the truth, my arms, that they might be strong in the defense of the gospel, my bosom—here I must ask my readers not to think I want to tell this part of the story, but I do want people to know the truth, and how disgusting and indelicate this thing is. Mormon people deny many of these things, and civilized and decent people can scarcely realize that this institution is as infamous as it really is, but I solemnly assert that these things do exist. To continue: My bosom, that I might nourish the children whom I might raise by my husband (I was not then married, but expected to be), and another part of my body that I might raise up a goodly seed, that they might be pillars of strength to the upbuilding and strengthening of God's kingdom upon the earth. And so she got down to my feet, when she hoped they might be swift in the paths of righteousness and truth. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, February 12, 1906)

According to the woman who revealed part of the endowment ceremony in 1846, the people taking their endowments had a drink with the Devil:

> . . . at first he appeared very sly—peeping about, and when he found the Lord was not present, he became very familiar and persuasive. Said he, "here we are, all together, and all good fellows well met. Some Methodists, some Presbyterians, some Baptists, some Quakers, some Mormons, and some Strangites, &c. &c. Come let us drink together." In this way he tempted us, and we partook with him. (*Warsaw Signal*, April 15, 1846, page 2)

I, McGee Van Dusen also mentioned this part of the ceremony:

> Our attention is now attracted by an individual coming in from an adjoining room, representing the Devil. He comes in great glee, hopping and skipping about the floor, holding in his hand a long-handled wooden noggin, which holds about a pint. He says, "Good morning brother Methodist, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Baptist, Universalist, Shaking Quaker, Millerite, Campbelite," & c., renumerating all the sects of the day, except the Mormons: "Come, let us drink the cup of fellowship this morning." He now drinks, and hands the noggon to us; we drink, and hand it back. (*A Dialogue Between Adam and Eve, The Lord and the Devil, Called the Endowment*, Albany, New York, 1847, page 10)

There may be some question as to what the Devil had in the "noggin," or whether the Mormons literally drank from it, but we do know from a good Mormon source—i.e.. the "Diary of Samuel Whitney Richards, 1824-1909"—that the early Mormons drank wine in the temple. Juanita Brooks states:

> Though some were working toward getting their outfits, others were still putting in their time on the temple. On April 23, Samuel Richards told how the carpenters swept up their shavings "after which it was voted that Bro. Angel go and inform the Trustees that the hands were ready to drink the Barrell of **wine** which had been reserved for them." The painters continued their work until the evening of April 29, when a group of the workers and their wives met in the attic and "had a feast of cakes, pies, **wine**, &c, where we enjoyed ourselves with prayer, preaching, administering for healing, blessing children, and music and Dancing until near Midnight. The other hands completed the painting in the lower room." (*John Doyle Lee*, Glendale. California, 1962, pages 86-87)

The Mormon writer Truman G. Madsen is willing to admit that some unusual activities were permitted in the Nauvoo Temple:

> Then came a study class. Later, bathed and dressed in their temple robes, they participated in temple worship. . . . The group next adjourned to the upstairs rooms and relished a feast of raisins and cakes. And then, until late in the evening, they enjoyed music and dancing. What?

> The whole of life—even dancing—surrounded by a temple of God? Yes. And why not? (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Spring 1966, pages 130-131)

The part of the ceremony where the Mormons drank with the Devil has now been completely deleted from the endowment ritual, and we doubt that the Mormon leaders would allow either wine or dancing in the temples today.

In the *Case Against Mormonism*, vol. 1, pages 17-26, we show that in the early years of the Mormon Church there was a temple ritual in which men were sealed or adopted to men. Kimball Young gives us the following information:

> That this masculine principle went deep, and far more fantastically than the Saints could comprehend, is shown in a sermon by Brigham Young, reported by John Read. In a letter to one of his wives Read said that Brigham referred to some future time "when **men would be sealed to men** in the priesthood in a **more solemn ordinance** than that by which women were sealed to man, and in a room **over** that in which women were sealed to man in the **temple** of the Lord." (*Isn't One Wife Enough?* page 280)

On September 4, 1873, Brigham Young made this statement:

> But we can seal women to men, **but not men to men, without a temple**. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 16, page l86)

This doctrine was repudiated by Wilford Woodruff, the fourth President of the Mormon Church, in 1894 (see *Case Against Mormonism*, vol. 1, pages 23-24).

Wilford Woodruff once stated that he had his "second anointing" in Joseph Smith's lifetime:

> There's Sister Bathsheba Smith; she and I both had our endowments under the hands of the Prophet Joseph Smith. I had my **second anointing** and sealings under his hands. (*Young Woman's Journal*, August, 1894, vol. 5, no. 11, as quoted in *Temples of the Most High*, page 272)

Just what this "second anointing" consists of we have been unable to learn. There is some reason to believe that some members of the Church still receive this ceremony; however, this cannot be documented.

CONCLUSION

The Mormon leaders claim that the temple endowments are absolutely necessary for a person's exaltation. In fact, Wilford Woodruff, who became the fourth President of the Church, once stated that the Lord Himself had His endowments millions of years ago:

> The tithing is not to exalt the **Lord** or to feed or clothe Him, He has had His endowments long ago; it is thousands and millions of years since He received His blessings, and if He had not received them, we could not give them to Him, for He is far in advance of us. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 4, page 192)

After a careful examination of the Mormon temple ceremony, we have come to the conclusion that it bears unmistakable evidence of being a man-made ritual. The fact that so many changes had to be made in the ritual to try to make it acceptable shows plainly that it is not from God.

12. TESTIMONY ON CEREMONY

On at least three different occasions Mormons or those who had formerly been Mormons were called upon to give testimony concerning the temple ceremony. In this chapter we will present some of the testimony which has been given.

Just after the turn of the century, the Mormon Apostle Reed Smoot was elected to serve in the United States Senate. Many people claimed that the Mormon leaders were still teaching polygamy and that the temple ceremony contained an oath against the Government of the United States. An investigation was made, and the testimony was published by the Government Printing Office. The first volume was printed in 1904 and was entitled, "Proceedings Before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate in the Matter of the Protests Against the Right of Hon. Reed Smoot, a Senator from the State of Utah, to Hold His Seat." The testimony ran into thousands of pages and was printed in several volumes. The fourth volume was printed in 1906. We shall refer to these volumes hereafter as "The Reed Smoot Case."

In his testimony the Mormon Apostle Francis M. Lyman stated:

> The CHAIRMAN. Will you please state what the ceremony is in going through the endowment house?
>
> Mr. LYMAN. I could not do so.
>
> The CHAIRMAN. You could not?
>
> Mr. LYMAN. No, sir.
>
> The CHAIRMAN. Can you state any portion of it?
>
> Mr. LYMAN. I might approximate something of it that I remember.
>
> The CHAIRMAN. As nearly as you can.
>
> Mr. LYMAN. I remember that I agreed to be an upright and moral man, pure in my life. I agreed to refrain from sexual commerce with any woman except my wife **or wives** as were given to me in the priesthood. The law of purity I subscribed to willingly, of my own choice, and to be true and good to all men. I took no oath nor obligation against any person or any country or government or kingdom or anything of that kind. I remember that distinctly. (*Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 1, pages 436-437)

The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts made these comments in his testimony:

> The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell the committee any portion of that ceremony?
>
> Mr. ROBERTS. No, sir.
>
> The CHAIRMAN. Why not?
>
> Mr. ROBERTS. Well, for one reason, I do not feel at liberty to do so.
>
> . . . . .
>
> The CHAIRMAN. It was then a secret?
>
> Mr. ROBERTS. Yes.
>
> . . . . .
>
> The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall whether any penalty was imposed upon a person who should disclose the covenants?
>
> Mr. ROBERTS. No, sir.
>
> . . . . .
>
> The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask Mr. Roberts one further question. What is there in these obligations—I will not use the term "oaths"—that makes it necessary to keep them from the world?
>
> Mr. ROBERTS. I do not know of anything especially, except it be their general sacredness.
>
> The CHAIRMAN. Their general sacredness? Ought sacred things to be kept from the world?
>
> Mr. ROBERTS. I think some sacred things ought to be. (*Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 1, pages 741-743)

Angus M. Cannon, who was a Patriarch in the Mormon Church, made these statements in his testimony:

> The CHAIRMAN. Could you state the ceremony?
>
> Mr. CANNON. I would not like to.
>
> . . . . .
>
> The CHAIRMAN. What objection is there to making that public?
>
> Mr. CANNON. Because it is sacred.
>
> . . . . .

The CHAIRMAN. Do you enter into any obligation not to reveal these ceremonies?

Mr. CANNON. I feel it would be very improper to reveal them.

The CHAIRMAN. I say, do you enter into an obligation not to?

Mr. CANNON. There are sacred obligations connected with all the higher ordinances of our church.

The CHAIRMAN. In words, do you promise not to reveal?

Mr. CANNON. I feel that that is the trust reposed in me, that I will not go and—

The CHAIRMAN. I think you do not understand my question. Do you promise specifically not to reveal what occurs in the endowment house?

Mr. CANNON. I would rather not tell what occurs there. I say this—

The CHAIRMAN. I think, Mr. Cannon, you do not understand me. Do you promise not to reveal what occurs in the endowment house when you go through?

Mr. CANNON. I feel that that is an obligation I take upon me when I do that.

The CHAIRMAN. When you go through the endowment house do you take that obligation upon you in express terms?

Mr. CANNON. I think I do.

. . . . .

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember whether there was any penalty attached if they should reveal?

Mr. CANNON. I do not remember that there is any penalty.

The CHAIRMAN. None whatever?

Mr. CANNON. I do not remember. (*Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 1, pages 791-792)

J. H. Wallis, Sr. testified that he had been through the temple about 20 times. He gave this information in his testimony:

Mr. WALLIS. The obligations of priesthood were taken, the two with the Aaronic priesthood and two with the Melchisedec. Would you like me to give the details of it?

Mr. TAYLER. Go on.

Mr. WALLIS. Excuse my rising.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. WALLIS. (standing). "You, and each of you, do solemnly promise and vow that I will not reveal this the first token of the Aaronic priesthood with its accompanying name, sign, and penalty. Should I do so"—this is the sign [indicating]—"I agree that my throat be cut from ear to ear and my tongue torn out by its roots from my mouth."

That is the first obligation.

. . . . .

Mr. TAYLER. That is called the Aaronic?

Mr. WALLIS. That is called the first token of the Aaronic priesthood. The second token of the Aaronic priesthood—its sign is that [indicating], and the obligation commences the same, only that "I agree to have my breast cut asunder and my heart and vitals torn from my body."

Then the first token of the Melchisedec priesthood is this [indicating]; is this square [indicating], and about the same words, only that "I agree to have my body cut asunder in the midst and all my bowels gushed out." The second token of the Melchisedec priesthood there is no penalty to, but the sign is the crucifixion sign, and the words accompanying that are "Pale, hail, hail." I do not know what it means.

. . . . .

Mr. TAYLER. At any other stage of that ceremony is there an obligation?

Mr. WALLIS. Yes, sir. There are two or three obligations taken after that. There are vows—the "vow of the sacrifices" is one—where we vow conjointly to give all our substance and all we might ever become possessed of to the support of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.

. . . . .

Mr. TAYLER. What other vow?

Mr. WALLIS. Another is called the "vow of chastity," by which we all vowed we would have no connection with any of the other sex unless they were given to us by the priesthood; and another vow was what we used to call the "oath of vengeance." I do not know whether I have it right or not—that we would never cease to importune high heaven to take vengeance on the inhabitants of the earth for the murders of the prophets. I do not know whether I have it exactly right, but that is the substance of it.

Mr. TAYLER. Stand up, if it will help you, and give us the words, if you can.

Mr. WALLIS (standing up). "That you and each of you do promise and vow that you will never cease to importune high heaven to avenge the blood of the prophets upon the nations of the earth or the inhabitants of the earth."

I could not tell you exactly which it was. It was some year or two ago. If my memory serves me, that is about right, and a passage of Scripture is quoted from the Revelations, the sixth chapter, ninth verse, I think it is, where the souls of those who had been slain cried aloud from under the altar for vengeance. (*Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 2, pages 77-79)

The next day Mr. Wallis corrected his testimony:

Mr. WALLIS. In repeating the obligation of vengeance, I find I made a mistake; I was wrong. It should have been "upon this nation." I had it "upon the inhabitants of the earth." It was a mistake on my part.

. . . . .

The CHAIRMAN. Will you repeat now the obligation as you remember it.

Mr. WALLIS. "That you and each of you will never cease to importune High Heaven for vengeance upon this nation for the blood of the prophets who have been slain." That is as near as I can get at it; that is the substance of it. (*Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 2, pages 148-149)

August W. Lundstrom made these statements in his testimony:

Mr. TAYLER. Do you take an obligation in this ceremony?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. Yes sir.

Mr. TAYLER. How many times in your presence were these obligations taken?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. Six times.

Mr. TAYLER. Is there an obligation called the obligation of sacrifice?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAYLER. Is there an obligation called the obligation of vengeance?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. It is called retribution.

Mr. TAYLER. How many times did you take or hear taken the obligation of sacrifice and the obligation of retribution?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. Six times.

. . . . .

Mr. TAYLER. Can you recall what other obligations are taken—I mean by some descriptive word—besides the obligation of sacrifice and of retribution?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. Yes; the law of chastity, and others which I could not recollect just now. I can't remember them all.

Mr. TAYLER. Can you state verbatim or in substance the obligation of sacrifice?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAYLER. You may state what it was as you took it and heard it taken.

Mr. LUNDSTROM. "We and each of us solemnly covenant and promise that we shall sacrifice our time, means, and talents to the upbuilding of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints."

. . . . .

Mr. TAYLER. Can you give us the obligation of retribution?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. I can.

Mr. TAYLER. You may give that.

Mr. LUNDSTROM. "We and each of us solemnly covenant and promise that we shall ask God to avenge the blood of Joseph Smith upon this nation." There is something more added, but that is all I can remember verbatim. That is the essential part.

Mr. TAYLER. What was there left of it? What else?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. It was in regard to teaching our children and children's children to the last generation to the same effect.

Mr. TAYLER. Teach that obligation?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. Teach that obligation.

Mr. TAYLER. Was the obligation taken in both temples in the same words and on all of these days?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAYLER. You were, you have stated, at one time a priest and councilor to what—to the stake president?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. No, sir; councilor to the bishop. (*Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 2, pages 151-153)

On December 15, 1904, August W. Lundstrom was recalled to the stand. In this testimony he stated:

Mr. VAN COTT. Is that obligation that you repeated to Mr. Tayler yesterday more than what is found in Revelations, chapter 6, verse 9?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. Yes; it seems to be more definite.

Mr. VAN COTT. Is the name of Joseph Smith specifically mentioned?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. That is as it appears to my memory.

. . . . .

Mr. TAYLER. You yesterday, and again to-day, referred to what you call the "law of retribution." It was a vow or obligation taken respecting it at a certain point in the ceremony.

M[r]. LUNDSTROM. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAYLER. I want to inquire if at any time afterwards in the ceremony any reference was again made to this law?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. It was; toward the close of the ceremony, in what is called the "order of prayer."

Mr. TAYLER. What was said then?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. The prayer was recited to us and we all repeated it as it was dictated to us, and among other things there was this clause:

> We ask God, the Eternal Father, to **avenge the blood of Joseph Smith upon this nation**.

. . . . .

Mr. LUNDSTROM. The penalty for revealing the tokens and violating any of the covenants areas follows: The first one is to have the throat cut from ear to ear. That is, we make the request there. I, August, ask that if I ever violate the covenant I entered into this day or reveal these tokens, that my throat be cut from ear to ear.

The CHAIRMAN. Go on. Give the others.

Mr. LUNDSTROM. Another is that I make the request that if I violate the covenant or reveal the tokens that I have my breast cut asunder and my vitals torn out. And the third is that my body be cut asunder and my entrails gushed out, making the same request every time. They are given at intervals, at different times. (*Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 2, pages 160-162)

August W. Lundstrom also gave this testimony:

The CHAIRMAN. Directing your attention to one portion of the ceremony, if it be a portion of it, can you tell whether any robes are used in the ceremony.

Mr. LUNDSTROM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any marks on these robes, and if so, what?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. Not on the robes.

The CHAIRMAN. On what?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. There are no marks on the robes.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there marks on anything?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. On what?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. There are certain marks on the garment, as it is called—the garment of the holy priesthood.

The CHAIRMAN. What are those marks?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. There are the marks of the holy priesthood or the marks of the temple; supposed to be signs to remind the individual who wears the garment of the covenants he made.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you state about on what portion of the garment these marks appear?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. There is a mark on the right and on the left breast one in front of the navel, and one on the right knee.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the marks? What is the nature of them, as to whether they are rents in the garment?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. The knee mark and the mark in front of the navel is like an ordinary buttonhole; but the mark on the left breast is like a pair of compasses and on the right breast it is like a square.

. . . . .

The CHAIRMAN. Are these garments worn by all who take the obligation?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. Yes, sir; they always wear it.

The CHAIRMAN. They always wear it?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. They shall always wear it.

The CHAIRMAN. What; after the ceremony is over?

Mr. LUNDSTROM. Yes, sir. It is supposed to be a shield against all danger, temporal and spiritual.

. . . . .

Senator DUBOIS. Do you mean by that that you shall never take them off?

Mr. LUNDSTROM: Not any longer time than necessary to change and put on clean ones. (*Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 2, pages 181-183)

Mrs. Annie Elliot made these statements in her testimony:

Mr. TAYLER. Then what is the next thing that you remember about that?

Mrs. ELLIOTT. It was where we took the oaths then, which I think it is very embarrassing for me to say them.

Mr. TAYLER. Tell us what you remember.

Mrs. ELLIOTT. One, I remember, they told me to pray and never cease to pray to get revenge on the blood of the prophets on this nation, and also teach it to my children and children's children.

Mr. TAYLER. Was there any other obligation?

Mrs. ELLIOTT. Yes; there was some more.

Mrs. ELLIOTT. Well, it was that if I ever revealed anything what was done in there, I was to have my throat cut from ear to ear and tear out my tongue by the roots. That was one of them.

Mr. TAYLER. Anything else that you remember?

Mrs. ELLIOTT. Yes; there is some more.

Mr. TAYLER. State them, if you can.

Mrs. ELLIOTT. I do not feel like I can. I think it was at that time too serious, and I have always thought I would put it away and never mention it, and it seems like it is hard for me to do it. Of course, if I have to, I can.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, witness, it is hard and difficult, but state it in your own way the substance of what you remember.

Mrs. ELLIOTT. Well, it was also at a certain place that if I revealed anything my breast would be cut open and my vitals would be torn out, and another place that my abdomen would be torn open and the entrails squirt out.

Mr. TAYLER. Do you remember anything of an obligation or oath of sacrifice, Mrs. Elliott?

Mrs. ELLIOTT. Yes, sir, that we was to sacrifice all we owned if it was called for.

Mr. TAYLER. To what?

Mrs. ELLIOTT. To the church.

. . . . .

Senator FORAKER. Have you any fear of these punishments or any of them being inflicted upon you when you return to Utah?

Mrs. ELLIOTT. Why, no, I have not.

Senator FORAKER. You have no apprehension at all of danger?

Mrs. ELLIOTT. No.

Mr. TAYLER. Do you imagine that you are likely to suffer in any way in consequence of it?

Mrs. ELLIOTT. Yes, sir; I imagine I am, in the line of my business.

Mr. WORTHINGTON. You mean by that that Mormons will not be likely to employ you as a midwife hereafter?

Mrs. ELLIOTT. No, sir; I don't think so. (*Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 2, pages 189, 190 and 196)

Hugh M. Dougall made these statements in his testimony:

Mr. WORTHINGTON. I want to ask you whether you, or any of those who went through with you, to your knowledge, were called upon to agree to what I now read, or to it in substance.

> That you, and each of you, do promise and vow that you will never cease to importune High Heaven to avenge the blood of the prophets upon this nation.

Mr. DOUGALL. No, sir.

Mr. WORTHINGTON. Did anything like that occur?

Mr. DOUGALL. Well, as I remember, there is something that might possibly have resembled that.

The CHAIRMAN. We can not hear the witness.

Mr. DOUGALL. There was something, as I remember, that might have led one to believe that such a thing was being done. As I remember it, they importuned Heaven to avenge the blood of the prophets and the martyrs on this generation, I think.

. . . . .

Mr. TAYLER. You say that as you remember this obligation, it was that the blood of the prophets should be avenged on this generation.

Mr. DOUGALL. Well, to ask God to avenge the blood—

The CHAIRMAN. We can not hear you at all.

Mr. DOUGALL. To ask God to avenge the blood of the prophets and martyrs on this generation. That is the way I remember it. It may not be correct.

. . . . .

The CHAIRMAN. How long did it take to perform the ceremony?

Mr. DOUGALL. It took from probably early in the morning till about 4 o'clock—from, say, 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning until 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

The CHAIRMAN. A very lengthy ceremony?

Mr. DOUGALL. Yes sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell the committee what it was?

Mr. DOUGALL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why not?

Mr. DOUGALL. Conscientious scruples. I have promised secrecy. I have kept it for forty years or more, and feel under moral obligation to keep it.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you sworn to secrecy?

Mr. DOUGALL. I think so. As I remember it, I was. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. You were obligated to secrecy?

Mr. DOUGALL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Never to reveal what occurred in the Endowment House while you were there?

Mr. DOUGALL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any penalty attached if you did reveal it?

Mr. DOUGALL. I think there was.

The CHAIRMAN. What was it?

Mr. DOUGALL. I do not care about saying what it was, Mr. Burrows.

The CHAIRMAN. You decline to state what the penalty was?

Mr. DOUGALL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it a severe penalty?

Mr. DOUGALL. As my memory goes. I think it was.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it a penalty of death?

Mr. DOUGALL. I do not think that I care about answering any more questions on that point, Senator. (*Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 2, pages 759, 762-764)

Alonzo Arthur Noon gave testimony on January 14, 1905, in his testimony we find the following:

The CHAIRMAN. Then you regarded the organization at that time as a secret organization, of course?

Mr. NOON. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any penalty attached to the disclosure of the ceremony?

Mr. NOON. Yes; there was a penalty.

. . . . .

The CHAIRMAN. Was it a severe penalty?

Mr. NOON. Fairly severe. I presume it would be like any other organization.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not talking about other organizations. I am asking you about this. Was the penalty a severe penalty? Was it a penalty of expulsion?

Mr. NOON. I believe that is a question I would refuse to answer.

> The CHAIRMAN. What do you say as to the penalty being the tearing out of the tongue or the tearing open of the breasts and taking out the vitals? What do you say about that?
>
> Mr. NOON. I answer the same as the other—that is, I would refuse to answer it.
>
> The CHAIRMAN. You decline to answer it?
>
> Mr. NOON. I decline to answer. (*Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 2, page 779)

The Mormon Apostle Reed Smoot refused to divulge the temple ceremony. In his testimony he stated:

> Senator SMOOT. I have conscientious reasons for it. I made a vow, not an oath, with my God, not with any man, not with the president of the church or with a living soul; but, I did make a vow that I would keep those endowment ceremonies sacred and not reveal them to anybody, and I have kept that all my life, and if I went out of the church to-morrow and remained out of the church until I was gray-headed I would never feel that it was my duty, nor would I divulge what little even I remember of them.
>
> . . . . .
>
> The CHAIRMAN. But I understand you to say that you decline to state that portion of it which you can recall?
>
> Senator SMOOT. With all due deference and respect to the committee, I would prefer not to.
>
> The CHAIRMAN. That you entered into an obligation, I understand you to say, not an oath, but a promise, with the Lord, not to reveal these things?
>
> Senator SMOOT. I did.
>
> The CHAIRMAN. Was there any penalty attached in the obligation for its violation?
>
> Senator SMOOT. I prefer not to say anything further, Mr. Chairman?
>
> The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember whether there was or not.
>
> Senator SMOOT. I prefer not to say anything further.
>
> . . . . .
>
> The CHAIRMAN. Were there any signs. passwords, or grips?
>
> Senator SMOOT. I prefer, Mr. Chairman, to say nothing about it.
>
> The CHAIRMAN. I will not press it, of course. You decline to state any of the ceremony?
>
> Senator SMOOT. Yes sir. (*Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 3, pages 282-283)

Walter M. Wolfe, who had been "professor of geology" at "Brigham Young College," made these statements in his testimony:

> Mr. CARLISLE. How many times have you passed through the Endowment House?
>
> Mr. WOLFE. Not less than twelve.
>
> . . . . .
>
> Mr. CARLISLE. Will you state to the committee whether there is, as part of the ceremonies in the Temple, any oath administered?
>
> Mr. WOLFE. There are several oaths administered.
>
> Mr. CARLISLE. Can you state what they are?
>
> Mr. WOLFE. There is an oath of chastity, or, I might say, a covenant or law—a law of sacrifice and a law of vengeance.
>
> Mr. CARLISLE. When you say a law of vengeance, what do you mean? Do you mean that there is any promise or pledge to avenge a wrong, or do you mean simply that there is some law read to you or some rule read to you?
>
> Mr. WOLFE. There is no covenant or agreement on the part of any individual to avenge anything.
>
> Mr. CARLISLE. Just state to the committee what it is.
>
> Mr. WOLFE. The law of vengeance is this: "You and each of you do covenant and promise that you will pray, and never cease to pray, Almighty God to avenge the blood of the prophets upon this nation, and that you will teach the same to your children and your children's children unto the third and fourth generations." At the conclusion the speaker says: "All bow your heads and say yes."
>
> Mr. CARLISLE. Was that done?
>
> Mr. WOLFE. It was done.
>
> Senator OVERMAN. Was that done every time or just one time?
>
> Mr. WOLFE. It was done every time I went through.
>
> Senator OVERMAN. That was twelve times?
>
> Mr. WOLFE. Yes, sir.
>
> . . . . .
>
> Mr. CARLISLE. Prior to the administration of this oath, or the taking of this pledge, whatever it maybe called, was any ceremony of anointing gone through?
>
> Mr. WOLFE. Yes, sir.
>
> Mr. CARLISLE. What is done in that ceremony?
>
> Mr. WOLFE. Those who participate in it are washed. The different parts of the body, from the head to the feet, are washed, and blessings are pronounced with the washing, and the anointing is done with oil from the head to the feet, and the blessing is pronounced with that. (*Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 4, pages 6-7)

William Jones Thomas made these statements in his testimony:

> Mr. CARLISLE. Did you take any oath or enter into any covenant, or make a pledge there during those ceremonies?
>
> Mr. THOMAS. Yes sir.
>
> . . . . .
>
> Mr. CARLISLE. Give it in the words as nearly as you can.

Mr. THOMAS. It was, in substance, that I would seek to avenge the blood of the prophet Joseph Smith upon this nation, and teach my children the same unto the third and fourth generations, as near as I can remember. That was the substance of it. (*Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 4, pages 68-69)

John P. Holmgren made these statements:

Mr. HOLMGREN. There were a number of oaths and performances that were insignificant, I would say, until we came to the anointing room, and in that anointing room there was some language used that I am sorry I ever heard.

Mr. CARLISLE. Can you state what it was?

Mr. HOLMGREN. In anointing my arms, the gentleman used this language: "That your arms might be strong to avenge the blood of Joseph and Hyrum."

. . . . .

Mr. CARLISLE. Did you take an oath or enter into a covenant or make a pledge after that, during any other stage of the proceedings?

Mr. HOLMGREN. I don't remember of any other oath or pledge in reference to that particular language. It might have been there, but I don't recollect hearing it. (*Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 4, page 77)

Henry W. Lawrence made these statements in his testimony:

Mr. CARLISLE. Mr. Lawrence, would you object to stating whether there is any oath, commonly called here the oath of vengeance, taken in the endowment house, and what it is?

Mr. LAWRENCE. Yes; there is.

Mr. CARLISLE. Can you state it in terms or in substance?

Mr. LAWRENCE. "You covenant and agree before God and angels and these witnesses that you will avenge the blood of the prophets, the prophet Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Parley P. Pratt, David Patton"—their names are mentioned.

Mr. CARLISLE. Was that the case when you took the endowment?

Mr. LAWRENCE. Yes, sir. I do not know whether they were all mentioned when I was there or not, but they have been mentioned when I have been there.

Mr. CARLISLE. You have passed through the endowment a number of times?

Mr. LAWRENCE. Yes; I have been there a number of times.

Mr. CARLISLE. You mean these names have been mentioned some of the times when you passed through? That is what you mean?

Mr. LAWRENCE. Yes, sir.

. . . . .

Mr. CARLISLE. . . . Do you remember now whether there was anything said about vengeance upon the people or vengeance upon the nation, or what was said of that sort, if you remember?

Mr. LAWRENCE. I say it has been stated. I can not state it only as I understand it. The word "nation" was not mentioned where I was in regard to that vengeance, but the feeling has always been against the Nation and the State for allowing that deed to be perpetrated. The word "nation" was not mentioned. It is a little ambiguous in regard to that.

. . . . .

Mr. CARLISLE. Mr. Lawrence, I will get you to state, if you can, whether this covenant, or oath, or whatever it may be called, is always administered by the same person and in the same terms, or whether it is administered at different times by different persons, and whether it is in writing or merely oral.

Mr. LAWRENCE. It is administered orally by different persons at different times.

Mr. CARLISLE. It may be then that there is a different form of the oath?

Mr. LAWRENCE. It may be administered a little different. Of course the substance is about the same, but there may be some men who administer it a little different from others. I have no doubt that it is from what I have heard.

Mr. CARLISLE. You may take the witness.

Senator KNOX. Was this vengeance to be executed by the person taking the oath, or vow, or were you to implore the Almighty to avenge the blood of the prophets?

Mr. LAWRENCE. As I say, it was a little a[m]biguous in regard to that. Of course you take an oath to avenge the blood of the prophets and teach the principle to your children and children's children.

. . . . .

Senator KNOX. Now, I am asking you who was to execute the vengeance. Was the person taking the vow or oath to execute it or were they to implore by prayer that God should take this vengeance?

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, that was not inserted in it for the Lord to do it. They simply took upon themselves the oath to do it; but I say it is almost impossible for them to wreak vengeance, because those men that committed the deed have probably gone years ago.

Senator KNOX. My question was based on the exact language used by Professor Wolfe yesterday. He said that he heard the oath taken very recently, and that they vowed or promised that they would pray to Almighty God to avenge the blood of the prophets. I think it is quite material, and I want to know what your recollection is about it.

Mr. LAWRENCE. That was not inserted in my day—that is, in regard to asking God to wreak this vengeance.

Senator KNOX. Your idea was that the individual who took the oath was to work out a vengeance?

Mr. LAWRENCE. That was the wording of the obligation. (*Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 4, pages 108-109)

Even though several witnesses claimed that there was no "oath of vengeance" in the temple ceremony, the "Committee on Privileges and Elections" (except for a minority who issued a separate report) felt that the testimony given by the other witnesses was strong enough to prove the existence of such an oath. The following appeared in the "Report" issued by that committee:

> In the protest signed and verified by the oath of Mr. Leilich it is claimed that Mr. Smoot has taken an oath as an apostle of the Mormon Church which is of such a nature as to render him incompetent to hold the office of Senator. From the testimony taken it appears that Mr. Smoot has taken an obligation which is prescribed by the Mormon Church and administered to those who go through a ceremony known as "taking the endowments." It was testified by a number of witnesses who were examined during the investigation that one part of this obligation is expressed in substantially these words:
>
> > You and each of you do covenant and promise that you will pray and never cease to pray Almighty God to avenge the blood of the prophets upon this nation, and that you will teach the same to your children and to your children's children unto the third and fourth generation.
>
> An effort was made to destroy the effect of the testimony of three of these witnesses by impeachment of their reputation for veracity. This impeaching testimony was not strengthened by the fact that the witnesses by whom it was given were members of the Mormon Church, and would naturally disparage the truthfulness of one who would give testimony unfavorable to that church. The testimony of the witnesses for the protestants, before referred to, was corroborated by the testimony of Mr. Dougall, a witness sworn in behalf of Mr. Smoot, and no attempt was made to impeach the character of this witness. It is true that a number of witnesses testified that no such obligation is contained in the endowment ceremony; but it is a very suspicious circumstance that every one of the witnesses who made this denial refused to state the obligation imposed on those who take part in the ceremony.
>
> The evidence showing that such an obligation is taken is further supported by proof that during the endowment ceremonies a prayer is offered asking God to avenge the blood of Joseph Smith upon this nation, and certain verses from the Bible are read which are claimed to justify the obligation and the prayer. The fact that such a prayer is offered and that such passages from the Bible are read was not disputed by any witness who was sworn on the investigation. Nor was it questioned that by the term "the prophets" as used in the endowment ceremony, reference is made to Joseph and Hyrum Smith.
>
> That an obligation of vengeance is part of the endowment ceremony is further attested by the fact that shortly after testimony had been given on that subject before the committee, Bishop Daniel Connelly of the Mormon Church denounced the witnesses who had given this testimony as traitors who had broken their oaths to the church.
>
> The fact that an oath of vengeance is part of the endowment ceremonies and the nature and character of such oath was judicially determined in the third judicial court of Utah in the year 1889 in the matter of the application of John Moore and others to become citizens of the United States. . . .
>
> The obligation herein before set forth is an oath of disloyalty to the Government which the rules of the Mormon Church require, or at least encourage, every member of that organization to take.
>
> It is in harmony with the views and conduct of the leaders of the Mormon people in former days, when they openly defied the Government of the United States, and is also in harmony with the conduct of those who give the law to the Mormon Church to-day in their defiant disregard of the laws against polygamy and polygamous cohabitation. It may be that many of those who take this obligation do so without realizing its treasonable import; but the fact that the first presidency and twelve apostles retain an obligation of that nature in the ceremonies of the church shows that at heart they are hostile to this nation and disloyal to its Government. (*Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 4, pages 495-497)

In 1889 John Moore and W. J. Edgar were denied citizenship because they were members of the Mormon Church and had taken the oaths in the Endowment House. In the "Opinion and Decision of the Court" we read:

> Objection was made, however, to the admission of John Moore and William J. Edgar upon the ground that they were members of the Mormon Church, and also because they had gone through the Endowment House of that church and there had taken an oath or obligation incompatible with the oath of citizenship they would be required to take if admitted. . . .
>
> Those objecting to the right of these applicants to be admitted to citizenship introduced eleven witnesses, who had been members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, commonly called the Mormon Church. Several of these witnesses had held the position of bishop in the church and all had gone through the endowment house and participated in its ceremonies. The testimony of these witnesses is to the effect that every member of the church is expected to go through the endowment house and that nearly all do so; that marriages are usually solemnized there, and that those who are married elsewhere go through the endowment ceremonies at as early a date thereafter as practicable in order that the marital relations shall continue throughout eternity. That these ceremonies occupy the greater part of a day, and include the taking of an oath, obligation, or covenant by all who receive their endowments that they will avenge the blood of the prophets, Joseph and Hyrum Smith, upon the Government of the United States and will enjoin this obligation upon their children unto the third and fourth generations; that they will obey the priesthood in all things, and will never reveal the secrets of the endowment house under the penalty of having their throats cut from ear to ear, their bowels torn out, and their hearts cut out of their bodies.
>
> The right arm is anointed that it may be strong to avenge the blood of the prophets. An undergarment, a sort of combination of shirt and drawers, called the "endowment robe," is then put on, and is to be worn ever after. On this robe near the throat and over the heart and in the region of the abdomen are certain marks or designs intended to remind the wearer of the penalties that will be inflicted in case of a violation of the oath, obligation, or covenant he or she has taken or made.

On behalf of the applicants 14 witnesses testified concerning the endowment ceremonies, but all of them declined to state what oaths are taken or what obligations or covenants are there entered into, or what penalties are attached to their violation; and these witnesses, when asked for their reason for declination to answer, stated that they did so "on a point of honor," while several stated they had forgotten what was said [about] avenging the blood of the prophets. John H. Smith, one of the twelve apostles of the church, testified that all that is said in the endowment ceremonies about avenging the blood of the prophets is said in a lecture, in which the ninth and tenth verses of the sixth chapter of Revelations are recited, as follows:

> And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held. And they cried with a loud voice, saying, "How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth!"

Other witnesses for the applicants testified that this is the only place in the ceremonies where avenging the blood of the prophets is mentioned.

John Clark, a witness for the applicants, testified that he took some obligations, made some promises, entered into some covenants in the Endowment House, and wore his endowment robes, but did not know the significance of the slit over the heart. E.L.T. Harrison, another of applicant's witnesses, testified that he had a clear recollection that his right arm was washed, and something said about it being made strong to avenge the death of the prophets, and that the names of Joseph and Hyrum Smith were not mentioned, but were understood to be among the number whose blood was to be avenged; and E. G. Wooley, a witness for the applicants, testified they were to pray for the Lord to avenge the blood of the prophets. Every other witness for the applicants who was asked the question stated that Joseph and Hyrum Smith were understood to be included among the prophets whose blood was to be avenged.

The witnesses for the applicants, while refusing to disclose the oaths, promises, and covenants of the endowment ceremonies and the penalties attached thereto, testified generally that there was nothing in the ceremonies inconsistent with loyalty to the Government of the United States, and that the Government was not mentioned. One of the objects of this investigation is to ascertain whether the oaths and obligations of the endowment house are incompatible with good citizenship, and it is not for applicants' witnesses to determine this question. The refusal of applicants' witnesses to state specifically what oath, obligations, or covenants are taken or entered into in the ceremonies, renders their testimony of but little value, and tends to confirm rather than contradict the evidence on this point offered by the objectors. The evidence established beyond any reasonable doubt that the endowment ceremonies are inconsistent with the oath an applicant for citizenship is required to take, and that the oaths, obligations, or covenants there made or entered into are incompatible with the obligations and duties of citizens of the United States. The applications of John Moore and Walter J. Edgar, both of whom were shown on the former examination to be members of the Mormon Church, and to have gone through the endowment house, are therefore denied. (Opinion of Judge Anderson, rendered in the third judicial court at Salt Lake City, Utah, November 30, 1899, as quoted in *Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 4, pages 341-343)

Some of the testimony given in 1889 was actually printed in the Mormon-owned *Deseret News*. John Bond made these statements in his testimony:

> Court—Let the witness state what transpired.
>
> The witness Bond testified — I went through several rooms; in room 5 I took what I call an obligation named the Aaronic Priesthood, which confined me to obey every doctrine of the Church, especially against the government of the United States. The penalty was that I was to have my throat cut and my tongue torn out. Then I was required to take an oath that I would avenge the blood of Joseph Smith on this nation, and teach my children and my children's children to the latest generation. The penalty was to have my heart and bowels torn out. Another obligation was to obey the Priesthood in all things. Wilford Woodruff put me through this ceremony and married me. I was sorry I took the oath, and resigned from the Church the next year. . . . There were about 50 other persons there who went through the same ceremony there were two polygamists; my wife was asked if she would allow her husband to take more wives than one; a vote was taken and all responded "aye;" we took obligations not to divulge these ceremonies, and penalties were attached which I do not remember. . . . I took an obligation to avenge the blood of the Prophets on the United States. I took the obligation to go into polygamy. (*Deseret Evening News*, November 14, 1889)

Martin D. Wardell made these statements in his testimony:

> . . . in 1863 or 1864 I went through the Endowment House; I went through a second time about a year later; I took an oath that we would avenge the blood of Joseph Smith on this nation, from the President down; they put the lock on to us with an oath that if we revealed any of the secrets we would have our throats cut and our bowels torn out; we were asked to take an oath to obey the Church in all matters, . . . (*Deseret Evening News*, November 14, 1889)

Andrew Cahoon made these statements:

> . . . I was a Bishop 18 years; was one when I left the Church; I received my Endowments 44 years ago, and am familiar with the ceremony so far as my memory goes; never officiated; got my endowments in 1845 or 1846; I took obligations there—everyone has to; there are oaths administered there; they relate to obeying the Priesthood, and to avenge the blood of the Prophets; this was understood to mean Joseph and Hyrum; the blood was to be avenged on any who were guilty of shedding the blood, or consenting to it; there was also a covenant to yield implicit obedience, at all times to

the Priesthood; the penalty was death for revealing any of the secrets; I did not understand how the penalty was to be inflicted; the understanding was that if a man apostatized and divulged the secrets he should meet the death penalty; there was something about the throat being cut, and being disemboweled; the right hand was also forfeited; one of the penalties was for disobedience to the Priesthood. (*Deseret Evening News*, November 14, 1889)

James McGuffie made these statements in his testimony:

> . . . I went through only once; that was enough for me. There was a party of ten to fourteen came up from Parowan, after our washings and anointings we presented our tithing receipts. They then required us to take an oath, and to teach our children and our children's children to do all we could to uproot the American government, because they had not punished the murderers of Joseph Smith. We took an oath that we would obey the Priesthood in all things; we were citizens of the Kingdom of God, and were to be enemies of the government of the United States, because they did not avenge the blood of Joseph and Hyrum. The penalties were to have our throats cut, and our hearts and bowels torn out. The penalty was death. That was told to us, and we believed it would be done. (*Deseret Evening News*, November 14, 1889)

The Mormon Apostle John Henry Smith was called upon to testify. R. N. Baskin quotes the following from his testimony:

> Q. Was there any penalty, explained to you, or spoken of as a consequence of the violation of your covenants? A. That I decline to answer.
>
> Q. Why? A. Simply because it is a matter which I regard as sacred; I say, that there no covenant or nothing that was done there in which I, in any way—
>
> Q. Just answer my question, sir? A. I decline to answer.
>
> . . . . .
>
> Q. Was there anything said by any person in your hearing about "avenging the death of the prophets?" A. Yes, sir.
>
> Q. What was that? A. It would be a matter of impossibility for me to relate what it is.
>
> Q. I mean the prophets, Joseph and Hyrum? A. Nothing whatever.
>
> Q. The martyred prophets? A. The martyred prophets, yes.
>
> Q. What was it? A. It was nothing more nor less than this: The passage of scripture—I can't recall it. If I had the bible here I could find it. It is in the book of Revelations; it runs something like this—"Oh, Lord, holy and true, how long shall our blood remain unavenged." It was something of that kind, and I am not certain but what—my recollection is, that there was nothing said in connection with that as a matter of instruction. I will state this much in order that the matter may be fully explained that in the process of receiving endowments there are addresses delivered by the elders who are officiating; and in one address instruction is given that we should pray that God would avenge the blood of the martyred prophets. That is all.
>
> Q. That is all? A. That is all.
>
> Q. Wasn't there a penalty of death pronounced there? Wasn't it explained to you that the penalty of a violation of any of your covenants would be death? A. I decline to answer. (*Reminiscences of Early Utah*, Salt Lake City, 1914, pages 92-93)

Dr. Heber John Richards made these statements in his testimony:

> Q. You say there was no covenant to avenge the blood of the prophets upon this nation. A. None that I heard of.
>
> Q. What was said about avenging the blood of the prophets? A. In the fore part of the ceremony, in the anointing, they anointed my arm, that it might be strong to avenge the blood of the prophets, and that was all that was said.
>
> Q. What was said about avenging the blood of Joseph and Hyrum? A. Nothing whatever about Joseph and Hyrum; but I recollect it was just "prophets."
>
> Q. What obligation did you take with reference to obedience to the priesthood in all things? A. If any, it has slipped my mind, I don't remember.
>
> Q. What teachings was there in reference to polygamy? A. I don't remember anything being said about polygamy.
>
> Q. Did you take any obligation under penalty? I wish you would state it in substance. A. I couldn't do it—I couldn't do it if I was willing, and I don't feel willing to.
>
> Q. Well, doctor, it has been stated upon the witness stand that if a man apostatized from the church, the duty of those who have been through the endowment house, was to go and murder or kill him. Did you hear anything of that sort? A. No, sir. I can explain to you, what I understood by that was simply this: That after I had become a member of the church, if I then fell away, I could get remission if I went voluntarily and asked for the atonement of my blood, but not without it; it must come by my desire, the same as baptism does. If I was taken out and baptized against my will, it would do me no good; and if I was killed against my will it would do me no good.
>
> Q. And it would be appropriate when they made the request for some brother to shed his blood? A. Yes, some person who was authorized to do so.
>
> Q. And it wouldn't be murder? A. It wouldn't be murder—it would be murder probably in the eyes of the law, but not in the eyes of the church.
>
> Q. And that was taught? A. That was taught. (*Reminiscences of Early Utah*, pages 97-98)

Just before the turn of the century, a dispute arose concerning some property in Independence, Missouri. Joseph Smith had stated that a temple should be built there. Both the Church of Christ and the Reorganized Church claimed the property and the issue was finally settled in court. Mormon leaders and others who had been through the temple ceremony were called upon to give testimony. Mercy Rachel Thompson made these statements in her testimony:

> Q.—Now, you did not take any obligation, did you, Mrs. Thompson, not to say at any time whether you changed your clothing or not in taking the endowments?
>
> A.— No, sir, but at the same time, I do not feel that I would be able to answer that question. Yes, sir, we did change our clothing. There were always three rooms I think where we took our endowments. Two of these were ante rooms, and the other was where the main ceremonies were conducted. There was a place in one of the ante rooms where we were washed and anointed with oil.
>
> Q.—Did they anoint the whole body with oil, or just the head?
>
> A.—Well, now you are asking these questions, and I have answered them as far as I can, but that is a question I do not feel I am called on to answer, but I did not take an oath not to tell it at any time. . . . I decline to answer the question whether in taking endowments we anointed the body with oil. I did not take any obligation not to reveal that, but I decline to answer it because I do not feel disposed to tell you. It is something you have no business to ask me, and I do not feel like telling you. . . . the endowments in Nauvoo and in Salt Lake City were the same, but I decline to tell you how they were given in Salt Lake. . . . I saw the caps and moccasins that were worn by the ladies in Nauvoo while they were taking endowments there. I will not look at the pictures in Exhibit D to see if it is a representation of the caps and moccasins. I will not look at it, because I am afraid to look at it, and I do not want to look at it, because if it is true, it is something we never dared to draw or make any representation of, because it is sacred, and the Lord would never allow any such things to be without manifesting his displeasure or anger.
>
> Q.—Well, it is here, and he don't appear to be particularly angry about it. Look at it and see if it is the same.
>
> A.—I won't look at it, because I do not think it is right, and I do not think it is right for me to look at it. Yes, that represents the robe, that was on the right shoulder, and that one that was on the left shoulder in taking obligations and the grips. I tried to avoid this investigation, and testified with reluctance, because these things are so sacred. They are too sacred for anybody to try to imitate. I do not say these are sacred in this book, Exhibit D, but I do say the endowments are sacred, and nobody has a right to make light of them in any way, nor are they anything to be copied. (*Temple Lot Case*, Lamoni, Iowa, 1893, pages 354, 355, 357 and 358)

John Hawley made these statements in his testimony:

> I went to Salt Lake City in 1856, . . . they gave the endowments of washing and anointing, and then there was an oath taken in Utah to avenge the blood of the prophet. . . .
>
> When my wife and I received our endowments in Salt Lake City, we were in different rooms while we were washing and anointing, but when we were sealed, we were together. . . . I remember the leaves there on the apron and the form of the apron, I remember that very well. . . .
>
> The undergarment [is] to be worn continually and the robe that was worn at the time of the prayer circle was to be the same in which you were to be buried. . . .
>
> In taking the endowments at Salt Lake there was an oath required, and the oath that was required was to avenge the blood or death of the prophet. . . . I don't remember of taking any oath except for avenging the death of Joseph the martyr and his brother Hyrum Smith. . . .
>
> I recognize the oath that I took here in Exhibit "D," but I can't say that I took it all. I recognize parts of it all right though. We were made to swear to avenge the death of Joseph Smith the martyr, together with that of his brother Hyrum, on this American nation, and that we would teach our children and children's children to do so. The penalty for this grip and oath was disembowelment. . . .
>
> I was directed not to disclose the method of the endowments. . . .
>
> I would not have discussed the methods of these endowments when I was a member of the Utah Church. The penalty for revealing or disclosing these secrets was disembowelment.
>
> The grips and tokens of the priesthood were what we were not to disclose. . . . I kept the obligations while I was living in Salt Lake City. (*Temple Lot Case*, pages 453-459)

From the testimony given in this chapter, it is evident that the oaths given in the temple ceremony were originally very crude. They were a product of the time when the Mormon leaders were stressing the doctrine of "Blood Atonement."

13. THE MASONIC INFLUENCE

The Mormon writer Hyrum L. Andrus claims that Joseph Smith obtained "essential elements" of the temple ceremony from the papyri he received from Michael H. Chandler:

> Evidence indicates that Joseph Smith obtained the **essential covenants**, key-words, etc., of the temple ceremony from the writings of Abraham. (See Facsimile No. 2, figures 3 and 8.) . . . . Having obtained **essential elements**, of this ceremony from the writings of Abraham, he then organized them into a formal ceremony. . . . (*God, Man and the Universe*, 1968, page 334)

Bruce R. McConkie, of the First Council of the Seventy, states:

> All of these ordinances of exaltation are performed in the temples for both the living and the dead. . . . They were given in modern times to the Prophet Joseph Smith by revelation, many things connected with them being translated by the Prophet from the papyrus on which the Book of Abraham was recorded. (*Mormon Doctrine*, 1966 ed., page 779)

In the *Case Against Mormonism*, vol. 2, we show that the papyri have nothing to do with Abraham or his religion. Now that it is plain that these papyri are pagan documents, Mormons must look elsewhere for the origin of the temple ceremony. We feel that at least part of the temple ceremony came from Freemasonry. In fact, the similarities between the temple ceremony and the ritual of the Masons are rather startling. Before we discuss these, however, we are going to discuss the controversy regarding Masonry which took place in Joseph Smith's time.

REFLECTED IN BOOK OF MORMON

Alexander Campbell points out that the "question of free masonry" is discussed in the Book of Mormon. Masonry was a very important issue in Joseph Smith's time. Whitney R. Cross states:

> William Morgan, became a Mason in Rochester in 1823, but found himself excluded from the Batavia chapter . . . he wrote the *Illustrations of Masonry* and arranged for its publication by the *Batavia Advocate* press. The secret leaked out, however, whereupon the unfortunate author suffered a series of mysterious persecutions. First the authorities held him briefly on a debt claim, so that his lodgings could be searched for the manuscript. On September 8, 1826, parties of strangers, apparently from Buffalo, Lockport, and Canandaigua, began appearing in town. Their attempt at arson on the print shop failed. Then a trumped-up charge demanded Morgan's presence for trial in Canandaigua. While in jail there awaiting his hearing, he was kidnapped, on the evening of September 12. His captors drove him in a curtained carriage through Rochester, by the Ridge Road to Lewiston, and thence to the Fort Niagara powder magazine. He may after a time have been released across the Canadian border. More probably he was tied in a weighted cable, rowed to the center of the Niagara River at its junction with Lake Ontario, and dropped overboard. In any case, it cannot be proved that he was ever seen again.
>
> . . . The event implicated Masons all the way from the Finger Lakes to the Niagara Frontier . . . Thus by 1827 village committees from Rochester westward had begun to organize politically against the accused society. . . . The major issue seemed to be one of morality: Masonry was believed to have committed a crime. Its members had put their fraternal obligations ahead of their duty to state and society, sanctioning both a lawless violation of personal security and a corrupt plot to frustrate the normal constitutional guarantees of justice. . . . Its titles and rituals smacked of monarchy as well as of infidelity. The very secrecy which required such reckless guarding suggested ignoble and dangerous designs. Whence, for instance, came the skulls, reputed to be used for drinking vessels in the ceremony of the Royal Arch degree? Curiosity, fancy, and rumor thus multiplied the apparent threats of Masonry to the peace, order, and spirituality of society.
>
> Such reactions grew as expert propagandists played upon the fears and wonderment of the multitude the Antimasonic excitement . . . may well have been the most comprehensive single force to strike the "infected district" during an entire generation. Charles Finney later estimated that two thousand lodges and forty-five thousand members in the United States suspended

> fraternal activity. Most of the groups in western New York must have done so. (*The Burned-Over District*, by Whitney R. Cross, New York, 1965, pages 114, 115, 117 and 120)

Walter Franklin Prince made this statement concerning the relationship between the Book of Mormon and Masonry:

> Now in at least twenty-one chapters in seven out of the sixteen "books" of the Book of Mormon are to be found passages, varying from several to sixty-three lines in length, plainly referring to Masonry under the guise of pretended similar organizations in ancient America. (*The American Journal of Psychology*. vol. 28, 1917, page 376)

After studying copies of the *Wayne Sentinel* and the *Palmyra Freeman* (these are newspapers that were printed in Joseph Smith's neighborhood), we have become convinced that the controversy over Masonry is reflected in the Book of Mormon. To understand the relationship it is necessary to know how excited the people in New York became after Morgan's disappearance. In the *Wayne Sentinel* for March 23, 1827, we find the following quoted from the *Rochester Daily Advertizer*:

> The excitement respecting Morgan, instead of decreasing, spreads its influence and acquires new vigour daily. Scarcely a paper do we open without having our eye greeted by accounts of meetings, together with preambles and resolutions, some of them of a cast still more decided and proscriptive than any we have yet published. . . .
>
> The *Freemason*, too—not only those who took off Morgan, but every one who bears the masonic name—are proscribed, as unworthy of "any office in town, county, state, or United States!" and the institution of masonry, . . . is held up as **dangerous** and detrimental to the interests of the country!

The controversy over Masonry soon became political. The *Wayne Sentinel* carried the following statement on November 16, 1827:

> The election in this county (says the *Ontario Messenger*) has resulted in the choice of the entire **anti-Masonic** ticket.

On March 7, 1828, the following appeared in the *Wayne Sentinel*:

> At a convention of Freemasons, opposed to **secret societies**, held at Le Roy, . . .
>
> Mr. Read then spoke very extensively upon the obligations of masonry; showing that they were diametrically opposed to good government, and **subversive** of the principles of justice and good order.

On November 9, 1827, Eliphalet Murdock claimed that some years before his father was found with his throat cut. He implied that the Masons had murdered him because they felt he had revealed their secrets:

> . . . I believe the Lodge was thus induced to suppose that he had revealed those secrets, and dealt with him accordingly! Thus, I believe my father fell a victim to masonic vengeance, and that without a cause! (*Wayne Sentinel*, November 9, 1827)

The feeling against Masonry became very strong, and many Masons left the fraternity to actively work against it. The following appeared in the *Wayne Sentinel* on July 18, 1828:

> . . . the masonic society has been **silently growing** among us, whose principles and operations are calculated to subvert and destroy the great and important principles of the commonwealth. . . . It requires the **concealment of crime** and protects the guilty from punishment.
>
> It encourages the commission of **crime** by affording the guilty facilities of escape.
>
> It affords opportunities for the corrupt and designing to form plans against the government and the lives and characters of individuals. . . .
>
> An institution, thus fraught with so many and great evils, is **dangerous** to our **government** and the safety of our citizens, and it is unfit to exist among a free people.
>
> We, therefore, . . . solemnly absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the masonic institution. . . . and in support of these resolutions, . . . and the safety of individuals against the usurpation's of all **secret societies** and open force, and against the "vengeance" of the masonic institution, . . .
>
> Resolved, That however beneficial **secret societies and combinations** may have been considered in the dark ages . . . yet in this enlightened age and country, they become not only useless to their members, but **dangerous to the government**.

On September 26, 1828, an article concerning the "Freemasons, Jesuits & Jews, of Portugal" appeared in the *Wayne Sentinel*. The following statements are taken from that article:

> In reading the furious declamations of contending factions in the Peninsula, and particularly in Portugal, we should be led to believe, that the whole of society was composed of only two elements, Freemasons and Jesuits, or Apostolicals—that the one was determined to devour or exturpate the other—and that the only duty of government consisted in suppressing lodges or convents, in checking or destroying the brothers of the **Craft**, or the brothers of the Cloister. . . . If you listen to the party which lately welcomed Don Miguel as their "tutelar angel," . . . the Freemasons have been the cause of all the "seditions, privy cons[p]iracies, and rebellions," which, for the last thirty years, have afflicted Europe. . . . The Free-masons are, therefore, radically

> and essentially, demagogues, jacobins, conspirators, assassins, infidels, traitors, and atheists. Their **band** of union is formed of the broken cement of existing order—their secret is the watch-word of sedition and rebellion—their object is anarchy and **plunder**—. . . unless they are suppressed, there will soon be neither religion, morals, literature, nor civilized society left! (*Wayne Sentinel*, September 26, 1828)

The *Morgan Investigator*, published in Batavia, New York, carried these statements:

> "BEWARE OF SECRET COMBINATIONS."
>
> These are the dying words of General George Washington . . . there is something in the principles of many that tends to distract the mind and lead to the perpetration of **crimes**. . . .
>
> If all then are convinced that the existence of this institution is not only unnecessary but **dangerous** to the best interests of society, let masons honestly and honorably confess by leaving its ranks, . . . (*Morgan Investigator*, March 29, 1827, page 1)

In another article published in the same paper we find the following statement:

> I believe the institution of masonry **dangerous to our liberties**, and I think they have gone far enough in the march towards supreme power to receive a check.

The same paper called the Masons "an organized **band** of desperadoes" and spoke of the "dark and treasonable plot, formed against the lives of our citizens and the laws of our country." The following appeared in a book entitled, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Tendency of Speculative Free-Masonry*:

> 4. Masonry is a **murderous** institution. It is based on laws which require murder. Those laws which support the system, demand and take the life of a fellow creature, without any reference to the laws of God or the land; . . . Who then does not see, that the very principles, spirit, and essence, of this ancient fraternity, are **murderous**!
>
> 5. Those who join the institution, solemnly swear that, if they violate "any part" of their oaths, they will submit to be **executed** in the manner the oaths prescribe. . . . What a disgrace to the dignity of man; that in this land of bibles, and dear bought independence, a society should exist which claims the prerogative of sacrificing human beings, without any reference to the God of the bible, or to the laws of our boasted freedom! Such, I am bold to say, is the masonic society. . . .
>
> 6. The masonic society is inconsistent with our free institutions. Every mason's life, according to the oaths he has taken, is the property of masons; consequently not that of his country. Is this consistent with a Republican Government? . . .
>
> 7. Some sentiments embraced in masonic oaths deserve particular notice. . . . If a murderer or any other criminal who is a master mason is brought before the bar of justice to be tried, and gives this singal [signal] of distress; if the judge or prosecutor or any of the jurors are master masons, and see him give this sign, they are under the solemnities of an oath, to risk their lives to save his. (*An Inquiry into the Nature and Tendency of Speculative Free-Masonry*, by John G. Stearns, Utica, New York, 1829, pages 76, 77 and 79)

In an address which was delivered September 11, 1829, we find the following:

> This day has been set apart, as an occasion for assaulting the proud institution simultaneously throughout the state; for lifting against it the voices of freemen in all our borders. . . . He [Morgan] laid down his life for his country; his **widow** and his **orphans**, are alive to bear witness. He fell by the hand of masonic violence, pointing with the finger of death to the robber of our equal rights, and the midnight foe of our liberties.
>
> . . . The horrors of the Revolution in France are, however, clearly traced to the hand of this midnight Order, and the present convulsed state of Mexico is principally owing to the secret operations of two masonic parties, the York masons, and the Scotch masons. The injury done to our national character by Burr's conspiracy was of the highest magnitude; the private correspondence of that conspiracy was carried on in the Royal Arch cypher, which is a proof that the agents were exalted Free-masons. . . . and never was an arrow sped with keener point, that this fact of Burr's conspiracy, to enter the joints of the harness, and to pierce the heart of treasonable Freemasonry. (*The Anti-Masonic Review and Monthly Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 10, pages 296-297)

On March 14, 1828, the *Wayne Sentinel* reported that an "anti-Masonic" newspaper was to begin publication in Joseph Smith's neighborhood. It was to be known as the *Palmyra Freeman*. We have only had access to photographs of a few pages from this paper, but these pages have led us to the conclusion that it was extremely anti-Masonic. On December 2, 1828, this statement appeared in the *Palmyra Freeman*:

> Our Government and Country will **be destroyed**, unless the people put down **Masonry** root and branch. (*Palmyra Freeman*, December 2, 1828)

In the same issue we find the following:

> And what will the people of this country think of themselves ten or twenty years hence, if they should suffer themselves to be duped, and do not [now?] unite hand and heart, to put down a secret society, which, if again suffered to get fairly the ascendancy will crush them and their **liberties** together.

On November 10, 1829, this statement appeared in the *Palmyra Freeman*:

> Masonry, thank God, is now before the world in all her naked deformity!—a **secret combination** to destroy liberty and religion, . . . (*Palmyra Freeman*, November 10, 1829)

Now, when we look at the Book of Mormon we see that it is filled with references to secret societies. The Jaredites "formed a secret combination" (Ether 8:18), and the Nephites and Lamanites had a "secret band" (Helaman 8:28) known as the Gadianton robbers. Furthermore, the Book of Mormon warns the American people that a "secret combination" (Ether 9:24) would be among them.

In the Book of Mormon, Ether 8:14, we read:

> And it came to pass that they all sware unto him, by the God of heaven, and also by the heavens, and also by the earth, and **by their heads**, that whoso should vary from the assistance which Akish desired should lose his head; and whoso should divulge whatsoever thing Akish made known unto them, the same should lose his life.

According to an exposé of Masonry published in the *Wayne Sentinel* on March 14, 1828, the "Obligation of the Seventh, or Royal Arch degree" contained these words:

> . . . I promise and swear, that I will aid and assist a companion Royal Arch mason wherever I shall see him engaged in any difficulty so far as to extricate him from the same, whether he be **right or wrong**.—Furthermore do I promise and swear, that a companion Royal Arch mason's secrets given me in charge as such, and I knowing him to be such, shall remain as secure and inviolable in my breast as in his own, when he communicated it to me. Murder and Treason **not** excepted. . . . binding myself under the no less penalty than to have my **skull struck off**, and my brains exposed . . .

Another oath contained the words, ". . . binding myself under no less penalty than to have my head struck off . . ." The same issue of the *Wayne Sentinel* also stated that "the candidate is . . . presented with a human skull and told he must submit to the degradation of drinking his 5th libation from the skull . . ."

In the Book of Mormon we read:

> But behold, Satan did stir up the hearts of the more part of the Nephites, insomuch that they did unite with those bands of robbers, and did enter into their covenants and their oaths, that they would protect and preserve one another in whatsoever difficult circumstances they should be placed, that they should not suffer for their murders, and their plunderings, and their stealings.
>
> And it came to pass that they did have their signs, yea, their secret signs, and their secret words; and this that they might distinguish a brother who had entered into the covenant, that whatsoever wickedness his brother should do he should not be injured by his brother, nor by those who did belong to his band, who had taken this covenant. (Book of Mormon, Helaman 6:21-22)

The Masons, of course, had secret signs and words. In fact, William Morgan's exposé stated that "the signs, due-guards, grips, words, pass-words, and their several names comprise pretty much all the secrets of Masonry, . . . (*Freemasonry Exposed*, page 55). On page 68 we find this statement concerning the word "Shibbolett": "This word was also used by our ancient brethren to **distinguish** a friend from foe, . . ."

As we have already shown, the Masons were accused of being "dangerous to our government," and some people felt that unless they were "suppressed, there will soon be neither religion, morals, literature, nor civilized society left!" (*Wayne Sentinel*, September 26, 1828). The Book of Mormon paints a similar picture concerning secret societies:

> And they did set at defiance the law and the rights of their country; and they did covenant one with another to **destroy the governor**, and to establish a king over the land, that the land should **no more be at liberty** but should be subject unto kings. (3 Nephi 6:30)

In Ether 8:22 we read that "whatsoever nation shall uphold such **secret combinations**, . . . shall be **destroyed**." In verse 25 of the same chapter we read that "whosoever buildeth it up seeketh to overthrow the freedom of all lands, nations, and countries, . . ."

Because of the Morgan affair the Masons were accused of murder and shielding the guilty. John G. Stearns called Masonry "a **murderous** institution" (*An Inquiry into the Nature and Tendency of Speculative Free-Masonry*, page 76). The Book of Mormon speaks of "**murderous** combinations" (Ether 8:23), "secret murders" (3 Nephi 9:9), and in 3 Nephi 6:29 we read that the wicked entered "into a covenant to destroy them, and to deliver those who were guilty of murder from the grasp of justice, . . ." Moroni, who was supposed to have lived about 400 A.D., claimed that the Lord revealed to him the condition of the Gentiles in the last days:

> And it shall come in a day when the blood of saints shall cry unto the Lord, because of **secret combinations** and the works of darkness. . . .
>
> Yea, why do ye build up your secret abominations to get gain, and cause that widows should mourn before the Lord, and also orphans to mourn before the Lord, and also the blood of their fathers and their husbands to cry unto the Lord from the ground, for vengeance upon your heads? (Book of Mormon, Mormon 8:27 and 40)

These verses were, no doubt, referring to Freemasonry. Ether 8:23-25 seems to be a warning against Masonry:

> Wherefore, O ye Gentiles, suffer not that these murderous combinations shall get above you, which are built up to get power and gain—and the work, yea, even the

> work of destruction come upon you, . . . to your overthrow and destruction if ye shall suffer these things to be.
>
> Wherefore, the Lord commandeth you, when ye shall see these things come among you that ye shall awake to a sense of your awful situation, because of this **secret combination** which shall be among you; or wo be unto it, because of the blood of them who have been slain; for they cry from the dust for vengeance upon it, and also upon those who built it up.
>
> For it cometh to pass that whoso buildeth it up seeketh to overthrow the freedom of all lands, nations, and countries; and it bringeth to pass the destruction of all people, . . . (Ether 8:23-25)

This warning reminds us of the words attributed to George Washington: "Beware of **secret combinations**" (*Morgan Investigator*, March 29, 1827). The words *secret combinations* are found in the Book of Mormon in the following places: 2 Nephi 9:9, 26:22; Alma 37:30-31; Helaman 3:23; 3 Nephi 4:29; Mormon 8:27; Ether 8:19, 22, 9:1, 13:18, 14:8, 10. These words were frequently used with regard to Masonry. In fact, newspapers published in Joseph Smith's neighborhood speak of *secret combinations* (see *Wayne Sentinel*, July 18, 1828, and *Palmyra Freeman*, November 10, 1829). The *Wayne Sentinel* for July 18, 1828, uses the words *secret societies*, and the *Palmyra Freeman*, December 2, 1828, calls the Masons a *secret society*. The Book of Mormon uses the words *secret society* in the following places: 3 Nephi 3:9; Ether 9:6, 11:22.

The Masons were sometimes accused of being a "band," and it was claimed that one of their objects was to "plunder" (*Wayne Sentinel*, September 26, 1828). The Book of Mormon speaks of the "band of Gadianton" (Helaman 11:10), who "did commit murder and plunder" (Helaman 11:25).

The word *craft* was frequently used with regard to Masonry. The Book of Mormon tells us that Gadianton was "expert in many words, and also in his craft" (Helaman 2:4).

The Masons claimed that there ceremonies went back to "ancient" times (*Masonry Exposed*, page 68).

The Book of Mormon quotes Giddianhi (an evil man) as saying:

> And behold, I am Giddianhi; and I am the governor of this the secret society of Gadianton; which society and the works thereof I know to be good; and they are of **ancient** date and they have been handed down unto us. (3 Nephi 3:9)

In the Masonic ritual the candidate has "a rope called a Cable-tow round his neck" (*Freemasonry Exposed*, page 18). In the Book of Mormon, 3 Nephi 26:22, we read: "And there are also secret combinations, . . . according to the combinations of the devil, . . . and he leadeth them by the neck with a flaxen cord, . . ."

In their ceremonies the Masons wore "A lambskin or white apron" (*Freemasonry Exposed*, page 24). According to 3 Nephi 3:7, the Gadianton robbers wore "a lambskin about their loins" (3 Nephi 4:7).

Walter Franklin Prince suggested that the name *Mormon* may have been derived from the controversy over William Morgan's disappearance:

> It is now sufficiently evident that the author of the Book of Mormon was, at the time he was writing it, powerfully obsessed by the ideas and emotions which characterized that popular movement which, beginning in western New York in 1826, was to subside last in the same region. What word would sink most indelibly into such a consciousness—what but the name **MORGAN** itself?. . . precisely as "Morgan" is the masterword of the particular ideational and emotional complex of which we have been speaking, so *Mormon*, one of the reflected names, . . . is also the name of the composition as a whole. (*The American Journal of Psychology*, vol. 28, pages 378-379)

Fawn Brodie points out that a corpse that was found on the shore of Lake Ontario was at first identified as that of William Morgan. Later, however, it was found to be the body of Timothy Monroe. Mrs. Brodie suggests that Joseph Smith may have "combined the first syllables of *Morgan* and *Monroe*" to make the name *Mormon* (*No Man Knows My History*, page 64). We feel that this is a very good suggestion, for the *Wayne Sentinel* uses the two names in an article published November 2, 1827:

> The investigation commenced at Gaines last Saturday was resumed on Monday at Batavia, where the body, being disinterred, was with the clothing, submitted for the third time to a jury. The result nullifies the verdict of the proceeding jury by showing the body to be—**NOT MORGAN'S**— but **TIMOTHY MONRO'S**.

The names *Morgan* and *Monroe* (the *Wayne Sentinel* spells it *Monro*) were capitalized in the original, and the name *Morgan* was broken after the first syllable exactly as we have shown it. It would have been easy for Joseph Smith to have combined the first syllable in *Mor*gan with the first syllable in *Mon*roe to make the name *Mormon*. It is interesting to note that Joseph Smith claimed that the name *Mormon* was composed from two words. He stated that the last part of the word—i.e., *mon* is an "Egyptian" word which means *good*, and "with the addition of *more*, or the contraction, *mor*, we have the word *Mormon*; which means, literally, *more good*" (*Times and Seasons*, vol. 4, page 194). One man who had read our book, *Changes in Joseph Smith's History*, made the following comments concerning this matter: "Smith claimed that the word *Mormon* was formed from the Egyptian word *mon* (which he said meant *good*) and the English word *more* contracted to *mor* (together meaning *more good*). How can this be when there is no Egyptian word *mon* which means *good*. Even if there were such an Egyptian word, how could it get combined with an English word here on the American continent sometime before 400 A.D.? The English language did not develop until the middle ages and was totally unknown in the ancient middle east." In a letter dated April 1, 1965, the same man wrote:

> I might add a few words about Smith's definition of the word *Mormon*. . . . the part I had reference to has been omitted from the present *Church History*, so I understand. While in the graduate department at John Hopkins University I made it a point to ask Dr. William F. Albright if there were any Egyptian word *mon* meaning *good*, or anything resembling it with such a meaning. Dr. Albright is one of the world's leading authorities on the ancient near east and understood and offered courses in Egyptian. He assured me there was no such word. I wrote Dr. Sperry about this problem and he assured me he had "no off-the-cuff answer" for this problem (see letter enclosed). At the time Smith gave his definition Champollion was just working out the system of Egyptian hieroglyphics, so as far as Smith knew no one could contradict him. However, it should have been obvious, even without a knowledge of Egyptian, that an Egyptian word could not be combined with an English word and appear here in America (since it's used in the Bk of Mormon) before 400 A.D., when there was no English language until centuries later.

Joseph Smith's Book of Moses—as published in modern editions of the *Pearl of Great Price*—also contains material which reflects the controversy concerning Masonry:

> And Satan said unto Cain: Swear unto me by thy throat, and if thou tell it thou shalt die; and swear thy brethren by their heads, . . .
>
> And Cain said: Truly I am Mahan, the master of this great secret, that I may murder and get gain. Wherefore Cain was called **Master Mahan**, . . .
>
> For Lamech having entered into a covenant with Satan, after the manner of Cain, wherein he became **Master Mahan**, master of that great secret which was administered unto Cain by Satan; . . .
>
> For, from the days of Cain, there was a **secret combination**, and their works were dark, and they knew every man his brother. (*Pearl of Great Price*, Book of Moses, 5:29, 31, 49 and 51)

The statement, "Swear unto me by thy throat," is very interesting; for, according to an exposé of Masonry published in the *Wayne Sentinel*, November 10, 1826, the candidate had to swear by his throat:

> To all of which I do most solemnly and sincerely promise and swear, . . . binding myself under no less penalty, than to have my throat cut across; . . .

Even more interesting are the words "*Master Mahan*." They are so similar to the words "*Master Mason*" (*Freemasonry Exposed*, page 70) that we are almost forced to the conclusion that Joseph Smith had these words in mind.

S. H. Goodwin, a prominent Mason, made these statements concerning the relationship of the Book of Mormon to Masonry:

> . . . the present writer is convinced that the years which saw the preparation and publication of the "Golden Bible" of this new faith, also witnessed the very material prenatal influence of Masonry upon Mormonism, proof of which lies thickly sprinkled over the pages of the Book of Mormon. . . .
>
> To the present writer, the evidence of the Mormon prophet's reaction to the anti-Masonic disturbance is as clear and conclusive in the Book of Mormon, as is that which points out, beyond controversy, the region in which that book was produced, and establishes the character of the religious, educational and social conditions which constituted the environment of Joseph Smith. (*Mormonism and Masonry*, Salt Lake City, 1961, pages 8-9)

Anthony W. Ivins, who was a member of the First Presidency of the Mormon Church, made this statement in rebuttal to this charge:

> It is true that during the period of the translation and publication of the Book of Mormon Morgan disappeared. It is also true that the author of *Mormonism and Masonry* does not show that Joseph Smith, or any one of those who were directly associated with him in the translation and publication of the book ever attended an anti- Masonic meeting, had any knowledge whatever of the ritual of the Masonic fraternity, or participated in the most remote manner in the crusade which followed the disappearance of Morgan and consequently could not have made Masonry the basis upon which the book was written. (*The Relationship of "Mormonism" and Freemasonry*, pages 175-176)

It can now be shown that Martin Harris (a witness to the Book of Mormon who provided money for its publication) was influenced by the controversy over Masonry. The Mormon writer Richard L. Anderson makes this statement concerning Martin Harris:

> The same point is made by his appointment in 1827 on the Palmyra "committee of vigilance" by the Wayne County anti-Masonic convention, a cause long since discredited but which then attracted many public-spirited individuals. (*Improvement Era*, February 1969, page 20)

As a reference for this statement Dr. Anderson cites the *Wayne Sentinel* for October 5, 1827. In the "anti-Masonic convention" Dr. Anderson speaks of the following resolution was passed:

> Resolved. That we conceive it a dereliction of our duty to give our suffrages for any office within the gift of the people to a freemason who has not publicly renounced the institution and principles of freemasonry, or to any person who approbates the institution or treats with levity, or attempts to palliate or screen the horid transaction relative to the abduction of William Morgan. (*Wayne Sentinel*, October 5, 1827)

Thus we see that one of the witnesses to the Book of Mormon was involved in the anti-Masonic excitement which followed Morgan's disappearance.

JOSEPH BECOMES A MASON

Although Joseph Smith's early writings are filled with material which condemns secret societies, the presence of the Danite band among the Mormons indicates that by 1838 his attitude toward secret societies had changed. The reader will remember that the Danites were a secret oath-bound society and that the members were to be punished with death if they made public the secrets of the order (see pages 52-65 of this volume).

When the Mormon leaders found themselves in serious trouble with the law because of the Danite band, Joseph Smith went back to the teachings of the Book of Mormon and publicly repudiated secret societies. In a letter written from Liberty Jail, dated March 25, 1839, Joseph Smith joined with four others in stating:

> We further, caution our brethren, against the impropriety of the organization of bands of companies, by covenants, oaths, penalties, or secresies, but let the time past of our experience and sufferings by the wickedness of Docter Avard suffice, and let our covenants, be that of the everlasting covenant, as it is contained in the holy writ, and the things which God has revealed unto us; pure friendship, always becomes weakened, the very moment you undertake to make it stronger by penal oaths and secrecy. (*Times and Seasons*, vol. 1, page 133)

After Joseph Smith went to Nauvoo, he again took an interest in secret societies. In fact, it was in Nauvoo that Joseph Smith became a Mason, formed the Council of 50, and established the secret temple ceremony. Many of the converts to the Mormon Church were Masons or had been Masons in the past. The Mormon Apostle John A. Widtsoe stated: "Many members of secret societies have joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (*Evidences and Reconciliations*, 3 volumes in 1, page 113). On pages 357-358 of the same book, Dr. Widtsoe stated:

> Many of the Saints were Masons, such as Joseph's brother Hyrum, Heber C. Kimball, Elijah Fordham, Newel K. Whitney, James Adams, and John C. Bennett. . . .
>
> With the acquiescence of the Prophet, members of the Church already Masons petitioned the Grand Master of Illinois for permission to set up a lodge in Nauvoo. In answer they were granted permission, in October, 1841, to hold lodge meetings; but it was March 15, 1842, before authority was given to set up a lodge in Nauvoo and to induct new members. **Joseph Smith became a member.**

Ebenezer Robinson seemed to blame John C. Bennett for the great interest which the Church leaders had in Masonry:

> Heretofore, the church had strenuously opposed secret societies, such as Free-Masons, Knights of Pithias, and all that class of secret societies, not considering the "Order of Enoch" or "Danites" of that class; but after Dr. Bennett came into the church a great change of sentiment seemed to take place, ... a Masonic Lodge was organized with Hyrum Smith, one of the First Presidents of the church as master. (*The Return*, vol. 2, no. 6, June, 1890, typed copy, page 126)

However this may have been, Joseph Smith himself became a member of the Masonic fraternity. The following statement is recorded in Joseph Smith's *History* under the date of March 15, 1842:

> In the evening **I received the first degree in Free Masonry** in the Nauvoo Lodge, assembled in my general business office. (*History of the Church*, vol. 4, page 551)

The next day Joseph Smith stated:

> **I was with the Masonic Lodge and rose to the sublime degree.** (*History of the Church*, vol. 4, page 552)

The Mormons who joined the Masonic Lodge soon found themselves in trouble with other members of the fraternity. S. H. Goodwin states:

> Not long after this lodge had been set to work, rumors of unusual proceedings therein became current. Report had it that the Nauvoo brethren set at naught certain established and well-known Masonic laws and usages. This gossip persisted and finally crystallized into open and unequivocal charges. On the 16th day of July following, Bodley Lodge No. 1, of Quincy, held a special meeting called for the purpose of considering the matter and taking such action as the facts might seem to warrant. After discussion, the sentiment of the meeting took the form of resolutions. One of these called upon Grand Master Jonas to suspend the dispensation of Nauvoo Lodge until the annual communication of Grand Lodge. Another throws a little light back upon the events connected with the institution of that lodge. This resolution reads:
>
> > Resolved: That Bodley Lodge No. 1, of Quincy, request of the Grand Lodge of the state of Illinois, that a committee be appointed at the next annual meeting of said lodge to make enquiry into the manner the officers of the Nauvoo Lodge, U. D. were installed, and by what authority the Grand Master initiated, passed and raised Messrs. Smith and Sidney Rigdon to the degrees of Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft and Master Mason, at one and the same time, and that the proceedings of the committee be reported for the benefit of this lodge.
>
> (*Mormonism and Masonry*, by S. H. Goodwin, pages 28-29)

Finally, the Masons refused to allow the Mormons to continue "a Masonic Lodge at Nauvoo" (*Mormonism and Masonry*, page 34). One Masonic historian wrote:

"'If the Lodge had been suffered to work two years longer, every Mormon in Hancock County would have been initiated'" (*History of Freemasonry in Illinois*, page 184, as quoted in *Mormonism and Masonry*, by S. H. Goodwin, page 34). The Mormon Apostle John A. Widtsoe admitted that "large numbers" had been received into the fraternity:

> Meanwhile, **large numbers** of Nauvoo citizens were inducted into the fraternity. Soon the Nauvoo Lodge had more members than all the other Illinois lodges together. It became the largest in the state. In this rapid growth, some lodge **errors** appear to have been made. (*Evidences and Reconciliations*, 3 volumes in 1, page 358)

The Mormon writer E. Cecil McGavin made these statements in his book, *Mormonism and Masonry* (not to be confused with the book by Goodwin which bears the same name):

> It is not surprising that they made a few departures from the ancient landmarks and introduced some changes in the procedure which brought upon them the full weight of Masonic displeasure. . . .
>
> At this time there were only two hundred twenty-seven Masons in Illinois outside of Nauvoo. These were distributed among eleven lodges, making an average of twenty-one members in each lodge. The largest lodge was in Springfield, with a membership of forty-three.
>
> Within five months, the Mormons initiated two hundred eighty-six members in Nauvoo, and forty-five in the Rising Sun Lodge at Montrose, Iowa.
>
> Thus there were more Masons in Nauvoo in a few weeks than there were in all other lodges in Illinois combined. (*Mormonism and Masonry*, by E. Cecil McGavin, Salt Lake City, 1956, pages 89-92)

On pages 104-106 of the same book, E. Cecil McGavin states:

> Masonry is an ancient institution. Its landmarks are sacred and must be preserved. From the distant past, its leaders have attempted to keep it inviolate. The slightest change in its regulations has been regarded with suspicion.
>
> The Mormons were careless in some respects, failing to realize the sanctity of the "ancient landmarks" and feeling free to make small innovations, without consulting the Grand Lodge. Such a step, though not intended to trample underfoot the honored customs of the past, was perfectly natural for them. Their religion was a revolutionary one. They never attempted to follow the religious pattern of the world, being free to introduce many teachings and institutions that were not practiced in any other church.
>
> This spirit of freedom and newness of growth with no attempt to follow the theological path of the past, may have influenced them to **deviate** from the ancient landmarks of Masonry. . . .
>
> Since the Mormons were completely ignored by the Masons in neighboring towns and by the Grand Lodge also, they were likely to make many errors as they sought to put their lodge in motion. There was a spirit of freedom in all their religious activities, never for a moment feeling bound by the traditions of the past, but always free to make revolutionary changes, in the matter of religious ritual and practice. This feeling may have crept into the lodge work and resulted in some changes that would be frowned upon by other Masons. The complaints about voting and initiations may have been **well founded**, yet those same mistakes were not uncommon in young lodges.
>
> . . . On the question of voting, it is said that the ballot must be strictly secret and the voting must be unanimous. Each applicant must be voted for on a separate ballot. This was a slow and cumbersome method in comparison with the dispatch with which the voting was conducted in Church assemblies, so it is not unlikely that they violated the strict Masonic regulation concerning balloting. . . .

Although Joseph Smith found himself in trouble with the Masons, he gave the Masonic signal of distress just before he was murdered. In his book concerning Masonry, William Morgan gives this information concerning what a Mason is supposed to do "in case of distress":

> The sign is given by raising both hands and arms to the elbows, perpendicularly, one on each side of the head, the elbows forming a square. The words accompanying this sign, in case of distress, are, "**O Lord, my God!** is there no help for the widow's son?" (*Freemasonry Exposed*, page 76)

John D. Lee claimed that Joseph Smith used the exact words that a Mason is supposed to use in case of distress:

> Joseph left the door, sprang through the window, and cried out, **"Oh, Lord, my God, is there no help for the widow's son!"** (*Confessions of John D. Lee*, photomechanical reprint of 1880 edition, page 153)

Other accounts seem to show that Joseph Smith used the first four words of the distress cry. According to the *History of the Church*, Joseph Smith "fell outward into the hands of his murderers, exclaiming, '**O Lord, my God**!'" (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 618). Less than a month after Joseph and Hyrum Smith were murdered, the following appeared in the Mormon publication, *Times and Seasons*:

> . . . with uplifted hands they gave such **signs of distress** as would have commanded the interposition and benevolence of Savages or Pagans. They were both **Masons** in good standing. Ye brethren of "the mystic tie" what think ye! Where is our good **Master** Joseph and Hyrum? Is there a pagan, heathen, or savage nation on the globe that would not be moved on this great occasion, as the trees of the forest are moved by a mighty wind? Joseph's last exclamation was **"O Lord my God!"** (*Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, page 585)

The Mormon writer E. Cecil McGavin admitted that Joseph Smith gave the Masonic signal of distress:

> When the enemy surrounded the jail, rushed up the stairway, and killed Hyrum Smith, Joseph stood at the open window, his martyr-cry being these words, "O Lord My God!" This was **not** the beginning of a prayer, because Joseph Smith did not pray in that manner. This brave, young man who knew that death was near, started to repeat **the distress signal of the Masons**, expecting thereby to gain the protection its members are pledged to give a brother in distress.
>
> In 1878, Zina D. Huntington Young said of this theme, "I am the daughter of a Master Mason; I am the widow of the Master Mason who, when leaping from the window of Carthage jail, pierced with bullets, **made the Masonic sign of distress**, but those signs were not heeded except by the God of Heaven." (*Mormonism and Masonry*, by E. Cecil McGavin, page 17)

On page 16 of the same book, Mr. McGavin quotes from the *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, page 26, as follows:

> **Joseph**, leaping the fatal window, **gave the Masonic signal of distress**.

In Utah the Masons will not allow a Mormon to become a member of their fraternity because of the things that happened in Nauvoo. Brigham Young once stated:

> . . . I refer to the Freemasons. They have refused our brethren membership in their lodge, because they were polygamists. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 11, page 328)

Although the Masons in Utah were disturbed with the Mormons because of polygamy, there are other reasons why they refused to allow Mormons to join their fraternity. One of the most important is that they feel that Joseph Smith stole part of the Masonic ritual and included it in his temple ceremony. S. H. Goodwin made this statement:

> The observant Craftsman cannot be long among the Mormon people without noting the not infrequent use made of **certain emblems and symbols** which have come to be associated in the public mind with the Masonic fraternity. And now and again he will catch expressions and phrases in conversation, and meet with terms in literature, which are suggestive, to say the least. If he should continue his residence in Utah, he will sometimes be made aware of the fact, when shaking hands with a Mormon neighbor or friend, that there is a pressure of the hand as though some sort of a "grip" is being given. (*Mormonism and Masonry*, S. H. Goodwin, page 43)

According to E. Cecil McGavin, "Grand Master J. M. Orr of Utah" made this statement in 1878:

> We say to the priests of the Latter-day Church, you cannot enter our lodge rooms—you surrender all to an unholy priesthood. You have heretofore sacrificed the sacred obligations of our beloved Order, and we believe you would do the same again. Stand aside; we want none of you. Such a wound as you gave Masonry in Nauvoo is not easily healed, and no Latter-day Saint is, or can become a member of our Order in this jurisdiction. (*Mormonism and Masonry*, page 7)

MASONRY IN TEMPLE RITUAL

The relationship between the Mormon temple ritual and Masonry is too close to be called a coincidence. The fact that both Mormons and Masons have a temple in which they administer secret ceremonies is striking, but when we compare the ritual and learn that Joseph Smith was a Mason, we are forced to the conclusion that Joseph Smith borrowed from Masonry in establishing his temple ceremony.

In this study we have had access to two books which give the Masonic ritual. They were reprinted by Ezra A. Cook Publications, Inc., Chicago, Illinois. The first is Capt. William Morgan's *Freemasonry Exposed*, which was first published in 1827. (It should be remembered that the author of this book disappeared and that this set off the great controversy concerning Masonry.) The second is *Richardson's Monitor of Free-Masonry*. This book was published some time after Morgan's exposé, but it is important because it gives some of "the higher degrees" not mentioned by Morgan.

The following are some of the parallels between the ritual of the Masons and the Mormon temple ceremony. Because some of the details of the temple ceremony have been changed in recent years, we are using the pamphlet, *Temple Mormonism—Its Evolution, Ritual and Meaning*, New York, 1931, to make our comparison.

1. Both the Masons and the Mormons have what is called "the five points of fellowship."

MORMONS: The five points of fellowship are given by putting the inside of the right foot to the inside of the Lord's, the inside of your knee to his, laying your breast close to his, your left hands on each other's backs, and each one putting his mouth to the other's ear, in which position the Lord whispers:
Lord—"This is the sign of the token: Health to the navel, marrow in the bones, . . ." (*Temple Mormonism*, page 22)

MASONS: He (the candidate) is raised on what is called the five points of fellowship, . . . This is done by putting the inside of your right foot to the inside of the right foot of the person to whom you are going to give the word, the inside of your knee to his, laying your right breast against his, your left hands on the back of each other, and your mouths to each other's right ear (in which position alone you are permitted to give the word), and whisper the word Mahhah-bone . . . He is also told that Mahhah-bone signifies marrow in the bone. (*Freemasonry Exposed*, pages 84-85)

The reader will note that the Mormon temple ceremony still contains "the five points of fellowship" (see page 133 of this volume). Masonic writers seem to be willing to speak of "the five points of fellowship." George Oliver stated: "Masons profess to be united in an indissoluble chain of sincere affection, called the five points of fellowship; . . ." (*The Antiquity of Freemasonry*, page 168, as quoted by McGavin in *Mormonism and Masonry*, page 9). A Masonic poet has even written a poem entitled, "The Five Points of Fellowship." In a footnote to this poem we find this statement:

> The paraphrase embodies the following ancient form of injunction. "Foot to foot (teaches) that we will not hesitate to go on foot and out of our way to aid and succor a needy Brother; knee to knee, that we will ever remember a Brother's welfare, in all our applications to Deity; breast to breast, that we will ever keep, in our breast, a Brother's secrets, when communicated to us as such, murder and treason excepted; hand to back, that we will ever be ready to stretch forth our hand to aid and support a falling Brother; cheek to cheek, or mouth to ear, that we will ever whisper good counsel in the ear of a Brother, . . ." (*The Poetry of Freemasonry*, by Robert Morris, as quoted in *Mormonism and Masonry*, by E. Cecil McGavin, page 11)

The words "marrow in the bones" are still used in the Mormon temple ceremony (see page 133). It is interesting to note that the woman who exposed the ceremony in 1846 stated that in "one place something was spoken to me which I do not recollect—the meaning was 'marrow in the bone;' . . ." (*Warsaw Signal*, April 15, 1846).

2. When the candidate receives "The First Token of the Aaronic Priesthood" he makes a promise similar to the oath taken in the "First Degree" of the Masonic ritual.

MORMONS: . . . we will not reveal any of the secrets of this, the first token of the Aaronic priesthood, with its accompanying name, sign or penalty. Should we do so, we agree that our throats be cut from ear to ear and our tongues torn out by their roots. (*Temple Mormonism*, page 18)

MASONS: . . . I will . . . never reveal any part or parts, art or arts, point or points of the secret arts and mysteries of ancient Freemasonry . . . binding myself under no less penalty than to have my throat cut across, my tongue torn out by the roots, . . . (*Freemasonry Exposed*, pages 21-22)

3. In both ceremonies the thumb is drawn across the throat to show the penalty.

MORMONS: Sign—In executing the sign of the penalty, the right hand, palm down, is drawn sharply across the throat, . . . (*Temple Mormonism*, page 18)

MASONS: This is given by drawing your right hand across your throat, the thumb next to your throat, . . . (*Freemasonry Exposed*, page 23)

4. Those who receive the "First Token of the Aaronic Priesthood" give a grip that is similar to that used by the Masons in the "First Degree" of their ritual.

MORMONS: The Grip—Hands clasped, pressing the knuckle of the index finger with the thumb. (*Temple Mormonism*, page 18)

MASONS: The right hands are joined together as in shaking hands and each sticks his thumb nail into the third joint or upper end of the forefinger; . . . (*Freemasonry Exposed*, page 23)

5. Some of the wording concerning the "grip" is similar.

MORMONS: . . . Peter now takes Adam by the right hand and asks:
Peter—"What is that?"
Adam—"The first token of the Aaronic Priesthood.
Peter—"Has it a name?"
Adam—"It has."
Peter—"Will you give it to me?"
Adam—"I can not, for it is connected with my new name, but this is the sign." (*Temple Mormonism*, page 20)

MASONS: The Master and candidate holding each other by the grip, as before described, the Master says,
"What is this?"
Ans. "A grip."
"A grip of what?"
Ans. "The grip of an Entered Apprentice Mason."
"Has it a name?"
Ans. "It has."
"Will you give it to me?"
Ans. "I did not so receive it, neither can I so impart it."
(*Freemasonry Exposed*, pages 23-24)

6. The oath of the "Second Token of the Aaronic Priesthood" is similar to that taken in the second degree of Masonry.

MORMONS: We and each of us do covenant and promise that we will not reveal the secrets of this, the Second Token of the Aaronic Priesthood, with its accompanying name, sign, grip or penalty. Should we do so, we agree to have our breasts cut open and our hearts and vitals torn from our bodies and given to the birds of the air and the beasts of the field. (*Temple Mormonism*, page 20)

MASONS: "I, . . . most solemnly and sincerely promise and swear, . . . that I will not give the degree of a Fellow Craft Mason to any one of an inferior degree, nor to any other being in the known world, . . . binding myself under no less penalty than to have my left breast torn open and my heart and vitals taken from thence . . . to become a prey to the wild beasts of the field, and vulture of the air, . . ." (*Freemasonry Exposed*, pages 73-75)

7. Both have a similar sign.

MORMONS: The sign is made by placing the left arm on the square at the level of the shoulder, placing the right hand across the chest with the thumb extended and then drawing it rapidly from left to right and dropping it to the side. (*Temple Mormonism*, page 20)

MASONS: The sign is given by drawing your right hand flat, with the palm of it next to your breast, across your breast from the left to the right side with some quickness, and dropping it down by your side; . . . (*Freemasonry Exposed*, page 53)

8. Both have a similar grip.

MORMONS: The Grip is given by clasping the hand and pressing the thumb in the hollow between the first and second knuckles of the hand. (*Temple Mormonism*, page 20)

MASONS: . . . the pass-grip, is given by taking each other by the right hand, as though going to shake hands, and each putting his thumb between the fore and second fingers where they join the hand, and pressing the thumb between the joints. (*Freemasonry Exposed*, page 54)

9. In both cases a "name" is used.

MORMONS: The name is the given name of the candidate. (*Temple Mormonism*, page 20)

MASONS: . . . the name of it is Shibboleth. (*Freemasonry Exposed*, page 54)

10. The promise made when receiving the "First Token of the Melchizedek Priesthood" resembles the oath given by the Masons in the third or "Master Mason's Degree."

MORMONS: Peter—"We and each of us do covenant and promise that we will not reveal any of the secrets of this, the First Token of the Melchizedek Priesthood, with its accompanying name, sign or penalty. Should we do so, we agree that our bodies be cut asunder in the midst and all our bowels gush out." (*Temple Mormonism*, page 20)

MASONS: "I, . . . most solemnly and sincerely promise and swear, in addition to my former obligations, that I will not give the degree of a Master Mason to any of an inferior degree, nor to any other being in the known world, . . . binding myself under no less penalty than to have my body severed in two in the midst, and divided to the north and south, my bowels burnt to ashes . . ." (*Freemasonry Exposed*, pages 73-75)

11. ***The sign of the penalty is similar in both cases.***
(The description of this sign which appears in *Temple Mormonism* is not completely accurate; therefore, we are using the account that appeared in the *Salt Lake Tribune*. The reader can see that this is the way the sign is given today. See page 131 of this volume.)

MORMONS: In this, the left hand is placed palm upright, directly in front of the body, there being a right angle formed at the elbow; the right hand, palm down, is placed under the elbow of the left; then drawn sharply across the bowels, and both hands are dropped at the side. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, February 12, 1906)

MASONS: The Penal Sign is given by putting the right hand to the left side of the bowels, the hand open, with the thumb next to the belly, and drawing it across the belly, and letting it fall; this is done tolerably quick. This alludes to the penalty of the obligation: "Having my body severed in twain," etc. (*Freemasonry Exposed*, page 77)

12. In both cases a "name" is used.

MORMONS: The Name of this token is the Son, meaning the Son of God. (*Temple Mormonism*, page 20)

MASONS: . . . the word or name is Tubal Cain. (*Freemasonry Exposed*, page 77)

13. The conversation at the "veil" in the temple ceremony is very similar to that of the "Fellow Craft Mason" when he is questioned concerning the "grip."

MORMONS: Lord— "What is this"?
Endowee—"The second token of the Melchizedek Priesthood—The Patriarchal Grip or Sure Sign of the Nail."
Lord—"Has it a name?"
Endowee— "It has."
Lord—"Will you give it to me?"
Endowee—"I can not for I have not yet received it."
(*Temple Mormonism*, page 22)

MASONS: . . . "What is this?"
Ans. "A grip."
"A grip of what?"
Ans. "The grip of a Fellow Craft Mason."
"Has it a name?"
Ans. "It has."
"Will you give it to me?"
Ans. "I did not so receive it, neither can I so impart it?"
(*Freemasonry Exposed*, page 54)

14. Both the Masons and the Mormons have a vow regarding "chastity."

MORMONS: "You and each of you do covenant and promise that you will not have sexual intercourse with any of the opposite sex except your lawful wife or wives who are given you by the holy priesthood." (*Temple Mormonism*, page 21)

MASONS: Furthermore do I promise and swear that I will not violate the chastity of a Master Mason's wife, mother, sister, or daughter. I knowing them to be such, nor suffer it to be done by others, if in my power to prevent it. (*Masonry Exposed*, pages 74-75)

15. The grip known as "The Sign of the Nail" seems to be similar to one given by Masons in one of their higher degrees.

MORMONS: The Grip is given by placing the thumb of back of hand and the tip of forefinger in the centre of palm, representing the piercing of the hand by a nail. It is called "The Sign of the Nail." (*Temple Mormonism*, page 20)

MASONS: Grand Commander now explains the grip and word of a Knight of Malta. He says to candidate—Thomas, reach hither thy finger, and feel the print of the nails; [they join right hands, and force the first finger into the centre of the palm;] . . . (*Richardson's Monitor of Free-Masonry*, page 126)

16. The "oath of Vengeance" which used to be used in the Mormon temple ceremony resembles an oath in one of the higher degrees of Masonry.

MORMONS: "You and each of you do solemnly promise and vow that you will pray, and never cease to pray, and never cease to importune high heaven to avenge the blood of the prophets . . ."(*Temple Mormonism*, page 21)

MASONS: We promise and swear, by the living God, always supreme, to revenge the death of our ancestor; . . . (*Richardson's Monitor of Free-Masonry*, page 188)

17. Both Mormons and Masons change clothing before going through their rituals.

MORMONS: The candidate, being directed to these washing and dressing rooms and having divested himself of all his clothing, awaits his time in the bath . . .

The candidate then retires to the dressing room, where he puts on a shirt and a pair of white pants and white stockings. (*Temple Mormonism*, pages 14-15)

MASONS: The candidate during the time is divested of all his apparel (shirt excepted) and furnished with a pair of drawers kept in the lodge for the use of candidates. The candidate is then blindfolded, his left foot bare, his right in a slipper, his left breast and arm naked, and a rope called a Cable-tow round his neck . . . (*Freemasonry Exposed*, page 18)

18. Both Mormons and Masons use an apron.

MORMONS: Adam (Turning to the audience)—"In your bundles brethren and sisters, you will each find an apron, you will now put it on." (*Temple Mormonism*, page 17)

MASONS: The Master returns to his seat while the Wardens are examining the candidate, and gets a lambskin or white apron, presents it to the candidate, and observes, "Brother, I now present you with a lambskin or white apron. It is an emblem of innocence, and the badge of a Mason . . ." (*Freemasonry Exposed*, page 24)

19. In one of the higher degrees the Masons anoint the candidate. This is somewhat similar to the anointing ceremony in the Mormon temple ritual.

MORMONS: As the candidate is washed, the officiant hurries through the lustration ritual. . . . the candidate is passed on to another attendant and is anointed with oil. The oil is very definitely applied to the various organs of his body. The pronouncements used in this ceremony are much the same as those used in the lustration ritual. (*Temple Mormonism*, page 15)

MASONS: Master orders the basin of perfumed water and a clean napkin to be brought to him, and directs candidate to wash his hands, which he does. . . .

Master takes a box of perfumed ointment and anoints candidate on his head, eyes, mouth, heart, the tip of his right ear, hand, and foot, and says—You are now, my dear brother, received a member of our society; . . . (*Richardson's Monitor of Free-Masonry*, page 167)

20. Both Mormons and Masons give what they call a "new name" to the candidate.

MORMONS: "With these garments I give you a new name which is never to be divulged to anyone. . . . The name I shall give you is _____." (*Temple Mormonism*, page 15)

MASONS: I also present you with a new name; it is CAUTION; . . . (*Freemasonry Exposed*, page 25)

21. In the Mormon temple ceremony the candidate cannot pass through the veil until he has given certain signs and words. In the Royal Arch Degree the Masons use veils.

MORMONS: The candidate is now taken to one of the openings between the pillars by one of the Temple workers, who gives three raps with a mallet on the pillar. The Lord parts the veil slightly and asks what is wanted.

Temple Worker—"The man Adam having been true and faithful in all things now desires to converse with the Lord through the veil."

Lord—"See that his garments are properly marked, present him at the veil, and his request shall be granted."

Attendants or Temple workers prompt the candidate in his answers and grips. . . .

The Endowee is then taken to the opening by the attendant, who gives three more raps with the mallet.

Lord—"What is wanted?"

Attendant—"Adam, having conversed with the Lord. through the veil, now desires to enter his presence."

Lord—"Admit him."

As he says this he extends his hand and welcomes the candidate into the Glory room. (*Temple Mormonism*, page 22)

MASONS: Principal Sojourner—Companions, we will pass on, and make and alarm at the Third Veil. [Stamps nine times.]

Master of the Third Veil—Who comes there? Who dare approach this Third Veil of our scared Tabernacle?

Principal Sojourner—Three weary sojourners from Babylon, who have come to assist in the rebuilding of the house of the Lord, without the hope of fee or reward.

Master of Third Veil—How do you expect to enter?

Principal Sojourner—By the words, sign, and word of exhortation of the Master of the Second Veil.

Master of the Third Veil—Give them.

Principal Sojourner—Shem, Japeth and Adoniram. [Thrusts his hand into his bosom as Master of Second Veil had done.]

Master of Third Veil—They are right. You can enter the Third Veil.

The candidates enter. (*Richardson's Monitor of Free-Masonry*, pages 76-77)

22. In the Mormon temple ceremony a man represents Adam. The Masons also have a man who personates Adam in the degree of "Knight of the Sun."

MORMONS: Elohim—. . . "This man who is now being operated upon is Michael . . . When he awakes he . . . will be known as Adam." (*Temple Mormonism*, page 16)

MASONS: Thrice Puissant Grand Master, representing Father Adam, is stationed in the east. (*Richardson's Monitor of Free-Masonry*, page 185)

23. In the Mormon Temple ceremony a man represents God. In the Mason's Royal Arch Degree a man "personates the Deity."

MORMONS: When all is quiet, a man dressed in white flannels, representing Elohim, comes from behind the curtain . . . (*Temple Mormonism*, page 15)

MASONS: One of the members now personates the Deity, behind the bush, and calls out Moses! Moses! (*Richardson's Monitor of Free-Masonry*, page 73)

24. Both the Mormons and the Masons consider the square and the compass to be extremely important. The marks of the square and the compass appear on the Mormon temple garments and on the veil.

MORMONS: We now have the veil explained to us. We are told that it represents the veil of the temple. The marks are the same as those on the garments—the compass on the left and the square on the right side. (*Temple Mormonism*, page 22)

MASONS: . . . the three great lights in Masonry are the Holy Bible, Square and Compass. . . . the Square, to square our actions, and the Compass to keep us in due bounds with all mankind, . . . (*Freemasonry Exposed*, pages 22-23)

Even a Mormon writer, E. Cecil McGavin, is willing to admit that the "square and the compass" appear on Mormon temple clothing:

> It is universally known that Mormon temple clothing contain certain marks of the priesthood, including the **square and compass**. (*Mormonism and Masonry*, page 72)

25. In the Masonic ritual the point of the compass is pressed against the left breast of the candidate. The Mormon temple garment has the mark of the compass on the left breast.

MORMONS: The marks are the same as those on the garments—the compass on the left . . . (*Temple Mormonism*, page 22)

MASONS: The candidate then enters, the Senior Deacon at the same time pressing his naked left breast with the point of the compass, . . . (*Freemasonry Exposed*, page 19)

26. The angle of the square is pressed against the right breast in the Masonic ritual. The mark of the square appears on the right breast of the Mormon temple garment.

MORMONS: the square on the right side, . . . (*Temple Mormonism*, page 22)

MASONS: As he enters, the angle of the square is pressed hard against his naked right breast, . . . (*Freemasonry Exposed*, page 50)

27. A mallet is used by both the Masons and the Mormons in their ceremonies.

MORMONS: . . . one of the Temple workers, . . . gives three raps with a mallet . . . (*Temple Mormonism*, page 22)

MASONS: . . . he gives a rap with the common gavel or mallet, . . . (*Freemasonry Exposed*, page 11)

Other parallels between the Mormon temple ceremony and the Masonic ritual could be shown, but these should be sufficient to convince the reader that Joseph Smith borrowed from the Masons when he established the endowment ceremony.

In 1934 Anthony W. Ivins, who was a member of the First Presidency of the Mormon Church, wrote a book entitled, *The Relationship of "Mormonism" and Freemasonry*. On page 89 of this book, the following statement appears:

> Whether there are resemblances between the ordinances administered in the temples of the Church and those administered in Masonic temples, the writer does not know. He has made **no effort to find out**. It is **not** his business to know. While there are many Masons who are members of the Church, he has not at any time asked one of them for information, nor has any one of them ever proffered it. He has read the criticism of no writer who has written on the subject, his limited knowledge has been derived from books written by recognized Masonic authorities. Were he in possession of knowledge of ceremonies regarded as private and sacred by Masons his respect for the men who are connected with the order would seal his lips . . . the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was **not** influenced by Masonry, either in its doctrines, organization, or the bringing forth of the Book of Mormon. (*The Relationship of "Mormonism" and Freemasonry*, page 89)

We feel that Anthony W. Ivins' own statement shows that he was not qualified to write a book concerning *The Relationship of "Mormonism" and Freemasonry*: If he "made no effort to find out" what went on in the Masonic ceremonies, how could he know that Mormonism "was not influenced by Masonry?" The Mormon writer E. Cecil McGavin has written a book which is far better than that written by Anthony W. Ivins. Although we cannot agree with many of his conclusions, we feel that he has compiled a great deal of material that is relevant to the subject. Mr. McGavin is even willing to admit that there are some similarities between Mormonism and Masonry:

> Numerous, indeed, were the early references to the Temple ritual in the sermons and writings of Joseph Smith. Though a few rudimental principles may have been similar to the Masonic ritual, he opened a vast, new field of wisdom that had certainly been "hidden for generations." (*Mormonism and Masonry*, page 148)

On pages 196-197 of the same book, E. Cecil McGavin states:

> **The Mormons**, the American Indians, the ancient Essenes, and the early Druids are not the only ones who have "Masonic" symbols and **practices in their rituals**. . . .
>
> The Odd Fellows and other fraternal orders have their **secret signs, grips, tokens, and passwords**. The Masons certainly have no monopoly on that vast field of ritual and symbolism that arose during the childhood of the human race and spread into all countries. . . .
>
> It is **evident** that the **Masonic** ritual embraces a few features that **resemble** the rudimental ceremonies of the **temple endowment**, yet these few points of similarity are largely restricted to the rituals pertaining to the Aaronic priesthood. (*Mormonism and Masonry*, pages 196-197)

In the preface to the same book, Mr. McGavin stated:

> Masons who visit the Temple Block in Salt Lake City are impressed by what they call the Masonic emblems displayed on the outside of the **Mormon temple**.
>
> **Yes, the "Masonic emblems" are displayed on the walls of the temple**—the sun, moon, and stars, "Holiness to the Lord," the two right hands clasped in fellowship, the All-seeing eye, Alpha and Omega, and the beehive. Masonic writers tell us the Mormon Temple ritual and their own are slightly similar in some respects.
>
> Without any apologies we frankly admit that there may be **some truth in these statements**.
>
> Yes, the public is entitled to an explanation of these mysteries and coincidences.

The Mormon Apostle John A. Widtsoe made this comment:

> Fourth, **that there are similarities in the service of the temple and some secret organizations may be true.** (*Evidences and Reconciliations*, 3 volumes in 1, page 112)

The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts gave the following testimony regarding the temple ceremony in the "Reed Smoot Case":

> The CHAIRMAN. The obligations and covenants, whatever they are, then, you are not at liberty to disclose?
>
> Mr. ROBERTS. No, sir. I would be led to regard those obligations as similar to those who perhaps have passed through **Masonic fraternities or are members of Masonic fraternities.**
>
> The CHAIRMAN. Then your church organization in that particular is a sort of **Masonic fraternity**?

> Mr. ROBERTS. **It is analogous**, perhaps, in some of its features. (*Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 1, page 741)

Dr. Hugh Nibley, of the Brigham Young University, has made this statement concerning Mormonism and Masonry:

> Among the first to engage in the Latter-day Temple work were many members of the Masons, a society that "is not, and does not profess to be, a religion," but whose rites present **unmistakable parallels to those of the Temple**. Yet, like the Indians, those men experienced only an expansion of understanding. (*What Is a Temple*, Brigham Young University Press, 1968, page 247)

In footnote 71 on page 248 of the same work, Dr. Nibley stated:

> Pending the exhaustive study that the subject deserves, we will only say here, that an extensive reading of Masonic and Mormon teachings and history should make it clear to any reader that the former is the shadow, the latter the substance. The one is literal, the other allegorical.

Since many members of the Mormon Church were Masons and were familiar with its ritual, Joseph Smith must have realized that he might be accused of stealing the ceremonies from Masonry. In what was apparently a move to offset this criticism, Joseph Smith claimed that Masonry once had the true endowment and that it had become corrupted through the passage of time. E. Cecil McGavin gives us this information:

> In the diary of Benjamin F. Johnson, an intimate friend and associate of Joseph Smith, it is recorded that "Joseph told me that Freemasonry was the **apostate endowment**, as sectarian religion was the apostate religion." Elder Heber C. Kimball, who had been a Mason for many years, related that after Joseph Smith became a Mason, he explained to his brethren that **Masonry had been taken from the priesthood.** (*Mormonism and Masonry*, page 199)

The last part of McGavin's information may have come from Heber C. Kimball's daughter, for she stated that "The Prophet Joseph after becoming a Mason said that Masonry had been taken from the Priesthood" (*Woman's Exponent*, vol. 12, page 126, as quoted in *Mormonism and Masonry*, by E. Cecil McGavin, page 99).

In trying to explain why their temple ritual resembles that of the Masons, some Mormons claim that the endowment was given in Solomon's Temple and that the Masons preserved part of the ceremony. The Mormon Apostle Melvin J. Ballard has been quoted as saying the following:

> "Modern Masonry is a fragmentary presentation of the ancient order established by King Solomon, From whom it is said to have been handed down through the centuries.
>
> "Frequent assertion that some details of the Mormon Temple ordinances resemble Masonic rites, led him to refer to this subject," the speaker declared, and he added, "that he was not sorry there was such a similarity, because of the fact that the ordinances and rites revealed to Joseph Smith constituted a reintroduction upon the earth of the divine plan inaugurated in the Temple of Solomon in ancient days.". . .
>
> "Masonry is an apostasy from the ancient early order, just as so-called Christianity is an apostasy from the true Church of Christ." (*Salt Lake Herald*, December 29, 1919, as quoted in *Mormonism and Masonry*, by S. H. Goodwin, pages 49-50)

The Mormon writer E. Cecil McGavin states:

> Yes, there may be some similarities in the rituals of the Mormons and the Masons, but those few likenesses in a vast realm of ritual cannot be explained by the fact that Joseph Smith attended a few meetings of the Masonic fraternity. In the light of the evidence supplied by Masonic historians, the conclusion is forced upon us that some of the features of the ritual once administered in Solomon's Temple have persisted in Masonry. . . .
>
> Since some of the Masonic ritual has descended from Solomon's time, altered and corrupted by the passing centuries, should one be surprised to find a few similarities when the Temple ritual is again established? . . .
>
> If the facts were available and the original sources extant, it would doubtless be apparent that everything in the ritual of the Mormons that the Masons say was taken from their ceremonies, dates back to Solomon's time. (*Mormonism and Masonry*, pages 192-194)

William J. Whalen has made these comments in rebuttal to E. Cecil McGavin's statements:

> McGavin accepts the most fanciful claims to antiquity put forth by such discredited Masonic historians as Mackey, Anderson and Oliver. These early Masonic writers were wont to claim Solomon, Adam, and most of the upright men of the Old Testament as early lodge brothers. Modern Masonic historians date the origin of the lodge in the early eighteenth century and recognize that these pioneer speculative Masons simply adopted the story of the building of Solomon's temple as a dramatic background for their initiations. Fred L. Pick and G. Norman Knight in their Pocket History of Freemasonry admit:
>
> > Up to the present time, no even plausible theory of the "origin" of the Freemasons has been put forward. The reason for this is probably that the Craft, as we know it, originated among the Operative Masons of Britain. No doubt it incorporated from the earliest times shreds of ritual, folk-lore and even occult elements of time-immemorial antiquity. But it is almost certainly **a British product and of British origin**.

> A few elements in modern Masonry here and there can be traced to the medieval guilds of working masons, but no one with a scholarly reputation would try to maintain that the degree system as it is worked now—and as it was worked in Nauvoo in 1842—could have possibly been derived from Solomonic rites. (*The Latter-day Saints in the Modern Day World*, New York, 1964, pages 203-204)

While some Mormon writers claim that Masonry dates back to the time of Solomon, Anthony W. Ivins, who was a member of the First Presidency of the Church, made this statement:

> As stated, the foregoing definitely proves that the origin of Freemasonry is shrouded in mystery, that the origin of the craft is based largely upon legends which are not authenticated by reliable evidence. If true, they take us back to the idolatrous worship and pagan practices of Egypt, Greece, and other semi-heathen nations of antiquity. (*The Relationship of "Mormonism" and Freemasonry*, page 15)

ONLY ONE EXPLANATION

We feel that there is only one logical explanation for the many parallels between the temple ceremony and Masonry, and that is that Joseph Smith borrowed from the Masons. The reader should remember that it was on March 16, 1842, that Joseph Smith stated: "I was with the **Masonic Lodge** and rose to the sublime degree" (*History of the Church*, vol. 4, page 552). Less than two months later (May 4, 1842), Joseph Smith introduced the temple endowment ceremony. According to his own statement, it was in the **same room** "where the Masonic fraternity meet occasionally":

> Wednesday, 4.—I spent the day in the upper part of the store, that is in my private office (so called because in that room I keep my sacred writings, translate ancient records, and receive revelations) and in my general business office, or lodge room (that is where the **Masonic** fraternity meet occasionally, for want of a better place) in council with General James Adams, of Springfield, Patriarch Hyrum Smith, Bishops Newel K. Whitney and George Miller, and President Brigham Young and Elders Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards, instructing them in the principles and order of the Priesthood, attending to **washings, anointings, endowments** and the communication **of keys**, pertaining to the Aaronic Priesthood, and so on to the highest order of the Melchisedek Priesthood, . . . (*History of the Church*, vol. 5, pages 1-2)

The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts stated:

> A photogravure of the "brick store" in the upper story of which were instituted these sacred ceremonies accompanies this chapter. In addition to its use as a "temple" it was also the place of meeting for the Nauvoo Lodge of **Free Masons**. (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 2, pages 135-136)

One woman who was questioned concerning the temple ceremony gave this testimony:

> A.—. . . I said I received endowments in Nauvoo, **in the Masonic Hall**, I rather think it was. Yes, sir, I think that was where it was. All the ceremony was performed in the **Masonic Hall. The washing was done in the Masonic Hall, and the anointing with oil.**
>
> Q.—What furniture was in the Masonic Hall at the time the endowment ceremony was performed?
>
> A.—Well, now, if you are expecting me to tell you all about the particulars of what was there in the way of furniture and what was done there, you must not expect me to do it any more than you would expect a Mason or an Odd Fellow or any other member of a **secret society to reveal the secrets of their order**; . . . (*Temple Lot Case*, pages 353-354)

Wilford Woodruff, the fourth President of the Mormon Church, testified:

> I do not say there were any washings in the Masonic Temple, but there were meetings held in the **Masonic Temple. There were certain ordinances performed there at the start, because there was no temple built at that time.** (*Temple Lot Case*, page 299)

With this very close connection between Mormonism and Masonry, it is almost impossible to believe that Joseph Smith did not borrow from Masonry in establishing the temple ceremony. E. Cecil McGavin, however, argues that Joseph Smith did not take an active part in Masonry, and therefore he could not have used Masonry to build up the temple ritual:

> Whenever Joseph Smith spoke to his brethren about this subject, he was talking to members of the Masonic fraternity, hundreds of whom were active workers in the lodge, yet he never attended more than six meetings of the lodge after receiving the third degree of Masonry on March 16, 1842. He never took an active part in the fraternity and never received a higher degree than that conferred upon him by Grand Master Jonas at the time the Nauvoo lodge was installed.
>
> It is sheer presumption to maintain that the signs, tokens, keys, and blessings of the Temple ritual, that he frequently spoke about, were to be taken from Masonry. (*Mormonism and Masonry*, page 135)

We feel that Joseph Smith probably had some knowledge of Masonry long before he joined the fraternity. Many of his close associates were Masons. The Mormon Apostle Heber C. Kimball was one of Joseph Smith's best friends. According to his daughter, Helen Mar Kimball, he joined the Masons in 1823:

> It was in 1823 when he received the three first degrees of Masonry in the lodge at Victor Flats, Ontario Co., New York, and in 1824, previous to receiving all of the rights up to the Royal Arch Masons, the Morgan affair broke out and the Masonic Hall in Canandaigua was burned by anti-Masons, and all their records consumed. . . . "Not as many as three of us," father says, "could meet together, unless in secret, without being mobbed. I have been driven from my houses and possessions with many of my brethren belonging to that fraternity five times, by mobs led by some of their leading men . . . I have been as true as an angel from the heavens to the covenants I made in the lodge at Victor. . . . I wish that all men were Masons and would live up to their profession, then the world would be in a much better state than it is now." (*Woman's Exponent*, XII, 126, as quoted in *Mormonism and Masonry*, by E. Cecil McGavin, page 99)

Hyrum Smith, Joseph's brother, was also a member of the Masonic fraternity. Theodore Schroeder stated:

> At the time of writing the Book of Mormon, Hyrum Smith a brother and co-conspirator of Joseph Smith was already a mason, as also were Heber Kimball and others of the neighborhood who became leading Mormons. (*Authorship of the Book of Mormon*, reprinted from the *American Journal of Psychology*, vol. 30, January, 1919, pages 66-72)

The Mormon writer Pearson H. Corbett confirms the fact that Hyrum Smith was a Mason in New York:

> Hyrum Smith received his first three degrees of Masonry in Ontario County, N.Y. (*Hyrum Smith—Patriarch*, Salt Lake City, 1963, page 269)

Joseph Smith could have learned about Masonry from either his brother or Heber C. Kimball. The Mormon publisher W. W. Phelps was another man who could have taught Joseph Smith a great deal about Masonry. According to Goodwin, Phelps was "a renouncing Mason of the anti-Masonic period and for a time, at least, a bitter foe of the Fraternity" (*Mormonism and Masonry*, page 14).

Joseph Smith probably became well informed concerning Masonry through the newspapers published in his area. The *Wayne Sentinel* contained a great deal about Masonry, and the *Palmyra Freeman* was regarded as an anti-Masonic newspaper. William J. Whalen made this interesting observation:

> No doubt young Joe Smith witnessed the presentation of burlesque Masonic ceremonies at anti-Masonic rallies near his home. If he did not enjoy such spectacles or hear exposés of Masonic initiations, he would have been one of the few people in that part of New York State to have escaped the pervasive influence of the anti-Masonic movement. (*The Latter-day Saints in the Modern Day World*, pages 195-196)

S. H. Goodwin stated:

> . . . he lived in the very heart of the region affected by the anti-Masonic excitement, 1826-1830; he was familiar with exposés widely distributed at that time; undoubtedly he, with his neighbors, had often seen "renouncing Masons" present at great public gatherings what was alleged to be all of the Masonic degrees; beyond question, he frequently attended mass meetings where the speakers vied with each other in depicting the blackness of the Masonic institution, and rehearsing portions of the work, and also, beyond doubt, he joined others in discussing the one topic of community gossip and interest. (*Mormonism and Masonry*, page 38)

On page 51 of the same book, we find this statement:

> The 1writer . . . holds that in "Additional Studies in Mormonism and Masonry" are indicated the circumstances under which Joseph Smith—in common with thousands of other profanes—acquired a knowledge of what purported to be the Masonic ritual, as it was repeatedly exemplified in public gatherings by renouncing Masons during the Anti-Masonic furore, beginning in 1826—a year before the prophet is alleged to have received the "golden plates." And be it remembered, **Joseph Smith lived within a few miles of the center of that excitement**. And further, there were exposés and innumerable pamphlets and other hinted matter dealing with this subject that were widely distributed in New York and adjoining states.

The reader will remember that William Morgan's exposé of Masonry was published in Batavia, New York, in 1827. Joseph Smith could have learned a great deal about the Masonic ritual from this book. We know that Heber C. Kimball had a copy of it, for his own daughter stated: "I remember once, when but a young girl, of getting a glimpse of the outside of the Morgan's book exposing Masonry, but which my father always kept locked up" (*Woman's Exponent*, XII, 126, as quoted in *Mormonism and Masonry*, by E. Cecil McGavin, page 99).

It is interesting to note that Morgan's widow became a member of the Mormon Church and lived in Nauvoo. Heber C. Kimball's daughter stated: "In Nauvoo I was acquainted with the widow and daughter of Morgan who exposed Masonry." Fawn Brodie states:

> The most famous woman in the church was William Morgan's widow, Lucinda, now married to George W. Harris, one of Joseph's key men, and incidentally a Mason of high rank. (*No Man Knows My History*, page 301)

Strange as it may seem, Morgan's widow later became one of Joseph Smith's wives. Andrew Jenson, who was the Assistant LDS Church Historian, stated that she was "one of the first women sealed to the Prophet Joseph" (*Historical Record*, vol. VI, page 233).

EMBARRASSING QUESTIONS

The Mormon leaders find themselves faced with several embarrassing questions regarding the temple ritual and Masonry. Many members of the Church wonder how they can believe in a secret temple ritual, when the Book of Mormon condemns all secret societies, bands and oaths. In fact, it plainly states that "the Lord worketh **not** in secret combinations, . . ." (Ether 8:19).

Then, too, there is the question of why Joseph Smith would become a Mason. Besides all of the statements in the Book of Mormon which condemn secret societies, the reader will remember that Joseph Smith joined four others in stating:

> We further, caution our brethren, against the impropriety of the organization of bands or companies, by covenants, oaths, penalties, or secresies, . . . pure friendship, always becomes weakened, the very moment you undertake to make it stronger by penal oaths and secrecy. (*Times and Seasons*, vol. 1, page 133)

Benjamin F. Johnson claims that Joseph Smith told him that "Freemasonry was the **apostate endowment**." Why would Joseph Smith join an organization that was in a state of apostasy?

The Mormon leaders now claim that it is not right for members of the Church to join the Masons or other secret societies. Anthony W. Ivins, who was a member of the First Presidency, made this statement:

> The Mormon Church has no quarrel with Free Masonry or any other organization which is formed for a righteous purpose. It advises its members to refrain from identifying themselves with any secret, oath-bound society. . . . It is difficult to serve two masters and do justice to both. (*The Relationship of "Mormonism" and Freemasonry*, page 8)

Joseph F. Smith, who became the sixth President of the Mormon Church, made this statement in 1900:

> We have passed a resolution that men who are identified with these secret organizations shall **not** be preferred as bishops, or sought for as counselors; the same when it comes to selecting M. I. A. officers. The men who have done this have disqualified themselves and are **not fit** to hold these offices. (*Provo Enquirer*, November 12, 1900, as quoted in *Mormonism and Masonry*, by S. H. Goodwin, page 76)

The Mormon Apostle John A. Widtsoe stated:

> The activities of the Church, in all departments, are **sacred**, not **secret**.
>
> This point of view makes it difficult for Latter-day Saints to look with favor upon secret, oath-bound societies. The words of the Prophet Joseph Smith are sufficient answer to the question: (Note especially the last sentence.)
>
> > And again, I would further suggest the impropriety of the organization of bands or companies, by covenant or oaths, by penalties or secresies; . . . Pure friendship always becomes weakened that very moment you undertake to make it stronger by penal oaths and secrecy (*Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, page 146).
>
> Many secret organizations may be actuated by high ideals. None, however, can transcend the ideals of the gospel of Jesus Christ. Therefore, from the point of view of encouraging people to walk uprightly they would seem unnecessary. . . . Sometimes they cause loss of interest in Church duties, for no one can serve two masters with equal interest. . . . Divided allegiance is always unsatisfactory and often dangerous. (*Evidences and Reconciliations*, pages 213-214)

It is interesting to note that the same Apostle who made these statements against secret societies had to turn right around and write a chapter entitled, "Why Did Joseph Smith Become a Mason?" He claimed that Joseph Smith joined the Masons to win friends among "the prominent and influential men of the state" so that the Church would not be persecuted, but he had to admit that "The attempt to win sufficient friends through Masonry to stop persecution failed" (*Evidences and Reconciliations*, vol. 3, pages 114-117).

The reader will note that the Apostle Widtsoe has cited Joseph Smith's words about "the impropriety of the organization of bands or companies, by covenant or oaths, by penalties or secresies" to use against secret societies. We feel that these same words could be used against the temple ceremony. The Apostle Widtsoe, however, maintains that "the temple endowment is **not** secret. All who meet the requirements for entrance to the temple may enjoy it" (*Evidences and Reconciliations*, vol. 3, page 24). The Apostle Widtsoe's reasoning with regard to this matter is very poor. All secret societies allow their own members to participate in their ritual. The Mormon temple ceremony is kept secret from outsiders, and, after all, isn't this what makes a secret society? Furthermore, members of the Mormon Church who have Negro blood are not allowed to take their endowments, even though they can meet all of the other requirements for entrance into the temple. Many members of the Church maintain that the temple ceremonies are sacred and not secret. The Mormons, of course, have a right to believe that their ceremonies are sacred, but this does not excuse the fact that they are secret. They are just as secret as the ceremonies of any other secret society. We once heard a guide on Temple Square tell the people that the reason they couldn't go into the temple was that soon everyone would want to go in, and they would not be able to perform their ceremonies with such a crowd

coming and going through the temple. This seemed to satisfy the people, but it was far from the truth. If the guide had been telling the truth, the Church would be willing to make films of the temple ceremonies so that the people could see them without disturbing the work. They could not do this, of course, for the very nature of the ritual would prohibit such a production. In one part of the ceremony we read (see page 129 of this volume);

> . . . we desire to impress upon your minds the sacred character of the First Token of the Aaronic Priesthood, with its accompanying name, sign and penalty, together with that of all the other Tokens of the Holy Priesthood, . . . They are most sacred and are guarded by solemn covenants and obligations **of secrecy** to the effect that under no condition, even at the peril of your life, will you ever divulge them, except at a certain place that will be shown you hereafter. The representation of the penalties indicates different ways in which life may be taken.

From this it is obvious that the temple ritual is a secret, and John A. Widtsoe's statement that "the temple endowment is not secret" is completely false.

CONCLUSION

Briefly summarized, the connection between Mormonism and Masonry is as follows:

1. Both Mormonism and Masonry have secret ceremonies that are performed in secret temples.
2. The "Masonic emblems" are displayed on the walls of the Mormon temple.
3. The Mormon temple ritual is similar in many respects to that used by the Masons.
4. Joseph Smith and many of the most prominent members of the Mormon Church were also members of the Masonic Lodge.
5. Temple ceremonies were actually performed in the Masonic Hall.

APPENDIX

PUBLISHED ACCOUNTS OF THE TEMPLE CEREMONIES
By Wesley P. Walters

PERSONAL ACCOUNTS

Bennett, John C.
The History of the Saints; or an exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism. Boston: Leland &Whiting, 1842. IHi
pp. 189-191 Nauvoo Temple and its use
pp. 217-225 Female organizations and spiritual wife ceremony
pp. 265-278 Male organizations, Order Lodge and ceremony

"Ceremony of the Endowment" in the *Warsaw Signal* (February 18, 1846) ii, No. 48, (p. 2). NN

"Mormon Endowments" in the *Warsaw Signal* (April 15, 1846) iii, No. 3 (p. 2). NN
Signed "Emeline" and corrects statements in preceding item.

Van Dusen, Increase McGee, and Maria.
Positively True. A Dialogue between Adam and Eve, the Lord and the Devil, called The Endowment: As was acted by twelve or fifteen thousand, in Secret, in the Nauvoo Temple. Albany: Printed by C. Killmer, 1847. 24 p. CtY
Believed to be the first edition.
2nd ed. has same title page, but original wrappers read: *Second Edition: The Sublime and Ridiculous Blended. A Dialogue between Adam and Eve* . . . NN
Other editions with some modifications entitled *The Sublime and Ridiculous Blended*. 1848. NN
Startling Disclosures of the Great Mormon Conspiracy, 1849. NN
Startling Disclosures of the Wonderful Ceremonies . . . , 1852. CtY
Startling Disclosures of the Mormon Spiritual Wife System, 1864. CtY
Spiritual Delusions, being a key to the Mysteries of Mormonism, 1854. NN

Also published as: "The Hidden Orgies of Mormonism Practiced in Nauvoo and its Temple" in: John Thomas, *Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Dispersion of the Mormons*. London: Arthur Hall and Co., 1849? pp. 11-24. IHi
John Bowes, *Mormonism Exposed*. London, E. Ward, 1850? pp. 17-22. IHi

Lewis, Catherine.
Narrative of Some of the Proceedings of the Mormons . . . with . . . description of the mode of Endowment. Lynn, Mass.: Published by the Author, 1848. pp. 7-11, 15, 19, 24. NN

An Authentic History of Remarkable Persons, including a full exposure of . . . Joe Smith and of the seven degrees of the Mormon Temple. . . . New York: Wilson & Co. Brother Jonathan Press, 1849. pp. 8-17. IHi
Purports to be an account of a seceding Mormon named Thomas White, as "was placed before the circuit judges in Illinois."

Hyde, John.
Mormonism, Its Leaders and Designs. New York: W. P. Fetridge & Co., 1857. pp. 83-101, 108-109. NN

(Cook, William).
The Mormons. The Dream and the Reality. Leaves from the Sketch Book of Experience of one who left England to join the Mormons. London: Joseph Masters, 1857. pp. 37-42. CtY
Second edition, identical and entitled:
The "Fowler's Snare." London: Joseph Masters, 1858. NN

Green, Nelson Winch.
Fifteen Years Among the Mormons; being the narrative of Mrs. Mary Ettie V. Smith. New York: C. Scribner. 1858. pp. 41-51. IHi
Same in later editions and in editions entitled:
Mormonism: Its Rise, Progress, and Present Condition. Hartford: Belknap and Bliss, 1870. MoSHi
Fifteen Years' Residence with the Mormons. Chicago: Phoenix Publishing Co., 1876. NN

Stenhouse, Mrs. T.B.H.
Tell It All. Hartford: A. D. Worthington & Co., 1874. pp. 352-369. CtY
Published in slightly shorter form as:
An English Woman in Utah. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1880. pp. 189-201. MoSHi
The Tyranny of Mormonism, *or An English Woman in Utah*. London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1888. pp. 189-201. IHi
The latter is reprinted in:
Ruth and Reginald Wright Kauffman. *The Latter-day Saints*. London: Williams & Norgate, 1912. pp. 151-169. MoS

Edward W. Tullidge. *Tullidge's Histories*. Vol. 2, containing the history of all the northern, eastern, and western counties of Utah. Salt Lake City: From the Press of the Juvenile Instructor. 1889. pp. 425-450, reviews the exposé of Hyde and Mrs. Stenhouse and objects not to their accuracy, but to their attitude. MoSHI

Young, Ann Eliza (Webb).
Wife No. 19 . . . Brigham Young's apostate wife. Hartford: Dustin, Gilman & Co., 1875. pp. 349-372, 386-389. MoSHi

"Lifting the Vail.—The Endowment House Mysteries Fully Exposed" in the *(Salt Lake) Daily Tribune*. Sept. 28, 1879, (p. 4). Copy in *Tribune* files.
A letter dated Nephi Sept. 24, 1879 and Signed Mrs. G.S.R. Reprinted as: "Mysteries of the Endowment House" as tract 8 p. n.d. (188-?) CtY and by same title in:
A Few Choice Examples of Mormon Practice and Sermons, n.p.n.d. (1886?) IHi
(John M. Coyner), ed.) *Hand-Book on Mormonism*. Salt Lake City: Hand-Book Publishing Co., 1882. pp. 23-30, where the author of the letter is given as Miss Carrie Owens. DLC
R. N. Baskin, *Reminiscences of Early Utah.* (Salt Lake City): R. N. Baskin. 1914. pp. 98-99. Also gives Miss Owens as the author along with a brief excerpt.
Reprinted in:
John W. Clampitt. *Echoes from the Rocky Mountains*. Chicago: Belford, Clarke & Co., 1889. pp. 325-336 where the author is given as Mrs. G. S. Richards. MoSHi
Orson Whitney. *History of Utah*. Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, Co., 1892. Vol. 2, p. 382 complains because in the *Tribune* the rites of Mormon Temples are "revealed by apostates."

Bundy, L. A.
Mormonism Exposed, A faithful exposé of the secrets . . . of the Mormon Country, by one who possessed the sixteenth part of a husband. n.p. Ornam & Co., Publishers, n.d. (187- ?). pp. 9-11, 55-56. CtY

(Fox, Richard K., ed.)
The Mysteries of Mormonism. A full exposure of its secret practices and hidden crimes. By an apostle's wife. Franklin Square, N.Y.: Richard K. Fox, Proprietor Police Gazette, c.1882. IHi

Jarman, W.
U.S.A., Uncle Sam's Abscess; or, Hell Upon Earth for U. S., Uncle Sam. Exeter, Eng.: Printed at H. Leduc's Steam Printing Works, 1884. pp. 67-92. CtY

Bostwick, Dr. F. E.
As I Found It. Life and Experiences in Utah among the Mormons . . . Endowment Secrets. . . . St. Louis: (Printed at the Office of D. D. Ray & Co.), (1893– p. 8). pp. 72-84. CtY

(McMillan, Henry G., ed.)
The Inside of Mormonism. A judicial examination of the endowment oaths administered in all the Mormon temples, by the United States District Court for the Third Judicial District of Utah. Salt Lake City: Published by the Utah Americans. 1903. pp. 9-53 passim.
Reproduces portions of the 1,000-page stenographic court record made by Frank E. McGurrin in the trial to determine whether the temple oaths rendered Mormon emigrants unfit for U. S. citizenship. MdB
Excerpts from these testimonies reprinted in: Ruth and Reginald Wright Kauffman. *The Latter-day Saints*. London: William & Norgate, 1912. pp. 313-326.

"The Mormon Endowment Ceremony" by a former Mormon in *The World Today* (Feb. 1905) viii, pp. 165-170. MoS

"Mysteries of the Endowment House" and "Endowment Oaths and Ceremonies" in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 12,1906. pp. 2-4. DLC
The first article had appeared as "Lifting the Vail" in the Sept. 28, 1879, *Tribune*. The second is an interview with former BYU professor, Mr. Wolfe, who had been testifying before the U. S. Senate in regard to seating Reed Smoot. Reprinted in pamphlet form as:
Mysteries of the Endowment House and Oath of Vengeance of the Mormon Church. Salt Lake Tribune, 1906. 16 p. CoDU
This pamphlet reprinted in:
Gertrude Keene Major. *The Revelation in the Mountain*. N.Y.: Cochrane Publishing Co., 1909. pp. 120-160. UU
Elder J. D. Stead. *Doctrines and Dogmas of of Brighamism Exposed*. n.p.: Published by the Board of Publication of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1911. pp. 107-132. MoIR

U.S. Congress. (59th Cong. 1st Sess.)
Proceedings Before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate in the matter . . . of Reed Smoot. Senate Document No. 486. 4 vols. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906. ii, pp. 76-79, 182-183. MoS
Centers mainly on the nature of the secret oath taken in the temple. Kauffman, *The Latter-day Saints* reproduces a short portion of J. H. Wallis' testimony, but from the report of it in the *Philadelphia Ledger*, Dec. 14, 1904.

Freece, Hans P.
The Letters of an Apostate Mormon to His Son. New York: The Wolfer Press, 1908. p. 58 has only a brief statement. NN

Marshall, Thomas Philip.
Mormonism Exposed . . . with the secret workings, washings, anointings and ceremonies performed in their temples. . . . St. Louis: Penath-Bruewer Printing Co., c.1908. pp. 43-66. MH

"The Hidden Secrets of the Mormon Church"—an Apostate describes the Inner Ceremonies, in *The Standard* (May 13, 1911) lviii, No. 37. Chicago, Ill. pp. 12-13. ICHi
Reprinted as tract in:
John D. Nutting. *The Secret Oaths and Ceremonies of Mormonism*. (Cleveland: Utah Gospel Mission) n.d. pp. 4-14.

Latimer, A. C.
Why I Left the Mormon Church. (Springfield, Mo.?): n.p., n.d. (c. 1925?). pp. 16-27. PPiR
A shorter version appeared by same title published in Pittsburgh by The National Reform Association, n.d. pp. 6-11. US1C

Danielsen, Vernon J.
Mormonism Exposed, or the Crimes and Treasons of the Mormon Kingdom by Vernon J. Danielsen, Ex-High Priest. . . . Independence, Mo.: n.p., 1917. pp. 27-28, 30-50. US1C
Reprinted as:
Mormonism Exposed, or Crimes and Treason of the Mormon Church. Independence, Mo.: n.p., 1933. pp. 30, 32-52. MoIR

Allen, Emily
"The Mormon Money Monster" in *Confidential* (Feb. 1969) xvii, no. 2. pp. 31-37.

COMPOSITE ACCOUNTS

Waite, Mrs. Catherine V.
The Mormon Prophet and His Harem. Cambridge: Printed at the Riverside Press, 1866. pp. 244-260. MoSM

Beadle, J. H.
Life in Utah; or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism. Philadelphia: National Publishing Co., (1870). pp. 486-502. IHi
The same material in slightly enlarged form in his:
Polygamy: or the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism. Philadelphia: The National Publishing Co., 1882. pp. 393-415 in this and subsequent editions. ICarbS

Wyl, W.
Mormon Portraits. Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1886. pp. 267-272 ceremonies are discussed. MoSM

Linn, William.
The Story of the Mormons. New York: The MacMillan Co., 1923. p. 355 a brief reference from the suit of Charlotte Arthur against the estate of Brigham Young. MoS

Martin, Stuart
The Mystery of Mormonism. London: Odhams Press Ltd. (1920). 1966. pp. 244-265. UU

Goodwin, S.H.
Mormonism and Masonry. Washington, D. C.: The Masonic Service Association of the United States, (1924). pp. 50-59. MoS
A 1961 printing of the 1938 ed. printed at Salt Lake City: Published by the Grand Lodge, AF & AM of Utah, has the same material on pp. 43-48.

(Paden, Dr. W. M.)
Temple Mormonism. Its Evolution, Ritual and Meaning. New York: Published by A. J. Montgomery, 1931, pp. 14-23. USlWest
The Modern Microfilm Company published a photomechanical reprint of this work.

Harrison, G. T.
Mormonism Now and Then. n. p., (1961) pp. 232-234.
Contains a brief reference to changes in the ceremonies and especially in the temple garments.

Whalen, William J.
The Latter-day Saints in the Modern Day World. New York: The John Day Co., 1964. pp. 158-194.
An exposé by a Roman Catholic writer based on interviews with former Mormons who joined the Catholic Church.

Smith, John L.
I Visited the Temple. Clearfield, Utah: Printed and Distributed by the Utah Evangel Press, 1966.
pp. 35-65 gives a composite ceremony put together by the "Delta Research Association" from the accounts by Beadle, Clampitt and Danielsen. This is supplemented by material gathered by Mr. Smith's interviews of recent converts from Mormonism. some of the interview material is available on tape from Mr. Smith.

INTERIOR PHOTOGRAPHS OF TEMPLES

Talmage, James E.
The House of the Lord. Published by the Church. Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1912. pp. 256-(317).
Reprinted: Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1962. pp. 256-(317).
Reissued: Salt Lake City: Published by Deseret Book Co., 1968 with 12 interior color plates following p. 120. Talmage's book help[ed] off-set the sensation of Max Florence who secretly obtained photographs of the temple interior and sought to make a profit from displaying them (*N.Y. Times*, Sept. 21 and 22, 1911).

McAllister, D.A.
A Description of the Great Temple. Salt Lake City: Published by the Bureau of Information, 1934 (11th ed.).

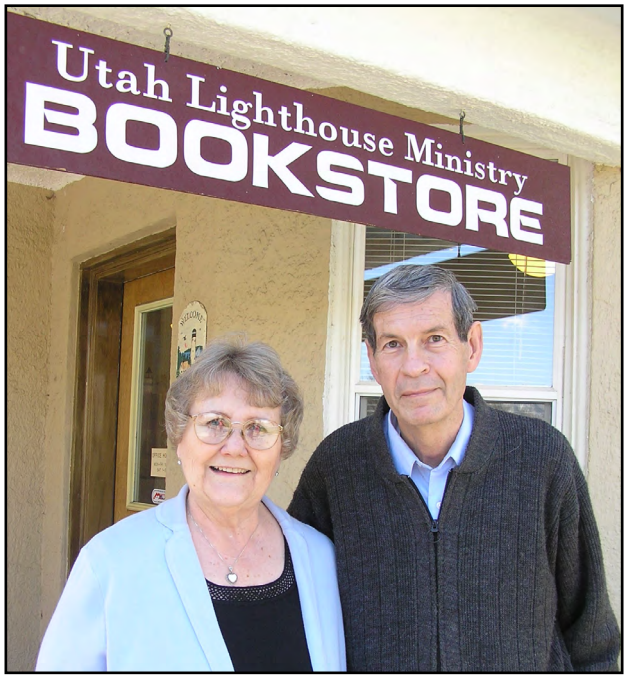
The Improvement Era
(Apr. 1937) xl, No. 4 pp. 233-238; (Nov. 1937) xl, No. 11 pp. 690-691; (Nov. 1955) lviii, No. 11 between pp. 824 and 825.

Mullen, Robert.
The Latter-Day Saints: The Mormons Yesterday and Today. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Plates V, VI, VII.

Temples and the Latter-day Saints. Salt Lake City: *Improvement Era*, 1967. pp. 2-4, 6-8, 61-63, 65.

SYMBOLS

CoDU –University of Denver, Denver, Colorado
CtY –Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut
DLC –Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
ICarbS –Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois
ICHi –Chicago Historical Society, Springfield, Illinois
IHi –Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Illinois
MH –Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts
MoIR –RLDS Library, Independence, Missouri
MdB –Enoch Pratt Public Library, Baltimore, Maryland
MoS –St. Louis Public Library, St. Louis, Missouri
MoSHi –Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri
MoSM –Mercantile Library, St. Louis, Missouri
NN –New York Public Library, New York, New York
PPiR –Reformed Presbyterian Seminary, Pittsburgh, Penn.
US1C –Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah
US1West–Westminster College Library, Salt Lake City, Utah
UU –University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah



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