

ECHOES AND FORESHADOWINGS: THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF THE MORMON COMMUNITY

by D. Michael Quinn

WHEN did Mormonism emerge as a distinct social phenomenon, and how did the characteristics of that development relate to the religious heritage of Mormonism? Events traditionally identified as unique—Joseph Smith's Book of Mormon, claims for new revelation and seership, and the organization of a church—established a religious rather than social identity. In June 1830 Mormonism's earliest critic, Rev. Diedrich Willers, wrote a lengthy description of Joseph Smith and his followers who called themselves The True Disciples of Christ. To Willers, Mormonism in 1830 was

an ephemeral religious monstrosity that might disrupt the thought of unstable Christians but that had no social significance.¹ Furthermore, recent scholars have pointed to Nauvoo, Illinois during the 1840s as identifying central social and religious features of Mormonism which were sufficiently radical to give precise definition to the Utah Mormonism that continued then and to the "moderate Mormonism" (Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints) that dissented from them.² By implication, it took a decade for Mormonism to define itself socially as well as religiously.

A reexamination of the question, however, leads to different conclusions. First, it was the centralized *community* experience of Latter-day Saints which first occurred at Kirtland, Ohio in the 1830s that gave a social character to the new movement. Second, it has been misleading to view Mormon "epochs" in isola-

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tion, because Kirtland not only established social patterns that were to be echoed later in Missouri, Illinois, and Utah, but Kirtland itself was an echo of Mormonism's diverse and distant religious heritage. Mormon Kirtland had two heritages, one in the past and the other in the future.

In revelations dictated by Joseph Smith in August and September of 1831, Missouri was designated as a place where the Saints "should assemble themselves together" and Kirtland was termed a "stronghold." The one of a family and two of a city who received the testimony of the Book of Mormon were expected to make a physical conversion to the community of Saints. The role of Kirtland as a spiritual refuge was intensified when the temple was completed there in 1836, amid spiritual outpourings.

Kirtland's existence as a gathered community of believers was reminiscent not only of the ancient Hebrews, but of such other groups in Mormonism's distant religious heritage as the Qumran community near the Dead Sea, the Husites of Bohemia, the Calvinists of Geneva, the Anabaptists of Muenster, and the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay. The desire to associate with persons of like religious convictions, to be free of the pollutions and persecutions of the unconverted, and to establish a community by the principles of true religion are central features of all religious communitarianism. Moreover, Kirtland's identification of a religious center and gathering place with an architectural shrine was not only in the heritage of Jerusalem, Mecca, and the Vatican, but was also introductory to the subsequent association of a religious center and structure in LDS temples at Nauvoo, Illinois, and Salt Lake City, Utah, and in the RLDS Auditorium at Independence, Missouri.

The establishment of a gathered community of Saints at Kirtland also represented Mormonism's own answer to age-old questions about religious movements. Is the religion going to emphasize primarily the individual and his religious experiences? If the answer is yes, then the religion can be defined as pietistic and any resulting religious community can be defined as a *Gesellschaft* society where diversity is dominant and

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where there is maximum freedom of the individual to express his religious conversion. On the other hand, is the religion going to emphasize primarily form, authority, cohesiveness, conformity, and obligation? If the answer is yes, then the religion can be defined as liturgical and the resulting religious community as *Gemeinschaft* society that is structured to be paternalistic and controlled.³ By these definitions, early Christianity has been considered a pietistic, *Gesellschaft*

alternative to the liturgical, *Gemeinschaft* character of Pharisaic Judaism. In like manner, the Protestant Reformation defined itself as an evangelical and pietistic alternative to the liturgical Roman Catholicism, which the Protestants charged had corrupted apostolic Christianity into a Pharisaic Christianity. Mormonism, however, has both implicitly and explicitly refused to accept an either-or identification with traditional religious and social dichotomies. During the years 1831 to 1837, Kirtland represented the effort to mix the pietistic with the liturgical, the individualistic with the authoritarian, the *Gesellschaft* with the *Gemeinschaft*.

Nevertheless, the attempted synthesis was directly influenced by an authoritarianism that was well

Kirtland is reminiscent of Hebrew, Qumran, Hussite, Calvinist, Anabaptist and Puritan communities.

established by the middle of the Kirtland experience. A hierarchy of priesthood offices and councils was presided over by a living prophet who was the only person "appointed to receive commandments and revelations in this church."⁴ A strong liturgical and *Gemeinschaft* character in Kirtland Mormonism was provided by Joseph Smith's authoritative pronouncements as well as by ecclesiastical complexity in a relatively small church population.

Still there was a countervailing emphasis on the pietistic and *Gesellschaft*. Central to this was the view that it was not enough to bow to priesthood authority by receiving baptism, confirmation, and other ordinances: one must also experience the inward revelation and testimony of the Holy Ghost. Those at Kirtland who experienced only Mormonism's authoritarianism without its individualistic spirituality were left feeling empty and guilty, as was the case with Lorenzo Snow:

*Some two or three weeks after I was baptized, one day while engaged in my studies, I began to reflect upon the fact that I had not obtained a knowledge of the truth of the work—that I had not realized the fulfillment of the promise "he that doeth my will shall know of the doctrine," and I began to feel very uneasy . . . under the oppressive influence of a gloomy disconsolate spirit . . .*⁵

Once he had the experience of spiritual conversion, Lorenzo Snow felt a unity with the Latter-day Saints that had not resulted from mere conformity to authority and outward ordinances.

An extension of the emphasis upon individual conversion was the manifestation of the gifts of the spirit. In one of the earliest diaries of the Kirtland period, Jared Carter recorded that in June 1831, "there was one of our Sisters healed from blindness by his [Joseph Smith's] instrumentality," and throughout subsequent Mormon history many incidents of healing have been recorded. It was at Kirtland, moreover, that

glossolalia, or the speaking in tongues, first appeared within Mormonism. Although Brigham Young has been credited as the first person in the Church to manifest this gift on November 8, 1832, by November 14 Zebedee Coltrin recorded in his diary that Joseph Smith was both speaking in tongues and singing in tongues. And it is significant that for the followers of Joseph Smith down to the present, the ultimate standard with which all spiritual outpourings are compared is not ancient Pentecost, but rather the experiences associated with the dedication of the Kirtland Temple in 1836.⁶

Throughout history, however, persons who have manifested an independent relationship with Deity have often found themselves at odds with Gemeinschaft society. Jeremiah, Lehi, Daniel, Socrates, Jesus, Joan of Arc and Anne Hutchinson suffered as a consequence of the conflict between their independent spirituality and the authoritarian societies in which they lived. The most significant manifestations of this tension at Kirtland were instances where personal revelation was perceived by the individual himself or by the Church hierarchy as a challenge to ecclesiastical authority. The most notable example was James Collins Brewster who at the age of eleven was temporarily disfellowshipped from the Church on November 20, 1837, because of his revelations.⁷ The fear of schism and apostasy has caused some Latter-day Saints (in ways not dissimilar to Pharisaic, Inquisitorial, and Puritan antecedents) to distrust independent spirituality and to favor strict obedience to ecclesiastical authority.

Although Kirtland Mormonism was decidedly authoritarian and Gemeinschaft, the message of Kirtland was that without independent spirituality on the part of each Latter-day Saint, priesthood authority would become priestcraft; and without the stabilizing influence of priesthood authority, independent spirituality would become centrifugal and lead to spiritual anarchy. The synthesis was best represented in 1835 when the First Presidency published the *Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of the Latter Day Saints*, which volume contained as its first part the "Lectures on Faith" which stressed the primacy of the individual's relationship with God, and as its second part the "items or principles for the regulation of the church, as taken from the revelations . . ." ⁸ However, neither the individual Mormon nor the Church itself was able to harmonize fully the discord possible in authority versus the individual, obligation versus free choice, group conformity versus diversity, obedience to priesthood requirements versus response to personal inspiration. Contrary to the view that each of these options excluded the other, Joseph Smith's teaching and ministry affirmed that there must always exist a tension between these alternatives as the Saints seek the perfect synthesis that exists in Christ.

Much, if not all, of what occurred in the Mormon community at Kirtland, Ohio during the years 1831 to 1837 can therefore be understood as a product of the dynamic Mormon relationship between the communitarian, liturgical, and Gemeinschaft on the one hand,

and the individualistic, pietistic, and Gesellschaft on the other hand. Moreover, many of the manifestations of this interplay at Kirtland were not only echoes of the past, but were also foreshadowings of developments in later Mormon history.

Mormon teachings about the Godlike potential of man have usually been identified with Nauvoo or Utah, but in an 1836 article Sidney Rigdon wrote: "The object proposed to men in embracing the scheme of heaven, is to make them perfect, and that perfection consists in putting them in possession of the powers of the Deity, by which they heir, and of course govern all things: making them equal shares in all power, in heaven and on earth."⁹ Mormon teachings on this theme at Kirtland, Nauvoo, and Utah were also reminiscent of the fourth century Athanasius who said Christ "was God, and then became man and that to make us gods," as well as the thirteenth century mystic Meister Eckhardt who once sermonized: "I am my own first cause, both of my eternal being and of my temporal being. . . . It is of the nature of this eternal birth that I *have been* eternally, that I *am* now, and shall be forever. . . . If I had not been, there would have been no god."¹⁰

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Whereas questions of man's potential derive from the individualistic focus of evangelism and piety, the emphasis in Kirtland upon vicarious responsibility for the dead was clearly a product of Mormon liturgy and Gemeinschaft. As early as 1835, Oliver Cowdery wrote in the Church periodical: "Do our fathers, who have waded through affliction and adversity . . . [have] an inheritance in those mansions? If so, can *they* without *us* be made perfect?"¹¹ For Mormons at Kirtland there seemed to be a tension between their belief in the necessity of authorized ordinances for salvation and the fact that most of the world's dead, including their own near relations, had not received those ordinances. These questions were a significant prelude to a revelation dictated by Joseph Smith on January 21, 1836:

*All who have died without a knowledge of this Gospel, who would have received it if they had been permitted to tarry, shall be heirs of the celestial kingdom of God; also all that shall die henceforth without a knowledge of it, who would have received it with all their hearts, shall be heirs of that kingdom, for I, the Lord, will judge all men according to their works, according to the desire of their hearts.*¹²

Thus, the inquiry of Cowdery in 1835 seemed to have been answered directly: deceased ancestors did have an inheritance in the heavenly mansions, and they without the Latter-day Saints could be made perfect.

Joseph Smith's 1836 revelation, however, was an unqualified affirmation of individualistic salvation which gave no role to Mormonism's authority system or to the Gemeinschaft sense of community responsibility in spiritual matters that was already ingrained in the Mormons by 1836. Concern about this lack of Church participation in the salvation of the dead may have resulted in the one vicarious priesthood ordinance performed during the Kirtland era: proxy patriarchal blessings. John Smith's 1836 diary indicates that Patriarch Joseph Smith Sr. was giving blessings that were described: "Josiah Gilman for his Father, Asaph Carpenter for his father, Salley Gray for her Father, John S. Peavy & wife in the name of His Father." Although the Patriarch may have been acting as proxy for the father in giving the blessing to the deceased or non-LDS parent's children, the example of Sally Gray cited above suggests that in some cases the recipient of such blessings at Kirtland may have been regarded as proxies for those not alive to receive the blessing. She had received her own patriarchal blessing on June 25, 1836, a copy of which was maintained in the Patriarch's books for the records of the Church, yet the blessing which John Smith records she received on September 7, 1836, "for her Father," was not included in the permanent file of church blessings, suggested that it was intended to have vicarious, otherworldly significance only.¹³ Therefore, at Kirtland a new synthesis of salvation was implied wherein the deceased would be judged by God for actions and desires of the heart, and yet the living Latter-day Saint might also have a Gemeinschaft participation in the salvation process through the Church's priesthood ordinances. Baptism for the dead by proxy that was inaugurated at Nauvoo in the 1840s not only echoed Paul's letter to the Corinthians and the vicarious baptisms of such early Christian sects as the Marcionites and Montanists, but also was a reflection of Kirtland's sense of community responsibility toward the spiritual welfare of the dead.

Even the practice of rebaptism for remission of sins had its origins in the Kirtland period. On May 7, 1832, the journal of Jared Carter records what is perhaps the earliest case in which rebaptism was used for repentance and the renewal of covenants. David Johnson requested Carter to rebaptize him because the man who had performed the original baptism had been "cut off from the Church of Christ and it also was the case that David Johnson had lived unworthy of the communion of the Sacrament now this to us was a case as we had not before experience but we after praying to our heavenly father concluded to leave it to him he then said that he would be baptised accordingly I baptised him and the heavens bare record for the Spirit rested upon him in a powerful manner." Almost a year later, John Murdock's diary recorded that he "rebaptized Benjamin Bragg."¹⁴ Rebaptism for a variety of reasons was later practiced at Nauvoo, at Beaver Island, at Utah, and elsewhere, but it was foreshadowed at Kirtland.

The association of the communitarian and the

individualistic was perhaps best indicated in Kirtland's economy. As early as January 1831, a revelation had outlined the economic obligations of the Latter-day Saints in the parable about the father who would clothe some of his sons in robes and others in rags, concluding with the admonition: "I say unto you, be one; and if ye are not one, ye are not mine." This requirement for economic equality was reflected in the efforts to establish the Kirtland United Order and to relieve the poverty of the Mormons by the joint investment in the Kirtland Safety Society as a combination bank and brokerage.¹⁵

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Nevertheless, at the same time the Mormon society at Kirtland was seeking communal welfare, it was also promoting individual entrepreneurship and investment. The economic cross-currents resulted in the rapid increase of wealth in the hands of a few. Years later, the disgruntled William E. McLellin described the situation of those who were acquiring the wealth in Kirtland's Mormon economy:

Popularity, and drinking, feasting and hilarity was the order of the day. The Presidency and leading men got up a ride to Cleveland, some 15 couple. Fine dressing, fine carriages, fine harness and horses as the country produced were hired, and they set out. They drove into Cleveland and through the streets round and round to show Big. People inquired who is this? O its Joseph Smith—the Mormon Prophet! They put up at a first class hotel, called in the wine &c. Some of them became high, and smashed up things generally. Next morning their bill was over two hundred dollars. No matter we are Big merchant men of Kirtland.¹⁶

McLellin's memory and his bitterness undoubtedly have embellished the incident, but the acquisitive, speculative spirit that permeated Kirtland is well known: members of the Quorum of the Twelve like John Boynton acquired and lost a fortune on paper due to land speculation, and in September 1836 the entire First Presidency was induced to travel to Salem, Massachusetts, in hope of finding buried treasure, for which they were admonished by revelation: "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, for the benefit of Zion . . . and its wealth pertaining to gold and silver shall be yours."¹⁷ Just as vows of poverty coexisted with palatial wealth in the medieval clergy, so also economic communitarianism coexisted at Kirtland with enormous disparities between the wealthy and the impoverished Latter-day Saints, and that pattern was repeated at Nauvoo and at Salt Lake City.¹⁸

Although militancy has often been associated with the Mormon experiences of Far West, Nauvoo, and Utah, the resort to militancy began at Kirtland. The organization of Zion's Camp in 1834 to relieve the Mormons who had been driven from Jackson County, Missouri, is well known, but the focus of this activity in Missouri has tended to obscure the significance of Kirtland aggressiveness. In January 1834, a non-Mormon at Mentor, Ohio, indicated that Mormon saber-rattling was being directed at Ohio residents:

. . . they are now arming themselves with instruments of war such as guns sords dirks spontoons &c Smith has four or five armed men to gard him every night they say they are not going to be drove away as they ware at missory they will fights for their rights.¹⁹

Fears about Mormon aggressiveness in Kirtland were not diminished when on November 7, 1836, a petition was directed to the unpopular justice of the peace determining that he depart Kirtland and the county itself with all possible speed and secrecy, never to return again. Among the seventy men who signed this ultimatum were such General Authorities and other leaders as Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, Frederick G. Williams, Brigham Young, William Smith, Parley P. Pratt, John Smith, Joseph Young, Leonard Rich, Don C. Smith, Samuel H. Smith, George A. Smith, Vinson Knight, Warren Cowdery, Jared Carter, and Ebenezer Robinson.²⁰

In the wake of Kirtland's militancy can be found Sidney Rigdon's Salt Sermon at Far West, the ultimatum issued at the same place against Mormon dissenters, as well as in the Danites, the Nauvoo Legion, the Nauvoo Whittling and Whistling Brigade, the Utah War and Mountain Meadows. And yet Kirtland was also heir to the "eschatological revenge" of the sixteenth century Anabaptists who believed that since the Second Coming of Christ was at hand, His servants on earth could begin to wreak vengeance on the ungodly.²¹ Even that was an echo of the Medieval Crusades and the biblical holy wars.

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Kirtland militancy, however, was legitimized by modern revelation and not dusty precedents. In August 1833, Joseph Smith had dictated a revelation in which God said that "my people should observe to do all things whatsoever I command them," that they were justified in obeying the laws of man only insofar as those laws maintained rights and privileges belonging to all mankind, and that His saints should engage in warfare at His command.²² This revelation established the primacy of religious law over secular law for the Latter-day Saints, and the stringent admonition was that in all matters of law and warfare the Latter-day Saints were to act as a unified community

under the direction of God's prophet. The difficulty this theocratic position caused for Joseph Smith and his followers is well-known and was commented on when his widow Emma Smith Bidamon wrote to her son Joseph: "I know very well that if your Father had been a tittle acquainted with the laws of our country he might have avoided a great deal of trouble."²³

Rather than ignorance of the law, however, the trouble was caused by knowing defiance of secular laws that interfered with the religious prerogatives of the Latter-day Saints. The best examples from Kirtland of this are the Kirtland Safety Society being operated as a bank despite the refusal of the State Legislature to charter it, as well as Joseph Smith's performing civil marriages when he knew that by so doing he was defying civil authority and acting without civil authorization. Joseph Smith's justification for performing an illegal civil marriage at Kirtland was as follows:

I have done it by the authority of the holy Priesthood, and the Gentile law has no power to call me to an account for it. It is my religious priviledge, and the congress of the United States has no power to make a law that would abridge the rights of my religion: I have done as I was commanded, and I know the Kingdom of God will prevail, and that the Saints will triumph over all their adversaries.²⁴

Mormon teachings and practices concerning monogamous marriage at Kirtland also set the stage for greater departures from the marriage norms of nineteenth century America. In the Church periodical issued in June 1835, W. W. Phelps stated that the Latter-day Saints "shall by and by learn" that men and women lived with God before mortal birth and were on earth to prepare for a kingdom of glory "where the man is neither without the woman, nor the woman without the man in the Lord." When Joseph Smith performed an extra-legal marriage five months later, "we received much Instruction from the Prophet concerning matrimony & what the ancient order of God was & what it must be again concerning marriage in the name of the Lord & by the authority of the priesthood."²⁵ The Mormon emphasis at Kirtland on the ancient order to biblical marriage, on the "restoration of all things," on the possibility of eternal marriage, and on the right to solemnize illegal marriages all combined to give new significance to the Mormons of the existence of polygamy in the Old Testament. The consequences were suggested in a local history of Ohio: "Rigdon was the originator of the 'spiritual wife' theory which afterward led to polygamy." Although Sidney Rigdon was the originator of very few things at Mormon Kirtland, there is evidence that Joseph Smith himself began the practice of plural marriage there.²⁶

It was Kirtland Mormonism, therefore, and no later development, that legitimized the LDS Prophet as commander-in-chief of the armies of Israel, that created the theocratic supremacy of religious over secular law with the resulting civil disobedience, that sanctioned intimidation of Zion's enemies, that created a holy but unequal alliance of communitarianism and

free enterprise, that foreshadowed the use of baptism for the dead as well as for periodic repentance, that introduced the possibilities of eternal marriage and polygamy, that viewed man as being on the path to godhood, and that yoked as oxen of differing abilities the authoritarian with the individualistic, the Gemeinschaft with the Gesellschaft. To understand what has been radical about the Latter-day Saints, what is essential about the Restoration Movement, and what individuals and groups have resisted about Mormonism, it is necessary to look at the Mormon community as both an echo of the past and a foreshadowing of what was yet to come. This should not be too disturbing for followers of the Restoration, because the central historical message of the *Book of Mormon* narrative is that religious history has tended to follow patterns. To those who ask what is the significance of those patterns, the statement of William James may be useful: "To believe that the cause of everything is to be found in its antecedents is the starting-point, the initial postulate, not the goal and consumation, of science."²⁷

NOTES

1. He wrote the sect "nennt sich Die wahren Nachfolger Christi." This was translated somewhat differently in D. Michael Quinn, "The First Months of Mormonism: A Contemporary View by Rev. Diedrich Willers," *New York History* 54 (July 1973): 317-333.
2. Robert Bruce Flanders, "Dream and Nightmare: Nauvoo Revisited," and Alma R. Blair, "Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints: Moderate Mormonism," in *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History*, edited by F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul M. Edwards (Lawrence, Kansas, 1973), esp. 145, 156, 164-65, 209-210, 221-226.
3. A more refined discussion of these concepts can be found in Ferdinand Toennies, *Community & Society (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft)*, trans. and ed. by Charles P. Loomis (East Lansing, Mich., 1957), esp. 253-259; Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*, trans. by Olive Wyon (London, 1931), esp. 2:714-719; Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven, 1972), 236, 960-961; Glenn M. Vernon, *The Sociology of Religion* (New York, 1962), 77-114; Joachim Wach, *Sociology of Religion* (Chicago, 1944), 27-205.
4. *Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of the Latter Day Saints* (Kirtland, Ohio, 1835), 181, Section 28:2 in current LDS edition and Section 27:2a in current RLDS edition. For the development of these councils, see D. Michael Quinn, "The Evolution of the Presiding Quorums of the LDS Church," *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974): 21-38.
5. Eliza R. Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City, 1884), 7-8. Another example of the sense of guilt in baptized Mormons at Kirtland about not having the "right" kind of personal confirmation comes from Harrison Burgess who sought that type of witness while on a mission in the early 1830s. See *Labors in the Vineyard* (Salt Lake City, 1884), 65-66.
6. Jared Carter 1831-1833 Journal, p. 16, June 1831, Archives Division, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as LDS Archives; B. H. Roberts, ed., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 7 vols., 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City, 1971), 1:296-297; Manuscript History of Brigham Young, November 8, 1832, LDS Archives; Zebedee Coltrin 1832-1834 Diary, November 14, 1832, LDS Archives; Carol Lynn Pearson, *Daughters of Light* (Provo, Utah, 1973), passim.
7. Roberts, *History of the Church* 2:525-526; Russell R. Rich, *Those Who Would Be Leaders (Offshoots of Mormonism)* (Provo, Utah, 1958), 30.
8. *Doctrine and Covenants* (Kirtland, 1835), "Preface."
9. *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 3 (November 1836): 407.
10. "Four Discourses of S. Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria, Against the Arians," Discourse 1, Chapter XI, Section 39, Paragraph 3, in *A Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church*, Volume 8 (Oxford, England, 1842); Meister Eckhardt, *A Modern Translation*, trans. Bernard Blakney (New York, 1941), Sermon 28, "Blessed Are the Poor," 231.

11. Letter of Oliver Cowdery to W. W. Phelps, *LDS Messenger and Advocate* 1 (July 1835): 156.
12. Roberts, *History of the Church* 2:380. This was recently added by the LDS Church to its official *Pearl of Great Price*. A reaffirmation of this view appeared in Warren A. Cowdery's editorial in *LDS Messenger and Advocate* 3 (June 1837): 523.
13. John Smith 1836-1840 Journal, list of blessings given, LDS Archives. Cf. with introduction of Sally Gray blessing, June 25, 1836, in Joseph Smith Sr. Patriarchal Blessing Book, LDS Archives.
14. Jared Carter 1831-1833 Journal, p. 66, May 7, 1832; John Murdock Diary, p. 25, March 24, 1833, LDS Archives.
15. *Doctrine and Covenants* (Kirtland), 119, Section 38:16-27 in LDS, Section 38:5d, 6a in RLDS. Max Parkin, "The Nature and Cause of Internal and External Conflict of the Mormons in Ohio Between 1830 and 1838," (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966), 200-225; Marvin S. Hill, C. Keith Rooker, and Larry T. Wimmer, "The Kirtland Economy Revisited: A Market Critique of Sectarian Economics," *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 (Summer 1977): 431-460.
16. Letter of William E. McLellan to Joseph Smith III, July 1872, in Research Library-Archives of The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, The Auditorium, Independence, Missouri, hereafter cited as RLDS Research Library.
17. *Doctrine and Covenants* (LDS), Section 111:1-2, 4; B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1930), 1:410-412.
18. D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Hierarchy, 1832-1932: An American Elite" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1976), 84-113.
19. Letter of B. F. Norris to Mark Norris, January 6, 1834, Mark Norris Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Michigan.
20. Petition of Joseph Smith Jr. to Ariel Hanson, Lake County Historical Society, Mentor, Ohio.
21. James M. Stayer, *Anabaptists and the Sword* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1972), 106-107, 109, 190, 197, 270; Stayer, "Hans Hut's Doctrine of the Sword: An Attempted Solution," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 39 (July 1965): 188. It should be noted that many of the dissenting groups of the Radical Reformation known as Anabaptists were pacifist.
22. *Doctrine and Covenants* (Kirtland), 216-218, Section 98:4-38 in LDS, Section 95:2a-6f in RLDS.
23. Letter of Emma Smith Bidamon to Joseph Smith III, October 11, 1866, p. 2, RLDS Research Library.
24. "Sketch of the Life of Newel Knight," p. 6, LDS Archives. For analysis of extra-legal and illegal activities of the Mormon leadership at Kirtland, see Parkin, "The Nature and Cause," 174-177, 213-214, 319; *LDS Messenger and Advocate* 3 (April 1837): 496; Roberts, *History of the Church* 2: 331, 376, 377; Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, N.Y., 1977), 205-217; Hill, Rooker, and Wimmer, *Kirtland Economy Revisited*, 431-440.
25. *LDS Messenger and Advocate* 1 (June 1835): 130; Newel Knight Journal, November 23, 1835, Manuscript 3, Folder 1, d 767, LDS Archives; Roberts, *History of the Church*, 2: 320.
26. William Henry Perrin, *History of Summit County With an Outline History of Ohio* (Chicago, 1881), 592. For analysis of Kirtland polygamy, see Parkin, "The Nature and Cause," 163-174; Hill, *Joseph Smith*, 188-189; Daniel Bachman, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith" (M.A. thesis, Purdue University, 1975), 54-86.
27. From "Great Men and Their Environment," in William James, *The Will to Believe and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy* (New York, 1897), 234.