

BOOKNOTES

HIDDEN CITIES: THE DISCOVERY AND LOSS OF ANCIENT NORTH AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

by Roger G. Kennedy
The Free Press, 1994
372 pages, \$24.95

HIDDEN CITIES is the most poorly proofread, worst-written, worst-organized, most verbose, stylistically dense and old-fashioned, most interesting and important book for LDS readers to come out of the secular market in years! You will be amazed, I assure you.

The message is that there is abundant, well-documented evidence that vast parts of the Mississippi Valley were inhabited for as much as 6,000 years before the coming of Europeans to the North American continent. Those inhabitants were native Americans, whatever that means. At least they certainly were not Europeans coming from the East, and they were the ancestors of those we call "Native Americans" or "Indians" today. These peoples were diverse and culturally well organized, so much so that they could produce architectural monuments on the scale of the pyramids of Egypt—and about contemporaneous with those pyramids. Those monuments are scattered from Florida to Wisconsin, with important centers in Louisiana, Tennessee, Missouri, and Ohio. Being built largely of earth, they have been thoughtlessly destroyed by farmers, developers, road-builders, and others. But hundreds were thoroughly documented before they were destroyed. And those many that remain provide ample evidence for the nature of those no longer available for study.

These people had become an agriculture-based society, concentrated mostly along rivers with major flood plains, where they produced their crops—long before corn became a staple. They had complex religious beliefs, and they numbered in the hundreds of thousands. In addition to their monuments, they also had complex fortifications. In other words, these people were millennia from being "simple bands of hunter-gatherers."

The author, Roger Kennedy, is no tyro, nor does he have any particular philosophical axe to grind. He's the current director of the National Park Service and past director of the Museum of American History at the

Smithsonian Institution, giving him tremendous access to resources and documents. His book contains scores of pages of references, many of which are not available to casual students of these matters.

One of Kennedy's main points is that our vision of wise Native American bands "lying lightly on the land" is simply not supported by the facts. There were repeated near-total collapses of the societies, for reasons not well known. Sickness played a part in that, for sure. The most deadly was the introduction of European diseases in the early 1500s, which produced the "Great Dying." Major fractions of the population—and their traditions—were lost to living memory. But this had happened before. And it appears that perhaps environmental disasters, including the exhaustion of the land's ability to support the accumulated large populations, also took place. Certainly that is well documented in the Southwest, where evidently drought took its silent toll around A.D. 1200–1300.

All of this simply raises the credibility of the Book of Mormon tales of large numbers of people and of death and destruction. The peoples documented by Kennedy were not Lamanites or Nephites or Jaredites—necessarily. But the presence of large numbers of "civilized" peoples on this continent for thousands of years certainly makes it easier to accept the Hill Cumorah's being a long way from Central America. Who really knows if the Book of Mormon's history is centered on Central or South America anyway? (Except that they never do talk about snow, do they?) But these undeniably real people got around, intermixed, waxed and waned, as did the Lamanites.

"Hidden Cities" is an important contribution to LDS understanding of the larger context for the Book of Mormon. ☞

—DONALD L. GIBBON

THE DRAGON'S TAPESTRY

by Martine Bates
Red Deer College Press, 1993
165 pages, \$8.95 U.S./\$9.95 Canada

PRISM MOON

by Martine Bates
Red Deer College Press, 1992
183 pages, \$8.95 U.S./\$9.95 Canada

ALL THE ESSENTIAL ingredients of good fantasy are present in Martine Bates's new trilogy—of which I have read the first two: *The Dragon's Tapestry* and *Prism Moon*. The third book by this Canadian Mormon author, I'm sure, will be just as well written.

Bates's lyrical and poetic style underscores her love of the expressive language of fantasy. It's no wonder she uses poetry several times to express herself more intensely than mere prose permits, which also helps convey the aura of epic tale.

The ethos, mythology, and vast cultural heritage of her characters create a believable fantasy world that invites the reader to step in and live with the characters.

As in all fantasy, the underlying theme is magic and how the characters deal with it. Magic is a part of nature, as well as a violation of nature, so its employment always has cosmic effects. Marwen, the primary character, is gifted but also careless and arrogant about the consequences of her actions. Magic simply is, and always was, and to harness it you must believe and make sacrifices. Marwen makes the sacrifices through physical duress and imprisonment, and she learns that magic is not used without cost and consequence.

I hope this is the beginning of a lengthy body of work by a gifted lyricist and thoughtful author. ☞

—ELIZABETH H. BOYER



HOW MUCH?

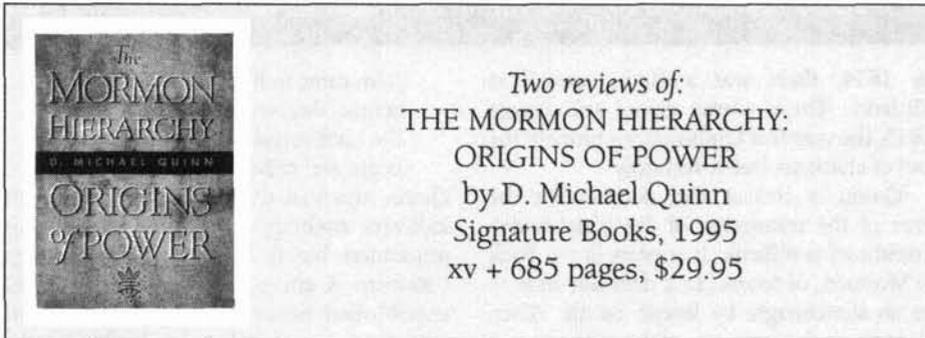
No need telling now
the love I owe you.
Its fragrance, the only assurance.

Neither the naughty summer wind
nor the eyes of an obstinate sun
can eye it.

The sky-bearing cranes
shy away from it, as your name
frolics with my uncloyed allegiance.

—NIRANJAN MOHANTY

R E V I E W S



Two reviews of:
**THE MORMON HIERARCHY:
 ORIGINS OF POWER**
 by D. Michael Quinn
 Signature Books, 1995
 xv + 685 pages, \$29.95

WHERE ARE THE GOOD GUYS?



Reviewed by Marvin Hill

BY ANY PROFESSIONAL standards among those popularly called New Mormon Historians, Michael Quinn's work has been outstanding. His studies of the succession question after Joseph Smith's death, his account of the ambiguous attitudes of certain Mormon leaders toward polygamy, and his volume on Mormonism and magic are major works, substantially influencing the thinking of a generation of Mormon historians. His new study, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, is no less important, if for no other reason than that it constitutes the only major work on the subject. With two hundred pages of footnotes covering a controversial subject, Quinn has seemingly sought to bury any criticism almost before it can be expressed.

Although I am an admirer of Quinn's productivity and his generally temperate treatment of difficult issues, my reaction to *The Mormon Hierarchy* is not so affirmative. While quibbling objections have been voiced to an error here and there in a footnote, these do not constitute in my mind any kind of significant criticism of a work based on enormous research and thousands of accurately quoted sources. Rather, it is with the organi-

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zation and conceptualization of the work that I have concern, and also with its tone. Almost from the very beginning of Mormonism, writers have taken on the Mormon hierarchy to find fault. Somewhat surprisingly, Michael Quinn has apparently joined this procession of detractors, having virtually nothing good to say about any Mormon leader from 1830 to 1846.

Some difficulty in organization seems to be the result of haste, perhaps from excessive pressure to get out another book. A lot of the material, especially regarding the lives of significant members of the hierarchy, is shoved into an appendix rather than being integrated into the story. The role these men played in the acquisition and use of power is not spelled out, their relationship with Joseph Smith in these respects being left unsaid. The volume actually focuses upon Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and those claimants to succession after the prophet's death. Thus there is a very narrow, selective treatment of the hierarchy. Quinn makes no general statement as to routes to power (although he implies some), and he says nothing about the duties and privileges acquired through its acquisition.

It seems that Quinn is too concerned with correcting traditional views of Church organization and government and does not scrutinize closely the nature of the system and how it works. *Mormon Hierarchy* could ben-

efit from an introductory chapter that characterizes Mormon theocratic values. Then something could be said about how the hierarchy expresses and employs those values. Instead, Quinn begins with a chapter on the evolution of authority, using an argument that seems tenuous—that authority in the Church was charismatic and personal in nature until 1835.

Quinn analyzes changes made in revelations during the first few years to contend for an absence of any early hierarchy. He seems to imply that Joseph Smith's alterations of scripture are devious and perhaps a means to enhance his power, although this is implied rather than clearly stated. It seems, however, that Joseph Smith might have risked a loss of credibility by changing revelations, thus threatening his power. Why he did not thereby weaken his authority is a question Quinn might have logically addressed. What, for example, did the scriptures mean to the Saints in this period? Their attitude was certainly not that of the Hebrews, who held their scriptures to be inviolable. Among the Mormons, few complaints were ever lodged. The changes were done openly and the results published so that comparisons could easily be made.

The Saints wanted a living oracle at the head, who would give them scriptures that were timely. To a considerable extent, they saw their scriptures as how-to books that would meet everyday needs. Accordingly, the prophet changed his revelations when they no longer seemed relevant to existing institutional needs. Since, by his own admission, the prophet was not omniscient, he had no choice but to alter revelations on Church government as the Church grew and administrative adjustments became mandatory.

Quinn maintains that before 1835, "claims for authority in the church were made largely on the basis of religious experience and charisma rather than priestly power through lineage and angelic ministration."¹ This is contradicted by some of the evidence he cites and some he does not. There was a very early belief among the Saints that authority was transmitted from on high and that ordination by those with authority was necessary for the ministry. Quinn slights the Book of Mormon in this regard. It is inconceivable that the elders who awaited its publication before embarking upon their missions would have ignored key passages on Church government in the new scripture. In Alma 6, the prophet ordained priests and elders by the laying on of hands. The disciples also ordained priests and teachers by the same means. (See Moro. 3.) Furthermore,

Quinn is too concerned with correcting traditional views of Church organization and government and does not scrutinize closely the nature of the system and how it works.

Jesus bestowed upon his disciples the power to baptize and give the Holy Ghost. (See 3 Ne. 12, 18.) Quinn says that in the beginning, only Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery spoke about having authority given directly from heaven. But this is contradicted by E. D. Howe, who says that in 1831, when the elders first came to Kirtland, "friends and advocates of the wonderful book [the Book of Mormon] state that Mr. Cowdery has his commission directly from heaven."² Thus it was not Cowdery alone who spoke in these terms.

Mormon Hierarchy discounts Joseph Smith's clear statement, in his first written history (1832), that his authority came via angelic visitations. Joseph said that he had received "the ministering of angels. . . [and] the reception of the holy Priesthood by the ministering of angels."³ Quinn dismisses this statement lamely by saying that it was not widely known, but Frederick G. Williams, Joseph's scribe, certainly knew about it, and there is no reason to think he would have been quiet about it.

Quinn also fails to give adequate attention to Joseph Smith's conflict with Hyrum Page, who received revelations with a stone and claimed they were for the whole church. Joseph countered with a revelation of his own, in September 1830, that said all revelations for the Church must be received through him, marking the end of charismatic authority. By 1833, Joseph Smith was designated President of the High Priesthood, and

by 1834, there was a High Council at Kirtland. These events came well before 1835, the year that Quinn claims brought the end of charisma-based authority.

Quinn is correct that determining the time of the restoration of the Melchizedek Priesthood is difficult. It appears in the Book of Mormon, of course, so it does not seem to be an afterthought by Joseph Smith. When Quinn says that accounts of the restoration of a second priesthood do not appear until 1834, he is once again discounting Joseph Smith's 1832 history, in which Smith says he received a "confirmation and reception of the high Priesthood after the holy order of the son of the living God." Quinn argues that the restoration came in the summer of 1830, and he cites in support a passage from the Doctrine and Covenants, dated August 1830, in which Peter, James, and John had already confirmed Joseph Smith to be an apostle. But Quinn shows that at this time in the Church, apostles were special witnesses, not members of the Twelve. Hence, this passage may not refer to the restoration of the Melchizedek priesthood at all.

The most clear statement regarding the restoration of the higher priesthood comes from Brigham Young, who said that in 1831 Joseph moved to Kirtland, sometime in May, and there received a revelation and ordained High Priests. When he received the Melchizedek Priesthood he had another revelation. Peter, James and

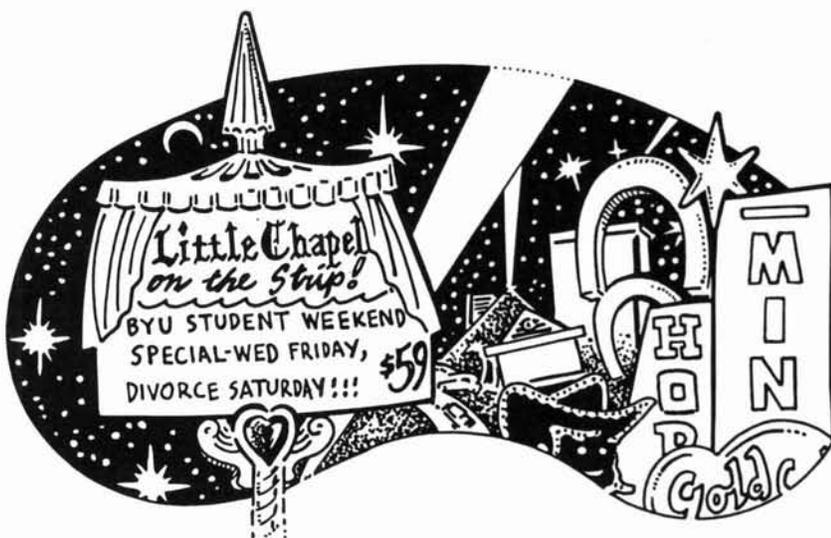
John came to him. . . . When he received this revelation in Kirtland the Lord revealed to him he should begin and ordain High Priests.

Quinn says that the history of the Church indicates nothing about the time of this restoration, but in light of Brigham Young's statement, I am not so sure. In his 1839 unpublished history, the Prophet recorded that in June of 1831 in Kirtland, "the authority of the Melchizedek [priesthood] was manifested and conferred for the first time upon the elders." Several of those who received it said this was the time of its restoration.

Quinn handles the question of Melchizedek restoration as though it were some great flaw in Church tradition. But neither Brigham Young nor others thought so. Actually, Joseph Smith functioned as prophet before the Melchizedek Priesthood's restoration, even if it did come in June of 1829. By that time, he had received the First Vision, been visited several times by Moroni, and received written revelations, as well as having translated part of the Book of Mormon. If the restoration came in the summer of 1830, then he organized the Church before its reception. If it came in 1831, he had already been named first elder and had begun governing the new church. Obviously, he did not consider that either of these acts were done without authority.

When we examine the early Church records, it does not take long to realize that things were not always done in an order that seems logical to us. They were done in a way that Joseph Smith could understand in light of his experience. We could avoid much of the trauma regarding Church history if we recognized that revelation is given to men, and that they are the weak link in the process. As the Apostle Paul said, "we see through a glass, darkly." (1 Cor. 13:12.)

I cannot understand why Quinn gives so much attention to the Danites. Does he believe that Danite membership was a main conduit to Church leadership? If it was, Brigham Young, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, Lorenzo Snow, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Oliver Cowdery, and David Whitmer, as well as Orson Pratt, Sidney Rigdon, and the brothers Luke and Lyman Johnson never belonged, but still became Church authorities. It would be more crucial to discuss how much loyalty to Joseph Smith



counted toward accession to the hierarchy. The Danites claimed strong loyalty to Joseph, but Quinn presents no evidence that it gained them anything.

I am surprised that Quinn did not spend more time talking about tribalism—familial ties to Joseph as a road to leadership. Some members of the Smith family claimed succession, of course, but what about individuals who were sealed in Nauvoo to key priesthood leaders as an avenue to Church influence? Also, Quinn might have expanded the subject's treatment if he had discussed how, under the law of consecration, certain leaders gained monopolistic control of key businesses in Kirtland and Nauvoo. More will perhaps be said about this in volume two of *The Mormon Hierarchy*, but the subject might at least have been introduced here.

Instead of clarifying aspects of Church government, Quinn seems focused at times on excessive muckraking. The book dwells too much on the dark side of Mormon history, such as the occasions of whistling and whittling, or the smearing of dissenters with excrement to drive them from Nauvoo. The ethics of the kingdom were nationalistic in nature, and at times when the kingdom was imperiled and individual lives, too, were threatened, anything seemed justifiable. But are we to conclude that secret plotting and violence were really the essential means by which Church leaders kept their power?

Quinn seems to suggest that Brigham Young secured his access to the presidency only by chicanery, bribery, and political stratagem. Quinn also ignores the gradual rise of the Twelve to Church leadership after their amazing missionary success in England at a time when the Church seemed to be disintegrating in Kirtland. Although Quinn now seems to think that the claims of the Twelve to succession were inferior to those of William Marks, it may be that what was written in the scriptures regarding succession, ambivalent at best, was not as important as what was written in the hearts of the Saints. Brigham Young had proved his loyalty to Joseph and emphasized that he would carry out the prophet's program. The Saints recognized Brigham as the strongest man and chose him accordingly.

The accusation that Hosea Stout murdered Samuel Smith is absurd. Brigham Young worshipped the Smiths and fully expected that one day one of them would preside over the Church in his stead. Had Stout murdered Samuel, Brigham would have dealt with him. I doubt that by 30 July 1844, when Samuel died, Brigham's ideas as to the Twelve's right to succession had fully ma-

tured, so there would have been no reason to dispose of the prophet's brother. Actually, it would require forensic evidence to establish that Samuel Smith was murdered; no such evidence now exists. If Smith had been murdered, it is far more likely that some of Thomas C. Sharp's friends did it, for they had sworn by oath that they would kill every one of the Smith brothers except William, whom they considered no threat.

We need to know something about the nature of Mormon leadership. Do these men actually lead, or are they representative men who gain and keep their power by personifying Mormon ideals? Do they shape Mormonism, or are they largely shaped by it? Rather than a dark lust for power, which Quinn depicts, had they no religious values and feelings? Were there no Christians, no good guys? Was there no brotherhood or love among them?

Someday someone should write a truly fresh history of the Mormon hierarchy from the perspective of the leaders themselves—who they are, how they work, what problems they face, and how Mormon institutions effect and limit their possible responses. Loyalty to the kingdom demands that leaders present a solid front to the world, and individuality is often thereby smothered.

Someone needs to tackle the question of what tensions exist between individual conscience and group loyalty in such a theocracy. Also, we need to know more about the enormous demands on time and talent; administrative challenges; demands for knowledge encompassing politics, social issues, and law; scholastics at the Church university; and conditions at home and abroad in a worldwide church. What effect does Church members' belief in the virtual omniscience of Church leaders have upon these brethren? Do they really resolve all their problems by relying on the Spirit, or do they often rely upon more conventional sources of knowledge? Someday the story needs to be told, and I believe it should be a scholarly, candid study, not a Church apologetic. If the overly negative image of the LDS hierarchy drawn by too many historians can ever be fairly offset, such an open, honest, but sympathetic study is needed. As of now, there is no definitive study of the Mormon hierarchy. ☐

NOTES

1. Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy*, 7.
2. Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy*, 7.
3. Dean C. Jessee, *The Papers of Joseph Smith 1: Autobiographical and Historical Writings* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989), 3.

PARADIGM LOST



Reviewed by Gregory A. Prince

SINCE THE COMPLETION of his doctoral dissertation in 1976,¹ D. Michael Quinn has been a major contributor to modern Mormon historiography. He has consistently approached his research with prodigious energy which, when coupled with the unprecedented access to LDS archival material given him while researching the life of J. Reuben Clark Jr., has yielded a steady stream of detailed, highly

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documented articles and books which have placed him in the first echelon of current scholars of Mormonism.

Although Quinn has been fascinated in recent years with topics tending towards sensationalism (post-Manifesto polygamy, "baseball baptisms," nineteenth-century Mormon homosexuality, magic, and the extremist politics of Ezra Taft Benson, for example), he has returned to the topic of his doctoral dissertation for the first of two volumes of what will become his magnum opus. In *Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Signature Books, 1994), Quinn traces the development of the Mormon hierarchy from the founding events of the Latter-day Saint

movement through the reorganization of the hierarchy following the assassination of Joseph Smith. A companion volume, scheduled to be published later this year, will continue the history of the hierarchy through the present time.

Quinn informs us that the research culminating in the book has been in progress for thirty years—more than a decade prior to the completion of his dissertation. So broad and deep are his source materials, there are few historians of Mormonism who equal him, and none who surpass him, in carefully and exhaustively documenting our past. Indeed, two-thirds of his nearly 700-page book is devoted to endnotes and appendices. One need only compare *Hierarchy* with Quinn's dissertation to appreciate the amount of additional research since 1976. (Besides his dissertation, Quinn employed two previously published articles to form the nuclei of two of the book's six chapters.²)

I found myself comparing *Hierarchy* to Fawn Brodie's landmark biography of Joseph Smith, *No Man Knows My History*.³ Both scholars distinguished themselves for the depth and breadth of their research, often going where others had not gone before, and thus creating standard texts against which all subsequent works on the same topics will be compared. Although both authors were careful researchers, Brodie was the better writer; Quinn's prose is stiff, and I had difficulty maintaining interest at times, particularly in his middle chapters.

The most striking similarity between *Hierarchy* and *No Man* was that, despite the prodigious amount of effort expended by the authors, there were fundamental flaws in each. Brodie tainted her message by insisting that Smith was a fraud, and marshalled her data to support that conclusion, rather than taking a more dispassionate and scholarly view and letting her sources speak in their own voices. (She softened her tone in the second edition.)

In *Hierarchy*, Quinn elegantly describes the functioning of the hierarchy (chapters two through six), yet grossly misinterprets the foundation upon which that hierarchy was built (chapter one). Furthermore, he insists, in the face of substantial evidence to the contrary, that "in 1843 [Joseph] Smith extended the Melchizedek priesthood to LDS women through an 'endowment ceremony'" (36).

This review will primarily examine that first chapter. There is a strong tendency within Mormonism to view what now is universally termed "priesthood" in simplistic terms, and to describe its "restoration" in terms of events occurring either in 1829 (according to official LDS accounts) or from 1829 through 1831 (according to Quinn). Either view is too narrow and has a tendency to overemphasize those events at the expense of other events and processes that both preceded and followed them. I have dealt with this subject at length elsewhere⁴ and limit my remarks here to the following summary.

The issue of authority in Joseph Smith's ministry began informally and implicitly as a result of his dealings with the angel who was the guardian of the gold plates. His family and friends, and those who later were converted to the message of the "Restoration," understood his special status as God's spokesman because of that angel (later identified as Moroni). His "First Vision," now a cornerstone of Latter-day Saint theology, was initially seen by Smith as personal, conferring forgiveness of his own sins without implying a ministry or bestowing authority to enable one. (Quinn follows the lead of others in erroneously stating that the earliest First Vision account was 1832 [619]. A comparison of that narrative with D&C 20:5-6 will show that the latter is, in fact, an account of the First Vision, which was first published in the *Painesville Telegraph* on 19 April 1831, and which probably was written prior to the formal organization of the Church in April 1830.)

THE PRIORITY OF THE BOOK OF MORMON

Quinn missed how much the Book of Mormon structured early Mormon hierarchy.

INFORMAL, implied authority was sufficient for Smith as long as there were no "formal" acts to be performed. His consciousness of the need for such acts was raised when he dictated to Oliver Cowdery, his new scribe, Book of Mormon passages describing baptism and the need for divine authority on the part of the baptist. Those passages led them to request and receive such authority. Quinn correctly points out (as have others) that several years elapsed before John the Baptist was linked by either Smith or Cowdery to this event. Perhaps this was because it was Moroni who had authorized Smith to begin a ministry, and because it was the Book of Mormon which spoke of the necessity of baptism, mandated the divine authority necessary to perform it, prescribed the manner in which it was to be performed, and supplied the text of the baptismal prayer. Neither Quinn nor other commentators appear to appreciate the priority of the Book of Mormon and its caretaker during the formative years of Mormonism, against which backdrop the formal restoration of authority to baptize was but a footnote. In the initial months after its publication, the Book of Mormon defined not only the ordinance of baptism, but a dual-tiered authority structure within the "New Testament" period of its narrative (3 Ne. on), which served as the model for the earliest form of Mormon hierarchy, and which Quinn ignores. As described primarily in Moroni 2 and 3, the Nephite church was organized with three offices: elders, priests and teachers. The elders (also called disciples, 3:1), however, were empowered to do something which neither the priests nor the teachers could do, namely to "give the Holy Ghost" (2:2). Unlike the priest and teacher, their authority came directly

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While it is instructive to examine the areas in which women came to function in a manner analogous to male priesthood officers, it is also essential to emphasize that most activities associated with priesthood were never extended nor promised to women during Smith's lifetime.

from the resurrected Christ (2:1–2).

By August 1829, the hierarchy of the Restoration consisted of the same three offices mentioned in Moroni—elders, priests, and teachers. As in the Book of Mormon, the office of elder was unique in bestowing the authority to confer the Holy Ghost. Quinn erroneously states that all three offices were “at first associated with what would come to be known as the lesser (or Aaronic) priesthood” (27). According to David Whitmer, who was the Restoration’s third elder, Smith and Cowdery had received the lesser authority and baptized each other in Pennsylvania in May 1829, prior to Whitmer’s going there to take them back to his father’s farm to finish their work on the Book of Mormon. However, neither they nor he were ordained elders until shortly after the three return to New York in June. By the time they had been in New York for two weeks, Cowdery and Whitmer were “called even with that same calling” as “Paul mine apostle” (D&C 18:9), and were authorized to choose twelve disciples analogous to the Nephite twelve disciples. Later the same year, Cowdery made explicit what in D&C 18 may have seemed only inferential when he wrote, “I am Oliver I am an Apostle of Jesus Christ.”

The duality of titles associated with the higher level of authority has been confusing to most commentators, as has the meaning of “disciple” and “apostle.” The Book of Mormon reserves the term “apostle” to refer to the Twelve in Jerusalem and uses the term “disciple” when referring to the Nephite Twelve. It is clear, however, that the roles of the two groups of men were the same. In referring to the Nephite Twelve, the Book of Mormon states that the “disciples . . . were called the elders of the church.” (Moro. 3:1). This dual nomenclature was carried over to the Restoration. Although initially the Book of Mormon term “disciple” was used (D&C 18:27), within the same year, Cowdery shifted to the biblical “apostle.” By 1830, Cowdery and Smith were each referred to as “an Apostle of Jesus Christ an Elder of this Church of Christ.” A revelation accompanying the organization of the Church appeared to clarify the relationship of the two terms by saying, “an apostle is an elder” (D&C 20:38). William McLellin, correctly

quoted by Quinn, later commented on this, saying that the term “apostle” was not an administrative one. Rather, its early use was consistent with the generic New Testament term “apostle”—being a commissioned messenger or ambassador. To act in an administrative capacity required the office of elder. Apostles were elders (and are still called such within the LDS tradition), but by late 1830, not all elders were apostles. In 1835, as Quinn correctly describes, “apostle” took on new meaning and became an ordained office.

THE BIBLICAL MODEL OF CHURCH STRUCTURE

QUINN doggedly insists that the higher authority was *not* conferred in 1829 and that, indeed, “men were first ordained to the higher priesthood over a year after the church’s founding [i.e. 1831]” (15), because he misunderstands the nature of “high priesthood” and its relationship to angelic conferral of authority. To understand it is to gain appreciation for the role of Sidney Rigdon in shaping the Restoration and in turning Smith’s attention to a biblical model of church structure at the expense of a Book of Mormon model.

The four missionaries (including Cowdery) who traveled through Kirtland, Ohio, in the autumn of 1830 converted and baptized Rigdon. Rigdon believed their message and recognized their authority as divinely bestowed, but as the men spent time together, he became troubled by what he perceived to be a lack of supernatural power on the part of the missionaries. Rigdon traveled east to New York where, within days of his arrival, he became Smith’s new scribe and recorded a revelation (D&C 38) directing the Saints to move to Ohio where the missionaries would be “endowed with power from on high.” This revelation focused on an important, yet often overlooked, principle within the New Testament. The mortal Jesus had chosen and ordained his disciples/apostles; yet, when the resurrected Christ appeared to the eleven, he told them to tarry at Jerusalem until they were “endued with power from on high.” (Luke 24:48.) They had received “authority” from the mortal Jesus, but they would not be able to perform their missionary min-

istry until they had also received an additional layer of “power from on high.”

The Latter-day Saint elders considered themselves the exact counterparts of their New Testament predecessors. If the ancient apostles had required both formal authorization through ordination and pentecostal bestowal of special power over physical objects and phenomena, then so would they. Thus, to the 1829 concept of two levels of formal authority was added the 1831 concept of “power.” During the five months following the revelation (D&C 38), the nature of the promised endowment gradually emerged. Smith’s February redaction of Genesis 14 (with Rigdon as his scribe) added sixteen new verses to the King James text that described an ancient order to which Melchizedek had belonged, which had conferred upon its members supernatural power over physical phenomena and objects (see the Joseph Smith Translation of the King James Bible). In May 1831, a revelation directed to Ezra Thayre stated that he would be ordained to this “power from on high” at a conference to be held the next month. In June 1831, a general conference was held. What happened at that conference has confused scholars (among them Quinn) for over a century and a half. Several of the elders were “endowed with power from on high” by being ordained to the “high priesthood” or “Order of Melchizedek.” Their ordination was accompanied by a veritable Pentecost, thereby validating their perceived continuity with their ancient counterparts, the Jerusalem apostles who were empowered on the Day of Pentecost (Acts 2).

It is easy to be confused by the meaning of the June 1831 conference if one is not critical in reading the many accounts of it. Without a single exception, all accounts of the conference written prior to 1835 (as well as many written thereafter) maintain the contemporaneous terminology of “high priesthood” or “Order of Melchizedek,” and equate these with the “endowment” of “power from on high” promised in D&C 38. In 1831, none of the offices of the church was referred to as “priesthood.” What the 1831 conference accomplished was to add a layer of supernatural power to the office of several of the elders (and only the elders, thus reinforcing the con-

cept of their having had a higher level of authority than the priest and teacher). Contrary to Quinn's assertion (29), this conference did not mark the beginning of a new office of High Priest (which evolved several months thereafter); nor was it associated with angelic conferral of authority; nor did it mark the "restoration" of the Melchizedek Priesthood, for that title did not arise until 1835, at which time it meant something quite different than anything happening in 1831. Unfortunately, some participants in the 1831 conference who wrote accounts of it later than 1835 mistakenly applied retroactively the term "Melchizedek Priesthood." It is because scholars, including Quinn, have failed to note the anachronistic terminology of the later accounts that they have become confused and, in turn, have confused their readers.

To summarize: There were two angelic restorations of authority, one in May 1829 in Pennsylvania, of authority to baptize, and the other in June 1829 in New York, of the higher authority of elder/disciple. Neither level of authority nor any of the three offices was called "priesthood" prior to June 1831; in fact, use of the term "priesthood" to refer to a collection of more than one ordained office

did not begin until 1832. In June 1831, a pentecostal endowment of "power from on high" conferred upon several of the elders special powers over here-and-now types of phenomena (such as those described in Smith's redaction of Genesis 14), but represented neither a new office nor a blanket term encompassing other offices. It was, to the office of elder, analogous to what Jesuit is to the office of Roman Catholic priest. Termed both "high priesthood" and the "Order of Melchizedek," it was *not* equivalent to Melchizedek priesthood, a concept and term which did not arise until four years later.

OTHER important events occurred between 1831 and 1836, including the addition of offices (deacon, bishop, patriarch, apostle, and seventy) and grouping of offices within blanket terms (1832 and 1835), but none was associated with visionary experiences except the 1834 vision authorizing the calling of the Twelve Apostles and the Seventy. (Quinn, as have other commentators, overlooks the 1878 published account of Joseph Young describing a meeting with himself, his brother Brigham, and Joseph Smith, where Smith de-

scribed a vision, incident to the march of Zion's Camp, in which he saw the Twelve and the Seventy.)

The process of priesthood development continued throughout Smith's life, a fact minimized by Quinn. Perhaps the most important development in Latter-day Saint priesthood theology, and certainly the most overlooked, was the 1836 vision of Elijah (see D&C 110) and the subsequent meteoric rise of Elijah in Latter-day Saint priesthood theology, to which Quinn devotes less than one page. However, the virtual disappearance from Joseph Smith's discourses and writings, by 1840, of John the Baptist and of Peter, James, and John in association with priesthood is paralleled by the corresponding development of Elijah theology, underscoring again the importance of viewing the emergence of Latter-day Saint "priesthood" as a gradual, uneven process, rather than two distinct events whose details can be known with certainty.

MY final criticism of *Hierarchy* concerns Quinn's persistent assertion that women were given the priesthood in 1843. He states, "in 1843 Smith ex-

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tended Melchizedek priesthood to LDS women through an 'endowment ceremony' " (36). In an earlier article,⁵ he stated that "every endowed Mormon woman has received the Melchizedek priesthood from 1843 to the present." This sweeping conclusion, which by his own account cost him his Church membership,⁶ simply is not consistent with the data relating to Smith's ministry. It is clear that the concept and structure of priesthood continued to develop throughout Smith's ministry and that gradual inclusion of women in some aspects of priesthood function occurred. Beginning in the mid-1830's, women were encouraged (by some men, at least) to lay hands on the sick or distressed and give them blessings, a function hitherto associated with priesthood. A second area of activity in which women functioned in a manner similar to that of men who had been ordained to the priesthood—i.e., performed an ordinance previously associated solely with priesthood—occurred in 1843, when women were first included in the endowment. A preparatory ordinance to the endowment was the washing and anointing of the entire body in a literal, not merely symbolic, fashion. Modesty dictated that women be called upon to administer this ordinance to other women.

While it is instructive to examine the areas in which women came to function in a manner analogous to that of male priesthood officers, it is also essential to emphasize that most activities associated with priesthood were *never* extended nor promised to women during Smith's lifetime. For example, there is no evidence that, during that period, they performed any of the following ordinances or other functions: ordination; baptism; confirmation; administration of the sacrament; blessing of babies; cursing; casting out of evil spirits; endowment; raising the dead (or attempting to do so); sealing, either of people to eternal life, or of one person to another; marriage; second anointing; missionary ministry.

Thus, if one examines the historical record, it becomes apparent that from a functional point of view, there was a gradual trend towards inclusion of women in activities associated with priesthood and previously denied to women; yet the trend was weak, never including more than a small minority of priesthood activities and never promising the rest. There is no record that Smith ever stated or even implied that women would eventually be ordained to the same priesthood as men; neither, however, did he indicate that such ordination was not possible. Data exist to bolster the claims that

women should be ordained, yet equally firm data exist to support the claims that women should not be ordained. An honest reading of the historical record from Smith's ministry leaves open the question of women and priesthood, and argues against the radical conclusion which Quinn continues to expound in unqualified terms and at great cost.

NOTES

1. D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Hierarchy, 1832-1932: An American Elite," Yale University, Ph.D., 1976, available through University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI, catalog #76-30227.

2. D. Michael Quinn, "The Evolution of the Presiding Quorums of the LDS Church," *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974): 21-38 (see chapter 2 in *Mormon Hierarchy*). D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844," *Brigham Young University Studies* 16 (1976): 187-233 (see chapter 5).

3. Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History; The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978).

4. See Gregory A. Prince, *Having Authority: The Origins and Development of Priesthood during the Ministry of Joseph Smith* (Independence, Mo.: John Whitmer Historical Association/Independence Press, 1993); and Gregory A. Prince, *Power from on High: The Development of Mormon Priesthood* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, forthcoming).

5. D. Michael Quinn, "Mormon Women Have Had the Priesthood Since 1843" in *Women and Authority: Re-emerging Mormon Feminism*, ed. Maxine Hanks, (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 375.

6. D. Michael Quinn, "Dilemmas of Feminists & Intellectuals in the Contemporary LDS Church," *SUNSTONE*, June 1994, 67-73.



GREAT SALT DESERT

This is the place where I met Kurt, who said there are two ways of covering your ass in Utah: get religion down good (white shirt, black tie, bicycle) or be a little boy who hasn't yet understood his *very friend indeed*. Red rocks, red clay under my fingernails after scaling mushroomed pinnacles, arms caked with cave sweat and dirt and exhaustion, I thirsted compulsively. Bats spun daytime laurels around my head, dizzy tribute to finding holiness in an out-of-the-way place. That is what it was; there is no higher standard, just an opposite, an iron rod laid out to test the breeze of salt flats. Mormon crickets clamor insatiably, doomed to survive. I've heard the male of the species chooses *his* mates carefully. Kurt seeks a foothold to win the view above us, before I get there. He grabs my hand to pull me up, and we are brothers of a kind, we know this, at least. Pinched by clouds of insects, force-fed fields grow weak, insensible to what we call desire. I need violence, something to unseal the notion that the physical being-ness of earth images the just to come. Provo needs a picture and we are smiling and clean-cut, arm-in-arm. Looking so LDS helps others imagine they know what we are. *We are the image*. Pray there is nothing to lose but what is clearly not us: this photo, red dirt from caves, that stain off our skin; our fathers, remotely hard to understand, who tried to rinse the filth from passion. Our *yes will you climb there with me again* and, even worse, the *yes, yes I will*. What I have sought I cannot find except in prohibitions. I cross a canyon stuck thick with sage and creosote, trying not to get scratched. There are badlands all around, singular as heat, but I can cultivate barrenness, wring the sweetness from ash. Wallowing in alkali, I can seize a thing roughly, wrestle it into what it will be forever, a pillar of some deceit, some temple.

—KARL ROSENQUIST