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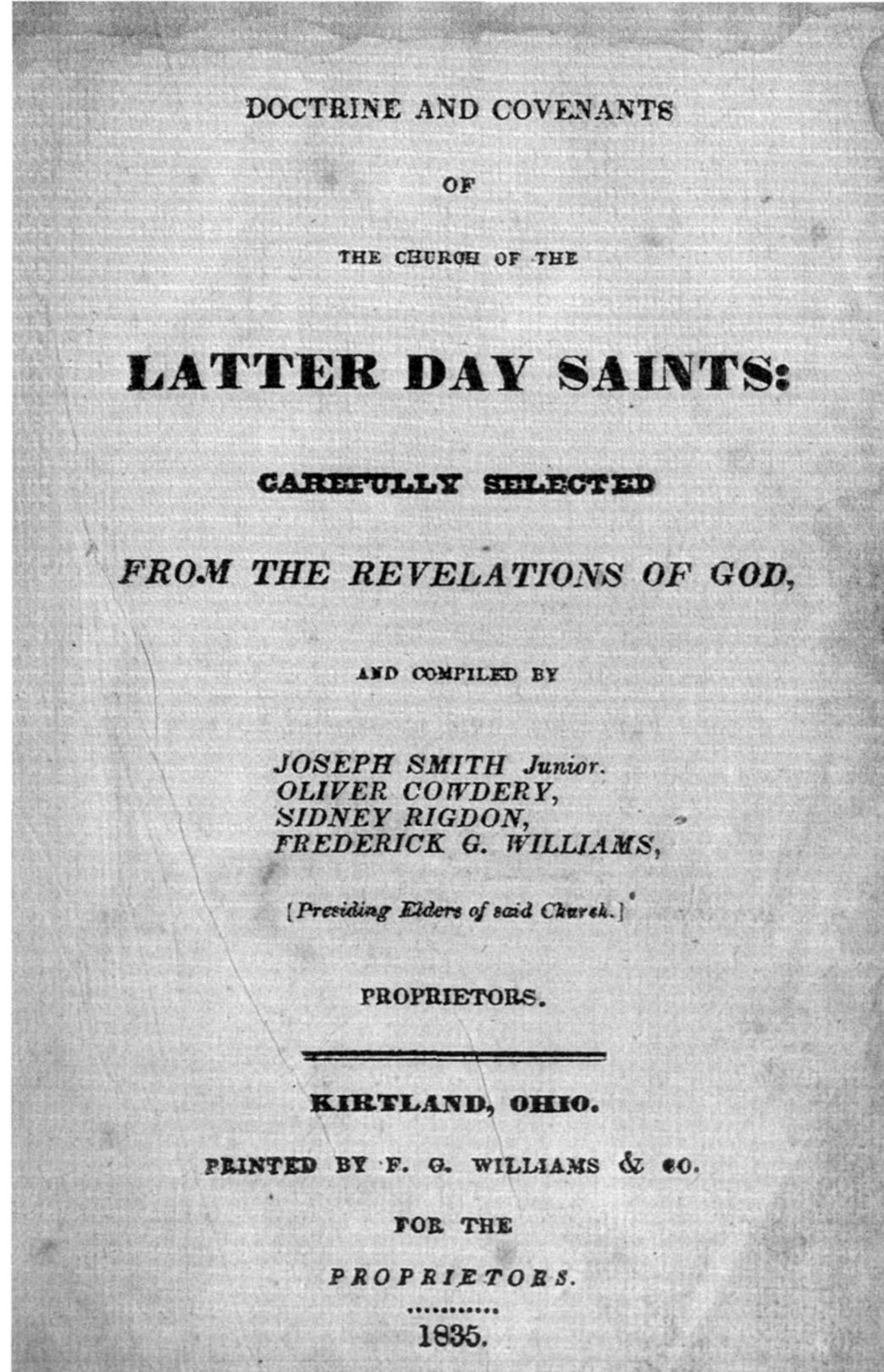


FIG. 1. The title page of the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants. The name of the Church varied until 1838 (D&C 115:4). Joseph Smith Jr., Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams are listed as compilers of this edition. They or persons working closely with them compiled the references analyzed and reprinted in this article. These references help us understand what the compilers found noteworthy in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants.

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More Than an Index

The First Reference Guide to the Doctrine and Covenants as a Window into Early Mormonism

Grant Underwood

When the Doctrine and Covenants came off the press in Kirtland, Ohio, in September 1835, readers found two reference tools in the back of the book. The first, a three-page section titled "Index," is really more of a table of contents. It lists sequentially the seven lectures "of faith" and the 102 sections of "Part Second" found in that original edition, citing the page number where each begins. Then follows "Contents," also somewhat mislabeled. As seen in the appendix below, "Contents" looks like an index in that it is organized alphabetically. However, entries within each letter grouping are not alphabetized; they are arranged sequentially in the order in which they appear in the book. And there is only one reference for each entry. In this way, "Contents" resembles a table of contents, although alphabetized.

Significantly, "Contents" is the only reference guide or finding aid to the Doctrine and Covenants known to have been prepared in the 1830s. Its authorship is uncertain, but its sponsorship is clear and important. "Contents" was prepared under the direction of the Doctrine and Covenants compilation committee, which consisted of Joseph Smith Jr., Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams (fig. 1).²

Preparing such a guide is a selective, interpretive act. Studying it today offers a window into the mental world of the people involved in its preparation and publication. Which passages of the Doctrine and Covenants stand out as most noteworthy in "Contents"? Where the wording of an entry summarizes or restates textual content rather than merely excerpts it, what does that tell us about how the Doctrine and Covenants was being interpreted? What general observations can be made about Latter-day

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Saint interests and emphases in the 1830s from an analysis of these entries? How does a close examination of "Contents" confirm or counter the findings of other studies of early Mormonism? The great value of "Contents" lies in the fact that it provides more than seven hundred authentic First Presidency—approved (if not authored) glimpses of what seemed noteworthy and significant to them about these revelations in the mid-1830s. The sheer quantity of these entries probably matches the combined total of Doctrine and Covenants interpretations from all other surviving 1830s sources. Accordingly, this article encourages historians to use "Contents" as an important interpretive source that offers an illuminating glimpse into these early understandings.

The Philosophy of a History of Interpretation

As a realm of scriptural study, history of interpretation is distinct from textual criticism. While textual criticism focuses on the preservation and transmission of the text,³ a history of interpretation broadens the inquiry to ask how the text has been read over time. In the spirit of Nephi "liken[ing] all scriptures" to his people (1 Ne. 19:23), it assumes that scriptural texts may well have many applications and meanings. Those who study literature have long emphasized that "meaning is not something embedded in a text to be extracted 'like a nut from its shell,' but is rather 'an experience one has in the course of reading."⁴ In this literary sense, meaning is a creation of the reader in collaboration with the text. We "see" in a text what our interpretive principles and the Spirit allow or direct us to notice and understand in our specific situation.

In this light, it cannot be assumed that what a modern Saint understands by a given passage in the Doctrine and Covenants is necessarily what his or her counterpart in the 1830s or even 1930s would have understood by those same words. A classic example would be the modern interpretation of Doctrine and Covenants 59:6, "thou shalt not . . . kill, nor do anything like unto it," which sees this as an injunction against abortion. That interpretation is not documented prior to the second half of the twentieth century, when the issue of abortion became more prominent.

It is also important to recognize that differing interpretations do not merely reflect changing personal views or circumstances. To one degree or another, there is always a communal quality to interpretation. Of some of these "communities" of thought we may be cognizant. Others, deeper in nature and even embedded in the very structure of our language, elude our consciousness but constrain our interpretations just the same. Discernible interpretive communities may be large-scale and institution-wide such as

Latter-day Saint versus Community of Christ (RLDS) perspectives. Or they may be in-house, such as schools of thought or generational differences within the broader tradition. Since The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is partly shaped through interpretations of its foundational texts, to pursue interpretive history is to help illuminate the development of a religion's beliefs and behaviors. This enables us to better discern the line-upon-line manner in which truth has been revealed.

Thematic Coverage in "Contents"

In an overall sense, the entries in "Contents" seem to fall into four broad categories: (a) entries that draw attention to priesthood and church government; (b) entries that highlight specific directives to the brethren; (c) entries on general exhortations about godly living; and (d) entries that can be loosely classified as doctrinal or theological. The number in each category is roughly the same. If one is inclined to view the entries in the first three categories as all having to do with church regulation, then roughly 70 percent of the entries draw attention to what the Lord would have his church *do*, institutionally or individually, as distinguished from what he would have them believe. Theologians would say that orthopraxis (right practice) received greater emphasis in the 1830s than orthodoxy (right doctrine).

This observation is supported by several early expressions about the value and objectives of the Doctrine and Covenants. On September 24, 1834, when the high council in Kirtland appointed a committee—the First Presidency—to prepare this book, they commissioned them to "arrange the items of doctrine of Jesus Christ, for the government of his church of the Latter Day Saints." 5 Similarly, at the general assembly convened eleven months later to examine and approve the finished compilation, "President John Smith arose and testified his joy that we have at length received the long wished for document to govern the church in righteousness and bring the Elders to see eye to eye." Representatives from all the assembled priesthood quorums and governing councils were requested to offer their feelings about the book. The teachers quorum representative, Erastus Babitt, stated that "he received it at the time, as coming from God, and that he was willing to be governed by the *rules* contained in the book." In their preface to the volume, the Presidency explained, "The second part [the compilation of revelations, the first part being the "Lectures on Faith"] contains items or principles for the regulation of the church, as taken from the revelations which have been given since its organization, as well as from former ones."7 These statements make clear that the first Doctrine and Covenants functioned primarily, but not exclusively, as an 1830s counterpart to the Church Handbook of Instructions today.

Quantitative Analysis of "Contents"

The compilers' emphasis on church governance matters is confirmed statistically. Table 1 shows the priority of place given to major revelations on priesthood and church government, namely sections currently numbered 20, 84, 86, 102, and 107. In the 1835 edition, these five sections were positioned among the first seven in the Doctrine and Covenants. Their nonchronological placement in the front suggests that the First Presidency compilers wished to draw special attention to them.

Table 2 highlights the sections with the most "Contents" entries by raw scores, and table 3 attempts a more proportional comparison by ranking the ratios of entries to verses (using the modern versification) in each section.⁸ Either way, the main sections on priesthood occupy prominent positions. The largest number of entries for any section was forty-nine (see table 2, data on section 107). Section 107 also had the second-highest ratio (0.49) of references to verses.⁹ By contrast, the similarly sized section 76, the vision of the three degrees of glory—one of the most purely doctrinal

TABLE 1
The First Seven Sections in the 1835 Edition of the Doctrine and Covenants

1835 Sec. No.	Title in the 1835 Index	1981 Sec. No.
1	Preface to the Command- ments	1
2	Articles and Covenants	20
3	Priesthood	107
4	Revelation of September 22–23, 1832	84
5	Minutes of the High Council	102
6	Parable of the Wheat &c.	86
7	Revelation Called the "Olive Leaf"	88

TABLE 2
The Twelve Most
Frequently Referenced Sections

1981 Sec. No.	No. of Entries in "Contents"
107 *	49
88*	47
20*	35
84*	33
42	23
63	17
45	17
102*	16
1*	15
6	15
10	15
101	15
• Th	

These sections also appear in table 1.

TABLE 3
The Ten Most Referenced Sections by Ratio
of Entries to Modern Number of Verses

1981 Sec. No.	No. of Entries in "Contents"	No. of 1981 Verses	Ratio of Entries to Verses
134	13	12	1.08
107*	49	100	0.49
102*	16	34	0.47
20*	35	84	0.42
6	15	37	0.41
11	12	30	0.40
1*	15	39	0.38
24	7	19	0.37
86*	4	11	0.36
88*	47	141	0.33

^{*} These sections also appear in table 1.

revelations—received only 0.09 references per verse.¹⁰ These data indicate that in the 1830s, the Doctrine and Covenants was prized more as a handbook on church government than as a source book for theology.

Qualitative Analysis

A shift from quantitative to qualitative analysis brings us to an examination of the wording of "Contents" entries. Each of the four thematic categories will be sampled to show how this unassuming document opens windows of historical understanding for modern readers.

Priesthood and Church Government References. "Contents" references dealing with priesthood and church government shed light on or are relevant to questions asked by Mormon historians about 1830s perceptions and practices. For instance, consider the discussion over whether the designations in the "Articles and Covenants" (section 20) of Joseph Smith as "first elder of this church" and Oliver Cowdery as "second elder" are best understood as two ecclesiastical titles or simply as a reference to chronology. This passage is referenced in "Contents" with the words "Two first elders." The placement of the word "two" in front of "first," as well as the plural "elders," makes it clear that "Contents" understood Joseph and Oliver both as "first elders." There cannot be two firsts in a sequential

sense, but if "first" is understood as "chief" or "presiding," as in the expression "First Presidency," then the entry "Two first elders" makes perfect sense. Moreover, in the text of the revelation, the word "elder," especially as followed by the phrase "of the [this] church," seems to reflect the common Christian usage of ecclesiastical leader or officer. Hence the phrase "first elder(s)" was not an attempt to identify the first two men ordained to the office of elder within the Melchizedek priesthood but rather to point to Joseph and Oliver as the two "presiding officers" of the newly organized church.¹²

Similarly revealing is how "Contents," prepared just months after the first Twelve were called in 1835, uses the word "apostle." Both in the text of the Doctrine and Covenants, as well as in "Contents," the word "apostle" connotes function more than position. In the September 1832 revelation "On Priesthood" to Joseph Smith and "six elders," 13 the Lord declares, "As I said unto mine apostles, even so I say unto you, for you are mine apostles" (D&C 84:63). "Contents" references this passage with the words "Elders called as the ancient apostles." In the common English of Joseph Smith's day as well as in the New Testament, the word "apostle," based on the Greek verb apostello (to send), could refer to anyone sent or deputized to conduct important business: a messenger, an envoy, or a missionary, as well as one of the apostles as such.14 Thus, elders could be referred to as apostles. In 1837, John Taylor reflected this broader apostle-as-missionary meaning of this term when he wrote to a friend in England: "You ask what is the number of the apostles. There are twelve that are ordained to go to the nations, and there are many others, no definite number."15 With the passage of time, however, and especially after the Twelve returned from their successful mission to England in 1840-41, Joseph Smith called them "to stand in their place next to the first presidency" and taught the deeper significance of the holy apostleship.16 Eventually the term "apostle" came to refer almost exclusively to men who had been ordained to that particular office in the Melchizedek Priesthood; but in 1835 a "Contents" entry worded "Duty of apostles and elders" accurately referred to a paragraph listing the duties of an elder (D&C 20:38–44), reflecting the fact that in the Church's earliest years these two terms were often synonymous.¹⁷

Elsewhere, "Contents" reflects word usages that have not been discussed by historians. In entries such as "Authority of the standing councils at the stakes" and "Authority of the standing council at Zion," modern Latterday Saints are reminded that the terms "stakes" and "Zion" did not have overlapping meanings in the 1830s. "Zion" generally referred not to the whole Church but to the revealed gathering place near Independence, Missouri, and to the Saints who inhabited it. "Other places . . . called stakes," outposts

from the main tent of Zion, were also to be appointed as authorized gathering centers for the Saints (D&C 101:21). In 1832, for instance, the Lord "consecrated the land of Shinehah [Kirtland] . . . for a stake to Zion" (D&C 82:13, italics added), and Kirtland was called "the city of the stake of Zion" (D&C 94:1). The two separate "orders" created in 1834 from the original, churchwide "united order" were known as "the United Order of the Stake of Zion, the City of Shinehah [Kirtland]" and "the United Order of the City of Zion [Missouri]" (D&C 104:48). Thus, Zion and the Church's stakes were not coterminous in the early years. A stake of Zion did not originally mean a stake within Zion.

Likewise, one encounters in "Contents" the expression "confirming the church(es)." Today one speaks of confirming *members* of the Church, but not of confirming *a*, or *the*, Church. "Church" is used almost exclusively to refer to the overall organization, not, as it was in the New Testament and occasionally in the early years of this dispensation, to its constituent congregations. Yet the Lord told Joseph to confirm "the church at Colesville" (D&C 26:1), which reflects the idea of the church as a "congregation," consistent with contemporaneous English and New Testament usages.

References to Situation-Specific Instructions. Many references in "Contents" draw attention to matters of contemporary and local importance. Often, "Contents" will repeat an exact phrase from the revelation that would have been more readily understood by people at that time. For example, the reference "Continue the work of translation" points to the work on the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible. The entry "Buy lands for the present" directs readers to the revelation given to those who moved from New York in early 1831. The entries "Commandment to the first laborers" and "Children of Zion reproved" must have seemed more personal to readers in 1835 than they do today. Examples could be multiplied.

Some entries remind modern readers of matters that were important then but are almost entirely lost from the collective consciousness today. For example, one entry cryptically reads, "Oliver returns": readers are sent to Doctrine and Covenants 37:3, in which the Saints are told to "assemble together at the Ohio, against the time that my servant Oliver Cowdery shall return unto them." Forgotten today is the fact that in response to the fall 1830 revelations directing the Saints to gather "in unto one place" (D&C 29:8) and indicating that it would be "on the borders by the Lamanites" (D&C 28:9), Oliver had previously been dispatched to Missouri to "rear up a pillar as a witness where the Temple of God shall be built, in the glorious New Jerusalem." At the time Doctrine and Covenants 37 was received, Oliver's return from this assignment to select a suitable spot was seen as a crucial prerequisite to launching the promised gathering to Zion.

In section 104, certain real estate is allocated to the Prophet Joseph Smith with the proviso "I have reserved an inheritance for his father, for his support" (D&C 104:45). Though Joseph Smith Sr. is clearly secondary to his son in the passage, the compilers' only entry for this paragraph is "Inheritance for his father." Presumably, local attitudes and circumstances in 1835 justified a reminder that the Prophet's father "shall be reckoned in the house of my servant Joseph Smith, Jun."

More examples include "Children of Zion upbraided," which targets an isolated passage in which the Lord commands that the "brethren in Zion" be "upbraided" for "their rebellion against you at the time I sent you" (D&C 84:76), meaning the Prophet's spring 1832 visit to Missouri; 19 the entry "Brother's garment, &c." relates to the passage "thou shalt not take thy brother's garment; thou shalt pay for that which thou shalt receive of thy brother" (D&C 42:54), which provided a corrective to the attitudes reported by John Whitmer in his description of the communal "Family" living on Isaac Morley's property:

The disciples had all things common, and were going to destruction very fast as to temporal things; for they considered from reading the scripture that what belonged to a brother, belonged to any of the brethren. Therefore they would take each others [sic] clothes and other property and use it without leave which brought on confusion and disappointment.²⁰

Entries Targeting Exhortations to Godly Living. A third category of "Contents" entries refers readers to various hortatory passages. Examples of such entries include "Do good" (which sends readers to D&C 11:12), "Pray unto the Lord" (D&C 65:4), "Give heed" (D&C 12:9), "Gird up your loins" (D&C 106:5), "Go forth and preach" (D&C 44:3), "Repent speedily" (D&C 63:15), "Sin no more" (D&C 82:7), "Humble yourselves" (D&C 67:10), "Keep my commandments" (D&C 42:1), and "Live by every word" (D&C 98:11). The generic form of most of these entries implies that these references were understood as stating widely applicable principles. Presumably, the general orientation of "Contents" is disclosed in the entry "What I say unto one I say unto all" (D&C 92:1).

Of course, even though the revelations had been published for all the world to see, a sense of personal ownership may still have hovered around some of its passages, since nearly everyone mentioned in the Doctrine and Covenants was still alive in 1835. The entry "Arise and be baptized," for instance, references an invitation that was originally extended to James Covill (D&C 39:10). The entry "Call upon the inhabitants of the earth" cites words spoken to Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon as they were sent on a brief mission to combat the adverse effects of the publication of the Ezra Booth letters (D&C 71:4). And the entry "Bosom shall burn" cites

the explanation offered to Oliver Cowdery for how the translation process should have worked (D&C 9:8). Even the entry "What I say unto one I say unto all," a phrase originally spoken to Frederick G. Williams at the time he was admitted to the "united order," could be read as highlighting the interchangeability of counsel among the various members of the united order rather than as announcing the wider applicability of God's word to all readers. Further study of the overall history of Doctrine and Covenants interpretation will likely help us understand how and when the book came to be read more as a devotional volume for personal guidance than as a historical document or a handbook for church government.

Doctrinal Entries. As a reference guide to significant doctrinal passages in the Doctrine and Covenants, "Contents" is somewhat of a disappointment. It appears that mining the book's theological insights was not a primary objective for "Contents." To be sure, its compilers drew attention to some points of doctrine in entries such as "Eternal punishment" (D&C 19:11) and "Earth [to be] crowned with the celestial glory" (D&C 88:14–20). Occasionally, "Contents" moves beyond its usual style of merely excerpting a phrase from the revelation and offers something approaching an interpretation as, for instance, with the entry "No knowledge no repentance," which cites the passage "I say unto you, that whoso having knowledge, have I not commanded to repent? And he that hath no understanding, it remaineth in me to do according as it is written" (D&C 29:49–50).

More noticeable, however, is what is overlooked. Absent are entries to such now-popular passages as "whether by mine own voice or by the voice of my servants, it is the same" (D&C 1:38); "if ye have desires to serve God ye are called to the work" (D&C 4:3); "if they would not repent they must suffer even as I" (D&C 19:17); "I, the Lord, am bound when ye do what I say" (D&C 82:10); and "the glory of God is intelligence" (D&C 93:36).

On the other hand, the millenarian character of early Mormonism plainly shows through in "Contents." A sample of such eschatological entries includes: "Great day shall come" (D&C 34:9); "I come quickly" (D&C 88:126); "Millenial [sic] shall come" (D&C 43:27–33); "Vengeance cometh speedily upon the ungodly" (D&C 97:22); "Field ready to be burned" (D&C 31:4); "Mine when I come to make up my jewels" (D&C 101:3); "Signs in the heavens" (D&C 88:87); "Ruler when I come" (D&C 41:4); and "Signs of his coming" (D&C 45:39–44). Not only are major prophetic sections, such as section 45, amply cited, but in some places unusual detail is provided. For instance, in that portion of the Olive Leaf (D&C 88) which deals with the end times, a separate entry is made for the events of each of the seven trumpets: "Trump second," "Trump third," and so on to "Trump seventh" (D&C 88:93–107), where a single reference to the sounding

of the seven might have been sufficient. The compilers even drew attention to the fact that, following the sequence of events associated with the sounding of each trump, the trumps would sound again to "reveal the secret acts of men" (D&C 88:108–10) a thousand years at a time ("First angel again sound his trump"). For the overall minority of entries that can be classified as theological, the branch of theology known as eschatology is clearly the best represented.

Conclusion

In dealing with the more than seven hundred references in "Contents," this study has painted its portrait with only the broadest of strokes. It seems clear on several grounds that "Contents" reflects a high concern about matters pertaining to priesthood and church government and the expectation that readers would use the Doctrine and Covenants to delineate Church policies and procedures. This observation reminds modern readers of what distinguished early Mormons from those of other faiths. People who had broken away from other churches because they saw those churches as the works of men prized revelations from God that directed church government. The ordinances and orders of the Church were tangible evidence of the divine sponsorship of the church they had joined. Of course, they cared about doctrine too, but even within the Church, in that first generation, the Bible was still the prime arena for theological reflection and elaboration.²² Usage patterns would change over the years, but to the degree that other early sources corroborate the orientation of "Contents," it seems that during the lifetime of the Prophet Joseph Smith the most-used portions of the Doctrine and Covenants were its numerous instructions on how to govern both the affairs of the Church and the lives of individual Saints and to prepare the Saints for the future state of rewards and punishments.

In the end, a comprehensive history of Doctrine and Covenants interpretation would require attention to a great variety of source materials over the entire sweep of this dispensation. Diaries and discourses, treatises and tomes, periodicals and pamphlets would all need to be carefully consulted. So, too, would overlooked but illuminating sources such as the 1835 "Contents." This article plows but a single furrow in an immense and fascinating field of study waiting to be thoroughly cultivated. It does so in hopes of stimulating others to search out all the inspired and inspiring ways in which the Doctrine and Covenants has been understood over the years. That work would stand as an appropriate act of gratitude as well as a valuable contribution to learning.

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- 1. Entries may occasionally be worded the same, but they always reference separate paragraphs. For example, the phrase "Keep my commandments" is used five times as an entry, each referring the reader to a different Doctrine and Covenants paragraph.
- 2. Oliver Cowdery and Orson Hyde, "General Assembly," *Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of the Latter Day Saints* (Kirtland, Ohio: F. G. Williams, 1835), 255; Joseph Smith Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 2:165, 243 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*).
- 3. For the Doctrine and Covenants, such studies include: Robert J. Woodford, "The Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants, Volumes I–III" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1974; reprinted on CD, Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History and BYU Studies, 2001); Richard P. Howard, *Restoration Scriptures: A Study of Their Textual Development*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1969; 1995); Melvin Joseph Petersen, "A Study of the Nature of and the Significance of the Changes in the Revelations as Found in a Comparison of the *Book of Commandments* and Subsequent Editions of the *Doctrine and Covenants*" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1955).
- 4. Stephen D. Moore, "Negative Hermeneutics, Insubstantial Texts: Stanley Fish and the Biblical Interpreter," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 54 (winter 1986): 708. He is quoting Jane P. Tompkins, introduction to *Reader-Response Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), xvi–xvii.
- 5. Cowdery and Hyde, "General Assembly," 255, italics added; *History of the Church*, 2:165.
- 6. Kirtland High Council, Minutes, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Church Archives), 103, 105; italics added. The account in this source offers more detail of the proceedings of the August 17, 1835, general assembly than the account in *History of the Church*.
 - 7. "Preface," Doctrine and Covenants (1835), iii, italics added.
- 8. So that the results would not be skewed, sections with ten verses or less have been disregarded.
- For the ratio of references to verses I have used the number of verses in the current edition of the Doctrine and Covenants.
- 10. Other evidence shows that section 76 was little discussed among the Saints in the 1830s. See Grant Underwood, "Saved or Damned': Tracing a Persistent Protestantism in Early Mormon Thought," *BYU Studies* 25, no. 3 (1985): 85–103. Nevertheless, the lower number of entries may reflect the longer paragraphs in this section and the tendency in the "Contents" to have only one entry per paragraph.
- 11. The view that these titles were intended to communicate chronology seems to derive from the way the manuscript history of Joseph Smith was worded. In it John the Baptist tells Joseph and Oliver that the Melchizedek Priesthood would "in

due time be conferred on [them]. And that [Joseph] should be called the first Elder of the Church and [Oliver] the second." Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989–92), 1:291. See also *History of the Church*, 1:40–41.

Gregory A. Prince has noted that in the opening paragraph of "Articles and Covenants" (printed prior to the publication of the Doctrine and Covenants) both Joseph and Oliver were simply designated "an elder of this church" rather than "first" and "second" elders. Gregory A. Prince, *Power from on High: The Development of Mormon Priesthood* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 21. In the very next paragraph of "Articles and Covenants," however, the phrase "first elder" is found, and in all surviving manuscripts of the revelation received on the day the Church was organized, Oliver is reminded that he is "an elder under [Joseph's] hand, he being the first unto you" (D&C 21:11). Indeed, the earliest surviving ministerial licenses in the Church, signed for John Whitmer, Christian Whitmer, and Joseph Smith Sr. at the June 1830 conference, carry the titles "first elder" and "second elder" after Joseph's and Oliver's names, respectively. Thus, the relative position between the two was clear from the beginning and was not an 1835 invention, and the 1835 wording change in the first paragraph of "Articles and Covenants" simply conformed with these earlier usages.

- 12. That "first elder" was understood to mean chief ecclesiastical officer of the Church is further corroborated by a notation made by Oliver Cowdery at the time he recopied the patriarchal blessing book of Joseph Smith Sr., which, incidentally, was very near the time Cowdery was working on the Doctrine and Covenants and possibly helping to prepare "Contents." Apparently desiring to underscore the fact that the Patriarch father did not take precedence over the Prophet son, Cowdery wrote that "although his father laid hands upon and blessed the fatherless, thereby securing the blessings of the Lord unto them and their posterity, he was not the first elder, because God called upon his son Joseph and ordained him to this power and delivered to him the keys of the Kingdom." Oliver Cowdery, Minutes in Joseph Smith, Sr., Patriarchal Blessing Book, vol. 1, 8, 1835, cited in Irene M. Bates and E. Gary Smith, Lost Legacy: The Mormon Office of Presiding Patriarch (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 42, photocopy of original in possession of Bates and Smith, italics added by Bates and Smith.
- 13. The quoted portion of this revelation was actually received the next day in the presence of "eleven high Priests save one." "Kirtland Revelation Book," Church Archives, 24.
- 14. See "Bible Dictionary," in *Holy Bible* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1979), 612, s.v. "apostle"; Noah Webster's *First Edition of an American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828; Anaheim: Foundation for American Christian Education, 1967); and Francis H. Agnew, "The Origin of the NT Apostle-Concept: A Review of Research," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 105 (March 1986): 75–96.
 - 15. John Taylor, "Communications," Messenger and Advocate 3 (June 1837): 514.
- 16. "Conference Minutes," *Times and Seasons* 2 (September 1, 1841): 521; *History of the Church*, 4:403.
- 17. On the developing role of the Twelve, see T. Edgar Lyon, "Nauvoo and the Council of the Twelve," in *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History*,

- ed. F. Mark McKiernan and others (Lawrence, Kans.: Coronado, 1973), 167–206; Ronald K. Esplin, "The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve to Mormon Leadership, 1830–1841" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1981); and William G. Hartley, "Upon You My Fellow Servants': Restoration of the Priesthood," in *The Prophet Joseph: Essays on the Life and Mission of Joseph Smith*, ed. Larry C. Porter and Susan Easton Black (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988), 49–72.
- 18. Oliver Cowdery, as cited in "Mormonism No. 8–9," by Ezra Booth, *Ohio Star*, December 8, 1831, p. 1, col. 1.
- 19. This instruction was taken seriously enough that shortly after the revelation was received, a council of high priests appointed Orson Hyde and Hyrum Smith to draft a letter of reprimand to the brethren in Zion. *History of the Church*, 1:317–21.
- 20. F. Mark McKiernan and Roger D. Launius, eds., An Early Latter Day Saint History: The Book of John Whitmer Kept by Commandment (Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1980), 37. Levi W. Hancock remembered a visit to the "Family" during which a brother "came to me and took my watch out of my pocket and walked off as though it was his. I thought he would bring it back soon but was disappointed as he sold it. I asked him what he meant by selling my watch. 'Oh, said he, I though[t] it was all in the family.' I told him I did not like such family doing and I would not bear it." Levi W. Hancock, The Levi Hancock Journal, typescript, 28, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
- 21. See Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).
- 22. See Gordon Irving, "The Mormons and the Bible in the 1830s," *BYU Studies* 13, no. 4 (1973): 473–88; Grant Underwood, "Joseph Smith's Use of the Old Testament," in *The Old Testament and the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Randall Book, 1986), 381–413; and Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Appendix

What follows is a reproduction of the entries in "Contents," as printed in the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants (fig. 2). The corresponding 1981 edition sections and verses have been added on the right. "Contents" is like an alphabetical index in that entries are grouped according to their first letter, but the entries under each letter are arranged according to section number, not alphabetical order. Thus, if the user is interested in "Melchizedek priesthood," for instance, one must read through all the "M" entries to make sure that none are missed.

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Fig. 2. The first page of "Contents" in the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants. In this edition, sections were ordered differently than they are today and were broken into paragraphs rather than verses.

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(The arrangement of the Lectures [on Faith, in Part First] supercedes the necessity of any other reference than the Index.)

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^a This is a typographic error in the 1835 edition: it should be section 3, not section 5. Paragraph 29 of section 3 in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants discusses this topic; Section 5 contains only 15 paragraphs.

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b This is a reference mistake. The paragraph is really number 5, and the word in both the 1835 and 1981 versions is "example" rather than "ensample."

^c Typographic error; it should be section 89. The paragraph is in fact 3, and it corresponds with 1981 section 72 as noted above.

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^d Typographic error; it should be paragraph 8.

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e There are two sections 66 in the 1835 edition, due to a printing error. The order of the sections is 64, 65, 66, 68, and so on. Whether it is the first or the second section 66 is noted in the adjacent parenthesis. 66(1) corresponds with 1981 section 52, and 66(2) corresponds with 1981 section 53.

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f Typographic error; it should be paragraph 19.

g Verse 68 in the 1981 edition is composed of both paragraphs 18 and 19 from 1835 edition. Paragraph 19 begins after first sentence.

h In the 1835 edition used by the compilers (though apparently not in all 1835 printings), the paragraphs in section 4 are numbered 21, 24, 22, 23. This entry references the paragraph numbered 24.

i See footnote h.

^j See footnote h. This entry references the paragraph numbered 22.

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Elders to conduct meetings &c. 16 1 46 1–4 Every man take righteousness, &c. 20 9 63 32–38 — deal honestly, 23 2 51 7–9 — in his stewardship, 26 3 70 9–14 Engravings of Nephi, 36 10 10 44–48 Establish the cause of Zion, 37 3 11 6–7 Eternal damnation, 44 2 19 7–24 Expound scriptures, 48 2 25 5–9 Elders called together, 62 1 44 1 Election in this church, 66(2) ^k 1 53 1 Ezra Thayre must repent, 69 3 56 8–11 Every man shall hear the fulness of the gospel, 84 4 90 11 Eastern countries, 87 2 75 6–12 Expounding scriptures, 90 1 71 1	Everlasting covenant sent into the world,	15	2	45	6-17
Every man take righteousness, &c. 20 9 63 32–38 — deal honestly, 23 2 51 7–9 — in his stewardship, 26 3 70 9–14 Engravings of Nephi, 36 10 10 44–48 Establish the cause of Zion, 37 3 11 6–7 Eternal damnation, 44 2 19 7–24 — punishment, 44 2 19 7–24 Expound scriptures, 48 2 25 5–9 Elders called together, 62 1 44 1 Election in this church, 66(2)k 1 53 1 Ezra Thayre must repent, 69 3 56 8–11 Every man shall hear the fulness of the gospel, 84 4 90 11 Eastern countries, 87 2 75 6–12 Expounding scriptures, 90 1 71 1	Earth shall hear the voice of the Lord,	15	8	45	47-50
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Eternal damnation, 44 2 19 7-24 — punishment, 44 2 19 7-24 Expound scriptures, 48 2 25 5-9 Elders called together, 62 1 44 1 Election in this church, 66(2)k 1 53 1 Ezra Thayre must repent, 69 3 56 8-11 Every man shall hear the fulness of the gospel, 84 4 90 11 Eastern countries, 87 2 75 6-12 Expounding scriptures, 90 1 71 1	Engravings of Nephi,	36	10	10	44-48
— punishment, 44 2 19 7-24 Expound scriptures, 48 2 25 5-9 Elders called together, 62 1 44 1 Election in this church, 66(2)k 1 53 1 Ezra Thayre must repent, 69 3 56 8-11 Every man shall hear the fulness of the gospel, 84 4 90 11 Eastern countries, 87 2 75 6-12 Expounding scriptures, 90 1 71 1	Establish the cause of Zion,	37	3	11	6-7
Expound scriptures,482255–9Elders called together,621441Election in this church, $66(2)^k$ 1531Ezra Thayre must repent,693568–11Every man shall hear the fulness of the gospel,8449011Eastern countries,872756–12Expounding scriptures,901711	Eternal damnation,	44	2	19	7-24
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Election in this church, $66(2)^k$ 1 53 1 Ezra Thayre must repent, 69 3 56 8–11 Every man shall hear the fulness of the gospel, 84 4 90 11 Eastern countries, 87 2 75 6–12 Expounding scriptures, 90 1 71 1	Expound scriptures,	48	2	25	5-9
Ezra Thayre must repent, 69 3 56 8–11 Every man shall hear the fulness of the gospel, 84 4 90 11 Eastern countries, 87 2 75 6–12 Expounding scriptures, 90 1 71 1	Elders called together,	62	1	44	1
Every man shall hear the fulness of the gospel, 84 4 90 11 Eastern countries, 87 2 75 6–12 Expounding scriptures, 90 1 71 1	Election in this church,	66(2)k	1	53	1
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	End of the vision,	91	7	76	81-113

 $^{^{\}rm k}$ See footnote e.

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Endow those whom I have chosen,	95	2	95	8-10
Enmity of man shall cease,	97	5	101	22-42
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Fulness preached by the weak and the simple,	1	4	1	17-23
Fulness of the gospel to the Gentiles and Jews,	2	3l	20	5-12
Form of baptism,	2	22	20	72-74
— of administering bread,	2	23	20	75–77
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Face of the Lord unveiled,	7	27	88	95–98
First angel again sound his trump,	7	34	88	108
Faithful salute	7	43	88	135
Field is white,	8	2	6	3–5
Faithful and diligent,	8	9	6	20
Fear not to do good,	8	15	6	32–33
Flies sent forth,	10	5	29	18-21
First last, &c.	10	8	29	29–33
Faith to be healed and not to be healed,	13	13	42	48–52
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—— is white for harvest,	55	1	33	1-4
Father and I are one,	82	l	93	1-11
Family must needs repent,	82	8	93	45–49
Forgiving 70 times 7	85	7	98	39–48
Feigned words,	98	1	104	1-9
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God is infinite and eternal,	2	4	20	17-20
Godly walk and conversation required,	2	19	20	68-69 ⁿ
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God's servants to live by every word that proceedeth				
from his mouth,	11	4	35	13-18
Gifts come from God,	16	7	46	17-27
God is light,	17	6	50	22-30
Go with my servant,	28	1	69	1-4
God is merciful,	30	4	3	9-11

¹ Typographic error; it should be paragraph 2. Paragraph 2 corresponds with 1981 verses 5–12 as noted in the appropriate column.

^m Typographic error; it should be section 13, paragraph 5.

ⁿ First sentence of 1981 verse 68 belongs to 1835 paragraph 18.

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Gift of Aaron,	34 40	8	5-12
Give heed,	38 5	12	9
——— unto all his words,	46 2	21	4-8
Go unto the Lamanites,	61P 3	28	8-9
—— with my servant Oliver,	54 1	32	1-5
Great day shall come,	56 2	34	9-12
Go to the Ohio,	58 1	37	1-2
Great I Am,	509 1	39	1-4
Gift of the Holy Ghost,	59 6	39	23-24
Go forth and preach,	62 2	44	2-5
Give a new commandment to Thomas,	69 2	56	3-7
Go to certain countries,	76 1	79	1-4
— ye, go ye into the world,	77 1	80	1-5
Glory of the Father was with him,	82 2	93	12-17
Grace for grace,	82 2	93	12-17
Go to battle,	85 6	98	32-38
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Great is his wisdom,	91 1	76	1-4
Glory of the Moon,	91 7	76	81-113
Grants this privilege,	91 8	76	114-19
Go and gather together, &c.	97 7	101	52-58
Gird up your loins,	99 2	106	4-5
Go ye out of Babylon,	100 1	133	1-7
Gentiles and Jews,	100 2	133	8-15
Go forth to Zion,	_ ~		
Governments instituted of God,	102 1	134	1
Н			
Holy priesthood,	4 3	84	18-22
Highpriests can organize counsels abroad	5 11	102	81-85
Hearken, &c.	15 I	45	1-5
Hypocrites among you,	17 3	50	7-9
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Herbs, houses, barns, &c.	19 4	59	15-19
Hear the word,	20 1	63	1-4
Humble yourselves,	25 3	67	10-13
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—— One of Zion,	75 3	78	12-16
—— Ghost shed forth, &c.	94 2	100	7–8
Husband and wife,	101 1	NA ^r	

https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/byusq/vol41/iss2/4

^o Typographic error; it should be paragraph 3.

P Typographic error; it should be section 51.

^q Typographic error; it should be section 59.

r Section 101 in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants is a four-paragraph statement entitled "Marriage" and is not included in the current Doctrine and Covenants.

	I	183	5 Ed.	19	81 Ed.
I come quickly,		7	38	88	123-26
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Instructions to the elders,		14	1	43	1-3
I am from above,		20	15	63	57-63
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I am the life, &c.		37	12	11	28-30
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Innocent from the beginning,		82	6	93	36-43
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Importune at the feet of the Judge, &c. &c.		97	12	101	86–95
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Justification and sanctification true,		2	6	20	29-36
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Jews receive their king,		15	9	45	51-53
Joy may be full,		19	3	59	13-14
(John) tarry till I come,		33	2	7	4-7
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keep the church record,		63	2	47	3–4
Journey to the land of Missouri,		66	2	52	7-12
regions westward,		67	2	54	7–9
Joseph Coe journey with them,		68	3	55	3
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John bear record,		82	1	93	1-11
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kingdom,		79	1	81	1-7
		84	1	90	1-2

⁵ Typographic error; it should be paragraph 2.

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Lord no respecter of persons,	1	6	1	34-36
Lord is God and the spirit beareth record.	1	8	1	38-39
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Law breaker remains filthy still,	7	8	88	34-35
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—— shall be terrible,	15	15	45	72–75
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^t Typographic error; it should be section 36.

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^u See footnote r.

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	183	5 Ed.	198	<u>81 Ed.</u>
No knowledge no repentance,	10	14	29	49-50
New Jerusalem called Zion,	15	12	45	64–67
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No interference with bond servants,	102	12	134	12
0				
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Priesthood from Aaron to John,	4	4	84	23–28

^v See footnote r.

https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/byusq/vol41/iss2/4

w Typographic error; it should be paragraph 31.

	183	55 Ed.	19	81 Ed.
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^x Typographic error; it should be paragraph 2.

y See footnote r.

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^z Typographic error; it should be section 100.

Typographic error; it should be section 7.
 Typographic error; it should be section 7.

cc Typographic error; it should be section 7.

^{dd} Typographic error; it should be section 7.

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ee Typographic error; it should be section 69.

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 $^{^{}m ff}$ Typographic error; it should be section 2.

gg Typographic error; it should be paragraph 5.

hh Typographic error; it should be section 94.