1969

Joseph Smith as an Administrator

Gary Dean Guthrie
Brigham Young University - Provo

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JOSEPH SMITH AS AN ADMINISTRATOR

A Thesis
Presented to the
Institute of Government Service
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

by
Gary Dean Guthrie
May 1969
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Administration is as old as societies and organizations. Some form of organization and leadership is required for all social systems, be they simple or complex. Goals must be established and structured in reference to preferences; resources must be allocated; controls must be maintained; and numerous decisions must also be made.

Administration and organizational theory are inextricably related. It is difficult to develop administrative concepts and strategies without making fundamental assumptions about the makeup of organizations. There have been various approaches to the study of organization and administrative concepts. Structural approaches can be traced to the writings of Max Weber and Frederick W. Taylor. The peculiar feature of this approach has been its emphasis on the hierarchical structure and behavioral requirements for efficient task organizations. Organizational structures are developed and people are selected to fit the structural requirements. Tasks are assigned to positions in the structure; these positions have authority, responsibility, and means of getting such tasks carried out. Structure stands above all other properties of "good organization" for
it is structure that gives continuity to organizations in the face of change.

The motivational approaches to administration and organizational theory differs greatly from the structural approaches. The results of the Hawthorne research were that the assumptions of the structural approaches, that the productivity of the worker is a function of economic incentive and efficient organizational design, were not complete. The human-relations research assumed that man could be motivated to work more productively by fulfilling certain of his socio-psychological needs. Major emphasis was placed on group interaction, participation, communication, and self-realization.

Definition of Leadership

It can be assumed that each approach to administration and organization has been designed to find the most ideal or effective means of obtaining the goals of the organization and the most effective administration. Amitai Etzioni has written the following on organizations:

Organizations are co-ordinated human efforts to realize specific goals. A major interest of the student of organizations is to determine the conditions under which attainment of such goals is promoted or hindered.  

From the following we can assume that effective leadership

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accomplishes certain specific goals. Chester Barnard defined leadership as "the quality of the behavior of individuals whereby they guide people or their activities in organized effort."²

The efficiency of an organization would therefore depend on the degree to which individuals assent to orders in order to achieve the specific goals of the organization. In order for a leader to promote such action and accomplish such goals, he must motivate those under his jurisdiction to want to achieve these goals. The cooperation of others is a vital element in the organization's efficiency.³

Lurther Urwick has taken Barnard's definition of leadership and has given it a slight modification. Instead of saying "the quality of behavior by which individuals guide people," he says "the quality of behavior in individuals by which others are drawn to accept their guidance."⁴ Most social psychologists agree, however, that leadership-trait theory is inadequate. The numerous studies of the personalities of leaders have failed to


find any consistent patterns of traits which characterize leaders. The effectiveness of a leader can only be measured to the extent to which his group is productive, or achieves its assigned goals. Group effectiveness will also necessarily depend on a number of factors unrelated to the leader's personality. Some of these are the group members' skills, the nature of the task, and the social context within which the group operates. Urwick has said of this,

The best combination of personality characteristics will vary with the job in hand, with the type of group to be led, the personalities of the individuals composing the group, and the time. A leader may be a good leader for a group at one time and in one set of circumstances, and less satisfactory, even for the same group, at another time or in other circumstances.

An ideal leader does not exist for every type of situation and for every organization. Neither can we assume that the classical theories of management or the human relations approaches are ideal models for every situation. Evaluation of leadership is a relative matter regardless of how objective it is claimed to be. The variables se-


6Ibid., p. 186.

7Ibid., p. 186.

lected and the criteria used in selecting the variables are related to several classes of events or characteristics. There can be no specific rules of leadership which will work well in all situations.\(^9\)

**Rensis Likert's Theory of Good Administration**

Rensis Likert has written a modified theory of management that seeks to build upon all that works best in existing practices. This is a theory based upon the principles and practices used by successful administrators found through an extensive research starting in 1947 at the University of Michigan, where Likert was the director of the Institute for Social Research. The approach sought to "measure such dimensions of organizational functioning as motivational forces, communication effectiveness, and decision-making processes."\(^10\)

The modified theory emphasizes the necessity of a high level of motivation throughout the organization directed toward achieving the objectives of the organization. No matter how highly motivated are its members nor how good its procedures, an organization will not be effective unless the efforts of its members are coordinated and focused. There needs to be an efficient interaction or mutual influence system which provides the mechanism through which the

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\(^10\)Ibid., p. 5.
goals and activities of the organization are integrated and coordinated.

The theory also takes conflict into consideration and assumes that,

Conflicts and differences always exist in a healthy, virile organization. Differences can lead to new and better methods of operation, but bitter and unresolved differences can immobilize an organization. The central problem thus becomes not how to eliminate conflict, but how to deal constructively with it.\textsuperscript{11}

The assumptions of this theory are suggested by the research dealing with the patterns of supervisory behavior displayed by the high-producing administrators in contrast to those who achieve mediocre or poor results. The studies of voluntary organization, such as will be dealt with in this thesis, revealed the same results.\textsuperscript{12}

The kind of direct treatment of subordinates by superiors which tends to result in the highest productivity, highest motivation, and highest satisfaction shows a consistent pattern, according to Likert's findings, having the following general characteristics:

1. Attitude and behavior of superior toward the subordinate as a person (as perceived by the subordinate).
   a. He is supportive, friendly and helpful rather than hostile. He is kind but firm, never threatening, genuinely interested in the well-being of subordinates and their families and endeavors to treat people in a sensitive, considerate manner.

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., p. 117.
\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., p. 140.
erate way.
b. He has confidence in the integrity, ability and motivations of subordinates rather than being suspicious and distrustful.
c. His confidence in subordinates leads him to have high expectations as to the level of performance by subordinates.
d. He sees that each subordinate is well-trained for his particular job. He also endeavors to help subordinates to obtain promotion by training them for the next level job.
e. He helps subordinates to grow by giving them freedom to participate in decisions and to make decisions, and he is supportive rather than punitive when they make mistakes.
f. He seeks to know and use their 'ideas' and to draw upon their experience. To facilitate this flow of ideas and influence, he seeks to develop an atmosphere of confidence and trust and a group form of organization.

2. Behavior of superior in organizing and directing work:
a. He engages in such activities as planning and organizing the work to be done, training subordinates, supplying them with materials and tools of satisfactory quality, initiating work activity.

3. Behavior of superior in developing subordinates into a good working team which has a friendly, cooperative atmosphere with high group loyalty.13

These propositions are built upon research results that strongly support the general proposition that subordinates react favorably to experiences which they feel are supportive and contribute to their sense of importance and personal worth. According to Likert,

This general pattern of reaction appears to be universal and provides the basis for a general formula to derive the above named operating procedures likely to yield high and cumulative motivation and an effective interaction system and

finally accomplish the goals of the organization.\textsuperscript{14}

The ability of a superior to behave in a supportive manner to meet the needs and desires of the individual members and also achieve the objectives of the organization is almost virtually impossible. The principle of supportive relationship, consequently points to the necessity for an adequate degree of harmony between organizational objectives and the individual needs of its members.

According to Likert, achieving the goals of the organization are determined to a large degree by the use of the human resources available to the administrator,

The leadership and other processes of the organization must be such as to ensure a maximum probability that in all interactions and in all relationships within the organization, each member, in the light of his background, values, desires, and expectations, will view the experience as supportive and one which builds and maintains his sense of personal worth and importance.\textsuperscript{15}

In applying this principle, the relationship between the superior and subordinate is crucial. This relationship, as the principle specifies, should be one which is supportive and ego-building. The more often the superior's behavior is ego-building rather than ego-defeating, the better will be the effect to his behavior on organizational performance:

Both the behavior of the superior and the

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., p. 102.

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., p. 103.
employee's perceptions of the situation must be such that the subordinate, in the light of his background, values, and expectations, sees the experience as one which contributes to his sense of personal worth and importance, one which increases and maintains his sense of significance and human dignity. 16

Application to Joseph Smith

The author of this thesis in searching for a model of administration that could be used as a basis for a study of the administration of Joseph Smith, considers Likert's model appropriate because it's applicability to almost all periods and situations. This is based on Likert's premise:

Each of us seeks to achieve and maintain a sense of personal worth and importance primarily from the people we are close to, in whom we are interested, and whose approval and support we are eager to have. It can be concluded that management will make full use of the potential capacities of its human resources only when each person in an organization is a member of one or more groups of decision making. 17

The findings of Likert's research are also the results of an analysis of all previous approaches to administration. Joseph Smith is removed from us in time and circumstances. Adequate data is not available concerning the background for all of his administrative decisions and their long-range results. This study will deal primarily with those incidents where sufficient information is available. The study of his administration will be done chronologically


17 Rensis, New Patterns of Management, p. 105.
according to the years 1830-1844.

This thesis does not treat the historical development of Mormonism but assumes the reader is familiar with its early history. It neither supports or contests Joseph Smith's claims to supernatural revelations. If the reader considers his revelations as divine, the reader can then learn from this thesis how he put these heavenly mandates into practical operation as an administrator. If he does not believe them to be divine, this thesis will simply describe Joseph Smith's particular mode of administration.

Incidents from Joseph Smith's administration have been evaluated by three students used to obtain an objective evaluation. The students came from a psychology class taught by Dr. Wendon Moffitt. The students represent three different types of backgrounds. They agreed to be as objective as humanly possible and not let any personal biases or beliefs affect their evaluation of Joseph Smith's administrative techniques. The first student was a Protestant, the second student was from Iran and a member of the Moslem religion, the third student was a Latter-day Saint from Utah who was unfamiliar with the characteristics of Joseph Smith as a leader. Throughout this thesis, numbers will appear along the margin. These will refer to particular incidents that were evaluated. The results of this evaluation will be found in the concluding chapter of this thesis.
Definition of Terms

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as it is presently designated, was established in Fayette, New York, April 6, 1830, by Joseph Smith and five other charter members. The Church, The Church Organization and the organization are synonymous terms to identify the above institution in this thesis. Members of the Church will be designated as Members, followers, Saints, Latter-day Saints and Mormons. The founder of the Church will be referred to by his name, Joseph and Joseph Smith, or his title, The Prophet in this work.

The primary sources which have been studied in this research include The History of Joseph Smith, a daily account kept by Joseph Smith of his administration. It will be referred to as it appeared in the Times and Seasons, The Millennial Star and the Documentated History of the Church compiled by Brigham H. Roberts. The Journal of Discourses as well as other personal accounts from those who were under his administration, both pro-Mormon and anti-Mormon have been referred to. Autobiographies, diaries and letters have also been studied from those who were familiar with Joseph Smith's administration.
CHAPTER II

FORMATION OF THE ORGANIZATION

America was a young country in 1830. It had just entered into a new era of its history known as the Jacksonian era. Men of quality and wealth who had dominated public service during the Federalist period and the Jeffersonian era were now replaced by ordinary citizens elected from long ballot. With a rich and theretofore unexploited country, Americans were engaged in manufacturing a nationality of their own. Many, if not most, Americans were fully aware of the idealistic beliefs their ancestors had fought for in the War of 1776, only fifty years previously. They had a firm faith in democracy and freedom and were an independent and self-reliant people. One historian describes them:

They were a very optimistic people and being optimistic, were profit-minded and risk-minded, rather than security and thrift-minded... a mixture of restless vigor and idealistic fervor characterized these early Americans.¹

Western New York had been first settled after the War of 1812. The early settlers were farmers who migrated from the eastern seashore in search of favorable lands. Educa-

tional opportunities were extremely limited. Palmyra and Manchester were in particular small and isolated from large cities or the wealthy commercial areas. Among the religious groups of the area revivals were held frequently and very strong emotional feelings and intolerances erupted among the various creeds.2

George A. Smith grew up at the same time and at the same location as his cousin Joseph. He calls Joseph "a ploughboy - one who cultivates the earth, [one who] had scarcely education enough to read his Bible."3 As a youth, Joseph claimed that through heavenly visitations of resurrected beings he received the commission to restore the primitive Apostolic Church, organized by the Savior during his ministry upon the earth. He claimed that one messenger, in particular, instructed him to translate a history of the earlier inhabitants of the Americas - a remnant of the House of Israel. This record became known as The Book of Mormon and acted as a foundation for the organization that would follow.

To a neighborhood easily excited by revivals and intolerant of those not professing established faiths,


Joseph's announcement was met by strong opposition. Yet Joseph was thoroughly convinced of his position and that he must meet the opposition and establish an organization. As Joseph claimed supernatural revelation to motivate others this would classify him, according to Max Weber's definition, as a charismatic leader:

Charisma is a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities.⁴

As a charismatic leader, there were three specific individuals who assisted him in the initial organization of the Church: Martin Harris, Oliver Cowdery and Peter Whitmer.

The first of these men, Martin Harris, offered $50 to Joseph and his wife to assist them in a journey to Pennsylvania to translate *The Book of Mormon*. Harris was a farmer of average means and attracted to the supernatural claims of his young neighbor. Joseph was writing a manuscript that would one day need publishing and Harris was desirous to know if Joseph were telling the truth. Harris fulfilled four functions. First, he went to a New York professor and obtained verification that the characters from the records were of an ancient Egyptian language. Second, he acted as scribe for 116 pages. Third, he mortgaged his farm to pay $3,000 to publish the book, and

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fourth, he was a special witness to the authenticity of the book, signing his name that he saw an angel and observed the plates upon which the records were written.

Martin Harris was to cause Joseph, in spite of these assets, a great setback. Harris insisted on taking the manuscript he had written to show his relatives. Joseph placed him under a solemn oath not to do otherwise. He was, however, negligent and lost the manuscript. Joseph recorded himself being rebuked by God and for six months his work was terminated and he returned to plowing the earth.

The second person, Oliver Cowdery, was a school teacher who had boarded with Joseph's parents and through his own efforts and prayers believed Joseph's account. He was young and also a gifted and versatile writer. Oliver became invaluable. First, he publically claimed to have received a visitation from John the Baptist who ordained him and Joseph with the authority to baptize. This act would distinguish Joseph's organization as the only church to claim to be empowered to perform baptisms that would be sanctioned by Heaven. Second, Oliver, through letters, enlisted the support of his friends, the Whitmer family, who gave the young Prophet free board and room until the book was published and the church organized. Third, Oliver also acted as a special witness to the records with Harris and David Whitmer. Oliver proved such an asset that he was
made the "second elder" of the organization. In this function, he could also act as a second charismatic figure in the absence of the Prophet.

The third party was Peter Whitmer and his family. Peter Whitmer was an elderly, honorable German. His three sons, Peter, David and John were all young and enthusiastic. Their home, a large wealthy home for the 1820's, built in a colonial style with white pillars was used to initially organize the church. Five members of the Whitmer family signed their names as witnesses to the fact that Joseph possessed the ancient records.

In June of 1829, Joseph gathered his brothers Hyrum and Samuel, the Whitmer family and Oliver Cowdery together in the chamber of the Whitmer home to coordinate their activities into an organized church. Here it was decided the precise date for the organization and that all ordinations to positions of leadership would be postponed until that date where all of the baptized followers could vote on that decision. This was an exercise of democratic leadership. Joseph stated that "all things were to be done by common consent" of the members in his organization.5 Twelve apostles were planned for the future. This was to have the church conform to the primitive church of Christ with a hierarchy of traveling twelve apostles. The three

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special witnesses were delegated to search out these men and to choose them. The selection of line officers is an important decision to any leader and in this case it was delegated to three of Joseph's assistants.

Joseph also delegated his brother Hyrum and Oliver to supervise the printing of his translated manuscript. The following are the instructions he gave them. Note in particular the details and the caution to which Joseph instructed them to coordinate this assignment:

First, that Oliver Cowdery transcribe the whole manuscript.
Second, that he take but one copy at a time to the office so that if one copy should get destroyed, there would still be a copy remaining.
Third, that in going to and from the office, he should always have a guard to attend him . . .
Fourth, that a guard should be kept constantly on watch, both night and day, about the house to protect the manuscript. 6

On the 6th of April, 1830, Joseph met with a small group in the Whitmer home where it was unanimously voted to organize a church and to accept Joseph and Oliver as First and Second Elders respectively. 7 Joseph and Oliver ordained each other as previously instructed in a revelation, and then ordained the other four who took part in the founda-


tion ceremonies. Several persons who were at this meeting were baptized that day in Seneca Lake, among which were Joseph's parents, Martin Harris and Orrin Porter Rockwell.

On the day the Church was officially organized, Joseph issued a revelation designating his own position as "a seer, a translator, a prophet, and apostle of Jesus Christ, [and] an elder of the church." His position of leadership was defined in the following terms:

Wherefore, meaning the Church, thou shalt give heed unto all his words, and commandments, which he shall give unto you as he receiveth them, walking in all holiness before me; for his word ye shall receive as if from mine own mouth, in all patience and faith; for by doing these things, the gates of hell shall not prevail against you.8

Joseph gave his organization its first set of directions and instructions in a revelation entitled "articles and covenants for the Church of Christ." These articles and covenants gave a summary of Book of Mormon doctrines and the calling of Joseph to be a prophet. The mode of baptism and of blessing the sacrament were outlined as they appear in the Book of Mormon, the translated record. The duties of elders, priests, teachers, deacons and members were also listed. The Church was required to meet together in conference once in three months.

Conclusion

The initial organization of the Church was a process

8Book of Commandments (Chap. XXII, vss. 4-5), p. 45.
shared by several individuals. Eleven persons claimed to have viewed the Book of Mormon plates and the decisions to organize the Church were not only in response to the revelations of the Prophet alone, but by the common consent and vote of those who believed in the divine calling of Joseph Smith. Thus "the interaction or mutual influence system" specified by Likert's model which provides the mechanism through which the goals and activities of the organization are integrated and coordinated have been utilized in this particular case.\footnote{Supra, p. 8.}

"The articles and covenants for the Church of Christ" were important to the organization in that they provided rules and procedures for the elders, priests, teachers, deacons and members to proceed upon. The organization meeting on April 6, 1830 was by no means the complete organization of the church structure. Additional offices, directives and instructions appear later as the organization grows and expands and the needs for the offices arise. While forming the church organization, Joseph worked with those assisting him in a team effort, utilizing their particular abilities. His approach followed Likert's model in that he gave them freedom in participation and displayed confidence in them.
CHAPTER III

BEGINNING OF THE ADMINISTRATION
(1830)

Joseph Smith began his administration by delegating Oliver Cowdery to give the first public discourse on the Sunday following the organization of the Church. He proceeded to Colesville, New York to organize a branch of the Church. Newel Knight, a young farmer's son, became his follower after he claimed Joseph had cast the devil from him, the first miracle to be performed in the Church. Mary Elizabeth Rollins described Joseph as announcing the presence of the Savior at one of their meetings. Joseph thus began to attract rising public attention. Among this attention, however, were mobs distracting his meetings and animosities from other religious leaders and their followers.

The first conference of the Church was held in June, 1830 at the Whitmer home with about thirty people in attendance. The minutes of the conference show its simplicity. Note in particular the shared participation Joseph used to conduct the conference.

Minutes of the first conference held in the

1Mary Elizabeth Rollins, Autobiography, Typewritten copy in Special Collections Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah
township of Fayette, Seneca County, State of New York by the Elders of this Church, June 9, 1830, according to the Church articles and covenants . . . Joseph Smith Jun. read the 14th chapter of Ezekiel and prayed; he then read the articles and covenants which were received by unanimous voice of the whole congregation, consisting of most of the male members of the Church. Samuel H. Smith was then ordained an Elder under the hands of Oliver Cowdery; Joseph Smith Sen. and Hyrum Smith were ordained Priests. After exhortation by Joseph Smith Jun. and Oliver Cowdery, the conference adjourned till the 26th of September, 1830, to be held in Fayette. Oliver Cowdery was appointed to keep the Church records and conference minutes until the next conference. Prayer was then offered by all the brethren present, and the benediction was offered by Oliver Cowdery.2

Joseph returned to Colesville to continue his work among the Knight family and neighborhood. Opposition to his preaching grew, even to the extent of two public arrests and court trials. These two trials were a very humiliating experience. After the acquittal the mobs continued harassing the Prophet and his few followers. Joseph then returned to his farm in Pennsylvania — back to the peaceful earth. Here he recorded a revelation known as the vision of Moses that described the calling of Moses by God to be a Prophet. Moses was shown in vision the earth and all its inhabitants. God's entire work is described to him for man's benefit, "to bring to pass [His] immortality and eternal life."3

2Journal History, 9 June 1830, Unpublished daily journal of the Church, Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah; hereafter cited as Journal History.

3Joseph Smith, "The Book of Moses," Pearl of Great Price (Salt Lake City, Utah: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1966), p. 4.
Moses' position to his people was described:

Blessed art thou Moses, for I, the Almighty, have chosen thee, and thou shalt be made stronger than many waters; for they shall obey thy command as if thou wert God.  

This also became a prototype for Joseph's own position over his own followers. Before his death, after fourteen years of administration over the Church organization, Joseph said, "I must teach the Elders, and they should teach you. God made Aaron to be the mouthpiece for the children of Israel, and He will make me be god to you in His stead, and the Elders to be mouth for me ..."  

Lorenzo Snow later said, "Moses was as God to the children of Israel, so was Joseph to us, and no man could love God without loving Joseph. In him centered the revelations of God."  

A special revelation was given to Emma Smith, Joseph's wife, while at the farm which designated her role in the Church. She was called to select hymns and to exhort the Church. She was also to act as a scribe in Oliver's absence and told specifically to beware of pride. "Let thy soul delight in thy husband, and the glory which shall come upon him."  

Emma did assist her husband a great deal after this revelation which called her an elect lady. She wrote  

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4Ibid., p. 3.  
5DHC, Vol. 6, p. 408.  
6Journal History, 16 February 1849.  
7Book of Commandments (Chap. XXVI, vs. 16), pp. 58-9.
letters, assisted with the tithings and helped to make clothing for those who went on missions and who worked on the temple.8

The responsibility of having established an organization and the need to preside over it became apparent while Joseph was upon the farm. A revelation of this period said that he should magnify his office for "in temporal labors he would not have strength."9 and that after his fields were sowed he should go back to the churches in Colesville, Fayette and Manchester, and that there the members would support him.

Before returning to the Church branches in New York, Joseph received a letter from Oliver Cowdery telling him that he had found an error in one of the revelations and instructed him to erase part of it. Joseph asked him, in return, by what authority he took upon himself to ask him to do so. The matter, however, was not settled by letter. Oliver had influenced the Whitmer family that his opinion was correct. Joseph went to Fayette personally to "reason" with them. He first won Christian Whitmer to his position that the revelation was correct and in harmony with the rest of the scriptures. Together they reasoned with the rest of the family and with Oliver until they all came to the same


9Book of Commandments (Chap. XXV, vs. 14), p. 56.
conclusion.  

By using his authority to reason with Oliver and the Whitmer family, he avoided a serious power struggle and a division within the organization that could have proved very serious in its infancy.

Not only did a power struggle errupt between Joseph and Oliver, but Hiram Page began receiving revelations through a seer stone concerning the location of the city "New Jerusalem" or Zion. The Book of Mormon referred to this city as to be built in the last days and naturally the first members were anxious to know more details concerning it. Joseph decided to let the matter rest until the appointed September conference, only a month away. In letting the issue remain unchallenged, many began to believe in Page's seership. Joseph thus issued a revelation to Oliver Cowdery, telling him to take Hiram between himself alone and tell him that his revelations were false and not of God. In the revelation, Joseph's position was specifically states as:

No one shall be appointed to receive commandments and revelations in this church, except my servant Joseph, for he receiveth them even as Moses.  

Oliver was told further "Thou shalt not command him who is at thy head." The revelation, brought forth to meet the circumstances of Hiram Page, was pointed more at Oliver for

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11 Book of Commandments (Chap. XXX, vs. 2), p. 67.
he had presented more of an obstacle in the hierarchy of the organization.

Before the second conference, Joseph took up residence in Waterloo and met Parley P. Pratt for the first time. Pratt was to later become a leader under the Prophet's direction. He described Joseph as greeting him heartily, in a frank and kind manner, having an easy and familiar nature, with a noble boldness and independence of character. "His language flowed forth in its own native simplicity... His countenance was mild, affable, beaming with intelligence and benevolence; mingled with a look of interest and an unconscious smile." Two specific qualities he ascribed to Joseph as a leader, were wisdom and generosity. Pratt was especially impressed by the glance of Joseph's eyes. He called it serene, but also penetrating, as though it could penetrate the deepest abyss of the human heart.

The second conference was held September the 26th at Fayette. The minutes are interesting in light of the power struggle that had preceded the conference:

Sunday, September 26, 1830
The second conference of the Church of Christ was held by the Elders of the Church at Fayette, New York. The following Elders were present:
Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, John Whitmer, Peter Whitmer, Samuel Smith and Thomas Marsh. Joseph Smith was appointed to preside over the meeting, and he was also appointed by

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the voice of the conference to receive and write revelations. The president then read the 5th chapter of Isaiah and prayed. The articles and covenants were read by Oliver Cowdery and remarks were made by Joseph Smith. According to the report, thirty-five members had united with the Church since the last conference, making the whole membership of the Church up to date, sixty-two. 13

A revelation during the conference corrected Hiram Page's teachings and said that although it wasn't revealed yet where the city Zion was to be built, that it "shall be on the borders, by the Lamanites," in the area of Missouri. Oliver Cowdery and Peter Whitmer were appointed to go on a mission to this area.

Several others desired to accompany them on this mission. Through another revelation, Joseph selected Parley P. Pratt and Ziba Peterson to accompany them.

The missionary team stopped in Ohio where Parley P. Pratt went to discuss his new faith with his former Pastor, Sidney Rigdon, who had separated from the Baptist church with Alexander Campbell and set up a reformed church. 14 Sidney Rigdon was converted to Mormonism and brought 20 members of his congregation into the church with him. The Prophet delegated John Whitmer to go and preside over this branch.

In December, Sidney Rigdon journeyed to New York.

13Journal History, 26 September 1830.
14This church became known as the "Disciples" or "Campbellites." Today it goes by the title "The Church of Christ," the title by which the L.D.S. Church went in 1830.
Evidently there grew a jealousy on the part of David Whitmer at the appearance of Rigdon who was twelve years older than Joseph and experienced in religion and oratory. David Whitmer wrote of this occasion:

Joseph rejoiced, believing that the Lord had sent to him this great and mighty man . . . to help him in the work. rigdon was a thorough Bible scholar, a man of fine education and a powerful orator. he soon worked himself deep into Joseph's affections, and had more influence over him than any other man living. He was Brother Joseph's private counselor, and his most intimate friend and brother for some time after they met. 15

Joseph records a revelation after Rigdon's arrival telling him that he was sent as John the Baptist to prepare the way by teaching baptism, but now could also add the gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands. He was told to become Joseph's scribe and to assist him. 16

Joseph was greatly hindered by poor public relations in New York State from accomplishing his goals. The Rochester newspaper, for example in reviewing the Book of Mormon called it "A vile imposition . . . an evidence of fraud, blasphemy, and credulity, shocking both to Christians and moralists." 17 Joseph's neighbors, who resented his religious claims, later declared him and his family "lazy,

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15 David Whitmer, An Address to All Believers in Christ, By A Witness to the Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon (Richmond, Mo.: 1887), p. 46.
16 Book of Commandments (Chap. XXXVII), pp. 75-78.
17 Rochester Daily Herald, April 2, 1830.
indolent and desolate of moral character."\textsuperscript{18}

John Whitmer requested assistance in regulating the affairs of the Church at Kirtland. Joseph, after praying, decided to move his organization to Ohio. His next step was to convince his followers. The manuscript history kept by John Whitmer states that there was a division among the people, "some would not receive it as the word of the Lord, but that Joseph had invented it himself to deceive them."\textsuperscript{19} A conference was appointed for the 2nd of January. The revelation ordering the move to Ohio told them that their enemies in secret chambers sought their lives and that those that would move would be given greater riches, "even a land of promise" which they would possess in eternity. Rigdon's group, under the leadership of Lyman Wight, were living a common order, somewhat patterned after the New Testament Church. The revelation sanctioned this united order and concluded, "if ye are not one ye are not mine."\textsuperscript{20}

Conclusion

The articles and covenants which Joseph provided for

\textsuperscript{18}Eber D. Howe, \textit{Mormonism Unveiled} (Painesville, Ohio, 1834).


\textsuperscript{20}Book of Commandments (Chap. XL, vss. 19-22), pp. 82-83.
his organization were written for a small group with a limited span of control. Joseph was simply the First Elder and presided over the other Elders who were equal in power and who simply conducted meetings. The priests, teachers and deacons assisted the elders. Oliver was the leading elder in Fayette, Hyrum in Manchester and Joseph in Colesville. The power struggles were of a nature that could be handled easily for these young men had a respect for each other and together had laid the foundation of their organization.

Although Joseph was only 24 years old and somewhat uneducated and unexperienced in administration, he showed a great ability in handling situations at this early stage. His handling of the power struggles within the organization are one example. By using his authority to reason with Oliver Cowdery and Hiram Page, he avoided a serious division that could have proven very serious in the infancy of the church organization. His constructive use of the conflicts well fit the methods as specified in Likert's modified theory of leadership.21

We can imagine the feelings of these younger men of backwoods New York as the well-educated and versatile Sidney Rigdon moved into the confidence of Joseph and asked him to transfer his organization to Ohio. A division then erupted. They had laid the foundation; they were

21 Supra, p. 6, n. 11.
the special witnesses and yet Sidney Rigdon is declared to be the one who prepared the way as John the Baptist had done. These same feelings would most likely also exist in Ohio and would require a good administrator to resolve them.
CHART NO. 1

1830: Structure of the Church of Christ
As Specified by the Articles
and Covenants

First Elder

Second Elder

Elders

Priests

Teachers

Deacons
CHAPTER IV

EARLY PROBLEMS IN ADMINISTRATION

(1831)

Sidney Rigdon's conversion in Ohio gave Mormonism an advertisement and an introduction for Joseph that few things could have equaled. He had been one of the most prominent orators of religion on the western reserve. Alexander Campbell, fearing that his organization would suffer due to the new movement, published a tract against the Book of Mormon. After a personal tour of Ohio, he believed that "the delusion of 1830," had lost its charm. 1

Joseph's own introduction, according to tradition, was less publicized, but none the less dramatic. He arrived in a sleigh with his wife, Sidney Rigdon and Edward Partridge and pulled up in front of the Gilbert and Whitney store. Joseph went inside and said to the junior partner, "Newel K. Whitney! Thou art the man," as though he were speaking to a familiar acquaintance. Newel, not recognizing the stranger, appeared at a loss; Joseph extended his hand, and smiling as Newel shook it, said, "I am Joseph the Prophet. You've prayed me here, now what do you want of

me?"² Newel provided him with a residence for several weeks as Joseph started his administration in Ohio.

Joseph's youth and inexperience in administration often caused a lack of confidence in the beginning of his Ohio residence. Joel Hills Johnson reported Joseph to have said, "'I suppose you think that I am a great green luberly fellow!' . . . His expression was an exact representation of his person, being large, and tall and not having a particle of beard about his face."³ Others were also unimpressed to have a young and unexperienced man to be their leader. One convert to the church wrote, "Joseph Smith was not such a looking man as I expected to see. He looked green and not very intelligent. I felt disappointed and returned home rather cast down."⁴

Heber C. Kimball felt that the young Prophet had little control over the church during its early period:

I have heard brother Brigham say that a Bishop now has more influence over his ward than Joseph had over the church in his day. Joseph could not so thoroughly control the people, for they were wild like bulls; but when he could not make them do what he wanted them to, he suffered them to do what they pleased.⁵


³Joel Hills Johnson, Journal, Located in Special Collections Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, p. 11.

⁴Luman Andus Shurtliff, Journal, Located in Special Collections Library, Brigham Young University, p. 19.

Joseph met with many administrative decisions in 1831 that had to be made. First, he had to gather and care for the members that would come from New York. Second, he found the communal society in Kirtland poorly managed, the members felt "that what belonged to one brother, belonged to any of the brethren, therefore they would take each other's clothes and other property which caused confusion." Third, they had strange, spiritual meetings where the members were drawn into contortions and fits, attributing it to inspiration. Joseph described his need to proceed with "a little caution and some wisdom."  

Edward Partridge was appointed to administer the gathering of the New York members on a tract of land donated by Leman Copley. Thus originated the office of "bishop," designed to handle the temporal affairs of the church. Joseph wrote Martin Harris to come first so that when the Colesville's members came they would have places to go. His letter said:

You will also inform the Elders who are there in New York State, that all of them who can be spared should come here without delay, if possible, and this by commandment of the Lord, as he has a great work for them all in this our inheritance. We have received the laws of the kingdom since we came here, and the disciples in these parts have received them gladly. You will see that Father Smith's family are taken care of and sent on. You will send to Colesville and have either Hyrum Smith or Newel Knight come immediately, or both

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of them if they can be spared. You will not sell the books for less than ten shillings. 8

In response to the poorly managed communal order, Joseph issued the law of consecration. It began as follows:

If thou lovest me, thou shalt serve me and keep all my commandments; and behold, thou shalt consecrate all thy properties, that which thou hast unto me, with a covenant and a deed which cannot be broken; and they shall be laid before the bishop of my church. 9

Edward Partridge, as bishop, was to receive the member's possessions and then return to him "sufficient for himself and family" over which the member would be a steward. The residue would be kept in a storehouse and used to administer to the poor, for the church to purchase lands and become financially independent. "It was my endeavor," said Joseph, "to so organize the Church that the brethren might eventually be independent of every incumbrance beneath the Celestial Kingdom, by bonds and covenants of mutual friendship and mutual love." 10

Joseph was wise in delegating these two responsibili-

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8 Journal History, 2 February 1831.
10 DHC, Vol. I, p. 269. Also at this initial beginning, they were commanded, "Thou shalt contract no debts with the world, except thou art commanded." Book of Commandments (Chap. XLIV, vs. 55), p. 95. Accordingly he taught, "it is the word and commandment of the Lord to his servants that they shall never do another day's work, nor spend another dollar to build up a Gentile city or nation ... never lay out another dollar while you live, to advance the world in its present state; it is full of wickedness and violence." Journal of Discourses, Vol. II, pp. 294-5.
ties to Edward Partridge. According to Brigham Young, Joseph's followers were convinced that he understood spiritual matters, yet were unsure of his abilities to manage temporal affairs:

When temporal matters were talked of, men were ready to decide at once, that they knew more than the Prophet about such matters; and they did so decide.

The first Bishops of this Church said they believed with all their hearts, that they understood temporal matters far better than the Prophet Joseph.

There was not enough confidence in the people to satisfy them that the Prophet knew how to handle money, or what to do with it; they did not believe he knew how to manage temporal affairs.11

In response to the problem of contortions and fits within the Ohio Church, Joseph gathered together the elders and bishops under him for a period of instructions and training so that they would know how to govern the Church.12

"Let us reason together," said the revelation, "That which doth not edify is not of God and is darkness. That which is of God is light."13 Parley P. Pratt and Edward Partridge were assigned specifically to teach the people; the bishops and elders were to watch over the church and discern the gifts of the spirit.

Other decisions during the first six months in Ohio required less attention but were none the less important.14

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12 Book of Commandments (Chap. XLII, vs. 4), p. 88.
13 Ibid., (Chap. LIII, vss. 11-22), p. 120.
John Whitmer was requested to take Oliver Cowdery's place as Church Historian during his absence. John said that he did not want the position but reconsidered after the appointment was confirmed by a revelation. He wrote a history patterned after the language of the Book of Mormon. Six years later he fell into disfavor and refused to give up his records. Joseph and Sidney wrote a letter to him at that time, saying that his notes needed correction and added, "Indeed, sir, we never supposed you capable of writing a history, but were willing to let it come out under your name, notwithstanding it would really not be yours, but ours."\textsuperscript{14}

Zeal and unrestrained enthusiasm of some members caused offense and scorn against the Church. Harris, upon arriving in Kirtland, "was very flippant, talking fast and loud, in order that others could not interpose an opinion counter to his."\textsuperscript{15} Joseph, in meeting this, counseled the elders against such behavior. On one occasion he wrote:

And many, we have reason to fear, having a zeal not according to knowledge, not understanding the pure principle of the doctrine of the church, have no doubt, in the heat of enthusiasm, taught and said many things which are derogatory to the genuine character and principles of the church, and for these things we are heartily sorry, and would apologize if an apology would do any good.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{14}Me\textsuperscript{15}m\textsuperscript{16}millennial Star, Vol. XVI, p. 133.
\textsuperscript{15}Ebenezer Robinson, "Items of Personal History of the Editor," The Return, Vol. I, No. 8, p. 115.
\textsuperscript{16}Mess\textsuperscript{17}m\textsuperscript{18}enger and Advocate, (Sept. 1835), Vol. II, No. 12, p. 180.
At the June Conference, 1831, two important administrative decisions were made. The first was the addition of an office known as "high priest" to the church hierarchy. Second was the appointment of several men to travel with Joseph to meet the Lamanite missionary group and choose a site for a city to be called, "The city of Zion." Edward Partridge was chosen to supervise the "Zion" project in Missouri.

Upon arriving in Missouri, Joseph proclaimed Independence as the center place for the city of Zion and the land of their inheritance. Martin Harris, the financier for the Book of Mormon, was chosen to set an example by giving his money to Bishop Edward Partridge in order to obtain his inheritance.

Actually, Missouri in 1831 was no promised land. It was then the outer border of the United States and a stopping area for those going westward. The majority of settlers came mainly from the south, some of whom had moved to the western wilderness to escape the consequence of unlawful deeds committed elsewhere. The land was little less than rolling prairies and isolated from civilization. Joseph was confronted with motivating those who had followed him to stay. A revelation which followed described their rewards if they would be faithful and the future of Zion:

And inasmuch as ye do these things with thanksgiving, with a glad heart and a cheerful countenance . . . the fulness of the earth is yours . . . yea, all things which come of the earth, in the season
thereof ... both to please the eye and to gladen the heart . . . .

He who doeth the works of righteousness shall receive his reward, even peace in this world and eternal life in the world to come. 17

The dedication of the land for the gathering of the Saints was very dramatic and also very well planned. Joseph chose Sidney Rigdon, well known as an orator, to dedicate the land. With a loud voice, he asked the 60 members, "Do you pledge yourselves to keep the law of God in this land which you never have kept in your own lands?" They shouted, "Yes," and Rigdon pronounced the land consecrated as a possession and inheritance for the Saints. 18

Ezra Booth, a minister converted through one of Joseph's miracles, accompanied the group to Missouri and upon his return wrote a number of letters criticizing the young Prophet. Booth said that his first objection came when they first went to Missouri. Joseph, he claimed, had prophesied that Cowdery had raised a large Church but there were only a few members. He quotes Sidney Rigdon as having said that Joseph's vision was a bad thing. Bishop Partridge had been more insolent than Rigdon and Booth quoted a revelation that was given to Partridge to admonish his disrespectfulness. 19

In a letter to Bishop Partridge, which was published

17Book of Commandments (Chap. LX, vss. 24-34), pp. 141-2.
in the *Ohio Star* along with his other exposes, Booth writes:

> Now, permit me to inquire, have you not frequently observed in Joseph, a want of the sobriety, prudence, and stability? ... Have you not often discovered in him a spirit of lightness and levity, a temper of mind easily irritated, and an habitual proneness to jesting and joking? Have you not reason then to believe, or at least to suspect, that the revelations which come from him, are something short of infallible, and instead of being the production of divine wisdom, emanate from his own weak mind?{

In response to the published letters in the *Ohio Star*, Joseph sent out a number of elders to visit the branches and try to lessen the consequences of the letters upon the members. He himself then went on a speaking tour throughout the regions around Kirtland to defend his own administration. Joseph attracted wide attention because of prophetic claims. People were constantly asking the young, twenty-six-year-old prophet for some miraculous sign. George A. Smith related how Joseph handled one of these cases:

> When the Church was first founded, you could see persons rise up and ask, 'What sign will you show us that we may be made to believe?' I recollect a Campbellite preacher coming a considerable distance to be convinced of the truth ... Joseph commenced laying before him the coming forth of the work, when Mr. Hayden exclaimed, 'O this is not the evidence I want, the evidence that I wish to have is a notable miracle; if you perform such a one, then I will believe with all my heart and soul ...' 'Well,' said Joseph, 'what will you have done? Will you be struck blind, or dumb? Will you be paralyzed, or will you have one hand withered? Take your choice, and in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ it shall be done.' 'That is not the kind of miracle I want,' said the preacher. 'Then sir,'

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replied Joseph, 'I can perform none, I am not going to bring any trouble upon any body else, sir, to convince you.'

Lorenzo Snow said that on one occasion Joseph was asked who he was: "The Prophet smiled kindly upon his interlocutor and replied, 'Noah came before the flood; I have come before the fire.'"

Joseph continued to proclaim Jackson County, Missouri as the promised land of Zion and the land the Saints would inherit in eternity. To motivate others to journey there he wrote the following description of the area:

The beautiful rolling prairies spread out like a sea of meadows; and are decorated with a growth of flowers so gorgeous and grand as to exceed description; the varied timber of the bottoms, the plums and grapes and persimmons and the flowers; the rich soil—and wild game—it bids fair to become one of the most blessed places on earth . . . .

All impediments vanish when it is recollected what the Prophets have said concerning Zion in the last days; how the glory of Lebanon is to come upon her; the fir tree, the pine tree, and the box tree together, to beautify the place of His sanctuary, that He may make the place of His feet glorious.

Conclusion

The simple organization of elders no longer would suffice for an organization that would soon reach into the thousands and for such projects as the City of Zion project

or the United Order. The office of Bishop was incorporated early in the year to handle all temporal affairs and the office of high priest was introduced later that year for administrative assignments.

Joseph faced many hindrances in 1831. Several members lacked confidence in his handling of temporal matters. These matters he delegated to Edward Partridge, a well-known businessman. This was a wise decision because of his own youth and lack of experience in these areas. The Prophet gathered the Bishops and Elders together for periods of instructions and then gave them complete authority to solve the initial problems of contortions and the temporal management of the church. These particular decisions are characteristics of effective administration according to Likert's model. Joseph also issued some forth revelations that year to substantiate his decisions. Animosities still existed and a dual base of operations was an advantage administratively in separating jealous parties.

The trip to Missouri and the establishment of Zion showed a great achievement on Joseph's part in motivating many of his followers to undertake such a project, but also showed problems in maintaining support from others, such as Ezra Booth. With the Booth letters printed in the newspapers, their effects, according to the Ohio Star, were beginning to have an "important influence in opening the

\[24\] Supra, p. 7, Characteristics 1c and 1d.
eyes of many of the really deluded subjects of Mormonism." Joseph would now have to give his followers a more firm foundation to build upon.

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CHAPTER V

YEARS OF IDEALS AND REALITIES
(1832-33)

In order to give his organization a set of instructions and guidelines, Joseph spent two weeks with his key advisors in conferences to have his revelations published in a book, *The Book of Commandments*. Some discussion ensued as to the poor English and grammatical mistakes in the revelations. Joseph told them to select the wisest among themselves and let him write a revelation like any of his. William M'Lellin tried but failed in his attempt. Joseph had all nine who were present sign a testimony as to the truthfulness of the revelations. The significant point is that Joseph worked with and through his line and staff in order to have their unanimous approval before making his revelations, or decisions public to the other members of the organization. Orson Hyde said that:

*There is a way by which all revelations purporting to be from God through any man can be tested. Brother Joseph gave us the plan, says he, when all the quorums are assembled and organized in order, let the revelation be presented to the quorums, if it pass one let it go to another, and if it pass that, to another, and so on until it has passed all the quorums; and if it pass the whole without running against a*
snag, you may know it is of God.¹

Joseph moved to Hiram, Ohio, thirty miles southwest of Kirtland in 1832 to make a revision of the Bible and said, "the greatest blessing which God had to bestow should be given to those who contributed to the support of his family, while translating the fulness of the scriptures."² In February, he recorded having received with Sidney Rigdon a "vision of the glories."³ Within this vision man's highest capacity and attainment is described as becoming a god, crowned with a celestial glory; a glory comparable to the firmament of the sun. Two other glories are mentioned as terrestrial and telestial, with every man an heir to a degree of glory. Holding the responsibility of maintaining his followers, the revelation had to conform with the books in the Bible. According to Heber C. Kimball, there were many details which were left out; he said that Joseph "could not tell all he knew, even to the Elders; Paul was caught up unto the third heaven; Joseph, unto the seventh heaven."⁴

At a conference held in January, 1832, Joseph was


²*Journal History*, 25 October 1831.


voted and ordained President of the High Priesthood. In a "Revelation on Priesthood"\(^5\) the authority to act in God's name was divided up into two divisions, a greater or higher Priesthood: the Melchizedek Priesthood, and a lesser Priesthood: the Aaronic Priesthood. The various offices in both were to compliment each other "that all may be edified together, that the system may be kept perfect."\(^6\) Joseph taught that as Priesthood bearers his followers held the rights and powers that God himself held. This also tended to build the esteem and personal estimation of his followers.

Another revelation of administrative significance was "the Olive Leaf" revelation.\(^7\) "The Olive Leaf" explained that all things are governed by law and that "the light of truth" is a spiritual substance that comprehends all things and is the power by which all things exist and by which God holds his exalted station. Man can progress from grace to grace until he obtains a "fullness" of this power or glory. Instructions in the "Olive Leaf" told the church members to build a temple and "school of the prophets." The temple and the school of the prophets would assist them in the process of achieving more light and truth.

During 1832, Joseph received much opposition to his work. A week before his second trip to Missouri, he was

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\(^5\)D.C., 1835 ed., Sec III, p. 82-95.
\(^6\)Ibid.
\(^7\)Ibid., Sec. LXXXII, p. 210-213.
tarred and feathered by a mob, nearly castrated and lost
his adopted son in death due to exposure to the cold, dur-
ing the mob attack. While returning from Missouri, he was
poisoned in Indiana and vomited profusely. All of these
dramatic and frightening events however seemed to build up
a greater resistance for further obstacles. George Q.
Cannon described this determination:

Notwithstanding all that he had to endure,
and the peculiar circumstances in which he was
so often placed, and the great responsibility
that weighed constantly upon him, he never fal-
tered; the feeling of fear or trembling never
crossed him -- at least he never exhibited it
in his feelings or actions. 8

Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, after their conver-
sion, arrived in Ohio in 1832 to meet their young leader.
They found him chopping and hauling wood with his three bro-
thers. Brigham Young was the first person to speak in ton-
gues and was to later say that all he knew he acquired from
the Prophet:

No matter how great my poverty — if I had to
borrow meal to feed my wife and children, I never
let an opportunity pass of learning what the Pro-
phet had to impart . . . .

. . . He took heaven, figuratively speaking,
and brought it down to earth; and he took the
earth, brought it up, and opened up, in plain-
ness and simplicity, the things of God; and that
is the beauty of his mission. 9

At the first conference in 1833, the Prophet intro-
duced the ordinance of washing of feet to create unity and

9Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 270, 272.
cooperative working relations among the leaders. Joseph also sealed his leaders up to eternal life and warned them that if they would turn against him after this ordination they would be given over to the buffetings of Satan. This had a significant effect on the leaders to keep them loyal and obedient in times of opposition, as will later be shown in the case of William W. Phelps.

In this year, Joseph laid out plans to build two cities, the City of Zion in Missouri and Kirtland in Ohio. The model city plat provided 225 blocks of twenty lots each, with one house to a lot. A family with a half-acre lot would be self-sufficient with gardens and orchards to supply their own needs. Barns and stables were to be kept outside the city on surrounding farms. The city was to be limited to 20,000 citizens. Once a city reached that mark, another city would be laid out on the same plan, till "the whole world was filled" with such modeled cities.10

Bishop Partridge wrote Joseph from Missouri asking him how the law of consecration regarding properties should be managed and who should decide how much an individual should receive. Within his response Joseph wrote:

... every man must be his own judge how much he should receive and how much he should suffer to remain in the hands of the Bishop. I speak of those who consecrate more than they need for the support of themselves and their families. The matter of consecration must be done by the mutual consent of both parties; for to give

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the Bishop power to say how much every man shall have, and he be obliged to comply with the Bishop's judgment, is giving to the Bishop more power than a king has; and upon the other hand, to let every man say how much he needs, and the Bishop be obliged to comply with his judgment, is to throw Zion into confusion, and make a slave of the Bishop. The fact is, there must be a balance or equilibrium of power, between the Bishop and the people, and thus harmony and good will may be preserved among you . . . .

In case the two parties cannot come to a mutual agreement, the Bishop is to have nothing to do about receiving such consecrations; and the case must be laid before a council of twelve High Priests, the Bishop not being one of the council, but he is to lay the case before them.11

Another important feature was added to the Church organizational structure in 1833. At the request of Sidney Rigdon, Joseph ordained him and Frederick G. Williams as his two counselors, thus creating the ruling hierarchical body of Church known as the First Presidency. These men had been appointed to this position a year previous. The delay in ordination occurred most likely because Joseph sensed that resentments would result over the decision. David Whitmer later wrote his resentment toward Sidney Rigdon:

In Kirtland, Rigdon would expound the scriptures to Joseph, concerning the priesthood, high priests, etc., and would persuade Bro. Joseph to inquire of the Lord about this doctrine and that doctrine, and of course a revelation would always come.12

When Joseph first moved to Ohio, he issued a revelation instructing his followers to build him a house, but that

11Ibid., p. 364-5.
"Sidney should live as seemeth him good." Sidney Rigdon at one point tried to take over Joseph's position while Joseph was away from Kirtland. Joseph wasn't very pleased when he returned. Orson Hyde gave the following account:

Sidney's first revelation in Kirtland was telling the people that the kingdom was rent from them, and they might as well all go home for they were rejected. The saints felt very bad and were almost distracted. When Brother Joseph came home, he called Sidney into council and there told him he had lied in the name of the Lord; and says he, 'you had better give up your license and divest yourself of all the authority you can, for you will go into the hands of Satan, and he will handle you as one man handleth another, and the less authority you have the better for you.' . . . Brother Joseph has said at different times, that if Elder Rigdon was to lead the church twelve months, he would lead them to the devil.14

Another addition to the church was a school held especially for the benefit of the young elders of the Church as an in-service training. Many were trained as representatives of the church. In some ways the early experiences of George A. Smith were typical of those trained. At seventeen George wrote:

I was appointed on a mission to preach the Gospel in the East. My circumstances were so reduced that I could not procure clothes to go in. Joseph and Hyrum gave me some grey cloth to make a coat, a snuff-colored vest and pantaloons . . . I called to see Cousin Joseph; he gave me a Book of Mormon, shook hands with me and said, 'preach short sermons, make short prayers and

13 Book of Commandments (Chap. XLIII, vss. 9-10), p. 88.
14 Times and Seasons, (October 1, 1844), Vol. V, No. 18, p. 660.
deliver your sermons with a prayerful heart.'
This advice I have always denominated my collegiate education.  

The school of the Prophets was first held over Joseph's kitchen. His wife complained at having to clean tobacco from off the floor the men had spit upon the previous night. Brigham Young later said that Joseph inquired of the Lord concerning this and received a revelation known as the "Word of Wisdom" admonishing the Church to abstain from tobacco, alcohol and hot drinks. During the lifetime of the Prophet, the revelation was not mandatory and Joseph's application of it was not overly authoritarian. Benjamin F. Johnson, Joseph's clerk, and body guard, said, that "he was partial to a well supplied table and he did not always refuse the wine that maketh the heart glad." In his journal for January 14, 1836, Joseph wrote, "We then partook of some refreshments, and our hearts were made glad with the fruit of the vine. This is according to the pattern set by our Savior Himself, and we feel disposed to patronize all the institutions of heaven." The High Council ruled, however, that disobedience to the revelation could mean grounds for depriving


17Benjamin F. Johnson, "Letter to Elder George S. Gibbs," L. D. S. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

a man of his office in the church.\textsuperscript{19}

Jealousies and contentions between the two bases of operations was a major administrative concern in 1833. The leaders in Zion wrote and accused the Prophet of seeking monarchial power in Kirtland. Joseph called together a council of twelve men to reprimand the leaders in Zion. Orson Hyde and Hyrum Smith, out of this council wrote them that the Lord would deprive them of the land and provide another people to build it up if there wasn't a change in attitude. The letter produced temporary results. Joseph himself wrote to William Phelps telling him to keep a record of those who lived the law of consecration for the Lord would one day send 'one mighty and strong' who would arrange by lots the inheritances of the Saints and only those who complied with the law of consecration would have an inheritance.\textsuperscript{20}

Enough precedence had been set in the preceding revelations that in 1833 the Prophet began relying on council decisions and his own personal decisions than the authority of revelations. When a member claimed revelations for the church a council simply judged to have his license revoked. To Jared Carter, he wrote that he no longer wanted to issue individual revelations:

\textsuperscript{19}Ibid., p. 35.

\textsuperscript{20}\textit{Millennial Star}, (June 26, 1852), Vol. XVI, No. 18, p. 284.
It is a great thing to inquire at the hands of God, or to come into His presence; and we feel fearful to approach Him on subjects that are of little or no consequence, to satisfy the queries of individuals, especially about things the knowledge of which men ought to obtain in all sincerity, before God, for themselves.21

Unfortunately, the city of Zion could not be built during Joseph's lifetime. In 1833, a mob smashed the printing press at Independence, Missouri, tarred and feathered Edward Partridge and issued a manifesto ordering the whole colony to leave Jackson County. Joseph sent Orson Hyde and John Gould to Missouri to advise the members to petition the Governor for redress. They were told not to sell their inheritances but to contend for them until the end. Joseph wrote to the members that those who would eventually be exalted would pass through great tribulations. And, he prophesied that "notwithstanding her present affliction, Zion shall yet arise and put on her beautiful garments, and be the joy and glory of the whole earth."22

For those who refused to leave the county, the Lieutenant Governor of the State, Lilburn Boggs, called the militia and forced them out. Joseph had now to console his exiled Saints. Writing to them in a letter he said:

I have always expected that Zion would suffer some affliction, from what I could learn from the commandments which have been given. But I would remind you of a certain clause in one which says, that after much tribulation cometh the blessing.

By this, and also others, and also one received of late, I know that Zion in the due time of the Lord will be redeemed; but how many will be the days of her purification the Lord has kept hid from my eyes; and when I inquire concerning this subject, the voice of the Lord is: Be still, and know that I am God! All those who suffer for my name shall reign with me, and he that layeth down his life for my sake shall find it again.23

Conclusion

By concentrating on doctrines and substance, Joseph gave his followers in 1832 a distinctive and more orderly foundation. His appeal to the intellect, as in the "Olive Leaf" revelation and to the innate goodness within his subordinates, as in the "Vision of the Glories," are distinct qualities of motivation. In Likert's principle of supportive relationship subordinates are led to view themselves with a sense of personal worth and importance.24 This was clearly demonstrated in 1832. The Prophet's teachings that a man by obedience to Celestial principles could eventually live in God's presence and himself becoming a god was ego-building and enhanced his potentials. Joseph did not demand simple, blind obedience, but sought allegiance by appealing to the beauty and depth of the human soul.

1833 was more a practical year. Joseph, in his administration of the church had to deal with contentions in Zion and Ohio and had to determine such things as the administration of the law of consecration. The school of the

23Ibid., p. 453-4.
24Supra, p. 9.
prophets offered an in-service training that became an invaluable experience for his future leaders. For those who had little or no education, the school of the prophets would train them in English, mathematics, etc.

The organization of the church was further modified by the reorganization of the executive area into a body of three. The most trying episode for the church organization since its beginning, however, came at the end of this year when the efforts to establish the city of Zion in Jackson County, Missouri failed. Joseph would now have to deal with the decision to get the land back or to temporarily give the project up.
**CHART NO. 2**

**Additions to Church Structure 1831-1834**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Office</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>President of High Priests</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Presidency</td>
<td>1833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Priests</td>
<td>(June 1831)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Council of Twelve</td>
<td>(Feb. 1834)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aaronic Priesthood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop</td>
<td>(1831)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal Affairs</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER VI

COMMANDER OF ISRAEL

(1834)

In dramatic response to the expulsion of his followers from Jackson County, Missouri, Joseph issued a revelation that ordered an army to be formed. "Get ye straightway unto my land; break down the walls of mine enemies; throw down their tower, and scatter their watchmen."¹ Joseph then went with Orson Hyde and Orson Pratt on specific missions to obtain donations for the army.

In February another governing body was added to the organization called the "high council." This body of twelve men, designated to try cases of difficulties that existed between members, would take cases that could not be handled by a church or Bishop's private council. "No man," said Joseph at the first session, "is capable of judging a matter in council unless his own heart is pure - we frequently are so filled with prejudice that we are not capable of passing right decisions."² When the High Council convened later that month they nominated and voted Joseph to be the "commander-in-chief of the Army of Israel."

¹D.&C., 1835 ed., Sec. XCVII.
Sidney Rigdon made a motion that the name of the church be changed from "Church of Christ" to "Church of the Latter-day Saints" to avoid being called "Mormonite." Although this was voted upon and approved it caused contention among a few members as the Book of Mormon instructed the true church to bear the name of Christ. Sidney Rigdon was also chosen to preside over the church in Kirtland during Joseph's absence.

Joseph recorded his organization of the army that would march 1,000 miles to redeem Zion, as follows:

I divided the whole band into companies of twelve, leaving each company to elect its own captain, who assigned each man in his respective company his post and duty, generally in the following order: Two cooks, two firemen, two tent men, two watermen, one runner, two wagoners and horsemen, and one commissary.3

Half way through the march the Prophet decided to make some reorganizational changes. Heber C. Kimball describes these:

We were now reorganized in the following order: Joseph Smith was acknowledged commander-in-chief; Lyman Wright was chosen general of the camp; then Brother Joseph chose twelve men for his life guards, I being one of them; Brother George A. Smith was Brother Joseph's armor bearer; Hyrum Smith was chosen captain of the life guard; the remainder of the camp was organized into (12) companies.4

Joseph instructed his camp members to evade all questions from inquirers as to who led them and the destination of their journey. This, of course, was obvious. If the

3Ibid., p. 64.

intentions of their journey were known, word would reach
the enemy in Missouri and a larger army would greet them
on their arrival.

Wilford Woodruff, a new convert who arrived in Kirt-
land just in time to join the army, watched his leader and
made the following observations of the journey:

The Prophet gave us our instructions every
day. We were nearly all young men brought to-
gether from all parts of the country, and were
therefore strangers to each other . . . It was
a great school for us to be led by a Prophet of
God a thousand miles through cities, towns,
villages, and through the wilderness.5

Of the instructions given to the camp the main objective
was to instruct his followers to be more understanding to-
wards each other and to develop unity. Moses Martin, a
sentry on duty, for example, was caught asleep. A trial
followed at which Joseph stepped forward and had the sentry
acquitted with a warning. They were instructed not to kill
any animal unless it was to satisfy their hunger. When
dissensions occurred, Joseph descended to the level of the
disputants to show their mistake. The following remarks
by John M. Chidester and George A. Smith show Joseph's
administrative abilities to instruct by his own example:

Zion's Camp in passing through the State of
Indiana, had to cross very bad swamps, conse-
quently we had to attach ropes to the wagons to
help them through, and the Prophet was the first
man at the rope in his bare feet. This was

5Matthias F. Cowley, Wilford Woodruff, History of His
Life and Labors as Recorded in His Daily Journals (Salt Lake
characteristic of him in all times of difficulty. 6

The Prophet Joseph took a full share of the fatigues of the entire journey. In addition to the care of providing for the Camp and presiding over it, he walked most of the time and had a full proportion of blistered, bloody and sore feet... During the entire trip he never uttered a murmur or complaint, while most of the men in the Camp complained to him... 7

Nothing so completely reveals the human character as expeditions of this sort when men are thrown into such relations with each other that all that is in them, good or bad, comes to the surface. The Army of Israel gave Joseph an opportunity to observe his own men for future positions and learn their reactions to adverse situations. Many future leaders were there - Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, Parley P. Pratt, Charles C. Rich, George A. Smith, Lyman Wright, Hyrum Smith and Wilford Woodruff.

Many of Joseph's own distinctive personality traits came out during the march that became characteristic of his administration. The most prominent was a spirit of militancy and the excitement for parades, drills and sham battles. Said he:

I then proposed for a diversion that we divide the camp into three parts and have a sham battle, which was agreed to. Many of our captains showed considerable tact and more acquaintance with military matters than I had expected. 8


7 George A. Smith, Journal, L.D.S. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah, June 25, 1834 Entry.

When a couple of guards reported seeing fires of the enemy and Joseph discovered it was a reflection of the rising moon, he sounded the alarm anyway so that everyone could enjoy the scene. When Joseph saw the whole camp coming out ready for battle, he found "the whole incident very amusing."9 This became a quality of his administration that Joseph was known for by his followers. William Taylor described him, "He was always the most companionable and lovable of men - cheerful and jovial."10 George Q. Cannon found this to be one of his most remarkable characteristics, that as a leader he could yet be "as happy and unconventional as a boy."11

Joseph, during the march, disregarded the advice of Lyman Wright, his next-in-command, to camp among the timber one night and followed the advice of his older brother Hyrum to camp on the open prairie. This also became characteristic of his administration. Hyrum would say that he felt inspired that Joseph should make a certain decision and Joseph would act upon it trusting his brother's advice. On this particular occasion, however, it caused a major rebellion in the camp. Wrote the Prophet:

Sylvester Smith placed himself in the road, turned back all that he could by saying, 'Are you following your general, or some other man?' and

9Ibid., p. 72.
twenty stayed behind with Lyman Wight. About eleven o'clock [A.M.], Lyman Wight arrived with the company that had remained with him. I called them together and reproved them for tarrying behind, and not obeying my counsel, and told Lyman Wight never to do so again. He promised that he would stand by me forever, and never forsake me again.12

At their destination, Joseph sent Parley P. Pratt and Orson Hyde to confer with Governor Dunklin, who had agreed to reinstate the exiled colony on their lands. Fearing such a move with the resulting political repercussions, the Governor now found the move impracticable. With only a small band it became very unwise for Joseph to encounter a larger mob in Jackson County. The "Fishing River" revelation followed13 postponing the redemption of Zion and promised the members of the camp a special endowment in the Kirtland Temple. The purpose of the journey had been for a trial of their faith.

The responses to the revelation were not all favorable. Oliver Huntington wrote in his journal:

Some of the brethren got mad at their disappointment because they could not fight. Somebody said Joseph had told them a 'damned infernal lie.' Many hard things were said against Joseph, for which Joseph said to them that 'God would scourge them.' Next day they moved camp and the cholera set in.14


13Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. CV, (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1921 edition); hereafter cited as D.&C., 1921 ed.

14Diary of Oliver Huntington, Vol. II, Special Collections Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, p. 239.
The cholera lasted four days from which four died.

Before disbanding the army, Joseph chose those who would receive their endowments in Kirtland and then organized a High Council for Missouri. David Whitmer was chosen to be the President of the Church in Missouri with John Whitmer and William W. Phelps as his assistants. David, as a president, could no longer be jealous of Sidney Rigdon. Edward Partridge was retained as Bishop to purchase lands in the areas surrounding Jackson County.

Conclusion

The Army of Israel gave the Prophet an excellent opportunity to observe the members of his organization, for future assignments. It also gave him an excellent opportunity for both training and selection. Not only was the expulsion from Zion a great trial to the members since they had built their hopes around it, but the efforts to redeem Zion after a 1,000-mile march did not redeem the land. It had been for another trial of their faith. After weathering such a storm, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, George A. Smith, Hyrum Smith and Wilford Woodruff were prepared to mount any obstacle in the future, be it acceptance of an unorthodox principle such as plural marriage, persecutions, or an eventual trek to an isolated desert to preserve their beliefs and organization. The march also served Joseph towards his goals of creating unity among his followers. Joseph Smith's own leadership
and examples during the journey were geared to "develop his subordinates into a good working team with a friendly cooperative atmosphere" as Likert prescribes. \(^{15}\)

The revelation to redeem Zion had told the Saints that the land should be obtained by power and that the watchmen should be scattered. The community and members of Kirtland awaited curiously to see if victory was achieved. Upon his return, Joseph would now have the problem of producing a success out of an apparent failure.

\(^{15}\)Supra, p. 7.
CHART NO. 3

Organizational Structure of the Army of Israel (1834)

Commander-in-Chief
(12 Life Guards)

General of the Camp

Captain (12)

2 Cooks
2 Firemen
2 Tentmen
2 Watermen
2 Wagoners
2 Horsemen
1 Runner
1 Commissary

Company
CHAPTER VII

SELECTION AND CONCILIATION

(1835)

After his return from Missouri, Joseph felt the necessity of expanding the three-man First Presidency to four men so as to include Oliver Cowdery as an "assistant president."

Oliver technically stood next to Joseph as "Second Elder" in the hierarchy of the church. When the First Presidency was organized in April of 1833, he was assisting William W. Phelps in running a printing press in Missouri. During his ordination to the First Presidency, Joseph used the opportunity to admonish the other church officials. A revelation rebuked them for not "rendering unto every man the respect due the office, calling, and priesthood whereunto I, the Lord, have appointed and ordained you."¹ The familiarity created among the church hierarchy during the Camp of Israel lessened the prestige of the line officers and the effectiveness of Joseph's leadership. The rebuke produced the desired results and greater respect was shown.

After his return the Prophet was also met with an

¹DHG, Vol. II, p. 177.
acute crisis in relation to the Camp of Israel. Sylvester Smith publically charged him of improper conduct over a rebuke the Prophet had given him in a disagreement over a dog. The decision to organize a High Council before the journey had been a wise administrative decision; now the whole case was given to the High Council and a thorough investigation followed for several days. Joseph's relations with his followers were greatly improved by the findings of the trial. Sylvester Smith later apologized publicly for his accusations and Joseph appointed him as one of the seven presidents of a new quorum in 1835.

Joseph had promised the Camp of Israel a special endowment, and from the time of their return to Kirtland to the completion of the temple, its construction became one of Joseph's main administrative concerns. Heber C. Kimball described his leadership role in this capacity:

After we returned from our journey to the West, the whole Church united in this great undertaking, and every man lent a helping hand. Those who had not teams went to work in the stone quarry and prepared the stones for drawing to the house. The Prophet, being our foreman, would put on his tow frock and tow pantaloons and go into the quarry. The Presidency, High Priests and Elders all alike assisting... We continued in this manner until the walls of the house were reared.2

In February, a meeting was called to choose twelve apostles and a council of seventy. The minutes of this meeting express that Joseph called the meeting "because God

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had commanded it; and it was made known to him by a vision and by the Holy Spirit.

He then gave a relation of some of the circumstances attending us while journeying to Zion, our trials, sufferings; and said God had not designed all this for nothing, but He had it in remembrance yet; and it was the will of God that those who went to Zion, with a determination to lay down their lives, if necessary, should be ordained to the ministry, and go forth to prune the vineyard for the last time, or the coming of the Lord, which was nigh — even fifty-six years should wind up the scene.  

Joseph then delegated the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon plates to choose twelve men as Apostles. Those chosen were:

1. Lyman E. Johnson  7. William E. M'Lellin
2. Brigham Young  8. John F. Boynton
4. Orson Hyde  10. William Smith
5. David W. Patten  11. Thomas B. Marsh

After their ordination by the three witnesses, Oliver Cowdery gave the body of Apostles an apostolic charge, which admonished them to "never cease striving until you have seen God face to face . . . your ordination is not full and complete till God has laid His hands upon you."

The quorum of Seventy to work under the direction of the Apostles were then chosen from among the Camp of Israel members. This quorum consisted of seven presidents over quorums of ten. Joseph Young became the senior president

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and rank followed by the order of their ordination. Joseph told the Seventies after they were organized:

Brethren, some of you are angry with me, because you did not fight in Missouri; but let me tell you, God did not want you to fight. He could not organize His kingdom with twelve men to open the Gospel door to the nations of the earth, and with seventy men under their direction to follow in their tracks, unless He took them from a body of men who had offered their lives, and who had made as great a sacrifice as did Abraham.5

There were now five councils to govern the spiritual affairs of the church - a first presidency of four, twelve apostles, the Seventy and the two high councils of Kirtland and Missouri. Besides these councils, there were the Bishops to govern the temporal affairs of the church and the elders who presided over the branches. A revelation on Priesthood6 acknowledged these quorums as being equal in authority. The Kirtland High Council, however, soon accused the apostles of gaining so much power as to set themselves up as "an independent council, subject to no authority of the church, a kind of outlaws."7 Additional verses were added to the Revelation on Priesthood creating a vertical line of authority with "the Presidency of the Council of the High Priesthood" (First Presidency) as the highest authority. The Apostles came next in the hierarchy.


6D&C, 1921 ed., Sec. CVII.

Joseph's position was again compared with that of Moses' "to preside over the whole Church, and to be like unto Moses." The revelation closed with the admonition, "let every man learn his duty, and to act in the office in which he is appointed, in all diligence." Since The Book of Commandments had not been fully completed in 1833 before a mob had destroyed the printing press, Joseph selected a committee to select his revelations for printing. He also made a few changes before they were published as The Doctrine of Covenants in 1835. William McLellin, who had failed in 1833 to duplicate one of Joseph's revelations, again had a few complaints:

"In 1835, I was often in Joseph's office, and know positively that some of the revelations were altered, mutilated and changed that a good scholar would scarcely know them. In one revelation, I counted 20 alterations! Hence, who can depend upon them? I cannot. I will not."

Joseph Smith held very poor public relations with the press during his administration in Kirtland. A person believing in him as a prophet was considered a "dupe" to have been so deceived by such an obvious "fraud." One editorial describes a visit from Robert Matthias to the Prophet. Matthias professed to have the soul of Christ as well as that of the ancient apostle Matthias. He stayed for three days at Joseph's home and after the third day, Joseph discharged him as an imposter, and said, "My God told me that

his god was the devil." The Painesville Telegraph, however, wrote:

Prophet Catch Prophet.
The notorious impostor Matthias has performed a pilgrimage to the temple of the equally notorious Joe Smith, where he held forth his doctrines last week. It appears that the new pretender met with less encouragement than he anticipated from the Latter Day-ites, and after a two days' conference the Prophets parted, each declaring he had miraculously discerned a devil in the other.

With a newly expanded organization, Joseph's next major concern as an administrator came in the form of poor public relations in response to difficulties within his own family. William Smith, his brother, had been appointed an apostle; Don Carlos, another brother, although only nineteen, president of the High Priests; his father, Patriarch of the Church; Samuel, a brother, general agent for the literary fund, which supervised all church publications, and Hyrum, a brother, later became a member of the First Presidency.

In spite of these appointments there were two major crises which were paramount. The first was that Joseph's brother-in-law, Calvin Stoddard, had accused him of depriving him of some water rights. In the ensuing quarrel, Calvin called him a "damned false prophet," and Joseph knocked him down. Calvin brought suit for assault, but by the time

\[9\text{DHC, Vol. II, p. 306.}\]
\[10\text{Painesville Telegraph, New Series I, No. 46 (November 20, 1835), n.p.}\]
the case came to court, he had mellowed sufficiently to forgive Joseph publicly, and the judge handed down a verdict of acquittal. The *Painesville Telegraph*, in response to a request from Joseph, published in full the testimony given at the trial and the notice of the acquittal was made public.  

A quarrel also ensued between Joseph and his brother William during a High Council meeting. William resigned his apostleship, influenced his brother Samuel against Joseph and exclaimed against him up and down the streets of Kirtland. Joseph responded by issuing the other eleven apostles a revelation to patiently pray and work with him. William came back into the office but soon afterwards organized a society to debate controversial issues in the church. Joseph objected to the debates as causing divisions in the church. Joseph rebuked his brother, upon which William lunged at him, catching him off guard. William was pulled off of his brother and the incident became a major concern of the church. The Apostles called William before them to devise a plan of action. William wrote a letter to his brother asking forgiveness and to just be retained as a member. Joseph's reply to his brother's letter displays his technique of handling difficulties through conciliation rather than confrontation.

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than dismissal:

I received your letter, and perused it with care. I have not entertained a feeling of malice against you. I am older than you and have endured more suffering, having been marred by mobs, and it may be that I cannot boast of being stronger than you. If I could boast, like David, of slaying a Goliath, it might be an honor; but to mangle the flesh, or seek revenge upon one who never did you any wrong, cannot be a source of sweet reflection.

I desire, Brother William, that you will humble yourself. I freely forgive you, and you know my unshaken and unchangeable disposition. By maintaining your Apostleship, in rising up and making one tremendous effort, you may overcome your passions and please God . . . When a man falls one step, he must regain that step again, or fall another; he has still more to gain, or eventually all is lost.

And if at any time you should consider me to be an imposter, for heaven's sake leave me in the hands of God, and not think to take vengeance on me yourself. Tyranny, usurpation, and to take men's rights, ever has been and ever shall be banished from my heart.13

Conclusion

With the completion of organizing the church hierarchy in 1835 by adding quorums of Apostles and Seventy, Joseph was now in control over a much larger structure for that period of time. The "Revelation on Priesthood" set a distinctive hierarchy with Joseph Smith presiding over the whole organization although all quorums operated on the democratic procedure of common consent.

In handling the crises that erupted within his own family circle, Joseph's whip was that of a public confession, one designed to have the opposite affect of

an excommunication. The concern of the Prophet displayed for his brother William follows Likert's model of effective administration as being "kind, but firm, never threatening, genuinely interested in the well-being of subordinates."\(^{14}\)

Of the twelve apostles chosen by the three witnesses of the *Book of Mormon* plates, only six remained loyal to their prophet, and of these, Joseph said that only two, Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, had not "lifted their heels against me."\(^{15}\) The reason for this lack of support will be discussed in the following chapter.

\(^{14}\) *Supra*, p. 6.

CHART NO. 4

Organizational Structure After 1835

- First Presidency
  - President
  - Assistant President
  - 2 Counselors

12 Apostles

Quorum of Seventy
  - Seven Presidents

Branches

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bishops</th>
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High Council of Missouri

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>High Council of Kirtland</th>
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Teachers

Deacons
CHAPTER VIII

JUBILEE AND ADVERSITY
(1836-1837)

The year 1836 Joseph described as "a year of jubilee," and the following year, 1837, he described as a year of "apostasy, persecution, and confusion." Looking at these years together will give us an opportunity to compare him as an administrator in both conditions.

1836 was a year in which Joseph and his followers attended a Hebrew school regularly and one which was climaxed by the dedication of the Kirtland Temple. There were few major crises to face; it was a period of calm before a storm.

With no major projects, Joseph worked mainly on preparing himself and his followers for their endowment. He strove for stability in the organization and for mutual confidence among his leaders. In a January speech to the apostles, he said:

I will now covenant with you before God, that I will not listen to or credit any derogatory report against any of you, nor condemn you upon any testimony beneath the heavens, short of that testimony which is infallible, until I can see you face to face, and know of a surety; and I do place unremitted confidence in your word, for

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I believe you to be men of truth. And I ask the same of you.²

Joseph also attempted to extend these feelings of loyalty and mutual confidence to the whole church. Louisa Littlefield described him as a very outgoing and personable leader:

In Kirtland when wagon loads of grown people and children came in from the country to meeting, Joseph would make his way to as many of the wagons as he could and cordially shake the hand of each person. Every child and young babe in the company were especially noticed by him and tenderly taken by the hand, with his kind words and blessings.³

This was very characteristic of Joseph Smith as an administrator - manifest concern and love for those who followed him. This strong love for his followers sustained many of them to the point where they would covenant to die for him if necessary. Brigham Young, however, found this magnanimity and affection, in connection with Joseph's first business enterprise, to be a weakness:

You that have lived in Nauvoo, in Missouri, in Kirtland, Ohio, can you assign a reason why Joseph could not keep a store, and be a merchant? Let me just give you a few reasons. Joseph goes to New York and buys $20,000 worth of goods, comes into Kirtland and commences to trade . . . Pretty soon Thomas comes in, 'Brother Joseph, will you trust me for a pair of boots?' 'No, I cannot let them go without the money.' 'Well,' says Thomas, 'Brother Joseph is no Prophet; I have found that out, and I am glad of it.' After a while, in comes Bill and Sister Susan. Says Bill, 'Brother Joseph, I want a shawl, I have

²Ibid., p. 374.
not got the money, but I wish you to trust me a week or a fortnight.' Well, brother Joseph thinks the others have gone and apostatized, and he don't know but these goods will make the whole Church do the same ... so over they go, they are of less value than the people ... Joseph was a first-rate fellow with them all the time, provided he never would ask them to pay him. In this way, it is easy for us to trade away a first-rate store of goods, and be in debt for them.  

Joseph gave his counsel on many issues, but it was not always obeyed. According to George Q. Cannon:

The Lord revealed to the Prophet Joseph in an early day, some points connected with the doctrine of celestial marriage. He was told that it was to obey God's will; that His ancient servants had taken more wives than one ... He was content to await the pleasure and command of the Lord ... Not so with Oliver Cowdery. He was eager to have another wife. Contrary to the remonstrances of Joseph, and in utter disregard of his warnings, he took a young woman and lived with her as a wife, in addition to his legal wife. ...  

Oliver Cowdery defected from the Church in 1837. At his trial in Missouri, Joseph testified that he had instructed his "bosom friend, Oliver" with "many things" of a sacred nature. Oliver accused Joseph of adultery at his trial. Joseph F. Smith later stated that Joseph knew of plural marriage as early as 1831 and related this to

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Oliver who abused his confidence.7 The adultery charge resulted from Joseph having taken his first plural wife Fanny Algiers, in Kirtland.8

The dedication of the Temple was no casual affair. The Prophet organized the program to further unify the members of his organization. Dedicatory services lasted all week to afford all members an opportunity to attend. Each service lasted ten hours, from seven in the morning until four in the afternoon.

Joseph organized the assembly so that the Melchizedek Priesthood quorums sat facing the Aaronic Priesthood quorums on the opposite side. The choir members were divided in the four corners. Sidney Rigdon gave a three-hour discourse after which all quorums rose individually to sustain Joseph as a prophet. All quorums were then individually sustained by the rest rising to show support for them in their callings. Joseph gave the dedicatory prayer and "The Spirit of God," written especially for the occasion, was sung. The Sacrament was then administered, followed by testimony bearing by each of the First Presidency. The services were closed by the congregation shouting, "hosanna, hosanna, hosanna, to God and the Lamb. Amen, Amen, Amen," three times.9

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In the evening, the quorums reassembled to be instructed on the washing of feet. George A. Smith described the event:

We were instructed to wash each other's feet as an evidence that we had borne testimony of the truth of the Gospel to the world. We were taught to anoint each other's head with oil in the name of the Lord, as an ordinance of anointing. All these things were to be done in their time, place, and season. All this was plain and simple, yet some apostatized because there was not more of it, and others because there was too much.

On the evening after the dedication of the Temple, hundreds of the brethren received the ministering of angels, saw the light and personages of angels, and bore testimony of it. They spake in new tongues, and had a greater manifestation of the power of God than that described by Luke on the day of Pentecost.  

Joseph at last had accomplished one of his goals - the unity and dedication of his followers. He had brought them up to his level where they could receive the same supernatural manifestations of Heaven that he himself had built his organization upon.

Turning to temporal management, the leaders of the Church organized a bank in November 1836 to regulate land speculation and to provide a demand for money and banking facilities. The State legislature refused the Kirtland Safety Society its charter upon which the name of the bank was changed to Kirtland Anti-Banking Society. Its revised constitution provided thirty-two managers to supervise the affairs of the organization and to draw salaries at the

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rate of one dollar a day each. Wilford Woodruff claimed that Joseph received a revelation concerning the bank:

On the 6th, I visited the office of the Kirtland Safety Society and saw the first money issued by the society's treasurer. It was given to Brother Bump, who was the first to circulate it. I also heard President Joseph Smith declare in the presence of F. G. Williams, D. Whitmer, S. Smith and others, that he had received that morning the word of the Lord upon the subject of the Kirtland Safety Society. He was alone in a room by himself, and he not only heard the voice of the spirit, but it was also an audible voice.

Soon after this, the Treasury of the United States issued a Species Circular, providing that bank-notes no longer be accepted in payment for government lands and that all payments must be in species. The ultimatum spelled the doom for various banks of the nation and threw the entire nation into a financial panic. Joseph and Sidney Rigdon were tried in court for violating the law, were found guilty and fined $1,000. They appealed on the grounds that the institution was an association and not a bank; the plea was never ruled upon as the bank suspended payments and closed its doors. Other lawsuits followed. Heber C. Kimball wrote:

Joseph was sued before a magistrate's court in Painesville on a vexatious suit. I carried him from Kirtland to Painesville, with four or five others, in my wagon every morning for five days, and brought them back in the evening. We were often waylaid, but managed to elude our


12 Journal History, 6 January 1837.
During the summer of 1837, Joseph spent much of his time away from Kirtland to avoid these lawsuits. In July, he traveled to Canada to visit members and stayed approximately a month. Upon his return, Brigham Young expressed some apprehension about the Prophet receiving a sustaining vote from the body of the Church at a conference. By Brigham Young's contacting the faithful members, Joseph was sustained in his office. Apostles Luke S. Johnson, Lyman E. Johnson, and John F. Boynton were rejected and disfellowshipped. The support that Joseph received from the Church body undoubtedly gave him some hope that the adversities might be bridged and eventually forgotten.\footnote{Warren Parrish, while serving the Kirtland Safety Society as a teller, reportedly took the occasion to embezzle bank funds. Joseph believed that the theft could be traced to Parrish and asked his counselor, Frederick G. Williams, a Justice of the Peace, for a warrant to search Parrish's trunk. Williams refused. "I insist upon a warrant," said Joseph, "for if you will give me one, I can get the money, and if you do not, I will break you of your
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office "In the Presidency." "Well, break it is, then," said Williams. The two men struck hands over the bargain and Williams was dropped from the First Presidency.  

After Joseph resigned his office in the bank, Frederick G. Williams was appointed president and Warren Parrish cashier of the bank. Joseph had instructed Parrish not to issue any new money in notes before his trip to Canada. Parrish disregarded this advice. Upon his return, Joseph denounced the new bills:

Caution:
To the brethren and friends of the Church of Latter-day Saints, I am disposed to say a word relative to the bills of the Kirtland Safety Society Bank. I hereby warn them to beware of speculators, renegades and gamblers, who are duping the unsuspecting and the unwaried, by palm ing upon them, those bills, which are of no worth, here, I discountenance and disapprove of any and all such practices. I know them to be detrimental to the best interests of society, as well as to the principles of religion.

Joseph Smith, Jun.  

Warren Parrish justified his withdrawal from the Church in part because of Joseph's confidence in the bank. In the newspaper, he wrote:

I have listened to him with feelings of no ordinary kind, when he declared that the audible voice of God, instructed him to establish a banking institution, who like Aaron's rod shall swallow up all other banks and grow and flourish and spread from the rivers to the ends of the earth, and survive when all others

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should be laid in ruins.\textsuperscript{17}

One of the apostles, John F. Boynton, attributed much of his difficulty in the Church to the failure of the bank, stating that he had been told that it would never fail. In reply to this, Joseph answered, "that if this had been declared no one had authority from him for so doing, for he had always said that unless the institution was conducted on righteous principles, it would not stand."\textsuperscript{18}

The spirit of adversity had its effect also upon Parley P. Pratt, who was alienated from Joseph's leadership. At one point, he wrote a letter to Joseph criticizing him for the course he and Rigdon had taken in their business matters. Warren Parrish, Joseph's private clerk, sent a copy of Pratt's letter to the editor of Zion's Watchman, a non-Mormon publication. The letter, as printed, stated:

Having long pondered the path in which we as a people, have been led in regard to our temporal management, I have at length become fully convinced that the whole scheme of speculation in which we have been engaged, is of the devil. I allude to the covetous, extortionary speculating spirit which has reigned in this place for the last season; which has given rise to lying, deceiving and taking advantage of one's neighbor, and in short every evil work. And being as fully convinced that you, and President Rigdon, both by precept and example, have been the principal means in leading this people astray, in these particulars . . . .

And you, dear brother, if you are still determined to pursue this wicked cause, until your-

\textsuperscript{17}Painesville Republican, (February 22, 1838), Vol. II, No. 15, n.p.

\textsuperscript{18}DHC, Vol. II, p. 510.
self and the church shall sink down to hell.\textsuperscript{19}

After the letter was published, Pratt apologized for his statements to the prophet in the \textit{Elder's Journal}, stating that his published letter had been somewhat altered. He also maintained:

\begin{quote}
I did not, however, believe at the time and never have believed at any time before, or since, that these men were dishonest or had wrong motives or intentions, in any of their undertakings, either temporal or spiritual; I have ever esteemed them from my first acquaintance, as men of God \ldots But I considered them like other men, and as the prophets and apostles of old liable to errors, and mistakes, in things which were not inspired from Heaven; but managed by their own judgment.\textsuperscript{20}
\end{quote}

Pratt later said he felt bad at his rebellion:

\begin{quote}
I went to brother Joseph Smith in tears, and with a broken heart and contrite spirit, confessed wherein I had erred in spirit, murmured, or done or said amiss. He frankly forgave me, prayed for me and blessed me. Being tempted in all points, even as others, I learned how to bear with, and excuse, and succor those who are tempted.\textsuperscript{21}
\end{quote}

The blame of the bank failure fell heavily on Joseph. He had issued a formal invitation to his followers to take stock in the venture and the institution had been organized outside the law. Heber C. Kimball later was to comment that at this moment, "there were not twenty persons on earth

\begin{footnotes}
\item[21]\textit{Millennial Star}, (January 7, 1865), Vol. XXVII, No. 1, p. 6.
\end{footnotes}
that would declare that Joseph Smith was a prophet of
God."22 Six of the apostles came out in open rebellion.
Joseph met the opposition by giving Thomas B. Marsh, the
senior member of the apostles, a revelation telling him to
admonish the rest of the apostles, that God was feeling
after them and vengeance would begin upon the church, "and
from my house shall it go forth, saith the Lord."23 Brigham
Young related:

A feeling came over me that Joseph was not
right in his managing the temporal affairs which
he undertook ... It gave me sorrow of heart,
and I clearly saw and understood, by the spirit
of revelation that if I was to harbor a thought
in my heart that Joseph could be wrong in any-
things, I would begin to lose confidence in him,
and that feeling would grow from step to step,
until at last I would have the same lack of
confidence in his being the mouthpiece for the
Almighty, and I would be left, upon the brink
of the precipice, ready to plunge into what we
may call the gulf of infidelity, ready to be-
lieve neither in God nor His servants.24

In order to cope with the situation, Joseph called
Heber C. Kimball to open the first foreign mission in England.
Several were appointed to go with Elder Kimball, among which
were Orson Hyde and Willard Richards. Brigham Young remain-
ed behind as Joseph felt the needs of his help on the home
front. Joseph and the other founders of the bank then issued
an apology in the Messenger and Advocate saying, a man "may

23D. & C., 1921 ed., Sec. CXII.
be a celebrated divine, and be no mechanic and no financier, and be as liable to fail in the management of a bank as he would in constructing a balloon or the mechanism of a watch." 25

Joseph's next decision was to move the headquarters of his organization to Missouri and have just one base of operations.

The dissenters then organized themselves into a separate body calling themselves "the Church of Christ," the original name of the church and openly renounced Joseph as a prophet. To meet this, Joseph called a public trial in the temple to which the dissenters arrived in force. One of the dissenters described Joseph's approach:

He came into the gathering with a resolution and courage that the situation seemed to demand, and carried himself as one who felt that his soul and being had found themselves set firmly on the rock, while all else was but the shifting of sand or the swaying of reeds in the summer wind. 26

Conclusion

In his January 1836 speech to the apostles, the Prophet placed "unremitted confidence" in these men and was determined that "neither heights nor depths, things present or things to come . . . shall separate me from you." 27 The whole tenor of his remarks displays all the characteristics that


an effective leader should possess according to Likert's model. 28

With the completion of the Kirtland Temple, a project which the enemies to the Church said would never be completed, Joseph, in 1836, now had something tangible to show the community and his members. Here was at last an achievement; all their work and strivings over the years had, at least, produced a temple. The dedication of the temple was the climax of that achievement and the sharing of the super-natural manifestations which Joseph had built his organization upon showed his ability in bringing his followers to his level of spiritual activity.

The adversities that followed the "year of jubilee" are indeed unfortunate. Hardly, it would seem, have a set of followers been tested as to the amount of allegiance they will give to their leader as were the followers of Joseph Smith in 1837. Joseph first established the bank by revelation and then had to later admit that because of poor management and other internal and external conditions, the project was a failure. David Whitmer led an opposition group, claiming Joseph as a fallen prophet. Joseph, however, faced the crisis, according to his enemies, with a resolution and courage that the situation seemed to demand. How the organization was to be healed of its dissensions in Missouri will be our next consideration.

28 Supra, p. 8, Characteristic 3.
CHAPTER IX

THE PROPHET AS A MILITARY LEADER
(1838)

John D. Lee later became Joseph's bodyguard and described Joseph's personality in Missouri as "bewitching and winning; his countenance that of a plain, honest man, full of benevolence . . . and void of deceit or hypocrisy." As a leader he described him to be "resolute and firm of purpose."  

Joseph, after his arrival set about immediately to strengthen his organization and make a few innovations. He selected John Taylor, John E. Page, Wilford Woodruff and Willard Richards to fill the vacancies in the quorum of Apostles. These selections proved to be men with high qualities of loyalty whose leadership greatly strengthened the church. A revelation was issued instructing that Far West be built as a city and another temple reared. The name of the church organization was permanently changed to "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."  

Prior to his arrival, David Whitmer and his counselors had been rejected by the members in Missouri as a presidency.

1John D. Lee, Life and Confessions of John D. Lee (St. Louis, 1877), p. 76.
2D.&C., 1921, ed., Sec. CXV.
Thomas Marsh and David Patten were voted president pro tempore. Joseph approved of this decision and added Brigham Young to their presidency.

The dissenters from Kirtland followed the Church to Missouri and instigated law suits claiming a share of property from the United Order. The presence of the dissenters became a serious problem to church administration. John Corrill wrote:

Notwithstanding the dissenters had left the church, Smith and Rigdon complained much of the ill treatment they had received from the dissenters and others; they said they had been persecuted from time to time with vexatious law suits; and that they were determined to bear it no longer, for they had rather die than suffer such things.  

A petition was signed by eighty-four of the church members, telling the dissenters to leave the country within three days or await a "more fatal calamity." The dissenters followed the injunction and left. The method used to rid the dissenters was unfortunate since they could now use it as an evidence that the church leaders were against law and order.

During this period an association was formed, the purpose of which was described by one of its members, "for our personal defense; also of our families, property, and our

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3 John Corrill, A Brief History of the Church of the Latter-day Saints (Missouri, 1839), p. 29.

religion." Sampson Avard corrupted this association, however, with oaths of secrecy and turned it into an outlaw group teaching his followers to steal and plunder from the non-members. Sampson Avard had been in Canada the previous year, claiming the right to preside over that area from the dissenters of the church. Joseph, while on a tour of Canada, dealt with him then:

At the latter conference Doctor Avard was present, and the Prophet reproved him severely for coming to that place with fictitious papers. He also censured Elder Taylor for yielding up his office on so flimsy a pretext; but palliated it on account of his youth and inexperience.

According to the journal kept by Joseph Smith, he did not know that Avard's teachings "were being taught in the Church by anybody until after he was made a prisoner."

The ceremony for the laying of the Far West Temple cornerstone was planned for a fourth of July celebration. President Rigdon's oration was leveled to the mobs and enemies of the Church. He climaxed his oration by saying that his people had turned the other cheek again and again and were weary of being smitten; if the mobs came again "it shall be between us and them a war of extermination; for we will follow them till the last drop of their blood is

5Luman Andros Shurtliff, Diary. Special Collections Library, Brigham Young University, p. 120.


is spilled, or else they will have to exterminate us."8

Shouts of "Hosanna, Hosanna, Hosanna" followed his remarks. The Prophet allowed the speech to be published in the Liberty press and copies distributed in pamphlet form.

Brigham Young and Orson Hyde felt that Rigdon's speech was ill-advised: "Elder Rigdon was the prime cause of our troubles in Missouri by his fourth of July oration. . . ."9

"Although Brother Joseph tried to restrain him, Rigdon would take his own course."10 Rigdon's harsh sentiments, produced the opposite results of restraining the mobs. After the speech, they attempted to prevent the church members from voting in Gallatin. Joseph, in response, organized a military body for their defense.

Just before the general election of August, 1838, a general notice was given for all the brethren of Daviess county to meet at Adam-ondi-Ahman. Every man obeyed the call. At that meeting all the males over 18 were organized into a military body, according to the law of the Priesthood, and called 'The Host of Israel.' The first rank was a captain with ten men under him; next was a captain of a hundred, or of ten captains and companies of ten. The entire membership of the Church was then organized in the same way. This, as I was then informed, was the first organization of the military force of the Church. It was so organized at that time by command of God.11

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9Times and Seasons (October 1, 1844), Vol. V, No. 18, p. 667.
Northern Missouri soon became an armed camp. Pleas for assistance were sent to Governor Boggs on both sides. Boggs' reply was that the fight was between the Mormons and the mob and for them to fight it out. Joseph responded by calling his followers to battle. Every able-bodied man was called into Far West.

The Prophet was able to muster enthusiasm in many under his military leadership. One boy wrote to his father:

Father come to Zion and fight for the religion of Jesus, many a Hoary head is seen with their armour about them bold to defend their Master's cause. You may ask if the Prophet goes out with the Saints to Battle? I answer he is a Prophet to go before the people as in times of old . . . . Bro. Joseph has unsheathed his sword and in the name of Jesus declares that it shall not be sheathed again until he can go into any country or state in safety and peace . . . .12

Anson Call related that Joseph urgently requested him and his family to move to Far West:

I do not know that you can stay in safety for two days, and I do not know but what you might be safe until next spring, but my errand is for you to leave. I have finished my message to you. Our family decided not to leave until we gathered our stock and harvested our corn. We were soon, however, cut off from our retreat and lost all our property which fell into the hands of the mob.13

At this time, an event of apparently little administrative significance occurred which led to great repercussions. A disagreement over striplings from milk

12Albert P. Rockwood Papers, Coe Collection, Yale University Library.

13Journal History, 29 July 1838.
between the wife of Thomas Marsh, President of the twelve Apostles, and another lady was taken before a church trial and then to the High Council, which both ruled in favor of the other lady. Marsh, anxious to maintain the character of his wife, brought the matter to Joseph who approved the decision of the High Council. Marsh, having fought so hard in her defense, "declared that he would sustain the character of his wife, even if he had to go to hell for it."14 He went before a magistrate and swore out an affidavit against the Prophet as being involved with Avard's Danite band and having said that "if he were not left alone, he would be a second Mohammed to this generation" with the motto, "Joseph Smith or the sword."15 The affidavit brought an order from the governor that "the Mormons must be treated as enemies and must be exterminated or driven from the State."16

Many defeats followed encounters with the mobs and the state militia. One of the apostles, David Patten, was killed in battle. Perhaps the most tragic episode was of Haun's Mill where thirty people were killed. Jacob Haun had asked for Joseph's advice. The advice was for him to come to Far West and not try to defend his flour mill. After Haun rejected it and left, Joseph made the following

16Ibid., p. 175.
remark to one of his colonels:

That man did not come for counsel, but to induce me to tell him to do as he pleased; which I did. Had I commanded them to move in here and leave their property, they would have called me a tyrant. I feel that they will be massacred. 17

The Prophet endeavored to keep his followers in good spirits by putting life and energy into his men. John Lee gives an account of Joseph wrestling one Sunday afternoon and throwing some of the strongest men present. Sidney Rigdon interrupted the sport, not wishing to see the Sabbath day broken. Joseph then told Sidney that the men and boys were amusing themselves according to his instructions and for him not to interfere. Rigdon resisted and Joseph dragged him from the ring. 18

One incident, recorded by John Taylor, displays Joseph's leadership during these critical times. A force of 3500 was approaching Far West. Colonel Hinkle, one of their officers ordered a retreat. "Retreat!" exclaimed Joseph, "Why, where in the name of God shall we go?" He then led an expedition of 200 out to face the forces. Facing each other, a flag of truce was displayed by the mob. Joseph's message conveyed to the flag of truce man was, "Go tell your general for me that if he does not immediately withdraw his men, I will send them to hell!"

18 Ibid., p. 78.
The mob took him seriously and retreated.  

The end of the war came when General Lucas and Clark were sent by the governor with an over-powering army. Corrill quoted Joseph as saying that "he would rather go to the State prison himself for twenty years or else die, than have [his] people exterminated." The terms set by General Lucas were harsh: The Mormons must leave the State, their property liquidated and their leaders tried for treason. Joseph gave a parting address:

> You are good and brave men, but there are 10,000 men approaching Far West, and unless you were angels themselves, you could not withstand so formidable a host. You have stood by me to the last; you have been willing to die for me for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven, and that is offering enough in the sight of God. I shall offer myself up as a sacrifice to save your lives and to save the Church. Be of good cheer, my brethren.

After the Prophet was taken captive, General Doniphon was ordered to shoot him on the public square of Far West; this he considered illegal and refused to carry out. After this bare escape of his life, Joseph told his fellow prisoners: "Be of good cheer, the word of the Lord came to me last night that our lives should be given us."

While in the Richmond jail, Parley P. Pratt records

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that Joseph's "dignity and majesty" surpassed that of kings and royal courts on one occasion. Joseph became disgusted and indignant of the tales of murder, rape and plunder of his people by the guards and although chained in a dungeon, arose to his feet and rebuked the guards:

Silence, ye fiends of the infernal pit!
In the name of Jesus Christ, I rebuke you,
and command you to be still; I will not live
another minute and hear such language. Cease
such talk, or you or I die this instant!23

The guards, Pratt continues, dropped their weapons and begged his pardon.

During the court trial, Sampson Avard and other members of the church testified against the Prophet that the purpose of his organization had been to set up a temporal kingdom by force and subdue all other governments. The testimony was accepted at face value and Joseph was sentenced without a writ of habeas corpus or bail to Liberty Jail.

Attorney F. H. Barnett, who helped defend Joseph during his Missouri trials, said the following of his leadership:

He was much more than an ordinary man. He possessed the most indomitable perseverance, was a good judge of men, and deemed himself born to command. He had the capacity for discussing a subject in its different aspects and proposing many original views even of ordinary matters. In the short space of five days, he had managed to mollify his enemies so that he could go un-

23Ibid., pp. 228-230.
protected among them without the slightest danger. 24

Since Joseph's plans to build Far West and defend his followers from all enemies had failed, many of his followers felt that he was a fallen prophet. John Corrill, who had been one of his devout followers now wrote:

I can see nothing that convinces me that God has been our leader; calculation after calculation has failed, and plan after plan has been overthrown, and our prophet seemed not to know the event till too late. 25

Brigham Young called a special high council meeting to defend Joseph as a prophet. Worst of all those who turned against him was his brother William. Brigham Young stated that William "hoped that his brother Joseph would never get out of the hands of his enemies alive; and he further said that if he had the disposing of him, he would have hung him years before." 26 The other apostles, however, having passed through the failure of the Kirtland bank and Missouri were to prove Joseph's most stalwart followers.

At the close of 1838, Joseph wrote the church a letter of instructions. They warned against "designing and corrupt characters" like Avard, who taught "false and pernicious things" as coming from the Presidency. The letter was

24 Cited in Harry M. Beardsley, Joseph Smith and His Mormon Empire (Cambridge, Mass: Riverside Press, 1931), p. 188.


very strong against the "renegade 'Mormon' dissenters" that were spreading libelous reports against them. "Such characters God hates; we cannot love them. The world hates them, and we sometimes think that the devil ought to be ashamed of them." At the end of the letter, Joseph admonished them not to give up or to loose the faith like many others had done:

And now, dear and well-beloved brethren - and when we say brethren, we mean those who have continued faithful in Christ, men, women, and children - we feel to exhort you in the name of the Lord Jesus, to be strong in the faith in the new and everlasting covenant, and nothing frightened at your enemies. Hold on even unto death; for 'he that seeks to save his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake, and the Gospel's, shall find it,' saith Jesus Christ.27

Conclusion

The initial decisions to heal the church of its dissension and apostasy that had occurred in Ohio were of such that would seem to be very effective. The dissenters were told to leave and an organization for the protection of the Saints was formed.

Joseph spent much of his time in organizing the Church structural organization in Far West, De Witt, Adam-ondi-Ahman and other central areas to be designated as Stakes of Zion. Joseph gave nominal support to Sidney Rigdon in his harsh 4th of July speech, for he allowed its publication and distribution. He allowed Sampson Avard to cause

great problems by not obtaining the data concerning his activities with his Danite band and then denounce him publicly. These are mistakes to which Joseph admits to his followers, as will be seen in the following chapter.

Eventhough the church activities in Missouri were poorly coordinated, Joseph's leadership during this whole year as a military leader and in captivity, was very heroic. The dignity and majesty he displayed in confronting the Richmond jail guards has become over the years, an often repeated episode. His actions as an administrator during this period fit well into Likert's model: "He helps subordinates to grow by giving them freedom to participate in decisions and to make decisions."\(^{28}\) A little less freedom to Sidney Rigdon and Sampson Avard, however, might have been more effective.

The defeat of the confrontation with the mobs and militia, the extermination order and the imprisonment of the Church leaders put the Church organization in a very serious dilemma - its very survival was at stake. It will be of interest to see how Joseph administered the church while in prison and then his immediate decisions following his escape.

\(^{28}\)Supra, p. 7.
CHAPTER X

BEGINNING OF ACHIEVEMENTS

(1839)

From Liberty Jail in January of 1839, the Prophet Joseph addressed the following letter of instructions to Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, who had led the church members to a settlement on a bend of the Mississippi in Illinois:

Inasmuch as we are in prison, for a little season, if need be, the management of the affairs of the Church devolves on you, that is the Twelve. The gathering of necessity is stopped, but the conversion of the world need not stop, but under management can go on more rapidly than ever . . .

It will be necessary for you to get the Twelve together, ordain such as have not been ordained, or at least such of them as you can get, and proceed to regulate the Elders as the Lord may give you wisdom. We nominate George A. Smith and Lyman Sherman to take the places of Orson Hyde and Thomas B. Marsh . . .

Let the Elders preach nothing but the first principles of the Gospel, and let them publish our afflictions - of the injustice and cruelty thereof, upon the house tops. Let them write it and publish it in all the papers where they go. Charge them particularly on this point.

Brethren we remain yours in hope of eternal life,

Sidney Rigdon,
Joseph Smith, Jr.
Hyrum Smith.¹

Sidney Rigdon, because of poor health, was released early from prison. Upon his release, he showed great dis-

satisfaction and told Brigham Young that "Jesus Christ was a fool compared to him in suffering" and that he "would never follow Brother Joseph's revelations anymore, contrary to his own convenience."  

In March of 1839, Joseph wrote a letter to the Church and to Bishop Edward Partridge in particular setting forth many matters of instruction during his absence. This letter is very important in terms of administration in that the instructions reveal much of his developing concept of administration. He, first of all, spoke of their trials as hopefully producing unity within his organization:

> For our circumstances are calculated to awaken our spirits to a sacred remembrance of everything, and we think that yours are also, and that nothing therefore can separate us from the love of God and fellowship one with another; and that every species of wickedness and cruelty practiced upon us will only tend to bind our hearts together and seal them together in love.  

He then wrote a prayer to God and the response he obtained:

> My son, peace be unto thy soul; thine adversity and thine affliction shall be but a small moment; and then if thou endure it well, God shall exalt thee on high; thou shalt triumph over all thy foes; thy friends do stand by thee, and they shall hail thee again, with warm hearts and friendly hands.

In his absence, he instructed that the church affairs be handled by a general conference, rather than a single indi-

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vidual and the minutes be forwarded to him for his approval.

A warning was indirectly given against the influence of Sidney Rigdon:

We would suggest the propriety of being aware of an aspiring spirit, which spirit has oftentimes urges men forward to make foul speeches, and influence the Church to reject milder counsels, and has eventually been the means of bringing much death and sorrow upon the Church . . .

A fanciful and flowery and heated imagination beware of; because the things of God are of deep import; and time, and experience, and careful and ponderous and solemn thoughts can only find them out. 5

Joseph then instructed the qualities of administration and leadership one should possess:

No power or influence can or ought to be maintained by virtue of the Priesthood, only by persuasion, by long-suffering, by gentleness, and meekness, and by love unfeigned . . . reproving betimes with sharpness, when moved upon by the Holy Ghost, and then showing forth afterwards an increase of love toward him whom thou hast reproved, lest he esteem thee to be his enemy. 6

Joseph then directed the High Council not to enter into the United Order until further instructions could be given. Above all else, he warned them against entering into groups like the Danite band:

And again, I would further suggest the impropriety of the organization of bands or companies, by covenant or oaths, by penalties or seclusions; but let our experience and sufferings by the wickedness of Doctor Abrand suffice. Pure friendship always becomes weakened

5Ibid.
6Ibid.
the very moment you undertake to make it stronger by penal oaths and secrecy. 7

Joseph then acknowledged that he had erred in not reproving Avard and others for fear that a reprimand would make them turn traitors:

Your humble servant or servants, intend from henceforth to disapprove everything that is not in accordance with the fullness of the Gospel . . . They will not hold their peace--as in times past when they see iniquity beginning to rear its head--for fear of traitors, or the consequences that shall follow by reproving those who creep in unawares, that they may get something with which to destroy the flock. 8

In concluding his instructions, Joseph told them that beyond all their human trials they possessed something of deep significance over their oppressors:

We know that we have an house not made with hands eternal in the heavens, whose builder and maker is God; a consolation which our oppressors cannot feel, when fortune, or fate, shall lay its iron hand on them as it has on us. Now, we ask, what is man? Remember, brethren, that time and chance happen to all men . . . .

Joseph Smith, Jr.,
Hyrum Smith,
Lyman Wight,
Caleb Baldwin,
Alexander McRae 9

Joseph as a prisoner had been constantly threatened that even if he were to be cleared by a jury, he would not get out of Missouri alive. This determined his course to

7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
escape which he achieved April the 15th, 1839.

Joseph began his administration in Illinois by first calling a general conference. Oliver Grainger was appointed at this conference to represent the Church presidency in Kirtland and to liquidate their New York debts. He was issued a letter of recommendation that contained Joseph's only recorded revelation for 1839:

And again, verily, thus saith the Lord, I will lift up my servant Oliver, and beget for him a great name on the earth, and among my people, because of the integrity of his soul: therefore, let all my Saints abound unto him, with all liberality and long suffering, and it shall be a blessing on their heads.  

The importance of having a financially stable organization was clearly felt by Joseph and even in the area of appointing a financial representative he used a system of divine appointment.

The Prophet had issued a revelation on April 26, 1838 specifying that in a year from that date the foundation for the temple in Far West should be laid and the apostles leave therefrom to missions in England. John Taylor, years later, spoke of this event:

You sometimes think you have hard times now. Why, you do not know anything about it . . . we had to go among a people that would kill everyone of us as quick as they would rattlesnakes. Arrived at the spot, we prayed and sang hymns. We had with us a man to lay the foundation stone, the man that was appointed by revelation for

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{10}DHC, Vol. III, p. 350.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{11}D&C., 1921 ed., Sec. CXV.}
that work - Alpheus Cutler. The stone was duly laid . . . after which Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith were ordained into the Quorum of the Twelve.12

Joseph also instructed the Apostles to go to Kirtland and kill a lamb and offer a sacrifice "which should prepare them to ordain Willard Richards a member of the Quorum." Sidney Rigdon opposed this move. Joseph, however, answered: "I know the law."13 Another disagreement arose between Sidney Rigdon and Heber C. Kimball over the latter's prophecy that although Nauvoo was "a very pretty place," it was "not a long abiding home for the Saints." Sidney felt that he should learn to prophesy good things. Heber answered him, "I'll prophesy good concerning you all the time - if you can get it." Joseph solved their difference by simply laughing at the remark, to which all laughed with him until Elder Rigdon yielded the point.14

Joseph's magnitude as a leader of men was shown when he first arrived in Illinois. Weakened by hardships, poverty, and expulsion, the Saints fell victims to an epidemic of malaria. Distress and gloom overshadowed the whole church organization. Joseph himself was attacked by this disease. Wilford Woodruff described that:

On the morning of the 22nd of July, 1839,

13Journal of Wandle Mace, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, p. 37.
Joseph arose from his bed and commenced to administer to the sick in his own house and door-yard, and he commanded them in the name of the Lord, Jesus Christ, to arise and be made whole; and the sick were healed upon every side of him.

Many lay sick along the bank of the river; Joseph walked along up to the lower stone house, occupied by Sidney Rigdon, and he healed all the sick that lay in his path.15

Joseph commissioned others to administer to the sick. As an administrator of spiritual affairs, Joseph was very strict. If an elder lacked the gift of faith to heal others, they were strongly reprimanded. Parley P. Pratt said of this:

Joseph, while in the Spirit, rebuked the Elders who would continue to lay hands on the sick from day to day without the power to heal them. Said he: 'It is time that such things ended. Let the Elders either obtain the power of God to heal the sick, or let them cease to minister the forms without the power.'16

The magnitude of Joseph's leadership is further shown in that he could motivate the Apostles to leave their families in the midst of sickness and undertake their missions. The Apostles were also seriously sick and some had to be literally carried away in wagons. Joseph Smith possessed great abilities to motivate others according to Daniel D. McArthur: "To me he seemed to possess more power and force of character than any ordinary man."17

15Wilford Woodruff, Leaves from My Journal (Salt Lake City, Juvenile Instructor Office, 1881), Chap. XIX.
17Juvenile Instructor, Vol. XXVII, p. 203.
Joseph appointed Lyman Wight to present the subject of politics through the public press in a manner that would alleviate some of the hostile feeling against the Church. Instead of doing so, Wight implicated the outrages perpetrated against the Church upon the National Democratic Party, as well as the Democratic Party in Missouri. Joseph wrote a response to the articles stating all political parties had composed the mobs and apologized for Wight's implications. He then wrote a letter to his old prison companion and told him to use a little more wisdom and caution. Lyman Wight, after Joseph's death, left the Saints saying that the only man ever able to control him was now dead.18

Having purchased two farms on the banks of the Mississippi, which constituted the city of Commerce, Joseph changed its name to "Nauvoo" and attempted to build up a city conforming to the plan he had laid for Kirtland, and the city of Zion. The streets were resurveyed and widened, the swamp was drained and the timber felled. It was an immense project. Joseph's ability to motivate and inspire his followers to superlative efforts were shown during this period. Within a short time, houses were built and a prosperous community arose. Illinois had many men of great talent during this period: O. H. Browning, Abraham Lincoln, and Stephen A. Douglas, and among these, Joseph Smith became

very prominent as a leader of men.

Sidney Rigdon, who had been appointed at the April conference to journey to Washington D. C. to obtain redress in Congress against Missouri, excused himself due to poor health. The Prophet thus spent the last three months of 1839 in the nation's capitol with Elias Higbee and Orrin F. Rockwell. Joseph had written a "petition to Congress" and therein had made a statement that would later backfire upon him and become a constant source of irritation. Said he:

The state of Missouri . . . gave the prisoners an opportunity to escape. In proof of this, the prisoners have ever since been living publicly in the state of Illinois, and the executive of Missouri has made no demand upon the executive of Illinois.19

Thereafter, Missouri made several attempts to arrest him as a fugitive of justice.

Joseph had an interview with President Van Buren who refused to handle the Missouri issue before an election. The Congressmen from Illinois introduced him to Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun; Joseph attempted to enlist their support, but they were also non-committal. For those who would not, because of political expediency enlist their support in their behalf, Joseph was very irate:

'Damn such traitors! when they give me the power to protect the innocent, I will never say I can do nothing for their good: I will exercise that power, so help me God.20

19DFC, Vol. IV, p. 36.
As an administrator, Joseph then spent his time in Washington giving speeches to bring prestige and status to his organization. One congressman made the following report to his wife:

My Dear Mary:--I went last evening to hear 'Joe Smith,' the celebrated Mormon, expound his doctrine . . . . He is not an educated man; but he is a plain, sensible, strong minded man. Everything he says, is said in a manner to leave an impression that he is sincere . . . .

There was much in his precepts, if they were followed, that would soften the asperities of man towards man, and that would tend to make him a more rational being than he is generally found to be. His religion appears to be the religion of meekness, lowliness, and mild persuasion . . . .

I have changed my opinion of the Mormons. They are an injured and much-abused people.21

Although the Prophet was able to impress a few people like this one congressman, the administrators in Washington did not impress him. "I discovered that popular clamor and personal aggrandizement were the ruling principles of those in authority," he wrote after his return. Martin Van Buren he found particularly "insolent" and wrote back to Nauvoo concerning him:

Now we shall endeavor to express our feelings and views concerning the President. He is a small man, sandy complexion and ordinary features; . . . And in fine, to come directly to the point, he is so much a fop or a fool (for he judged our cause before he knew it) we could find no place to put truth into him. We do not say the Saints shall not vote for him, but we do say boldly that we do not intend he shall have our votes.22

21Ibid., pp. 78-9.
According to the *Quincy Whig* the Prophet said, concerning Van Buren, "He is not as fit as my dog, for the chair of the state."\(^{23}\)

After visiting Washington, Joseph spent Christmas in Philadelphia, and taught his followers "the heavenly order of eternity" and the "foundation of happiness."

Parley P. Pratt described this:

> It was from him that I learned that the wife of my bosom might be secured to me for time and all eternity; and that the refined sympathies and affection which endeared us to each other emanated from the fountain of divine eternal love. It was from him that I learned that we might cultivate these affections, and grow and increase in the same to all eternity; while the result of our endless union would be an offspring as numerous as the stars of heaven, or the sands of the sea shore.\(^{24}\)

And further, in a sermon given in Philadelphia, Joseph taught that the "true dignity and destiny" of man was to be clothed with an eternal priesthood and rule as the patriarch and sovereign of his countless offspring.\(^{25}\)

These teachings sifted his followers as to a sense of their own worth and capabilities.

**Conclusion**

From Liberty Jail, the Prophet wrote his concept of administration as "persuasion, long suffering, gentleness,

\(^{23}\) *Quincy Whig*, October 17, 1840.


meekness and love." He tells others that if they must reprove others to also show them an increase of love afterwards. Likert describes an effective leader as "Kind, but firm--and endeavors to treat people in a sensitive, considerate way."26 This is basically what the Prophet counseled his subordinates to practice.

The Kirtland Bank failure and the Missouri war had a strong cleansing effect on the church. The apostles that remained, proved themselves to be the strength and backbone of the organization in 1839. First of all, they returned to Far West in April to fulfill their Prophet's revelation and then second, they left Nauvoo impoverished and stricken with malaria to fulfill their assigned missions. Joseph showed a tremendous ability in his choice of these five new apostles and in motivating the group of twelve as a whole. Not only did he have success with his apostles, but he was also successful in reviving a malaria sickened church and motivating them to clear a swamp area and to build a city.

Of the total fourteen years that Joseph Smith spent as President of the Church, 1839 seems to be the most successful and productive in terms of accomplishments. Joseph Smith, after two years of failures, apostasy and poor supervision of church activities escaped from his imprisonment and literally picked up his followers from beds of

26Supra, p. 6.
sickness and motivated them to start again. With little opposition during these first years in Illinois, it will be of interest to observe the decisions in the following chapters.
CHAPTER XI

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

(1840)

Joseph returned to Illinois in March of 1840. His first decision showed that he was neither fundamental or dogmatic in his approach to the revelations and laws that he had set as precedence. A stake had been organized in Iowa patterned after that in Illinois. In the minutes of their meeting for March 6, 1840, Joseph instructed the High Council that:

The law of consecration could not be kept here, and that it was the will of the Lord that we should desist from trying to keep it; and if persisted in, it would produce a perfect defeat of its object, and that I assumed the whole responsibility of not keeping it until proposed by myself.¹

His action in this instance represents his concept of the elasticity of governing laws to an organization. Even a divine injunction can conform and relate to the circumstances involved.

Joseph presented a memorial before the High Council requesting that he be relieved of many business transactions and have someone appointed to handle the city plat so that he could administer spiritual matters. In request-

¹DHC, Vol. IV, p. 93.
ing financial assistance he wrote the following, referring to himself as a "memorialist":

Should your Honors deem it proper to do so, your Memorialist would respectfully suggest that he would have no means of support whatever, and therefore would request that someone might be appointed to see that all his necessary wants may be provided for, as well as sufficient means or appropriations for a clerk or clerks, which he may require to aid him in his important work.  

The Council among themselves appointed Alanson Ripley to appropriate funds to handle the needs of the Prophet in his work. During 1840, Joseph delegated many important decisions to the High Council. During this year, he issued no revelations but relied solely on his own status as "translator, prophet, seer and revelator."

Joseph's concern for his subordinates is shown in the cases of his brother William, Orson Hyde and William W. Phelps. William Smith had been called before the Apostles for his conduct in Missouri. Joseph forgave him and allowed him to remain in his office. Orson Hyde had sworn an affidavit against him with Thomas Marsh. He now asked Heber C. Kimball and Hyrum Smith to help him seek Joseph's forgiveness. Joseph also forgave him and allowed him to maintain his position in the Apostles. William W. Phelps had testified against Joseph at the Richmond court of injury, literally betraying him with Sampson Avard. Since the expulsion of the Saints to Illinois, Phelps reconsidered his

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2Ibid., p. 137.
actions and requested by letter to be reinstated in the Church. Joseph in response wrote:

Your letter was read to the Saints last Sunday, and an expression of their feeling was taken, when it was RESOLVED, That W. W. Phelps should be received into fellowship.

'Come on, dear brother, since the war is past, For friends at first, are friends again at last.'

Joseph's technique of motivating his followers to come to Nauvoo and work without pay to construct a temple was unique. First of all, he described the work in the following details:

The work of the Lord in these last days is one of vast magnitude and almost beyond the comprehension of mortals. Its glories are past description, and its grandeur unsurpassable. It is the theme which has animated the bosom of prophets and righteous men from the creation of the world down through every succeeding generation to the present time.

After this, he tells then that gathering to Nauvoo is necessary to accomplish this work. Everyone who comes should "feel themselves as much interested as though the whole labor depended on themselves alone." This not only inspired the individual worker of the importance of the work, but it gave him a personal sense of importance in relation to it. In concluding his message, Joseph states that it is a work "which kings and prophets in former ages have sought, expected, and earnestly desired to see."

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3Tbid., pp. 163-4.

During one church conference of 1840, the Prophet congratulated the saints for having shared in his distress and said he was "glad to know that there is such a spirit of union existing throughout the church." To the twelve apostles, he instructed:

This is as it should be . . . unity is strength. How pleasing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity! Let the Saints of the Most High ever cultivate this principle, and the most glorious blessings must result, not only to them individually, but to the whole Church--the order of the kingdom will be maintained, its officers respected and its requirements readily and cheerfully obeyed.

The most important thing in conducting his affairs, Joseph wrote, was to see that "the most perfect harmony, kind feelings and good understanding exists in the hearts of the brethren."

John C. Bennett, a man to become assistant President of the Church, wrote three letters to Joseph explaining his position in the State as the Quarter-master general and desired to assist the Saints in all their endeavors. In view of their impoverished and politically friendless condition, a man of Bennett's standing could be a tremendous asset to an organization. Joseph replied:

... a feeling of sympathy and kindness is something like the refreshing breeze and cooling stream at the present season of the year . . .

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5 Ibid.
7 DHC, Vol. IV, p. 166.
It would afford me much pleasure to see you at this place, and from the desire you express in your letter to move to this place, I hope I shall soon have that satisfaction. I have no doubt you would be of great service to this community in practicing your profession, as well as those other abilities of which you are in possession.  

Bennett arrived in Nauvoo in September. He was assigned to assist the Prophet draft a city charter and assist in gaining its passage in the State legislature. Partly through Bennett's efforts as a lobbyist, the act was passed by the State legislature at the close of the year. Joseph wrote to the Saints abroad praising Bennett in the following words:

He has been one of the principal instruments in ... procuring the city charter - He is a man of enterprise, extensive acquirements, and of independent mind, and is calculated to be a great blessing to our community.  

Joseph received a communication from Ohio to the fact that Bennett had deserted a wife and two children. The letter was kept secret. Joseph said that he thought the letter was dictated by a spirit of persecution because Bennett had joined the Church and he wanted to give him the benefit of the doubt. This naive confidence and trust in Bennett would later cause Joseph to say that "Bennett had given him more trouble than any man with whom he had ever

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been associated. \footnote{Sangamo Journal, July 22, 1842, Quoted in Godfrey, \textit{Op. cit.}, p. 118.}

The city charter that the Prophet and Bennett drew, gave Nauvoo almost complete autonomy. It turned out to be one of the most liberal charters granted to a city. It provided for a mayor, a vice-mayor, four aldermen and a city council of nine members. Section II of the charter gave Nauvoo home rule in the following terms:

The City Council shall have power and authority to make, ordain, establish and execute all such ordinances, not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States or of this State /Illinois/, as they may deem necessary for the peace, benefit, good order, regulation, convenience, and cleanliness of said city.\footnote{DHC, Vol. IV, p. 241.}

Not only was the Nauvoo City charter acquired in 1840, but also the ordinance organizing an independent military body called the "Nauvoo Legion." Thirty-four officers were to be elected. The legion was divided into two divisions—cavalry and infantry and was organized as a corp of riflemen, whereas the older units in the state were armed chiefly with swords and muskets.\footnote{Thomas Ford, \textit{History of Illinois} (Chicago, 1854), p. 267.} The military spirit infected all the young boys in Nauvoo and Joseph also organized them into a military corp of their own.

At the organization meeting of the legion, Joseph was
elected lieutenant-general. Bennett was named second in command as major-general. These offices received the official endorsement of the State, and Joseph received his commission from Governor Carlin, thus becoming the highest ranked military officer in the United States.  

In the 1840's, particularly in the West, military titles, connections, and exploits were much in vogue. Social status and political careers were thought to depend on military prestige. The Nauvoo Legionaires were no exception to the rule, and "Colonel," "Captain," of "General" came to replace "Brother," "Elder," or "President" in the address of the Saints. Joseph also began using the title "Lieutenant-General" very frequently. Josiah Quincy, reported a conversation between the Prophet and a visiting Protestant minister. The minister, having referred to one particular doctrine exclaimed:

'Why I told my congregation the other Sunday they might as well believe Joe Smith as such theology as that.' 'Did you say Joe Smith in a sermon?' inquired the Prophet. 'Of course I did. Why not?' The Prophet's reply was given with a quiet superiority that was overwhelming: 'Considering only the day and the place, it would have been more respectful to have said Lieutenant-General Joseph Smith.'

Joseph, dressed in his uniform, commanded a great deal

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15 Josiah Quincy, Figures of the Past: From the Leaves From Old Journals (Boston, 1853), p. 329.
of respect. Mary Ann Winters described him in this capacity:

I saw him on parade at the head of the Nauvoo Legion, looking noble and grand as a leader could do. His commanding presence could be discerned above all others, and all eyes were centered on him, as he rode back and forth giving the commands of his office.\(^\text{16}\)

Having a strong legion well organized and drilled, appeared to be a tremendous asset to the organization. Earlier, in Missouri and Ohio, the Church had been on the verge of disintegration from the action of mobs, apostates and the opposing environment. Benjamin F. Johnson admitted:

It is true that the Prophet seemed to lay the foundation of the Church with a military spirit, and so, unlike the present, he taught us resistance, to all oppression; to defend our liberties with the sword.\(^\text{17}\)

**Conclusion**

Likert describes an affective administrator: "His confidence in subordinates leads him to have high expectations as to the level of performance by subordinates."\(^\text{18}\)

The Prophet showed a great amount of confidence in William W. Phelps, Orson Hyde and John C. Bennett and in all cases gives them the benefit of the doubt.

To insure his organization against future problems,

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\(^{16}\) *Young Woman's Journal*, Vol. XVI, p. 558.

\(^{17}\) "An Interesting Letter from Patriarch Benjamin F. Johnson to Elder George S. Gibbs," Typewritten copy in Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah.

\(^{18}\) Supra, p. 7.
Joseph was able to obtain through Bennett's assistance, a city charter from the State, empowering him with legal power to legislate against further disturbances of mobs and organized opposition. He was also empowered to build a military body for their protection. The Nauvoo Legion added a great deal of status and prestige to the Church organization. It also brought unity and a military spirit among its members. The title "Lieutenant-General" greatly appealed to Joseph for he began using it frequently.

Joseph's ability to motivate others to great heights of achievement were shown this year in his attempt to get workers to come to Nauvoo and construct a temple without pay. His description of the work and its importance are very typical of this aspect of his leadership in motivating others.

Joseph stressed in this year that his followers should make it their goal to be united in all their endeavors. The united determination to follow instructions and work together harmoniously, Joseph listed as the key to "peace, order and love." And he said that as long as harmonious relations existed among his members, he could carry the church victoriously.\(^{19}\) Joseph also worked in very close contact with his line officers. Heber C. Kimball related that:

When I have gone abroad to preach and have returned again, I would not have the privilege of sleeping, before Brother Joseph would call

\(^{19}\)DHC, Vol. IV, p. 166.
us to council; and there is not a thing of importance which was ever done, but Brother Joseph counseled with us.20

Since Joseph stressed the importance of unity, it will be of interest to observe in the following chapters to what extent, if any, he was able to bring this unity about as an administrator.

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20 *Times and Seasons*, (October 1, 1844), Vol. V, No. 18, p. 663.
CHART NO. 5

The Nauvoo Legion

Lieutenant-General -- -- Staff

Staff -- -- Major-General

Cavalry --- Infantry

Brigadier-General

Captain

Corporal

Company Affairs
CHAPTER XII

DELEGATION AND MONOPOLIZATION OF POWER

(1841)

At the beginning of 1841, Joseph gave those under his leadership a warm appraisal in a proclamation to all the Saints:

We have to congratulate the Saints on the progress of the great work of the 'last days,' for not only has it spread through the length and breadth of this vast continent, but on the continent of Europe, and on the islands of the sea, it is spreading in a manner entirely unprecedented in the annals of time.\(^1\)

Another item in the proclamation requested the Saints scattered across the country to gather to Nauvoo. The "greatest temporal and spiritual blessings" awaited the united and concerted efforts of the faithful Saints:

... there is no other way for the Saints to be saved in these last days \(^7\) than by gathering\(^7\), ... let the brethren say with Nehemiah, 'We, His servants, will arise and build' ... \(^\text{[with]}\) the anxiety we feel for their prosperity and everlasting welfare, and for the carrying out the great and glorious purposes of our God ... we feel to urge its necessity, and say—Let the Saints come here; this is the word of the Lord, and in accordance with the great work of the last days.\(^2\)

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\(^1\) *Times and Seasons*, (January 15, 1841), Vol. II, No. 6, p. 273.

The Prophet then mentioned several persons of "eminence and distinction in society," even "several of the principal men of Illinois" had heard the gospel, obeyed it, "and are rejoicing in the same." These men were Isaac Galland, Judge James Adams, Dr. Green of Shelby County, and Robert D. Foster of Nauvoo. These men of prominence and status would naturally enhance the image of the Church organization, which heretofore had failed to impress many of the more prominent members of society.

When the Church met for the annual conference in April, Joseph explained an expanded vision of the gathering:

From what we now witness, we are led to look forward with pleasing anticipation to the future, and soon expect to see thousands of Israel flocking to this region in obedience to the heavenly command; numerous inhabitants--Saints--thickly studding the flowery and widespread prairies of Illinois; temples for the worship of our God erecting in various parts, and great peace resting on Israel.\(^3\)

The Saints must come to receive the blessings of the temple; those however, who could not contribute labor were admonished to "bring their gold and their silver, their brass and their iron, with the pine trees and the box tree, to beautify the same. To motivate those working under him, the Prophet gave a prophecy: "Stand fast, ye Saints of God, hold one little while longer, and the storm of life will be past, and you will be rewarded by that God whose

\(^3\)DHC, Vol. IV
servants you are . . . . Your names will be handed down to posterity as Saints of God and virtuous men."

Joseph gave an important revelation to the Church in January 1841 in which many significant appointments were made. A committee of three was selected to receive stocks valued at $50 for the building of a boarding house to be called "The Nauvoo House." Hyrum was appointed to occupy the high position of "Second Elder" once occupied by Oliver Cowdery and to take his father's place as Patriarch of the Church. William Law was appointed to the First Presidency, with promises that he would heal the sick and cast out devils. John C. Bennett was promised he would be great because of his love. The temple was to also be completed, otherwise the Church would be rejected with their dead. 

At a special conference in January, Joseph was elected treasurer of the Church by the High Council. His official title was "Trustee-in-trust for the Church" with power "to receive, acquire, manage, or convey property, real, personal, or mixed, for the sole use and benefit of said Church." The City Council elected him registrar of deeds soon thereafter, which position gave him great authority in the area of real estate.

To pay for the vast acreages he had contracted to buy,

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4 Ibid.
5 D.&C., 1921, ed., Sec. CXXIV.
6 DHC, Vol. IV, p. 287.
Joseph devised a system of land exchange. New converts in the East were advised to give their property deeds to Isaac Galland and William Smith, his land agents in the East. They in return gave orders on land in and about Nauvoo. The Eastern property was then either sold outright or transferred to the Hotchkiss syndicate in payment on the $53,000 debt. The Hotchkiss purchase in Nauvoo ran a high interest rate. Hotchkiss had verbally agreed to withhold charging interest but went back on his agreement. To meet the interest, Joseph had to make considerable profit on the land he sold. As a result, the rumor that he was enriching himself on the spoils of the brethren had to be dealt with. The apostles in an epistle at the October conference answered this by stating "the amount of Joseph's possessions on earth" as follows:

... his old Charley [a horse] given him in Kirtland, two pet deer, two old turkeys and four young ones, the old cow given him by a brother in Missouri, his old Major, [a dog] his wife, children and a little household furniture.  

John C. Bennett was elected as the first Mayor of Nauvoo in February. Joseph, with Hyrum and Sidney Rigdon, were elected to the city council. Joseph, in this capacity, worked from within to present bills that became ordinances for the city. Ordinances were adopted prohibiting the vending of alcoholic drinks, mobs from forming, religious intol-
erance, vagrants and suspicious persons from roaming the streets. They were administrative attempts to prevent the reoccurrence of some of the problems that confronted the Church in times past.

One ordinance organized the "Nauvoo Agricultural and Manufacturing Association," to co-ordinate all economic activities. Industry in Nauvoo was urged and new converts were instructed to invest their capital into mills instead of land. This proved very successful, for within two years the city had two steam sawmills, a flour mill, a tool factory, and a foundry. A community farm was also organized outside Nauvoo for farmers to raise crops who had no money for land. Laborers and skilled craftsmen who lacked employment worked on the temple. All Nauvoo men were expected to donate each tenth day to the temple or else give the equivalent in goods or money. 8

Erastus Snow, later to be appointed an apostle, wrote that his sister-in-law, Louisa Beaman was sealed to the Prophet in plural marriage the day before the eleventh anniversary of the Church's organization, April 5, 1841. 9

Joseph taught the principle of plural marriage to the quorum of Apostles after their return from their missions.


9Andrew Jensen, Historical Record (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jensen, Church Historian, 1887), Vol. VI, p. 232.
These tried and tested leaders remained loyal in response to this doctrine and became its greatest advocates after his death. Their loyalty to him in this particular area displays his ability for selecting his key line officers in the Church hierarchy.

Helen Kimball related that Joseph, in this year, preached a sermon on "the restoration of all things," hinting that Patriarchal or Celestial Marriage would soon be established. This was the first feeler that was put on the subject. The reactions were not very favorable.

According to George A. Smith:

After Missouri, the people had been made acquainted with the principles of His kingdom so long, that they must have become strong enough for him to reveal one sentiment more. Whereupon, the Prophet goes up on the stand, and, after a bare hint at the law of sealing . . . produced such a tremendous excitement that, as soon as he had got his dinner half eaten, he had to go back to the stand, and unpreach all that he had preached, and left the people to guess at the matter.

While speaking, he turned to William and Wilson Law and said, "If I were to reveal the things that God has revealed to me, if I were to reveal to this people the doctrines that I know are for their exaltation, these men would spill my blood." At this same time, according to John D. Lee, Joseph taught that "it was a sin for people to live together, and

12 Ibid., p. 217.
raise or beget children, in alienation from each other."¹³ Since the Priesthood had been taken from the earth with the death of the Apostles, the marriage oaths had not the authorization of God's priesthood and that if their marriage relations had not been productive or peaceful, they were at liberty to separate as if they had not been married. Those that wished to remain together could be sealed for an eternal state.¹⁴

While the Prophet headed any phase of his organization there was little chance for his followers to become apathetic or complacent. One example of Joseph's abilities to increase the morale of his members was a ceremony for the laying of the Nauvoo Temple cornerstones. The ceremony was one of which many said they would never forget. For several days, prior to the 6th of April, hundreds of visitors poured into Nauvoo to witness the festivities and a military review by the Legion. On the morning of the 6th, the firing of cannons accompanied the arrival of the military officers. The Legion, fourteen companies in full uniform passed in review before its officers, then formed itself into marching order. One spectator commented:

On their approach they were met by the band, beautifully equipped, who received them with a flourish of trumpets and a regular salute, and then struck up a lively air, marching in front to the stand of the Lieutenant-General. On his

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¹⁴Ibid.
Joseph's approach to the parade ground the artillery was again fired, and the Legion gave an appropriate salute while passing. This was indeed a glorious sight, such as we never saw, nor did we ever expect to see such a one in the west.  

The whole procession then marched from the review grounds up the hill to the temple site which gave a majestic view of the Mississippi River.

The choir then sang, Signey Rigdon spoke, and Hosea Stout read the following poem:

Now should our foes be gathered to drive us from our lands,
Or try to thwart our purposes, to break the Lord's commands,
The day they come against us, as they before did so,
They'll feel the weight and power of the Legion of Nauvoo.

After the occasion, the Prophet, recorded his own feelings in his journal:

The appearance, order, and movements of the Legion were chaste, grand, and imposing, and reflected great credit on the taste, skill, and tact of the men comprising said Legion. We doubt whether the like can be presented in any other city in the western country.

At the October Conference of the Church, the Prophet made another plea for the construction of the Nauvoo Temple. At the end of his discourse, he told the Saints, "there shall be no more baptisms for the dead, until the ordinance

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15 Journal of Wandal Mace, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, p. 67.
16 Journal History, April 6, 1841.
can be attended to in the Lord's House; and the church shall not hold another General Conference until they can meet in said house. For thus said the Lord:  

Baptism for the dead, the Prophet taught, was the only way that men could appear as saviors on Mount Zion and they would not be saved without their dead. The threat, however, was not carried out; the font was ready for use the following month, and there continued to be conferences, only that they were styled "special" rather than "general" conference.  

In November, Joseph appointed Willard Richards to act as his scribe in writing the history of the church. Extremely pleased that he had made this selection, he made the following evaluation:  

I have been searching all my life to find a man after my own heart whom I could trust with my business in all things, and I have found him. Dr. Willard Richards is the man.  

Later, Joseph added that Dr. Richards was "a man in whom I have the most implicit confidence and trust."  

As an administrator, there was one area of personal conduct which the Prophet strongly disapproved. William Clark had taught that officials in the hierarchy lacked sanctity and solemnity. Joseph, in return, said he "rebuked him as Pharisaical and hypocritical and not edifying the

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18 Ibid., p. 499.  
19 Journal History, November 21, 1841.  
people." The Prophet then gave the following admonition:

If you do not accuse each other, God will not accuse you. If you have no accuser, you will enter heaven, and if you follow the revelations and instructions which God gives you through me, I will take you into heaven as my back load. If you will not accuse me, I will not accuse you. If you will throw a cloak of charity over my sins, I will over yours—for charity covereth a multitude of sins.21

Joseph made it clear that the members of his organization should be tolerant of each other's failures and thus have more unity and harmonious interactions with each other.

Speaking even more specifically, he said:

I love that man better who swears a stream as long as my arm yet deals justice to his neighbors and mercifully deals his substance to the poor, than the long, smooth-faced hypocrite.22

As an administrator, Joseph exhorted those under his direction to avoid having such high opinions of themselves that they would lack compassion for those under their direction:

The nearer we get to our heavenly Father, the more we are disposed to look with compassion on perishing souls; we feel that we want to take them upon our shoulders, and cast their sins behind our backs.23

Conclusion

Joseph ran a busy schedule administrating the Church organization in 1841. First of all, he became the chief coordinator of land purchases and sales in Nauvoo while

21Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 445.
23Ibid., p. 24.
delegating other responsibilities onto the twelve apostles. Joseph monopolized financial matters most likely because of the previous problems he had in delegating the administration of finances to key assistants. Warren Parrish and Frederick G. Williams had been very close to Joseph in Kirtland, but their defection came as a result of finances. Joseph had been cheated by the Hotchkiss syndicate in Nauvoo. In theory, Joseph also believed in executive control of the purse. John Taylor, in 1879, referred to a conversation "between the Prophet Joseph and Bishop Partridge wherein he said, 'I want you to understand that I stand at the head of all things in this Church.'"\textsuperscript{24}

Joseph used a technique of praising his followers in order to motivate them to achieve further goals. He also made great use of pageantry and spectacle. The ceremony planned for the laying of the temple cornerstone was one created to produce a unifying effect on the membership of the organization. It seems that Joseph's concentration on organizing and directing the church organization in 1841 was to "develop his subordinates into a good working team which has a friendly, cooperative atmosphere with high group loyalty."\textsuperscript{25}

To further insure unity, Joseph instructed his followers

\textsuperscript{24}L. John Nuttall, \textit{Diary}, Vol. II, Special Collections Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, p. 370.

\textsuperscript{25}Supra, p. 7.
to be tolerant of each other's failures and be compassionate with those who had failures. This was not only to help them have harmonious relations, but to prepare his followers for eventual public scandals involving serious flaws in his selection of some of his key advisors. This will be dealt with in the following chapter.
CHART NO. 6

Nauvoo Municipal Government

Mayor

Vice-Mayor

4 Aldermen

City Counselors

4 High Constables for each Ward

Collector of the City

Weigher and Sealer

Market Master

Assessor

Supervisor of Streets
CHAPTER XIII

MAYOR OF NAUVOO

(1842)

Joseph Smith received a few favorable newspaper editorials at the beginning of 1842. William Bartlett, of the Boston Daily Ledger said the following of his administration:

Joe Smith is decidedly the greatest original of the present day. He carries all before him when he undertakes an enterprise--knows no impediment--and never halts in his course till he has accomplished his object. His post, at the head of the Mormons, is a conspicuous one, and in a few years with such advancement as he has met with for the past year, will give him a numberless host of followers.¹

In an effort to win further respect for his church, Joseph and others of his hierarchy decided to join the Masonic Order. Nine days later Joseph added another auxiliary to his organization known as the Woman's Relief Society, to allow the women, in an organized capacity, give greater service to the Church organization. Emma, his wife, became the first president with Eliza R. Snow as Secretary.

In May, Joseph began instructing his followers in the ceremony of temple endowments. The Masons charged that

¹Boston Daily Ledger, (April 7, 1842).
Joseph had violated his Masonic oaths by incorporating many of the signs, tokens and penalties of the Masonic rites into his own endowment ceremony. In counteracting these charges, Joseph said that the essential part of the endowment had been revealed by God and that "Freemasonry, as at present, is the apostate endowment, as sectarian religion is apostate religion." Masonry, he taught, had originally been taken from the Priesthood.

Joseph had to face many disruptive problems within his organization in 1842 that tested his administrative abilities to the utmost. John C. Bennett had been assigned "assistant president" of the church during an illness of Sidney Rigdon. This turned out to be a mistake. While holding this high position, Bennett used the opportunity to seduce women of the community and teach the practice to be a mystery, having the consent of President Smith. Joseph later declared that he was aware of Bennett's practices and had counseled him to reform. A scandal of alleged adultery erupted between Bennett and the wife of Orson Pratt while Elder Pratt was serving a mission to Britain. In spite of all this, Joseph allowed Bennett to serve as President Pro Tem at the April Conference in his absence due to illness.

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Bennett's case came before the High Council where he made a confession of his guilt and declared that the Prophet had never taught him to practice his immoralities. After his excommunication from the Church, though, he wrote a series of exposes of Joseph Smith's administration of the Church. He accused Joseph of immoral practices, organizing both a Danite band and a legion to set up an empire with himself at the head. Joseph then persuaded several prominent elders to swear that none but the conventional marriage order existed in Nauvoo, and that the Bennett system was a "creature of his own make."

When Orson Pratt returned from his mission, he tried to prove the innocence of his wife. A resolution was passed by an assembly of citizens which stated that Joseph Smith was a good, moral and virtuous man, denouncing the statements of Bennett as "base falsehoods." The Wasp recorded:

A vote was then called and the resolution adopted by a large concourse of citizens, numbering somewhere about a thousand men. Two or three, voted in the negative. Elder Orson Pratt then rose and spoke at some length in explanation of his negative vote.

Joseph then assigned his fellow Apostles to try to win back his allegiance. Brigham Young's Journal has this entry for August 8, 1842:

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7 *The Wasp*, (July 23, 1842), p. 3.
Assisted by Elders H. C. Kimball and George A. Smith, I spent several days laboring with Elder Orson Pratt, whose mind became so darkened by the influence and statements of his wife, that he came out in rebellion against Joseph, refusing to believe his testimony or obey his counsel. He said he would believe his wife in preference to the Prophet. Joseph told him if he did believe his wife and followed her suggestions, he would go to hell.\(^8\)

Orson Pratt was cut off from the Quorum of the Twelve for "neglect of Duty" and Amasa Lyman was appointed to take his place. After an inward struggle, he decided to support the Prophet. The Apostles were called together. According to Joseph's journal:

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\text{I told the council that as there was not a quorum present when Orson Pratt's case came up before them, that he was still a member - that he had not been cut off legally, ... I told the Quorum: You may receive Orson back into the Quorum of the Twelve and I can take Amasa into the First Presidency.}\(^9\)
\]

As an administrator during the period of scandals, Joseph maintained that his followers should stand for themselves and "depend on no man or men in that state of corruption" within the Church.\(^10\) As to the Bennett problem, he admonished:

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\text{At this time, the truth on the guilty should not be told openly, strange as this may seem, yet this is policy. We must use precau-}
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tion in bringing sinners to justice, lest in exposing these heinous sins we draw the indignation of a Gentile world upon us.\textsuperscript{11}

No matter how well Joseph convinced his followers that he was innocent of Bennett's accusations, still there had been an error in selecting him as the "assistant president" of the Church. Benjamin F. Johnson said of this:

\begin{quote}
And no man, seemingly, could make greater mistakes, in selection of associates than did the Prophet Joseph; and this, with many other things of which he was accused, his enemies held as evidence that he was a fallen prophet. And even the Lord at times admonished him for neglect of duty, and speaks of his sins and transgressions which would imply that he was not always equally enlightened and guided by inspiration.\textsuperscript{12}
\end{quote}

Benjamin F. Johnson, the Prophet's bodyguard and personal secretary, justified this by saying that the mistakes of a true man will be as steps upon which he will rise to greater wisdom and broader views.\textsuperscript{13}

Joseph himself published a justification for the position which Bennett held comparing him with other apostates from the Church hierarchy:

\begin{quote}
Such things we have always expected; we know that the 'net will gather together of every kind, good and bad,' that the wheat and tares grow together until the harvest, . . . This we have fully proven - we have seen them [the apostates] try to exalt themselves, and we have seen their fall.\textsuperscript{14}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., p. 20.
\textsuperscript{12}Johnson, "An Interesting Letter," p. 17.
\textsuperscript{13}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{14}\textit{Times and Seasons}, (August 1, 1842), Vol. III No. 19, p. 868.
On May 19th while an election was taking place which elected him as Mayor of Nauvoo, Joseph handed a revelation across the room to one of the city councilors, Hiram Kimball, which said:

> Verily thus saith the Lord . . . Hiram Kimball has been insinuating evil, and forming evil opinions against you, with others; and if he continue in them, he and they will be accursed, for I am the Lord thy God, and will stand by thee and bless thee. Amen.15

After the election, he spoke of the necessity of establishing a night watch which the council immediately approved. Just as the office of mayor was an adjunct to the Prophet's position as President of the Church, so was the city government a legal and constitutional apparatus of the whole Mormon sacerdotal structure of leadership.16

The Prophet, as Mayor of Nauvoo, monopolized much of the powers of the city government. Many ordinances were passed which gave him powers which no other city mayor within the United States held in the 1840's. One ordinance, for example, gave him authorization as a proprietor to convey passengers across the Mississippi. It said further:

> that if any person or persons . . . shall at any time run any boat or boats, or other craft, for the purpose of conveying passengers or their property across said river as aforesaid . . . they so offending shall forfeit every such boat


or boats to the proprietor of the ferry.\textsuperscript{17}

The Prophet also used his office to interpret law, when two individuals for example wanted to tax the wharves, instead of leaving it to the city corporation. Joseph's decision was:

Our lawyers have read so little that they are ignorant of this; they have never stuck their noses into a book on maritime law in their lives. Our city lawyers are fools to undertake to practice law when they know nothing about it. I want from this time forth every fool to stay at home and let the steamboats and cantains alone... I will wage an eternal warfare with those that oppose me while I am laboring in behalf of the city. I will disgrace every man by publishing him on the house top, who will not be still and mind his own business.\textsuperscript{18}

In 1842, the Prophet sought to expand the prerogatives of the city to include a Nauvoo Registry of Deeds, a function normally of the county government. The buying and selling of real property was reaching a large volume of business and the county seat was twenty-five miles away. Opposition to his proposal arose in the city council. Joseph recorded in his journal:

I attended the City Council and spoke at considerable length... on the great privileges of the Nauvoo Charter, and especially on the registry of deeds, and prophesied in the name of the Lord God, that Judge Douglas and no other judge of the circuit court will ever set aside a law of the City Council, establishing a registry of deeds in the City of Nauvoo.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{17}\textit{Millennial Star}, Vol. XXI, p. 187.
\textsuperscript{18}\textit{DHC}, Vol. VI, p. 239.
\textsuperscript{19}\textit{Ibid.}, Vol. IV, p. 516.
The Council relented a month later and the Prophet was appointed recorder. The results however, were that a feud resulted between Nauvoo and Hancock County Recorders. After the Prophet's death, an avalanche of deeds, many dated years earlier, were recorded in Carthage by Mormon property owners who feared the possible invalidity of titles not recorded in the county records. Ebenezer Robinson later observed, "This office of registry of deeds for Nauvoo proved a mistake, as I have been credibly informed the courts did not recognize those records . . . Thus that prophecy failed."20

The ordinances that were passed by the Nauvoo City Council are evidence that the Prophet, as Mayor, regarded the city under its charter as a "city state." His view of the U. S. Constitution was that it was not a law, but empowered the people to make laws. Speaking at a City Council meeting with regards to a state statute making property a legal tender for the payment of debts, Joseph said:

"Shall we be such fools as to be governed by their laws which are unconstitutional? No! We will make a law for gold and silver; then their law ceases, and we can collect our debts. Powers not delegated to the States or reserved from the States, are constitutional. The constitution acknowledges that the people have all power not reserved to itself. I am a lawyer, I am a big lawyer and comprehend Heaven, earth and hell to bring forth knowledge that shall cover up all lawyers, doctors and other big-bodies.21"

Some of the ordinances seemed ill advised and un-

warranted. B. H. Roberts, a later L.D.S. Church Historian, felt that these resulted from false legal and political counsel, i.e., Empowering the city police to secure information and check the movements of all strangers within the city, enforce a curfew, and imprison as vagrants any persons out after 9 p.m. without cause; requiring hotels to divulge information concerning all guests; forbidding searches and seizures under any except municipal warrants; and an ordinance stating that any person trying to arrest Joseph Smith on Missouri difficulties be subject to arrest and life imprisonment.22

Joseph believed in a strong executive form of administration with the executive controlling the powers of the purse. To the Temple committee, Joseph made it clear that he held the ultimate financial powers over the Church as well as the city:

Told the Temple committee that I had a right to take away any property I chose from the Temple office or store, and they had no right to stand in the way. It is the people that are to dictate me, and not the committee. All the property I have belongs to the Temple; and you have no authority only as you receive it from me.23

William Law and Robert Foster, who were the chief contractors in the city, began to resent Joseph's monopoly of the management of real estate in and about the

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city. They purchased part of the lumber floating down the Mississippi from Wisconsin, which had been intended exclusively for Church buildings, and began to build houses and stores. Since they paid wages, while Joseph paid in goods and city scrip, a labor crisis resulted. Joseph called upon the workmen to continue on the temple and Nauvoo House and deplored Foster's mammoth skeletons:

See Dr. Foster's mammoth skeletons rising all over the town; but there is no flesh on them; they are all for personal interest and aggrandizement... The building of the Nauvoo House is just as sacred in my view as the Temple. I want the Nauvoo House built. It must be built. Our salvation depends upon it...

I will say to those who have labored on the Nauvoo House, and cannot get their pay - Be patient; and if any man takes the means which are set apart for the building of that house, and applies it to his own use, let him, for he will destroy himself. If any man is hungry, let him come to me, and I will feed him at my table... I will divide with them to the last morsel; and then if the man is not satisfied, I will kick his backside. 24

After Bennett left Nauvoo, he published a statement to the effect that the Prophet had been an accessory "before the facts" in an attempted assassination of Ex-Governor Boggs of Missouri. Bennett traveled to Independence, Missouri and persuaded Boggs to issue a warrant for the Prophet's arrest.

When the sheriffs arrived in August, armed with the writ and a warrant from Governor Carlin, the Prophet submitted to arrest, but used his powers to obtain a release

under a writ of habeas corpus issued by the Nauvoo municipal court.

Upon the advice of Wilson Law, Joseph spent the next six months evading a further arrest in semi-seclusion. The apostles were sent on missions with 380 elders to counteract the lectures given by Bennett throughout the nation. Wilson Law acted as Joseph's advisor of conditions in Nauvoo during his departure. Emma Smith assisted her husband by writing appeals to the governor.

The public image of the church organization was greatly brought before the nation with the Bennett lectures and the counter lectures given by the Elders. Among some of the favorable newspaper editorials that Joseph received, one advised him to take possession of the Oregon territory and set up an independent empire, for in a hundred years "no nation could conquer such a people" as he was able to motivate. 25 James Arlington Bennett requested Joseph's support in a letter that in case he should run for an office in Illinois, Joseph act as his right-hand man. Joseph, having just felt the ill effects of John C. Bennett, who also desired obtaining high positions through Joseph's influence, wrote in return:

Shall I who have witnessed the visions of eternity and beheld the glorious mansions of bliss and the regions and the misery of the damned -- shall I turn to be a Judas? Shall I worm myself into a political hypocrite? Shall

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25 Ibid., p. 171.
I stoop from the sublime authority of Almighty God, to be handled as a monkey's cat-paw, and petrify myself into a clown to act the farce of political demagoguery? . . . .

I combat the errors of the ages; I meet the violence of mobs; I cope with illegal proceedings from executive authority; I cut the gordian knot of powers; and I solve the mathematical problems of universities -- with truth, diamond truth, and God is my right hand man.26

After the gubernatorial election of Thomas Ford, Joseph submitted himself to arrest, journeyed to Springfield where Judge Pope ruled that the affidavit from Missouri was insufficient. By careful planning and calculated decisions, Joseph had engineered his own dismissal.

Conclusion

Joseph made many attempts to insure unity and smooth operations within the church organization in 1842. He organized the women into a relief society and instituted an endowment ritual with oaths and covenants of allegiance. One sour apple from the crate, however, spoiled many other apples and caused a great disruption. Bennett's expulsion showed that Joseph could make serious errors in judgment which became an obstacle for many of his followers who believed his prophetic calling made him infallible.

His forgiving nature in Bennett's case was more of a hindrance than an asset in his administration. His benevolence in other's behalf also caused serious defects in the management of the Church. This he readily admitted:

26 *Times and Seasons*, (November 1, 1843), Vol. IV, No. 24, p. 375.
The only sin I ever committed was in exercising sympathy and covering up their iniquities, on their solemn promise to reform, and of this I am ashamed, and will never do so again.27

Likert's model of effective leadership describes the administrator as "supportive rather than punitive when they make mistakes."28 Joseph Smith certainly had the welfare of his subordinates foremost in his mind—almost to the point, however, where the objectives of his organization were greatly jeopardized. The difficulties with scandals, exposes and this aspect of the management of the church might have been avoided with a different approach.

As Mayor of Nauvoo, Joseph used a strong executive form of management. His decrees, backed by his sacerdotal role of a Prophet, gave him powers equal to the divine rights used by kings in the medieval period. He interpreted the constitution as giving him the right to form any law that wasn't repugnant to the state or national constitution. Certainly many modern mayors, hindered by boards, committees and limited by their local charters, would envy such powers the Prophet possessed.

As an administrator with twelve years of experience, Joseph had met with great successes and great failures. Through these experiences, it appears that he was very ob-

27DHC, Vol. VI, p. 360-1.
28Supra, p. 6.
servant to what these experiences could teach. In the following year, Joseph describes what he felt was ideal administration.
CHAPTER XIV

THE PROPHET'S MODEL OF ADMINISTRATION

(1843)

After having had twelve years of experience, Joseph gave a formula as to what he considered good administrative practices. In a speech given in May 1843, he said:

"The way to get along in any important matter is to gather unto yourselves wise men, experienced and aged men, to assist in council in all times of trouble."

When asked for the formula for his success in retaining so many followers, he replied: "It is because I possess the principle of love." This love he outwardly expressed to his followers. George A. Smith wrote that on one occasion Joseph wrapped his arms around him and said that he loved him as he did his own life. The latter's reactions were, "I hope, Brother Joseph, that my whole life and actions will ever prove my feelings and affections toward you."

The principle of love as taught by Joseph Smith was to produce unity within the organization and would help those

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2Ibid., p. 498.
3George A. Smith, Journal, under 1843 (Salt Lake City, Utah: Church Historian's Office).
involved achieve a common goal. Benjamin F. Johnson said of this:

The Prophet's teaching of love ... by his great example and self-sacrifice, showed us that while all the world was against us, our only hope was in our union, and that union was only possible as the fruit of our love for each other. In teaching us the Fatherhood of God, and the Brotherhood of Man, he taught us that God was the great head of human procreation — was really and truly the father of both our spirits and our bodies; that we are but parts of a great whole, mutually and equally dependent upon each other, according to conditions. 4

Johnson also stated that a Catholic Bishop asked Joseph at Nauvoo, "by what power he governed so great a people?" He replied, "I do not govern them, I teach them correct principles, and they govern themselves." 5

To the wife of Willard Richards, Joseph wrote:

Your husband is a man in whom I have the most implicit confidence and trust. Never did I have a greater intimacy with any man than with him. May the blessings of Elijah crown his head forever and ever ... 6

This intimacy and closeness Joseph was able to maintain with several of his subordinates without losing their respect. When the situation demanded it, Joseph could be very stern and reproving. Benjamin F. Johnson, wrote:

[Although he was] mirth loving, and even convivial at times, he would allow no arrogance or undue liberties, and criticisms, even by his associates, were rarely acceptable, and contradictions would rouse in him the lion at once,

5Ibid.
for by no one of his fellows would he be superseded. 7

At a conference meeting in Kirtland, Joseph said that he rebuked and admonished his brethren frequently, because he loved them; not because he wished to incur their displeasure or mar their happiness. 8

Joseph once stated that he was the last person on earth that God should have called as a prophet. 9 The attitude of many people was that a prophet should be long-faced, stern with a long beard. Joseph himself was young, jovial and at times carefree. Yet, he declared that as long as he headed the Church organization:

The Saints need not think because I am familiar with them and am playful and cheerful, that I am ignorant of what is going on. Iniquity of any kind cannot be sustained in the Church, and it will not fare well where I am; for I am determined while I do lead the Church, to lead it right. 10

To be a good administrator, Joseph taught that a person should possess "wisdom, knowledge and understanding." 11 Taking a broad view of the world, Joseph found very few people endowed with these qualities. The nations and their history showed that "man is not able to govern himself, to

7Johnson, My Life's Review, pp. 92-3.
10Ibid., p. 411.
11Ibid., p. 426.
promote his own good, nor the good of the world." The best administration would require "the wisdom of God, the intelligence of God, and the power of God."\textsuperscript{12} Obtaining inspiration or revelation as an administrator would be the greatest ideal and criterion for the best administration. During one of the City Council's meetings, Joseph explained his concept of good government:

I said to the City Council . . . It was the principle of Democracy that the people's voice should be heard when their voice was just; but when it was not just, it was no longer democratic. But if the minority's views are more just, then aristocracy should be the governing principle; i.e., the wisest and best laws should be made.\textsuperscript{13}

But who should determine the "wisest and best laws?" Concerning this, the Prophet taught that a Theodemocracy would legislate the wisest and best laws:

Moses received the word of the Lord from God himself; he was the mouth of God to Aaron, and Aaron taught the people, in both civil and ecclesiastical affairs; they were both one, so will it be when the purposes of God are accomplished.\textsuperscript{14}

As an administrator for the various aspects of public life in Nauvoo, Joseph found himself having to adapt to many different circumstances and display a great deal of flexibility.

A decision in regard to offenders of the Word ofWis-

\textsuperscript{12}\textit{Times and Seasons} (July 15, 1842), Vol. III, No. 18, pp. 855-858.

\textsuperscript{13}\textit{Millennial Star}, Vol. XXIII, No. 10, p. 86.

dom in 1843 displayed this flexibility:

It was reported to me, that some of the brethren had been drinking whiskey that day in violation of the Word of Wisdom. I called the brethren in and investigated the case, and was satisfied that no evil had been done and gave them a couple of dollars with directions to replenish the bottle to stimulate them in the fatigues of their sleepless journey.15

Another area of his flexibility as an administrator was the ability to change his policies, at will, to respond to different circumstances. Hosea Stout, Nauvoo's chief of police, recorded a change in Joseph's policy regarding mobs and persecution:

Joseph said that he used all his influence to prevent the brethren from fighting when mobbed in Missouri, it was a suggestion of the head and would never do so again . . . when the mobs come upon you, kill them, I will never restrain you again, but will go and help you.16

Joseph was arrested while at Dixon, Illinois as being a fugitive from Missouri justice. Cyrus Walker, head of the Whig Party was at Dixon campaigning for election to Congress. Joseph requested his services. Walker demanded a $10,000 fee and also his vote in the next election. Joseph agreed to these terms; the Missouri sheriffs were then placed under arrest for false imprisonment and the party proceeded towards Nauvoo. Joseph sent word to the Legion to meet him at Monmouth in case a mob would attempt to kidnap


16 Hosea Stout, Diary of Hosea Stout, Typewritten copy in the Special Collections Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
him and take him to Missouri.

The citizens of Nauvoo came outside the city en masse to welcome their Prophet home. Joseph took his place at the head of the procession; the Nauvoo brass band played "Hail Columbia," and the procession wound its way slowly back to the city. Joseph thanked the crowd that had come out to escort him home and said he would address them at four p.m. in the grove near the Temple. According to Wilford Woodruff:

At that hour [four p.m.] nearly seven thousand people assembled full of joyful anticipation in the thought of hearing the words that should fall from their Prophet's lips. These were, indeed, exciting times. In all those trials there was greater buoyancy in the life of the Prophet whose death was sought by his enemies than in the lives of any other men of those times. He was their leader, the hope and assurance of his words inspired others with confidence in his leadership.17

The speech that followed was one of the most powerful and dramatic that Joseph ever gave. It shows his ability in controlling the emotions of groups. He began by saying:

Before I will bear this unhallowed persecution any longer, before I will be dragged away again among my enemies for trial, I will spill the last drop of blood in my veins, and will see all my enemies in hell!!18

To this he added, "To bear it any longer would be a sin, and I will not bear it any longer." Then he asked, "Shall we bear it any longer?" There was one universal "No!" that

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ran through the vast assembly. Then he pledged:

I say in the name of Jesus Christ, by the authority of the holy priesthood, I, this day, turn the key that opens the heavens to restrain you no longer from this time forth. I will lead you to battle, and if you are not afraid to die, and feel disposed to spill your blood in your own defense, you will not offend me . . . If mobs come upon you any more here, dung your gardens with them! 19

Joseph finished his speech by asking the audience to raise their right hand if they would help him to carry out the freedom which was given to them in the City Charter. After seeing a perfect sea of hands being raised, he said:

Here is truly a committee of the whole . . . It did my soul good to see your feelings and love manifested towards me. I thank God that I have the honor to lead so virtuous and honest a people -- to be your leader and lawyer, as was Moses to the children of Israel. Hosanna! Hosanna! to God Almighty, who has delivered us thus from out of the seven troubles! I commend you to His grace; and may the blessings of Heaven rest upon you in the name of Jesus Christ, Amen. 20

The Prophet had been living in a log house near the Mississippi but found the construction of a larger house necessary to accommodate visitors and travelers. In October he announced the opening of his Mansion House. The opening was celebrated with a party of 300 of his followers as guests. After dinner had been served a committee was formed to draft resolutions for the occasion. One resolution, speaking of Joseph's leadership said:

19 Ibid., pp. 568-9.
20 Ibid., pp. 471-2.
Resolved: General Joseph Smith, whether we view him as a Prophet at the head of the Church, a General at the head of the Legion, a Mayor at the head of the City Council, or as a landlord at the head of his table, has few equals and no superiors.21

After the Mansion House was opened, Joseph allowed Orrin Porter Rockwell to install a bar inside. Emma Smith, upon her return from St. Louis, was furious and contended that it looked bad for the image of the Church for the Prophet to allow a bar in his home. Joseph argued that the arrangement was only temporary, and that Rockwell would soon open a barber shop-bar across the street. But Emma was persistent, and the bar was removed.22

Joseph called a special conference in October to try the case of Sidney Rigdon for his mismanagement of the Post Office, and a supposed connection with John C. Bennett, and Missourian mob leaders. Rigdon pleaded for mercy. Hyrum Smith, William Law and others pleaded his case. On motion of William Marks, seconded by Hyrum, the conference voted to sustain him in his position as first counselor. Apparently this was the first and only time that the Church members voted contrary to the expressed wish of their Prophet. Joseph arose and declared, "I have thrown him off my shoulders, and you have again put him on me. You may carry him,

21_Nauvoo Neighbor, (October 6, 1843).
but I will not."\(^23\)

Joseph, in desiring to have good leadership over the Church after his eventual death, tested the character and loyalty of his key men to find out what was in them. Joseph tested Heber C. Kimball, for example, by requesting that he give Joseph his wife to him in plural marriage. Kimball's daughter relates her father's struggle in the following account:

Three days he fasted and wept and prayed. Then, with a broken and a bleeding heart, but with soul self-mastered for the sacrifice, he led his darling wife to the Prophet's house and presented her to Joseph. It was enough - the heavens accepted the sacrifice. Joseph wept at this proof of devotion, and told him that was all the Lord required. He had proved him, as a child of Abraham, that he would 'do the works of Abraham,' holding back nothing, but laying all upon the altar for God's glory.\(^24\)

The Prophet found one occasion to test Brigham Young.

Lorenzo Snow related:

William Smith, one of the Apostles, had been guilty of adultery and many other sins. Joseph instructed Brigham to prefer a charge against his brother. Before the time set for the trial, Emma talked to Joseph and said the charges preferred against William would injure the Smith family and the Church image. After the trial had begun, Joseph entered the room and was given a seat. The testimony of witnesses concerning William were heard. After a short time, Joseph arose and said, 'Brother Brigham, I will not listen to this abuse of my family a minute longer, I will wade in blood up to my knees be-

\(^23\) *Times and Seasons*, (September 15, 1843), Vol. IV, No. 21, pp. 329-30.

fore I will do it." A rupture between the two men seemed imminent, but Brigham proved his loyalty to his superior and said, 'Brother Joseph, I withdraw the charge.'

Joseph tested the Saints to make sure their testimonies were of his religion and not of him as a personable leader. Amasa Lyman, of the First Presidency, related:

Joseph Smith tried the faith of the Saints many times by his peculiarities. At one time, he had preached a powerful sermon on the Word of Wisdom, and immediately thereafter, he rode through the streets of Nauvoo smoking a cigar. Some of the brethren were tried as was Abraham of old.

Jedediah M. Grant, in speaking of this, said:

What would a man of God say, who felt aright, when Joseph asked him for his money? He would say, 'Yes, and I wish I had more to help to build up the kingdom of God.' Or if he came and said, 'I want your wife?' 'O yes,' he would say, 'here she is, there are plenty more . . . .'

Did the Prophet Joseph want every man's wife he asked for? He did not, but in that thing was the grand thread of the Priesthood developed. The grand object in view was to try the people of God, to see what was in them . . . If ever you are brought into the presence of God, and exalted to a seat in His Celestial Kingdom, it will be by virtue of the Holy Priesthood, therefore you have got to be proved, not only by being tempted by the devil, but the Priesthood will try you - it will try you to the core.

The revelation on plural marriage was read to the

25 Related by President Lorenzo Snow at a meeting of the Apostles, Wednesday, April 9, 1890, "Diary of Abraham H. Cannon," Vol. XII, (April 9, 1890 entry).

26 Ibid., Vol. XIX, (October, 1895 entry).

High Council in 1843. The revelation stated that:

All those who have this law revealed unto them must obey the same... no one can reject this covenant and be permitted to enter into my glory; for all who will have a blessing at my hands shall abide the law which was appointed for that blessing... Go ye, therefore, and do the works of Abraham; enter ye into my law, and ye shall be saved. But if ye enter not into my law, ye cannot receive the promises of my Father, which He made unto Abraham.28

The revelation was not, however, officially made known to the public. At times, in order to protect the lives of the Saints, plural marriage was denied. On February 1, 1844, the following was published in The Times and Seasons:

Notice:
As we have lately been creditably informed, that an Elder of the Church by the name of Hiram Brown, has been preaching Polygamy... This is to notify him and the Church in general, that he has been cut off from the Church for his iniquity.

Joseph Smith,
Hyrum Smith.
Presidents of said Church.29

On March 15, 1844, Hyrum Smith wrote:

To the brethren living on China Creek, Greetings:
Whereas, Brother Richard Hewitt has stated to me that some of your elders say that a man having a certain priesthood may have as many wives as he pleases, and that that doctrine is taught here, I say unto you that that man teaches false doctrine, for there is no such doctrine taught here. Neither is there any such thing practiced here, and any man that is found teaching privately or publicly any such doctrine is culpable and will stand a chance to be brought before the High Council

28D.&C., 1921 ed., Sec. CXXII.
and lose his license and membership also.30

According to a statement by Lorenzo Snow, Emma Smith tried to poison her husband after he began announcing the revelation on plural marriage.31 Hyrum read the revelation to her first and she begged Joseph to let her have the written revelation. He gave her a duplicate copy of the original and let her burn it.32 While William Law and others led an anti-polygamist faction among the men, Emma worked among the women. According to Bathsheba Smith, Emma told them that their husbands would take more wives and unless they consented, they must put their foot down and keep it there. There are, though, accounts where Emma submitted to her husband's wishes and assisted him in promoting Celestial Marriage.33

Joseph was well aware of his wife's action in opposition to this portion of his administration. John Taylor records Joseph as saying, "Emma would dethrone Jehovah to accomplish her purpose if she could."34 As to the extent that others, however, followed the Prophet's instruction,

30Ibid., (March 15, 1844), Vol V, No. 6, p. 474.
31Charles Walker, Diary of Charles Walker, (December 17, 1876 entry), Special Collections Library, Brigham Young University, n.p.
33Andrew Jensen, Historical Record, (Salt Lake City, Utah, 1889), Vol. VI, No. 4, p. 224.
34Women's Exponent, (Salt Lake City, Utah), Vol. IX, pp. 53-54.
George A. Smith wrote:

In his last conversation, he administered a little chastisement to me for not stepping forward as he had indicated in Patriarchal Marriage. He assured me that the man who had many virtuous wives had many great prizes, though he admitted that the man who had one virtuous wife had one great prize. He testified to me and to my father that the Lord had given him the keys of this sealing ordinance, and that he felt as liberal to others as he did to himself. He remarked that he had given Brigham Young three wives, Heber C. Kimball two, John Taylor three, Orson Hyde two, and many, a number of others, and said to me, 'You should not be behind your privileges.'

Benjamin F. Johnson said that Joseph had taught that our mission to the earth was to organize a nucleus of heaven to take with us to the increase of which there would be no end. Dominion and power in the next world "would be commensurate with the number of wives, children and friends that we inherit here." Joseph's life's motto after "God and His Kingdom" was that of "wives, children and friends."

In administrating this principle, Joseph told the Apostles that if this one principle was not obeyed, the Kingdom of God could not go one step further. Although apostasy, immorality and scandals resulted from the misuse of this principle, Joseph denied the practice of "spiritual

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37 Ibid., p. 4.

wivery" to the public and admonished the practice of Celestial Marriage to a selected few. According to William Clayton:

After the revelation on Celestial Marriage was written, Joseph continued his instructions, privately, on the doctrine, to myself and others, and during the last year of his life, we were scarcely ever together, alone, but he was talking on the subject . . . From him, I learned that the doctrine of plural and Celestial Marriage is the most holy and important doctrine ever released to man on the earth, and that without obedience to that principle, no man can ever attain to the fullness of exaltation in Celestial Glory. 39

Conclusion

Joseph Smith gave his formula for successful leadership in 1843. The formula is based on the principle of love. To create a spirit of unity, the leader should set an example of self-sacrifice. He should love his subordinates as he loves himself and then teach them correct principles so that they can be independent and govern themselves. The intimacy and closeness should also be followed by sternness when the situation demands it. Orson Hyde was to later say that "when Brother Joseph was here and he was to see the Twelve do wrong, we would not have time to wink more than twice, before he would be upon us with a rod and drive us back to the path of duty again." 40

Joseph's formula for effective leadership embodies all

of the findings that Likert's research were able to produce. The Prophet's concepts of good administration was 120 years ahead of his times. This premise, however, can only be accepted if one can rely on Likert's modified theory of management. 41

The best administrator, according to Joseph Smith, going even further, should have the wisdom, intelligence and power that only his Creator can endow. Man by himself is not capable to promote his own good or the good of others. The necessary "wisdom, knowledge and understanding" can only come by God's assistance.

Joseph's administration of the Church organization in 1843 was far from unexciting. The procession following his arrest, the support of his followers and his speech in the grove are examples of personal successes among his own subordinates. The judgment he rendered to the violators of the Word of Wisdom displayed a great capacity of understanding. Joseph met with much opposition to almost all of his programs in this particular year. A labor crisis resulted from disagreements with William Law and Robert Foster. Joseph also could not rid himself of a counselor he did not want and his wife threatened to leave him altogether over the introduction of an unpopular principle. 42

There were others, though, who would stand by Joseph

41 Supra, Chapter I.
while all hell boiled over. Joseph purposely tested them to find their limits as in the cases of Heber C. Kimball and Brigham Young. In his particular administration, he needed to know in whom he could trust and who would bear off the kingdom triumphantly after his death.
CHAPTER XV

ENDING OF AN ERA

(1844)

Joseph wrote inquiries to all Presidential candidates to find out what position they took relative to the redress the Saints were petitioning from the State of Missouri. Their replies showed the Prophet that his people could expect no action relative to the large amount of property they had lost in Missouri. After deciding that he could support none of the candidates, Joseph announced on January 31, 1844, that he himself was a candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

From his journey to Washington D. C. and his encounters with President Van Buren, Joseph seemed in large measure to have developed his view of the ideal chief executive — fearless, unselfish, above political considerations, and willing to override vacillating courts and legislatures. The failure of the Federal Government to redress the wrongs of the Saints annoyed the Prophet to no extent. In his journal, he wrote, "Since Congress had decided against us, the Lord has begun to vex this nation [and] will continue except they repent."¹ In December of 1843, he made a harsher prophecy:

¹DHC, Vol. IV, p. 145.
While discussing the petition for redress to Congress, I prophesied, by virtue of the holy Priesthood vested in me, and in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, that, if Congress will not hear our petition and grant us protection, they shall be broken up as a government and God shall damn them, and there shall be nothing left of them—not even a grease-spot.²

The Prophet wrote that a public servant should be dedicated to the "peace and prosperity and happiness of the whole people."³ Some of his close advisors felt that Joseph was sincere in this portion of his administration. Lorenzo Snow said:

There never was a man that possessed a higher degree of devotedness to the interests of mankind than the Prophet Joseph.⁴

To those who Joseph felt were not fully dedicated to the people's interests they represented, he spared no dislike. In a reply to Calhoun, Joseph admonished him to read the U. S. Constitution to understand:

...what can be done to protect the lives, property, and rights of a virtuous people, when President and Congress are unbought by bribes, uncorrupted by patronage...unawed by fear, and uncontaminated by tangling alliances. And God...will raise your mind above the narrow notion that the General Government has no power, to the sublime idea that Congress, with the President as Executor, is as almighty in its sphere as Jehovah is in his.⁵


³*DHC*, Vol. IV, p. 89.

⁴*Conference Report* (Semi-Annual Conference, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, October, 1897), p. 64.

To Henry Clay, the Prophet wrote that his policies as Senator had done nothing to benefit the nation, but that he had "tithed the mint to gratify [his] lust." Expressing that Clay did not have the welfare of the nation's people in mind, but more his own self-aggrandizement, the Prophet Joseph wrote:

In your late addresses to the people of South Carolina . . . you almost banished your 'banking systems' for the more certain standard of 'public opinion.' This is all very well, and marks the intention of a politician, the calculations of a demagogue . . . for verily it would seem, that you are the Clay and the people the potter; and as some vessels are marred in the hands of the potter, the natural conclusion is that you are a vessel of dishonor.  

Joseph produced, in collaboration with William Phelps and William Clayton, his own presidential platform. It advocated reduction of the number of Congressmen and their salary, prison reform legislation that would turn prisons into institutes of learning and employ them on roads and public works, abolition of slavery by paying the slaveholders through the sale of government lands, establishment of a national bank with branches in each state, an invitation for Oregon, Texas, Canada and Mexico to join the Union, and the granting of greater authority to the President.

The Washington Globe criticized the Prophet's views on his prison reform legislature. Joseph wrote in return:

Unfortunate men, and in nine cases out of ten innocent, are hurled into prison by corrupted judges, or ungodly men who gamble themselves into Congress, into legislatures ... and then damn their friends and fellow-beings to prison, wretchedness, and ruin.

In the same letter, he said:

... it is extraneous, irrelevant, and kickshawing to connect me or any part of my 'Views on the Power and Policy of the Government' with Mr. Clay, Mr. Webster, Mr. Adams, Mr. Benton, Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Van Buren, or any of their galvanic cronies. What have they done to benefit the people? The simple answer is, Nothing but draw money from the treasury.8

On March 11, 1844, Joseph Smith organized what has been called the "Council of Fifty." According to George Miller, who was part of the organization:

We ordained Joseph Smith as King on earth, and in order to install him as one earthly king, it was agreed upon that we would run Joseph Smith for President of the United States ... and in case they were elected, we would at once establish dominion in the United States, and in view of failure, we would send a minister to the then republic of Texas to make a treaty with the cabinet of Texas for all that country north of a west line from the falls the Colorado River to the Nueces.9

George T. Davis wrote that Joseph was crowned by the Council of Fifty over the "immediate house of Israel."10 The leading Apostles were also assigned to represent different states in

the house and senate of the United States, were Joseph to be elected, and a full cabinet was appointed.11

The minutes of the Council of Fifty were not recorded. Therefore, only a general picture of its purpose can be constructed. The Prophet intended this Council of Fifty "Princes" to be the political governing body of the eventual Kingdom of God that would rule all nations.

In a public address, he told his followers:

I calculate to be one of the instruments in setting up the Kingdom of Daniel by the word of the Lord, and I intend to lay a foundation that will revolutionize the whole world.12

Among the functions of this council, it prepared memorials to Congress, planned political strategy for Joseph's presidential campaign, established businesses, provided bodyguards for the leaders, and dealt with apostates and "enemies." This Council was the power behind Brigham Young, after the Prophet's death, and he was careful to consult it when formulating policy. The organization and conduct of the trek west into the Salt Lake Valley was largely the work of this Council of Fifty, and for a while, was the government of the new Mormon state of Deseret.

In May of 1844, Joseph was visited by Josiah Quincy, who described the Prophet's administration of the Church. Quincy, to begin with, described his first impressions of

the Prophet:

He was a man of commanding appearance . . . with blue eyes standing prominently out upon his light complexion, a long nose, and a re-treating forehead . . . one could not resist the impression that capacity and resource were natural to his stalwart person . . . Of all men I have met, these two Joseph Smith and Congressmen Elisha Potter seemed best endowed with that kingly faculty which directs, as if by intrinsic right.13

Quincy wrote of Joseph's ability in dealing with practical affairs, that his revelations pointed "to those sturdy business habits which leads to prosperity in this present life."14 He was then shown the temple construction on the hill, Joseph's farm and the grove where the Prophet gave sermons. In a question to Joseph, he asked: "It seems to me that you have too much power to be safely trusted to one man." The reply was filled with humor:

In your hands or that of any other person, so much power would, no doubt, be dangerous. I am the only man in the world whom it would be safe to trust with it. Remember, I am a prophet!"15

Quincy was very impressed with Joseph's leadership and wrote that if the question were to be asked in a future textbook: "What historical American of the nineteenth century had exerted the most powerful influence upon the destinies of his countrymen?" it would not be improbable that the

14Ibid., p. 325.
15Ibid., p. 333.
answer would be: "Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet."¹⁶

Joseph's main concern as an administrator in 1844 was the unity and preservation of the Church. In opposition to plural marriage and the infringement upon their economic freedom, three sets of brothers: the Laws, Posters and Higbees united [about 1867] discontented church members in a secret organization whose avowed purpose was to destroy the Prophet.¹⁷ Joseph was accused of being an autocratic despot for monopolizing the positions of Mayor, Chief Justice of the Municipal Court, Commander-in-Chief of the Legion, leading real-estate agent, sole proprietor of any ferry boats, recorder of deeds, trustee-in-trust for all the finances of the Church, and President of the Church. Wilford Woodruff recorded Joseph's response to the enmity which was intensifying about him:

The Prophet made a call upon the Twelve to take a mission to the Eastern States. This was the last mission the Prophet ever gave to the Twelve Apostles in this dispensation. He wished none of us to remain by him except Willard Richards. The Prophet turned to me and said, 'Brother Woodruff, I want you to go, and if you do not you will die.'¹⁸

Before their departure, Joseph conducted the Apostles through every ordinance of the Priesthood and said, "Now if they kill me, you have got all the keys and all

¹⁶Ibid., p. 317.
the ordinances and you can confer them upon others."¹⁹

While doing so, he gave them an apostolic charge:

I know not why, but for some reason, I am constrained to hasten my preparations, and to confer upon [you] all the ordinances of the Priesthood, . . . The Lord is about to lay the burden on your shoulders and let me rest awhile; and if they kill me, the Kingdom of God will roll on.²⁰

Against the opposition and dissention at Nauvoo, Joseph defended his administration of the Church in a dramatic and forceful speech:

Come on! ye prosecutors! ye false swearers! All hell, boil over! Ye burning mountains, roll down your lava! for I will come out on top. I have more to boast of than ever any man had. I am the only man that has ever been able to keep a whole church together since the days of Adam. A large majority of the whole have stood by me. Neither Paul, John, Peter, nor Jesus ever did it. I boast that no man ever did such a work as I. The followers of Jesus ran away from Him; but the Latter-day Saints never ran away from me yet. How I do love to hear the wolves howl! When they can get rid of me, the devil will also go.²¹

To those who opposed him, the Prophet's counter attacks often added fuel to their fire. To the Laws and Higbees he said:

What a thing it is for a man to be accused of having seven wives, when I can only find one. I am the same man, and as innocent as I was fourteen years ago; and I can prove them all perjurors.²²

²⁰ Ibid., p. 151.
²² Ibid., p. 411.
At the April conference, Joseph stated the position he held was still the same as it was in 1830:

I must teach the Elders, and they should teach you. God make Aaron to be the mouthpiece for the children of Israel, and He will make me be god to you in His stead, and the Elders to be mouth for me; and if you don't like it, you must lump it.23

On June 7, 1844, the first and only issue of the *Nauvoo Expositor* was published wherein Joseph was accused of practicing spiritual wivery, abusing political power, teaching the plurality of gods and sealing men up to eternal life. Joseph's liberal use of the Nauvoo Charter, his denunciations of Missouri, his financial management of the city and Church were denounced. The editors struck heavily at his monopolization of power and stated: "We will not acknowledge any man as king or lawgiver to the church; for Christ is our only king and lawgiver."24

In retaliation, Joseph called the City Council together and proclaimed the *Expositor* a nuisance published to provoke the people to overt action. After spending nearly a whole night in consideration, the Council voted unanimously to have the press of the *Expositor* destroyed.25

Joseph wrote a letter to the Governor justifying the decision. He also wrote letters to the apostles, request-

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23Ibid., pp. 319-320.
24*Nauvoo Expositor*, June 7, 1844.
ing them to return home. In his last speech to the Legion, Joseph asked those under his command: "Are you willing to die for me? [Yes! was the shout] You have said you are willing to die for me... [Then he drew his sword and cried] I will die for you!" Joseph then pointed his sword to heaven and said:

I call God and angels to witness that I have unsheathed my sword with a firm unalterable determination that this people shall have their legal rights, and be protected from mob violence, or my blood shall be spilt upon the ground like water, and my body consigned to the silent tomb.26

Governor Ford requested that Joseph come to Carthage for trial, promising him protection. Joseph said in deliberation over the matter that if he and Hyrum were ever taken they would be massacred. He then crossed the Mississippi River to proceed westward. On the Iowa side of the Mississippi, Joseph dictated a note to his wife and sent Porter Rockwell to deliver it. Rockwell returned with two others and a letter from his wife. Reynolds Cahoon was certain that unless Joseph gave himself up, Nauvoo would be ravaged. Those who had accompanied Cahoon accused Joseph of cowardice and leaving the flock to the wolves without a shepherd. Hyrum counseled his brother to return, saying that they would not be harmed. Joseph replied that if his

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26Mosiah Lyman Hancock, Journal of Mosiah Lyman Hancock, Typewritten copy in Special Collections Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

life was of no value to his friends, it was of none to himself.28

The writs sworn against the Prophet were on charges of treason for having declared martial law in Nauvoo and calling out the Legion when the possee first appeared to arrest him. Joseph wrote his last communication from Carthage Jail to his wife telling her to have the people instructed "to stay at home and attend to their own business, and let there be no groups or gathering together unless by permission of the Governor." In his own handwriting, he finished the communication:

P.S. Dear Emma, I am very much resigned to my lot, knowing I am justified and have done the best that could be done. Give my love to the children and all my friends, Mr. Brower, and all who inquire after me; and as for treason, I know that I have not committed any, and they cannot prove one appearance of anything of the kind. So you need not have any fears that harm can happen to us on that score.

May God bless you all. Amen.
Joseph Smith29

Joseph was assassinated with his brother in the evening on the 27th of June. Before the fatal assassination, the Prophet spoke to his fellow prisoners about the Church he had established and its eventual triumph:

When still a boy [Jesus] had all the intelligence necessary to enable Him to rule and govern the Kingdom of the Jews, ... but he was a boy only, and lacked physical strength even to defend his own person. ... So it is with [us].

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28 Ibid., p. 549.
29 Ibid., p. 605.
we have the revelation of Jesus, and the knowledge within us is sufficient to organize a righteous government upon the earth, and to give universal peace to all mankind, if they would receive it, but we lack the physical strength, as did our Savior, when a child, to defend our principles, and we have of necessity to be afflicted, persecuted and smitten, and to bear it patiently until Jacob is of age, then he will take care of himself.30

Conclusion

The Prophet's presidential platform revealed much of his own philosophy of administration. It said, "the government of the U. S. with the President at its head, is as powerful in his sphere as Jehovah is in His."31 He favored a strong executive as long as the executive was devoted to the interests of those they served.

The opposition in Nauvoo, according to the *Nauvoo Expositor*, was mainly dissatisfaction with the Prophet's administration. Joseph, his enemies claimed, held too much power for one man. They were also opposed to his private teaching of a plurality of wives. Joseph defended his administration very emphatically: "How I love to hear the wolves howl! When they get rid of me, the devil will also go."32

The decision to have the newspaper destroyed was difficult, for its deliberation took the whole night. His enemies claimed it to be a violation of freedom of the press and

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led Governor Ford to demand Joseph's appearance in Carthage for trial.

The next decision, not to go west, but to go to Carthage for trial was equally difficult. Joseph had premonitions of a fateful death if he were to go. His decision was based largely on his not wanting to lose the love and respect of those under his leadership. If his life was of no value to his friends, it was of none to himself. This showed a relationship of his life being interwoven with his subordinates. This was typical of his whole administration. In his last speech, the Legion responded that they would stand by him at the peril of their own lives. With Joseph as a center point, there was also a degree of unity and cooperativeness among these few followers.

The death of the Prophet literally stunned the Saints. Joseph's personality, his love, arrogant confidence, concern and dedication to the cause he had established had greatly permeated the organization.

The testing and training of the apostles proved to be a great achievement in terms of succession. After his death, they brought the church to the Salt Lake Valley and through their administrations, the organization grew to maturity and stature. The apostles: Brigham Young, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff and Lorenzo Snow, in that order, were successors to the Prophet Joseph. They had been trained under him and it was they who fulfilled one of his
last predictions, that Jacob [the Church] would grow and take care of himself.
CHAPTER XVI

CONCLUSION

As the raters judged incidents from the Prophet's administration, they were concerned with motivation, communication, interaction, influence, decision-making, goal-setting, control process and the performance achieved as itemized by Rensis Likert.\(^1\) Likert listed four types of leaders: Exploitive authoritative, Benevolent authoritative, Consultative and Participative. The first chart lists the leadership characteristics involved and the second chart lists how the raters scored Joseph Smith.

In the Introduction to this thesis, it was stated that three persons were obtained from a psychology class to rate Joseph Smith as an administrator. A Index of objectivity was obtained by correlating the ratings. The Pearson product moment correlation, between raters #1 and #2 was .96; between raters #1 and #3, .90; and between raters #2 and #3, .88. These correlations are all significant (p .0001) and indicate that the inter-rater reliability was very high, i.e., there was nearly perfect agreement among the judges as to the placement into leadership categories of each of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leadership Characteristic</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Exploitive Authoritative</td>
<td>Benevolent Authoritative</td>
<td>Consultative</td>
<td>Participative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Motivation</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Manner which motives are used</td>
<td>Fear, threat, punishment; occasional rewards</td>
<td>Rewards; some punishment</td>
<td>Rewards; some involvement</td>
<td>Group participation and involvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Attitudes developed</td>
<td>Hostile; counter to organization's goals</td>
<td>At times hostile; at times favorable</td>
<td>More often supportive than hostile</td>
<td>Generally strong with strong motivation</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Communication</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Extent communications are accepted</td>
<td>Viewed with great suspicion</td>
<td>Sometimes viewed with suspicion</td>
<td>Often accepted; can be openly questioned</td>
<td>Generally accepted; if not, openly questioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Psychological closeness to subordinates</td>
<td>Far apart</td>
<td>Moderately close if proper roles are maintained</td>
<td>Fairly close</td>
<td>Usually very close</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Interaction-Influence</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Amount of cooperative teamwork</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Virtually none</td>
<td>Moderate amount</td>
<td>Very substantial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership Characteristic</td>
<td>1 Exploitive Authoritative</td>
<td>2 Benevolent Authoritative</td>
<td>3 Consultative</td>
<td>4 Participative</td>
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<tr>
<td>b. Influence which superiors can exercise</td>
<td>Substantial when punishment is present</td>
<td>Moderate to more than moderate</td>
<td>Moderate to substantial, especially in higher levels</td>
<td>Substantial with superior building interaction-influence system</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Decision-making</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>a. Level which decisions are made</td>
<td>Mainly at top of organization</td>
<td>Policy at top; many decisions at lower levels</td>
<td>Broad policy at top; specific decisions at lower levels</td>
<td>Policy and decisions distributed and integrated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Accuracy of information where decisions are made</td>
<td>Partial and often inaccurate information</td>
<td>Moderately accurate information available</td>
<td>Reasonably accurate information available</td>
<td>Efficient flow of accurate information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Goal-setting</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Procedure followed</td>
<td>Orders issued</td>
<td>Orders issued with opportunities to comment</td>
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<tr>
<td>b. Reaction to goals</td>
<td>Goals overtly accepted but covertly resisted</td>
<td>Overtly accepted; moderate covert resistance</td>
<td>Overtly accepted; occasional resistance</td>
<td>Goals fully accepted overtly and covertly</td>
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<td>6. Control process</td>
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<tr>
<td>a. Level concerned with control function</td>
<td>Very top only</td>
<td>Primarily at the top only</td>
<td>Primarily at top but some shared feeling at middle and lower levels</td>
<td>Concern felt throughout the whole organization</td>
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<td>7. Performance</td>
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<tr>
<td>a. Productivity</td>
<td>Mediocre productivity</td>
<td>Fair to good productivity</td>
<td>Good productivity</td>
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## CORRELATION

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**TOTAL LEADERSHIP SCORES FOR JOSEPH SMITH**

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the events. Of all the incidents rated, all three judges rated Joseph Smith most often as Consultative and Participative and one-third of their ratings placed his leadership characteristics in the first two categories.

From the research undertaken, the author of this thesis has formed a few conclusions of the Prophet's administration.

Several individuals shared with the Prophet in the initial organization of the church. It was, from the evidence available, a project of participation. Joseph did, however, implant the seeds that would ensure him the position of a strong executive. Joseph told Bishop Partridge to whom he had delegated the temporal management of the church, "I want you to understand that I stand at the head of all things in this church." As the church organization grew, the Prophet delegated authority and added church offices for greater individuals and group participation. In handling power struggles among those older than him, Joseph reasoned with them and issued revelations admonishing their allegiance.

Joseph began early in his administration to train his subordinates for future assignments and indoctrinated them into the inner circle of his church organization. Before the selection of candidates, there was a period of testing and evaluation. The army of Israel provided such a chance

for training. In the area of discipline, Joseph reasoned with his followers. Only as a last resort did he use the threat of a public exposure. In Kirtland, he told those under his leadership that "the only reason he rebuked them was not to marr their happiness, but because he loved them." 3

As the doctrinal portion of the church developed, much of its emphasis centered on the progression and development of the individual members. Joseph's appeal to the intellect and the innate goodness of the individual were part of his techniques of motivation. He also used superlative descriptions to promote projects and then highly praise his followers for their accomplishments. To get others to build Nauvoo, he described the vision that Kings and Priests through past ages had anticipated and envied their efforts. 4 The raters judged Joseph Smith's leadership in motivation most often as consultative, offering rewards and involvement.

Joseph strove for unity within the church organization. This was difficult to achieve. According to Heber C. Kimball, many of those under Joseph's leadership were "wild like bulls" and Joseph had very little control over them. He would often "suffer them to do as they pleased." 5 The raters judged the attitudes developed among the Prophet's

followers to be equally distributed among the four types of leadership.

In striving for unity, Joseph told his apostles that he held "unremitted confidence" in them and was "determined that neither heights nor depths, things present or things to come shall separate me from you." One of the apostles stated, "there was not a thing of importance which was ever done, but what Brother Joseph counseled with us." The raters judged the influence which Joseph could exercise among his subordinates as being very substantial.

Not all of the Prophet's administration was successful. Both the Kirtland Safety Bank with Joseph as president and his administration in Missouri were poorly managed. Joseph held little constraint over Sidney Rigdon and Sampson Avard, who caused serious difficulties. In Nauvoo, the Prophet claimed to be a good judge of character; whereas, in reality, he chose men such as John C. Bennett, Robert Foster and William Law, which were choices that resulted in serious scandals and exposes. He was also very lenient at times, forgiving serious offenses on mere promises of reform, which resulted in serious public scandals harmful to the goals of the church.

7 Times and Seasons (October 1, 1844), Vol. V, No. 18, p. 663.
8 HCH. Vol. VI, pp. 360-1.
Joseph had many assets as an administrator. First of all, he possessed a magnetic personality that could move groups and sway individuals. Joseph carried himself with a noble and majestic bearing that inspired others to place confidence in him. He could be as happy and unconventional as a boy, yet full of dignity when the situation demanded. He hated self-righteousness, which often finds its way into organized religion, and stressed sincerity and compassion. These traits of leadership Joseph brought into his administration.

Towards the close of his career, Joseph held a great deal of power. As Mayor of Nauvoo, he believed in a strong executive with liberal powers as long as the executive had the interests of others in mind. As Prophet of the Church, he held powers only equalled by the divine rights of kings in medieval history. To avoid boredom and complacency among his subordinates he used the display of pageantry, spectacle, sham military battles and such interaction. In the opinion of the author of this thesis, the administration of Joseph Smith is one of the most exciting and fascinating events recorded in human history.

Likert's model of effectiveness in administration stresses that a superior should "build and maintain his [subordinate's] sense of personal worth and impor-

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9 Journal History, October 29, 1833.
The raters judged the Prophet highest in terms of his psychological closeness to his subordinates. When asked the reason for his success, Joseph replied: "It is because I possess the principle of love." Joseph believed in teaching his followers the basic principles and allowing them to govern themselves. The love that Joseph possessed acted as a force that drew differing personalities around him. With Joseph as a center of their lives, these people were able to work together with some degree of unity.

In comparing Joseph Smith's administration with Likert's model of effective administration as discussed in the first chapter, it seems to me that Joseph Smith intuitively utilized the concepts of motivation, goal-settings, interactions with subordinates and giving them a sense of personal worth. Incidents were specified at the end of each chapter of this thesis showing how Joseph Smith measured with Likert's model. The results were that some of Likert's findings through his research were also the applied techniques used by Joseph Smith as an administrator.

\[\text{11 Supra, p. 8.}\]

\[\text{12 DHC, Vol. V, p. 499.}\]
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JOSEPH SMITH AS AN ADMINISTRATOR

Abstract of a Thesis
Presented to the
Institute of Government Service
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

by
Gary Dean Guthrie
May 1969
ABSTRACT

From extensive research undertaken by Rensis Likert at the University of Michigan, a modified theory of administration has been developed which seeks to build upon all that worked best in previous approaches to administration.

Sufficient information from the writings of Joseph Smith, from diaries and journals of those who worked under his leadership have been used in this thesis and compared with the model of administration proposed by Likert. The results of this work were that Joseph Smith in his administration most often used a leadership approach described by Likert as Consultative and Participative.

This thesis also presents a model of administration advocated by Joseph Smith which has been constructed from a careful research of the Prophet's writings. The administration of Joseph Smith from 1830 to 1844 was also analyzed in detail.