The Status of Woman in the Philosophy of Mormonism From 1830 to 1845

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THE STATUS OF WOMAN IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF MORMONISM

FROM

1830 TO 1845

A Thesis

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PREFACE

This work is presented for the purpose of contributing to a more accurate understanding of woman's place in the philosophy of Mormonism, and as a basis for further study on this problem.

The writer has not attempted to prove any particular hypothesis regarding Mormon women but has presented data which give an historical account of woman's status in the Church and among Mormon people during the first fifteen years of the organization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

The writer does not claim to have made any particularly new discoveries regarding Mormon women but rather to have brought together a considerable quantity of material in which can be seen a little more clearly than heretofore the factors which have influenced woman's status in Mormon philosophy.

Indebtedness to those who have richly contributed to the writer's efforts is acknowledged with gratitude. The encouragement and guidance of Dr. Wesley P. Lloyd, Dr. William J. Snow, and Dr. Russel Swensen of Brigham Young University have made this work possible. To Dr. and Mrs. John A. Widtsoe, the writer is indebted for the use of an
extensive library, for constant inspiration, and for many valuable suggestions. The research has been greatly facilitated by the wholehearted cooperation of the staff of the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City, and by the willing help of Miss Naoma Rich of the Brigham Young University library. To her sisters, Mrs. Evon Peterson and Mrs. Mabel Brown who assisted in the final preparation, the writer is also grateful.
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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

The term "Philosophy of Mormonism" is used in this study to designate the beliefs, the concepts of values, and the interpretation of the way of life which have been accepted by a group of people commonly known as Mormons who have been united as a religious organization since 1830.

Mormon teaching insists that religion is not a compartmentalized area of living, nor is it just a series of doctrinal beliefs. In Mormonism, religion, based upon certain accepted doctrinal beliefs, is a philosophy of life which determines human actions, explains man's place in and his relationship to the world in which he lives, and determines values in view of life today and in the eternities.

In general such a philosophy is not unique to Mormonism, yet because of certain distinctive features of its theology, and through the application of this theology to all the ramifications of the temporal existence, and the establishment of concepts of values which extend beyond this life, the Mormon group may properly be spoken of as achieving an individual philosophy.

In the social fabric of most philosophies can be
found definite indications of the place of women in the culture aspired in that particular philosophy. Plato taught that girls should have equal intellectual opportunities with boys and that if a woman showed herself capable of political administration, she should be allowed to rule. Aristotle believed woman by nature was inferior to man, that she was weak, an unfinished man, lower on the scale of development—that man was to command, and woman to obey.

It therefore appears of interest to the writer to study the development of the concept of woman's place in the philosophy of Mormonism—her place in the social structure of this people and her place in the scheme of eternal existence.

The history of philosophies show that they are never static; they are continually developing processes of interpreting and reinterpreting, of evaluating and re-evaluating. A philosophy is always thought of in terms of living, growing, developing. Such is the history of the philosophy of Mormonism, and such is the history of the status of woman in that philosophy. This study attempts only to interpret that status as contemporary with the selected period—1830-1845.

I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the status of woman in the philosophy of Mormonism during the
first fifteen years of the organization of the Mormon people as a church institution, and determine to what extent woman's status in Mormon philosophy was defined by the theology and practices of the Church during the years 1830 to 1845, and to what extent (if any) her position changed during the selected period. Of interest also to this study is an analysis of woman's position in the general culture of the United States and in the other religious sects during this period.

The period of 1830 to 1845 in the history of Mormonism has been selected for the following reasons:

First. The years 1830 to 1845 constitute a definite era in Mormon history. The Church was organized in 1830 in the state of New York, then moved west to Ohio and Missouri, and during the years 1839 to 1845 established a thriving community in Nauvoo, Illinois. In 1846 because of persecution the great pioneer trek to Salt Lake Valley began.

Second. These years cover the period in which Joseph Smith, the Prophet, stood as president, seer, and revelator to the Church.

Third. During the life of the Prophet Joseph Smith, the doctrinal foundation of Mormonism was laid.

Fourth. These years are significant in this study
because the question of woman's status was coming into prominence in the United States and her struggle for equality in civic life was taking permanent form.

II. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM

The writer thinks that this study is significant for the following reasons:

First. Though there are many articles and books treating the subject of Mormon women, there is no literature which presents an historical description of woman's status in the philosophy of Mormonism from the standpoints of Church scripture and woman's functional position in Church activity.

Second. An understanding of woman's place in Mormon philosophy must naturally be based on an historical description of her status in the beginning of the formation of that philosophy. While source material on Mormon women during the first period of the Church, 1830 to 1845, is rather meagre as compared with later eras, these years are particularly significant.

Third. This study is a starting point from which further research in this field can be done.

III. SOURCES OF DATA

A reprint of the original Book of Commandments and
an 1844 edition of The Doctrine and Covenants have been used. An 1853 edition of Lucy Smith's history of the Prophet Joseph Smith has always been helpful.

Valuable primary sources of data have been manuscript materials found in the office of the Church Historian and the vaults of the Salt Lake Temple.

A wealth of Mormon literature of a secondary nature has been studied and evaluated, and selections considered pertinent included in the material herein presented.

In the study of women in other religious groups, the library of the General Theological Seminary in New York provided a rich source. From the New York City Public Library and the library of the University of Southern California considerable material on the general status of women in the United States was gathered.

IV. DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

The word "Mormonism" as used in this thesis refers to the creed and culture known today as The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The term "Mormon" has become common to this sect due to the acceptance by the Church of the Book of Mormon which is claimed to have been translated from ancient records by the Prophet Joseph Smith.

When first organized the Church was called The Church
of Christ and The Church of Jesus Christ. It later became known as The Church of Latter Day Saints, and finally The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. All four names appear in this thesis. Throughout the thesis the word "Church" in capitalized form is used to designate the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The word "church" appearing in some quotations refers to branches of the main organization.

The Prophet Joseph Smith, during this period, was known as Joseph Smith, Jr., and his father is spoken of as Joseph Smith, Sr., or Father Smith. In this thesis the term "the Prophet" is used in referring to Joseph Smith, Jr.

The terms "Kirtland period" and "Nauvoo period" are used to indicate the years during which the Church had a semblance of permanency sufficient to permit the building of a temple and the development of some degree of community life. The term "Kirtland period" refers to the years from 1831 to 1838, and the "Nauvoo period" refers to the years between 1839 and 1845.

V. HOW THE PROBLEM AROSE

The writer's interest in this subject grew out of previous study and research in the fields of general philosophy and history of education. Previous studies of woman's
place in certain philosophies and in the history of education, and a special interest in the philosophy of Mormonism created the desire to study the position of woman in this specific philosophy.

As has been pointed out Mormon philosophy and woman's place therein has been a developing process for over a hundred years. To study carefully woman's status over such a wide period of time would naturally be beyond the writer's possibilities. For that reason the selection of a specific period was necessary. The years 1830 to 1845 seemed most pertinent to the writer's interest.
CHAPTER II

THE SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF EARLY MORMONISM

The intelligent interpretation of any problem cannot be made apart from the social setting of which it is a part. This chapter, therefore, is devoted to:

First. A brief historical description of the country in which Mormonism had its beginnings.

Second. A brief analysis of the general status of woman in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Third. A fairly extensive study of the status and function of woman in many of the religions in America during the same period.

The writer presents in this section pertinent historical facts that give meaning to the problem treated in the following sections. Limited source material is supplemented from what the writer considers reliable secondary sources.

I. MORMONISM AND THE AMERICAN FRONTIER

Mormonism had its inception on the American frontier of western New York. With the great tide of migration of the eighteen thirties and forties, it followed the American
frontier west.

Movement of the Church. Briefly sketched the movement of the Church during the first half of the nineteenth century was as follows:

Joseph Smith's family moved from Vermont to western New York in 1815. In his own story, as recorded in The Pearl of Great Price, Joseph Smith claims that in 1820 in Palmyra, New York, God the Father and Jesus Christ appeared to him and declared that all of the creeds were "an abomination" and forbade him to join any of them. He further states that three and a half years later he received from the angel Moroni gold plates containing a record of the ancient inhabitants of America.1 In 1830, The Book of Mormon, which purports to be a translation of these plates, was published. A formal church organization was effected in 1830 in Fayette, Seneca County, New York, to be known as "The Church of Jesus Christ."2

In January of 1831, Joseph Smith and his wife, Emma, moved to Kirtland, Ohio, and the headquarters of the Church was established there. In the same year missionaries went


to Missouri and in July of 1831, Independence, in Jackson County, Missouri, was declared by revelation to be the center place of the Church. Immediately converts from the East began to settle in and near Independence. By 1833, however, trouble developed between the Church members and the other settlers of the vicinity and Independence was abandoned in favor of Far West which was in less settled Clay County. In 1838, because of persecution, the leaders and main body of the Church shifted from Kirtland, Ohio, to Missouri. Persecution, however, became even more intense and in 1839 a great migration to Illinois took place and the city of Nauvoo was founded. By 1845 this city had become a Mormon stronghold.

In Carthage, Illinois, on June 27, 1844, Joseph Smith was murdered. In the early part of 1846, Brigham Young began the exodus which led the heart of the Church west again.

The American frontier. Any problem dealing with the early history of Mormonism or its people would be incomplete without considering the frontier environment of which it was a part.

The frontier line of 1800, as mapped by Paxson,\(^3\)

\(^3\) Frederic L. Paxson, *History of the American Frontier*, p. 112.
places northern, western and southern New York, Ohio, and everything west of there as being beyond the frontier. The frontier line in his map of 1830 runs through central Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and along the eastern boundary of Missouri. His frontier line is based on six inhabitants per square mile.

Of the country in which Mormonism began Paxson says:

Palmyra, New York lies in that region south of Lake Ontario to which the Erie Canal brought tumultuous development in the twenties. Before 1817 the country was almost untouched by white men; a decade later it gave birth to the Anti-Masons who upset the political balance of Jackson and developed into the new Whig Party. Among the pioneer families who came early to Palmyra was one from Vermont, bringing with it a lad, named Joseph Smith.

Riley speaks similarly of the same country:

When the Smith family moved to central New York in 1815, the country was by no means settled. Only the year before, the Holland Land Company had bought up the tract west of Seneca Lake, originally held in speculation by Phelps and Gorham, and now offering special inducements to settlers. Joseph Smith, senior, joining the emigration from New England, and taking up his claim in Ontario County, found that his farm had literally to be burned out of the woods. The land was called the western wilderness and there was a spice of danger in the life. Rochester consisted of not more than two or three log houses, and the Indians but two years before had desolated the whole Niagara frontier.

4. Ibid., p. 261.
5. Ibid., p. 342.
Tanner gives us a far different picture. He states that the country around Palmyra in 1815 was well past the colonization period; that Palmyra had been settled for twenty-five years and was only 13 miles from Canandaigua, which was a prosperous settlement. Ontario County in which the Smiths settled, he claims, had 42,032 inhabitants in 1810 and 88,267 in 1820. He does state, however, that while population figures might have taken this country out of the frontier classification, cultural conditions no doubt justify its being so classed: "It takes time to build up stable institutions and some of the handicaps that go with settling a new country are not overcome in a quarter of a century, and sometimes not overcome in an entire century."?

The colonization of the states west of New York was rapid during the early years of the nineteenth century. Cubberley states:

After 1810 the tide of migration of New England people set in strong to the states west of New York, following the northern route, and by 1850 one half of the settled portions of the old North-West Territory had been populated by New England stock, while many settlements had been founded beyond the Mississippi River.

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Ohio was admitted to the Union as a state in 1803; Illinois in 1818; Indiana in 1816; and Missouri in 1820. By 1830 the population of Ohio was 937,678; of Illinois, 157,577; Missouri, 137,425; and Indiana, 341,585.

Morison and Commaner called the period from 1820 to 1830 "America's Awkward Age." It might well so be called because its growth was certainly far in excess of its ability to coordinate. Paxson gives the following:

The whole population of the United States rose from 9,638,543 in 1820 to 17,069,453 in 1840. Of this increase of almost seven and a half millions, more than four millions were to be found in the States and territories west of the Appalachian Mountains. The total western population was about 6,300,000 not counting the elements in the population of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas that might with propriety be counted as western; and this total was nearly two hundred per cent more than it had been in 1820. The whole United States increased about eighty per cent in twenty years.

The population of Ohio alone increased from 581,434 in 1820 to 1,519,467 in 1840.

Turner quoting from Peck's New Guide to the West,


published in Boston in 1837, gives a picture of the frontier movement as seen by the guidebook writer:

Generally, in all the western settlements, three classes, like the waves of the ocean, have followed one after the other. First comes the pioneer, who depends for the subsistence of his family chiefly upon the natural growth of vegetation, called the "range," and the proceeds of hunting... His implements of agriculture are rude, chiefly of his own make, and his efforts directed mainly to a crop of corn and a "truck patch." The last is a rude garden for growing cabbage, beans, corn for roasting ears, cucumbers, and potatoes. A log cabin, and occasionally, a stable and corncrib, and a field of a dozen acres, the timber girdled, or "deadened," and fenced, are enough for his occupancy. It is quite immaterial whether he ever becomes owner of the soil. He is the occupant for the time being, pays no rent, and feels as independent as the "lord of the manor." With a horse, cow, and one or two breeders of swine, he strikes into the woods with his family, and becomes the founder of a new county, or perhaps state. He builds his cabin, gathers around him a few other families of similar tastes and habits, and occupies till the range is somewhat subdued, and hunting a little precarious, or, which is more frequently the case, till the neighbors crowd around, roads, bridges, and fields annoy him, and he lacks elbow room...

The next class of emigrants purchase the lands, add field to field, clear out the roads, throw rough bridges over the streams, put up hewn log houses with glass windows and brick or stone chimneys, occasionally plant orchards, build mills, schoolhouses, court-houses, etc., and exhibit the pictures and forms of plain, frugal, civilized life.

Another wave rolls on. The men of capital and enterprise come. The settler is ready to sell out and take advantage of the rise in property, push farther into the interior and become, himself, a man of capital and enterprise in turn.

The writer has traveled much amongst the first class,
the real pioneers. He has lived many years in connection with the second grade; and now the third wave is sweeping over large districts of Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. Migration has become almost a habit in the West. Hundreds of men can be found, not over 50 years of age, who have settled for the fourth, fifth, or sixth time on a new spot. To sell out and remove only a few hundred miles makes up a portion of the variety of backwoods life and manners.\[14\]

It was to the second class that the Mormon pioneers mostly belonged. They were seeking a place where Zion might be built, where homes might be built, and where their culture might be established.

One must realize that during at least the first ten years after the organization of the Church its people were a part of the frontier where settlements were small and scarce, where the country was undeveloped, and where cultural opportunities were practically nonexistent. They were struggling for homes and for sustenance. They were driven from place to place. The development and expansion of the organization of the Church and the philosophy of Mormonism must be seen in relation to the frontier environment of which it was certainly a part.

**Frontier religions.** Mormonism, of course, was not the only religion that followed the frontier. Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist ministers soon found their way into

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pioneer settlements. Paxson states that the Presbyterians led in the pioneer movement, but were soon followed by the Methodists and Baptists:

Behind the Presbyterians, but in the making, were the Methodist and Baptist churches. The last were well suited to frontier habits, but were less important in 1800 than those of the Methodist Episcopal faith, whose bishop, Francis Asbury, had led them without rival since his ordination in 1784. The evangelical zeal of the Methodists fitted them well for work upon the frontier, but they had first to overcome the long start that Presbyterians had aspired.

The Methodists and Baptists laid less stress on a learned clergy, and more on the power of exhortation. The rough and ready circuit rider was a natural democrat, with a message for every sinner. Occasionally as he preached the burden of sin and the need for salvation, some preacher set the frontier ablaze with the fire of religious enthusiasm and started revivals that spread far from the scene of immediate origin.15

According to Tanner most of the important churches were well established in western New York during the years of the Smiths' residence there. The Presbyterians and Congregationalists were by far the most important, but the Baptists and Methodists were also numerous.16

Joseph Smith in his own story tells of the revivals in Manchester, New York, in about 1819:

Sometime in the second year after our removal to Manchester, there was in the place where we lived an unusual excitement on the subject of religion. It

commenced with the Methodists, but soon became general among all the sects in that region of country. Indeed, the whole district of country seemed affected by it, and great multitudes united themselves to the different religious parties, which created no small stir and division amongst the people, some crying, "Lo, here!" and others, "Lo, there!" Some were contending for the Methodist faith, some for the Presbyterian, and some for the Baptist.17

These same sects were found on the Missouri frontier in 1831 by Oliver Cowdery. On May 7, 1831, he wrote from Kaw Township, Missouri:

The letter we received from you informed us that the opposition was great against you. Now, our beloved brethren, we verily believe that we can also rejoice that we are counted worthy to suffer shame for His name; for almost the whole country, consisting of Universalists, Atheists, Deists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and other professed Christians, priests, and people; with all the devils from the infernal pit, are united, and foaming out their shame against us.18

Not only did the frontier give strength to the older sects of America, but it was the birthplace of new movements. William Miller in 1832 in New York began the movement which became known as the Millerites. In 1833 John Humphrey Noyes began his preaching of Perfectionism which led to the establishment of the Oneida Community. Wilkinsonians and Shakers found homes in New York. As Paxson states:

17. Pearl of Great Price, "Writings of Joseph Smith," 2:5.

The frontier continued for several decades to provide followers for any teacher who proclaimed a new Gospel or interpreted an old one in a language comprehensible to its spirit. The old ties were broken, the eternal needs of the human soul continued to prevail, but the common experiences of religion needed to be restated in terms of frontier life.  

The rapid growth of Mormonism may have been helped by this spirit of the frontier. Though a great number of its early converts came from the well-established communities of the East and of England, part of the vigor of the Mormon message and its bearers may have been caught from the spirit of the frontier.

Thousands of converts to Mormonism came from the Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregational, and Baptist Churches, either from the well-established groups of the eastern states or from the less mature congregations of the frontier country. Such groups as the Quakers, Shakers, Irvingites, and Campbellites too were represented in the new Mormon congregations. All of these converts naturally brought with them their training and experiences in these denominations. To assimilate them all and build a new religious philosophy was a task which required years to accomplish. Even though one accepts the claim of divine

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direction, still the Lord could work only through these human beings of varied experiences and abilities.

One cannot understand nor evaluate the forming philosophy of Mormonism without an understanding of the frontier environment in which it rose.

II. GENERAL STATUS OF WOMAN IN THE UNITED STATES

Pioneer country is a man's country. Strength and force are the ruling powers. Masculine domination, therefore, seems natural. Yet there has seemed to be an equalizing power in the American frontier. When men and women fought together for sustenance the question of equality did not seem so vital. Women found it easier to find a place in public life in new struggling communities. In 1833 the first coeducational college was opened to woman in Oberlin, Ohio.20 Frontier religions were often more liberal in their attitude towards woman's participation. The western states were the first to grant suffrage to woman. The territory of Wyoming led the nation in 1869. When admitted to the Union twenty years later as a state, they insisted, "We will remain out of the Union a hundred years rather than

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come in without woman suffrage." 21 Utah granted woman suffrage as a territory in 1870 and as a state in 1896; Colorado in 1893; and Idaho in 1896; 22 Washington (1910), California (1911), and Arizona (1912) were the next in line. 23

It was during the first half of the nineteenth century that woman's struggle for equality outside the home took organized form. Mormonism was developing during the years when the question of woman's status was coming into prominence in the United States.

**Politically** woman had no voice during this period. Under colonial laws women were not specifically excluded from voting although it is doubtful that they did. When the states formed constitutions, however, in most instances the franchise was limited to male citizens. In New Jersey women did vote as late as 1807. In that year the right was repealed by the legislature. 24 It was not long, however, before the question of "woman's rights" began to take form:

... In 1838, for example, Sarah Grimke contributed to a Boston periodical a series of articles in which

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she used the phrase "woman's rights."

.... Little lights were twinkling in spots throughout the country; small knots of men, circles of women, dared already to look the idea in the face. More, probably, than we shall ever know. But Lucy Stone, in a schoolgirl letter of 1840, lifts the curtain for a second on one such group. The literary society of West Brookfield, Massachusetts, her own town, had debated the status of woman and decided "that ladies ought to mingle in politics, go to Congress, etc., etc." And finally we encounter a brief but astonishing entry in the record: "In 1836 Ernestine L. Rose addressed the Michigan legislature, asking enfranchisement of women."

Legally women had few rights. By marrying, a woman lost her legal personality (and not to marry was a disgrace). In 1836 and 1837 Ernestine Rose circulated a petition in Albany, New York, in favor of a married women's property law. It was thirteen years, however, before this state gave married women the right to hold property.

Woman's status in this period is also pictured in a "list of grievances" adopted by the first Woman's Rights convention held at Seneca Falls, New York, on July 19, 1848:

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

25. Ibid., pp. 82-83.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master—the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women—the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a
thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in Church, as well as State, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any participation in the affairs of the Church.

He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated, but deemed of little account in man.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

He has endeavored in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.27

**Education.** In the field of education, however, woman was finding a definite place.

Coeducation in the primary grades was general. Speaking of the period in which Mormonism began, Boas states: "The eighteen-thirties were confident that all boys and girls were capable of absorbing education . . . The faith in education was second only to the faith in religion."28

Secondary education for girls had its real beginning

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27. Irwin, op. cit., pp. 84-86.

in this period. Boston had opened grammar schools to girls as early as 1789, but as a general rule the Latin grammar schools of this period were mostly for boys who were preparing for college. In 1826 Boston opened the first high school for girls, but it was abolished in 1828, due to its great popularity, and the course of study for girls in the elementary schools was extended.

It was in the academies, says Cubberley, that girls of this period received their real opportunities. The great period of their development was from 1820 to 1830. The characteristic features of these academies were their semi-public control, their broadened curriculum, and the extension of their instruction to girls. Cubberley further states:

Almost from the first they began to be established for girls as well as boys, and in time many became co-educational. In New York state alone 32 academies were incorporated between 1819 and 1853 with the prefix "Female" to their title. In this respect, also, these institutions formed a transition to the modern co-educational high school. The higher education of women in the United States clearly dates from the establishment of the academies. Troy (New York) Seminary, founded by Emma Willard, in 1821, and Mt. Holyoke (Massachusetts) Seminary, founded by Mary Lyon, in 1836, though not the first institutions for girls, were nevertheless important pioneers in the higher education of women.

31. Ibid., pp. 186-189.
Many of the academies were coeducational. A "Broadside" of the Reverend Mr. Alden's Academy indicates that as early as 1807 boys and girls attended together. 32

Higher Education was also opened to women during this same period. "In 1800," says Cubberley "women could not enter any college in the United States. By 1840 there were but seven institutions of all kinds for the higher education of women, but by 1860 the number had increased to sixty-one." 33 Vassar College for girls had its beginning in New York in 1815. In 1833 Oberlin College in Ohio was the first to offer coeducation.

Teaching opportunities also were extended. Women began teaching the "dame schools" in their homes in the seventeenth century. Outside of the home, however, it was the schoolmaster who mostly conducted the schools during the eighteenth century. Emma Willard began teaching in a district school in Connecticut in 1803, and Cubberley states that by 1830 Primary schools had been established in most of the New England states and were taught mostly by women. These took care of the children from four to eight years of age. 34

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34. Ibid., p. 99.
The need for teacher training opened up another educational source for women according to Knight. The first state normal school in the United States was opened at Lexington, Massachusetts, on July 3, 1839. "Two months later the second school opened at Barre, and in September, 1840, the third was opened at Bridgewater . . . . To these schools boys were admitted at the age of seventeen and girls at the age of sixteen . . . .”35

These were interesting high-lights on woman's horizon of the early nineteenth century. One must realize, however, that they were only beginnings and did not reach the masses.

Women's organizations. Significant also in this period is the beginning of various women's organizations which helped to lay the foundation for the suffrage movement.

Benson36 states that during the Revolutionary War groups of women throughout New England, known as the Daughters of Liberty, met to spin. Their numbers sometimes reached sixty or seventy at a meeting. These groups were encouraged by the clergy. There was also a strong association in and about Philadelphia with branches in New Jersey

35. Edgar W. Knight, Education in the United States, p. 319.

and Maryland. Their objectives were charitable as well as patriotic.

Women's clubs began to make their appearance in the first third of the century. In 1818 Hannah Adams organized one in Boston, but apparently this did not survive its founder.\(^{37}\) Irwin states:

In 1833 appeared the first permanent woman's club to which one may apply that phrase in the modern meaning—the real pioneer. Jacksonville, Illinois, then just emerging from the status of a frontier town, but already an educational center, has the honor of its foundation. It was called The Ladies' Association for Educating Females, but the name changed soon to the Jacksonville Ladies' Educational Association. Incidentally, one notes that "females" were [sig] going out of fashion and "ladies" were coming in.\(^{38}\)

During this period, according to Irwin,\(^ {39}\) women were beginning to band together for various purposes. In 1813, a devastating epidemic of yellow fever struck Charleston, South Carolina. Immediately, a Ladies' Benevolent Society was organized. The women divided the city into wards and appointed a committee of sixteen members to visit every home and ascertain its needs. In other communities women also initiated charity work outside of the church framework. New York City and Baldwinsville, New York, furnish examples.

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\(^{37}\) Irwin, op. cit., p. 22.

\(^{38}\) Ibid., p. 64.

\(^{39}\) Ibid., pp. 60-79.
The Female Samaritan Association of Portland, Maine, was founded in 1828.

Even politically women were beginning to organize. In 1833 The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society was formed. The first National Convention of the American Anti-slavery Women was held in 1837. Woman's participation in the anti-slavery movement was questioned but she persevered. In 1840 there were several women among the United States delegates to the World's Anti-Slavery Conference held at London. Although they were denied seats in that conference, their presence indicates the progress that American women were making.

Another public organization was the Daughters of Temperance which was formed sometime in the forties.

The first important women's trade organization was created by workers at the Dover Mills in New Hampshire in 1833. At Baltimore a Seamstresses' Society was formed the same year. A Female Improvement Society was organized in Philadelphia in 1835 by women of the sewing trades there.

These represent the beginnings of women's organizations for themselves. They do not represent much progress toward equalization. Even in 1852 men threatened to withdraw from a Temperance convention if women were allowed
seats. In 1853 Susan B. Anthony's right to speak in an educational convention was debated for half an hour.

III. STATUS AND PARTICIPATION OF WOMAN IN RELIGIONS

Of special interest to this study is woman's position in the various religions in America during this period. Her informal participation in this field seems to have begun early in American history. Officially, however, the older conservative churches were slow to grant her rights in church government or to permit her to participate in the public activities of the church. In her own organizations in the churches she made considerable progress during the first half of the nineteenth century. In the newer and less ritualistic sects she was breaking into fields which were new for the American woman.

Anne Hutchinson (1600-1643) in the seventeenth century in Massachusetts invited women into her home to discuss the sermons of the week. Speaking of these groups, Foster says: "The gatherings at Mrs. Hutchinson's home were vases in the desert to women who 'kept silence in the churches' and were barred from the discussional gatherings. They were the only social event of the season and as such

40. Ibid., p. 70.
41. Ibid., p. 25.
they became exceedingly popular." Her followers at one time numbered 637. When Mrs. Hutchinson began to expound her own views and reached a wider circle of hearers than the women of the neighborhood, the clergy became disturbed. Mrs. Hutchinson was finally excommunicated and banished.

In the eighteenth century women seem to have met together often for religious purposes. Benson gives a number of examples: In December in 1706, Cotton Mather recorded in his diary that he had visited a society of devout women who were keeping the day together as one of private thanksgiving. A group at the Old South Church in Boston was known as the "Female Society," and was still in existence in the middle of the nineteenth century. Sarah Osborn in Newport was the leader of a large group formed in 1741. In 1776 she is reported to have held meetings for the young women for prayers and instructions.

Regarding the religious participation of women in the nineteenth century, Irwin states that it was in this field that women had earliest the privilege of organizing, though after a timid and limited fashion, and that during the barren, placid first third of the nineteenth century,

42. Warren Dunham Foster, Heroines of Modern Religion, p. 6.
44. Irwin, op. cit., pp. 50-51.
most of the individual churches seemed to have maintained their feminine societies. In the ritualistic sects, the women banded together to decorate and tend the altars. In the evangelical sects they met for prayer or religious discussions. In all sects, they "sewed for the church" and administered to the poor of the parish from the sale of their products.

Another general picture is given by Manross:

A more important cause of the feminine preponderance was that in an age when the activities of the sexes were rigidly divided the churches offered to women almost the only opportunity for activity and self-expression outside the home. Though they were excluded from any part in the actual management of the parish, they had organizations of their own—sewing circles, and Auxiliary Bible, Prayer Book and Tract Societies—in which their impulses for leadership, social intercourse, and achievement could find expression. They shared also, as teachers, visitors, and occasionally, though rarely, as superintendents, in the work of the Sunday schools, and they usually had an opportunity to attend Bible classes, in which they were allowed to ask questions and discuss the passages studied, besides hearing them explained by the minister. In Evangelical parishes they also had a chance to make themselves heard in prayer meetings. Sometimes, such meetings were held exclusively for them. In others the sexes were united. 45

In an official capacity, woman seems to have had only limited recognition. Benson states:

In the Congregational churches of New England though the women were often present at business meetings it

was not customary according to the statement of Ezra Stiles for them to speak or vote. A covenant signed by the members of the Church at Shirley about 1762 bore the names of men only. On the other hand, the first Baptist Church of Grafton, Massachusetts, organized about 1774 or 1775 had its articles of faith and its covenant signed by men and women in equal numbers. Women also seem to have signed the covenant in many Congregational churches.  

Woman's actual participation during the first half of the nineteenth century, in many of the religions of the day, will be discussed under the following headings:

1. Place in church government.
2. Participation in church services.
3. Orders for women.
4. Women's church organizations.

Place in church government. Woman's position in the church varied greatly with the sect. The ritualistic churches gave her far less opportunity for expression than did the congregational form, while the comparatively new sects were most liberal.

This is particularly noticeable in her status in church government. Pinchard gives the Catholic viewpoint:

But the fact remains; and, however, much irresponsible and ill-instructed persons may choose to speculate about it, to us Catholics under the authority of the Church and in the light of the knowledge of human nature afforded to us, the question is answered before it is asked, and yet not in an arbitrary or inconsiderate

46. Benson, op. cit., p. 262.
fashion . . .

When one takes into account the nature of the human spirit-soul, and the purely temporary character of sex differentiation in this life: the fact that masculine terms are always used in order to describe to the minds of men the nature of God in his relations to the universe: the fact that the Incarnate assumed male human nature: the fact of his deliberate exclusion of women from the government of the Church, in the person of the Mother of God: and lastly, the fact of the glorious Assumption of the Blessed Virgin St. Mary, Mother of God, to that place where she is exalted above all priests, bishops and archbishops, above all saints, martyrs, doctors and confessors, above every creature that belongs to the human family, save her glorious Son himself, in the Throne of the Most High—it is possible to understand something of the reason why it pleased almighty God to exclude women from the government of the Church. . . .

With the position of women alleged to be God-appointed there is little room for questioning.

In Methodism women voted in the individual churches. This is indicated in the following quotation from Buckley where he is discussing woman's struggle for representation in the general conferences of the church:

In favor of their admission it was maintained that they are certainly members of the church, and do not belong to the clergy, but to the laity; that the General Conference of 1872 declared that in all matters pertaining to the lay delegation the word "laymen" includes all members of the church that are not members of Annual Conferences; that from the beginning women had sat in the electoral conferences; that it made no difference whether women were contemplated or not when

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the rule was passed... 48

It was contended that if it was unconstitutional for a woman to be elected, it was unconstitutional for her to sit in lay electoral conferences.

The discussion of her right to participate in General Conferences covered most of the nineteenth century. Luccock states:

While the long struggle for the representation of laymen in the General Conference was going on, it did not take long for keen minds to see that the only logical end of the contention was the admission of women as well as men into the General Conference as lay delegates. But it took the church long years to bring its law into harmony with this unanswerable logic.49

It was fifty years, however, before they won their place in the General Conference.

Regarding woman's place in the Congregational Church, Barton states:

Unless they are forbidden by the constitution of the church to vote, women are permitted to vote on equal terms with men in Congregational churches. Dr. Dexter strongly contended against the wisdom of this provision but the exercise of equal suffrage in Congregational churches is practically universal.50


That women voted early in the Baptist Church is indicated by the following:

Stiles reported a dispute which had arisen in the Baptist church at Newport in which two thirds of the members were women. The church was much concerned as to whether a majority of members was required for transaction of business and if so whether the majority should include women. There was precedent for the latter course since women voted on the dismissal of an elder as early as 1747. The Baptist Association of Rhode Island declined to give an opinion regarding the matter as the business of the individual church.

That the practice of women voting in Baptist churches was common but not universal is indicated by an article which appeared in the Baptist Advocate published in Cincinnati, in January, 1835:

In the transaction of business, both secular and spiritual, it is customary for all the members, male and female, to assemble, appoint a chairman, have a clerk to keep a regular record of the proceedings, and to allow a free discussion and vote to every member present, on every subject. In those churches which have pastors wholly devoted to their service, it is extensively the practice for the pastor to act as standing moderator; and in many churches the female members do not vote.

Among the United Brethren (also known as the Moravians) women voted. "From the time of the first General Conference in 1815," Drury states, "women voted for delegates the same as men, and later, when the laity


was represented in the General Conference, no special act was needed in order to secure their admission as delegates."\(^53\) This was not until 1889, however.

Dixon says regarding the group known as the Tunkers or Dunkards: "In their worship they employ no salaried priests. Males and females are considered equals, and the two sexes are alike eligible for the deaconate."\(^54\)

The Quaker women were prominent in the affairs of the Society of Friends, as Benson indicates:

The sect whose women were most prominent in religious expression was the Society of Friends. The Quaker attitude towards women differed somewhat from that of the Puritans and put the sexes more nearly on an equal basis... Women had a share in the management of affairs through the women's meeting which was instituted about 1658. Men's and women's meetings for the transaction of business were held separately as a matter of convenience; but the work supervised by women was fully as important as that under the care of man... Proposed marriages were always referred first to the women's meeting for discussion. The very form of the Quaker marriage ceremony, an agreement made by both parties together and in a pronouncement by a minister, tended to place the sexes on a more equal basis.\(^55\)

From "A Summary of the doctrines and discipline of the Society of Friends, published in London in 1800 and sanctioned by the Orthodox Society of Friends in this


\(^{54}\) William Hepworth Dixon, New America, p. 371.

\(^{55}\) Benson, op. cit., p. 265.
country," Hayward quotes: "In this place it is proper to add that, as we believe women may be rightly called to the work of the ministry, we also think that to them belongs a share in the support of our Christian discipline, and that some parts of it, wherein their own sex is concerned, devolve on them with peculiar propriety . . ."56 They did not, however, have the power in their meetings to make rules affecting the entire organization.

The Disciples of Christ, or the Campbellites, allowed the congregation a voice in church government. The practices of this group are of particular interest to this study because Sidney Rigdon and many other early converts to Mormonism were members of the Campbellite faith.

The following quotation from the Millenial Harbinger, given by Jennings, indicates their form of government:

In common with certain other religious bodies the Disciples of Christ hold to the congregational form of church government, that is, they believe that only the congregation has the right to elect and ordain officers. The method and time of election vary widely now, as they did at first. No hard and fast rules can be laid down. A common, though by no means universal, plan among the Disciple Churches is to hold an annual meeting open to all members. A chairman is at once elected, and the church clerk, who is often secretary of the official board, takes down the records . . . In electing the officers as trustees, elders and deacons, the secret ballot is generally

56. John Hayward, The Book of Religions, p. 73.
preferred by the best churches . . . The Board, however, whether elected at an annual congregational meeting or a general meeting of the church, often refers important questions to the congregation for approval or rejection."57

From the above references it appears that it was not uncommon during the first half of the nineteenth century for women to have a voice in church government though it was usually limited to voting as members of the congregation.

Participation in church services. Woman's religious activity was not entirely limited to voting. In many denominations she took a very active part, while in others she was strictly prohibited from public participation.

In Methodism as early as 1822 it seems that the question of women preaching had been raised. A sixteen-page pamphlet was published in that year and is devoted to a presentation of proof that woman is prohibited by scripture from preaching, or teaching, or baptizing.58

Loomis in a pamphlet published in 1874 (which was a reprint from the Congregational Quarterly of April, 1874) quotes an action of the General Assembly of 1832:


58. Thoughts on Female Preachers, addressed to the Inhabitants of Saffron Walden and its Neighborhood.
Meetings of pious women by themselves for conversation and prayer we entirely approve. But let not the inspired prohibition of the great Apostle, found in his epistle to the Corinthians and to Timothy be violated. To teach and to exhort, or to lead in prayer in public and promiscuous assemblies, is clearly forbidden to women in the Holy Oracles.59

Licensing and ordaining of women to the ministry in the older sects did not come until late in the nineteenth century.

The following quotations indicate that the Quakers gave women an equal right with men to express themselves in church services:

Women have always had equal place with men in the fellowship of Friends; and have had equal right, when moved by the Spirit, to break the silence of their worship. No more effective advocates of the immediate emancipation of the slaves appeared before the public than the Quaker women, Lucretia Mott and Sarah and Angelina Grimké, who had been trained to frank, natural expression of their deepest convictions in meetings such as that which is here depicted.60

... As for the Quakers and Shakers, they always had the spiritual courage to ignore Saint Paul's adjuration—"Let your women keep silence in the churches." The Quakers have no regularly ordained clergymen. But from the days of Fox, men and women alike expressed themselves in meeting according as the spirit moved them. ... Women in this position sprinkle the annals of the Friends."61

60. Weigle, op. cit., p. 163.
61. Irwin, op. cit., p. 56.
A particularly interesting feature of Quaker life as compared with other denominations was the part which women took in the services. . . . In the list of ministers and elders at Burlington, New Jersey, in 1767, twenty-five of the sixty names were those of women . . . . In their work as "public Friends" women made trips about the country and even across the ocean. . . . The part which Quaker women took in religious activities was apparently without effect on women of other denominations. This was perhaps because they formed only a small part of the population and were often held in disfavor.62

This is evidenced by the action of the Congregational Association. In 1837 they sent out to all the Congregational churches in Massachusetts a Pastoral Letter denouncing the Grimke' sisters and all women who followed their bold example.63

Reference is made in Mormon church history to the group known as the Shakers.64 Ann Lee came to America from England in 1774 and founded this sect. They believed that God was both male and female; that Christ first appeared in Jesus as a male, then in Ann Lee as a female.65 This doctrine naturally gave woman a high position. Women were confirmed elders and deacons. From 1796 to 1821, Lucy,

64. Doctrine and Covenants, 40:1.
the daughter of Ann Lee, governed these Shaker societies
"with the powers of a female Pope." 66

Ann Lee was called the "Elect Lady." Through her they believed that woman was restored to the plane from which she had been degraded by Eve's fall. The Shakers in the nineteenth century claimed that they had been the first group to free woman from the vassalage to which all other religious society subjected her. 67

Another colorful character in early nineteenth century religion was Jemima Wilkinson known as the Universal Friend. She claimed that at the age of eighteen she died and that her body was raised up again by the "Spirit of Life from God." It is believed that she also claimed to be the embodiment of Christ at His second coming. 68 A woman by the name of Sarah Richards accompanied her in her preaching and claimed to be "the prophet Daniel operating in these latter days in the female line." 69 Jemima Wilkinson founded a colony for her followers on the west side of Seneca Lake in New York. She received visions from God and healed the sick. Carmer gives the following interesting

68. Ibid., p. 270.
picture of her:

\[\text{... On a beautiful horse, her saddle and stirrups studded with silver, the wide brim of her famous beaver hat tied down by a cord under her chin, she rode about the newly cleared land, advising and correcting the two hundred and sixty pioneers who had entrusted their lives and their souls to her guidance. Sometimes she dismounted and lent the strength and grace of the body that had been Jemima Wilkinson's to the swift alternations of the crosscut saw.}\]

She died in 1819.

Roberts tells of a female preacher by the name of Nancy Gove Cram who came to Charleston, New York, in 1812. She had visited and preached to the Oneida Indians. In Charleston she attended a Baptist funeral and there prayed aloud so fervently that many followed her home. She soon had a large following. She went to New Hampshire and asked a Free-Will Baptist preacher to come down to Charleston and organize a church. She was not successful in getting one to come. Then she contacted some Elders of the Christian Church who complied with her request. At one of her meetings in Glenville she came in contact with Abigail Roberts who immediately took up the work. Without any compensation (only occasional donations) Mrs. Roberts spent her life preaching throughout the counties of New York and New Jersey until she died in 1841.\[71\] Mention is made of a "talented

\[70\] Ibid., pp. 168-69.

\[71\] Philetus Roberts, Memoir of Mrs. Abigail Roberts, p. 145.
Miss Rexford" and a Mrs. Sally Thompson who also did considerable preaching about this same time.

Women seemed active in the Disciples of Christ. In discussing a break in a Baptist unit calling themselves the Church of Jesus Christ of Bethesda in 1823, Hindsdale says: "The conservative party, which was the smaller, was led by Mrs. Eleanor Garrett, a lady characterized both by piety and skill in leadership." 72

During the Kirtland period of Mormon Church history there was a young woman living at David Whitmer's who claimed to have received a prophecy regarding the decline of Joseph Smith. "This girl soon became an object of great attention among those who were disaffected. Dr. Williams, the ex-justice of the peace, became her scribe, and wrote her revelations for her." 73

There was little formal licensing of women by the well-established sects until the latter part of the nineteenth century. There were, no doubt, a few licenses granted earlier in the century. Clarissa H. Danforth was licensed by the Free-Will Baptists in 1815. Drury in his History of the United Brethren quotes a license issued to Charity

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73. Lucy Smith, Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and his Progenitors for Many Generations, p. 211.
Opheral regarding which he states: "The following license, if it is proper to call it such, was voted by the White River conference at its session in January, 1847, being the first, as far as known, to be granted to a woman by an annual conference." Antoinette Brown (Blackwell) is credited with being the first woman to enter a theological school for clerical training. She entered the Oberlin Theological school in 1846.

Orders for women. Woman's position in the ritualistic sects is indicated by the growth of orders for women. In Catholicism the first woman mentioned in the development of women's orders in the United States is Mother Clare Joseph (Frances Dickinson) of "Our Lady of Mount Carmel" who came to the United States from a convent in Antwerp with Mother Bernadine Matthews in 1790.

Other early orders were begun by Alice Lalor and Elizabeth Ann Seton. In 1789, Alice Lalor, with two friends who wished to devote their lives to religion, began a school in Georgetown. In 1816, they secured permission to take the

75. Irwin, op. cit., p. 59.
vows, and they organized the convent of the Order of the Visitation. 77

Mother Elizabeth Ann Seton established in 1809 a religious community of women at Emmitsburg, Maryland, who took the name of Sisters of Charity. Their main interest was in the care and education of children. 78

The beginning of deaconesses in other denominations seems to have not begun until 1849. Wheeler states that in June, 1849, four sisters arrived from Germany for the purpose of establishing the Deaconess work and that the first consecration of a native American sister was Louise Marthens on May 28, 1850. This was the beginning of the order in the Lutheran church. In the Protestant Episcopal Church the movement began in 1855. 79

Women's church organizations. Even in the sects where women were not allowed to take part in public assemblies they had their own organizations. (See p. 30.)

Regarding their general activity Manross states:

Besides forming a majority of the church attendants, the women played an important role in the economy of the parish. The parochial finances were founded upon the pew rents, but the money raised by the women in their fairs, or contributed from their purses, furnished an important supplement to the rents. Often the ladies

77. Weigle, op. cit., p. 271.
78. Ibid., p. 159.
of the parish contributed a substantial amount to the building of the church, and they usually made themselves responsible for the furnishing once it was built. Moreover, they often assisted the rector in his pastoral work by calling upon the sick and needy of the parish.

While in Georgia, before the founding of Methodism in 1738, Wesley had the women assist in visiting the sick. This practice was later common to Methodism. Regarding their participation in Methodist services, Wheeler states:

Methodism is well adapted to call into exercise the varied talents of its female members. Its organization is peculiar. It divides its membership into classes, meeting at least once a week, at which time it is the privilege of each member to give some statement of religious experience . . . This contributes to the development of talent by inducing thoughtful self-examination and exhortation for the edification of others.

In the Presbyterian church a "Society for Distressed Women and Children" was organized on the 10th of March, 1803.

Regarding her place in the Episcopal church, Manross states in speaking of tract societies:

All of these societies were primarily organizations for men, and were under masculine leadership, though most of them had female auxiliaries. The Sunday School, though under masculine superintendence, were taught by members of both sexes, but the great field of feminine effort in behalf of the Church was the sewing circle. Every parish had at least one such organization and some parishes had several. They were not united in any


82. Eliphant Nott, A Discourse Delivered in the Presbyterian Churches in the City of Albany before the Ladies Society for the Relief of Distressed Women and Children, March 18, 1804, p. 40.
diocesan or national federation, but went by a variety of names, . . .

There were also organizations which were inter-denominational. The "Piqua (Ohio) Female Bible Society" was founded in 1818. "It consisted at first of nine women. It has held a meeting on the first Monday of each month for seventy-eight years and the records are preserved intact."\(^{84}\) It has had in all over 900 members.

In 1800, Mary Webb organized among the Baptists and Congregationalists of Boston the "Women's Female Society" for missionary purposes. The fact that she corresponded with sixty women's church societies indicates that organization among church women must have been quite extensive.\(^{85}\)

Missionary work seemed to especially lend itself to women's participation. Many of the "Cent Societies" had as their main objective the gathering of funds for missionary purposes. Wherry quotes from Miss Ellen C. Parons:

The history of organized missionary work as promoted by women in this country is a history of a disciplined army developed in place of volunteer pickets . . . Early in the century, Cent Societies (sometimes pathetically named "Female Cent Societies") were general in New England and sporadic in the Middle States; one such in Sewickly, Pennsylvania, in 1830, and another in New London, Pennsylvania, as late as 1832 sent contributions


\(^{84}\) Mrs. Jane C. Croly, The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America, p. 9.

\(^{85}\) Irwin, op. cit., pp. 51-52.
to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. . . . After 1812, "Ladies' Associations multiplied, and by 1839, 680 such were collecting funds for the American Board of Foreign Missions. 86

Women were very active in actual missionary work. Wherry says: "The first ship that carried American missionaries to the heathen world bore away Harriet Newell and Ann Haseltine Judson. In 1817 two unmarried ladies were teaching among the North American Indians, and by 1880, 104 had been sent to the different tribes by a single Board." 87 Hale presents a report of women in mission labors between 1815 and 1850. The American Board of Foreign Missions (including the Congregational, Presbyterian, Dutch and German Reformed Churches) reported the first women missionary being sent in 1812 and a total of 506 for the period up to 1850. The Baptist Foreign Missions also reported the first as going in 1812 and showed a total of 121 for the period. The American Episcopal Foreign Mission reported the first in 1830 and a total of 31. 88

During the first half of the nineteenth century woman was rapidly coming into prominence in the religions of the period: slowly winning for herself a place in

86. E. M. Wherry, compiler, Woman in Missions, p. 84.
87. Ibid., p. 86.
88. Sarah Josepha Hale, Woman's Record, pp. 899-911.
church government, finding opportunities for expression in her own organizations, and breaking into positions of leadership in newer sects.

IV. SUMMARY

The essential social and religious characteristics of the period in which Mormonism came into existence and had its first fifteen years of growth, 1830 to 1845, may be summarized as follows:

First. The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of rapid western expansion in the United States; the frontier moved rapidly west. Ohio in 1830, and Missouri and Illinois in 1840, however, were on the American frontier, geographically as well as culturally.

Second. These years were part of the great religious revival period of America. The frontier was fertile ground for revival movements. Presbyterianism, Methodism, and the Baptist groups followed the great migration west. Many new sects were either born or found a home on the American frontier.

Third. Woman had very little official status in the United States. Educationally, however, she made rapid progress. The growth of the academies provided secondary education for girls and higher education was opened to women both in her own and in coeducational colleges. Women were
also doing considerable teaching in the primary schools.

Women's clubs were making their appearance. Women's organizations for charity work were developing. The Daughters of Temperance and the Female Anti-Slavery Society, together with a number of labor organizations, brought women into active public service.

Fourth. Woman was finding greater opportunity for expression in the religions of the period than in any other field. Though her activities in the older ritualistic churches were restricted, the newer sects granted her great freedom.

Even in the older churches, though woman was not admitted to the clergy and her right to participate in church government was limited, she was active in her own organizations and in missionary service. Sewing circles, study groups, tract societies, charity organizations, and Sunday School teaching provided her many opportunities for self-expression.

It is against this background, therefore, that we must see the Mormon woman as we attempt to study her place in the developing philosophy of Mormonism.
CHAPTER III

WOMAN'S STATUS AS DESIGNATED BY MORMON SCRIPTURE

There are two factors in the period of Mormon history from 1830 to 1845 from which can be determined the status of woman in the philosophy of Mormonism of that period. First, there is the formal written scripture accepted by the Church at that time wherein her position in Mormon theology was authoritatively declared. Second, there is the actual functional place in the Church and community which she assumed during this period. Both of these factors helped to shape the forming philosophy of Mormonism.

The purpose of this section is to determine woman's position in Mormon theology as designated by the accepted scripture of the Church.

Mormonism accepts as its "standard works" the following:

First. The Bible which is accepted as the "word of God" with the qualification "as far as it is translated correctly." Authority for much of Mormon theology is taken from the Bible.

Second. The Book of Mormon, which is also regarded as the "word of God."

Third. The Doctrine and Covenants, known as The
Book of Commandments when first published in 1835, which contains modern revelations claimed to have been given to Joseph Smith in answer to inquiries of the Lord regarding various contemporary problems with which a newly organized sect was naturally confronted.

Fourth. The Pearl of Great Price which is composed of (1) "The Book of Moses," containing two revelations given in 1830 to Joseph Smith which give an account of a vision given to Moses and relates the story of the creation of the world and its history up to the time of Noah; (2) "The Book of Abraham," which is a "translation of some ancient records, that have fallen into our hands from the catacombs of Egypt";\(^1\) and (3) "Writings of Joseph Smith."

I. BIBLE

As has been stated, most of Mormon theology is based directly on the Bible. Most of the principles of doctrine presented in The Doctrine and Covenants are founded on Biblical passages: e. g., baptism, the sacrament, the priesthood, plurality of wives, etc. So, to a considerable extent, the Biblical status of woman is reflected in Mormon philosophy.

In the records and publications of the Church there are a number of instances recorded where the Church leaders

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between 1830 and 1845 referred to the Bible when discussing the place of women, as will be noted in the following examples.

In an editorial in the Times and Seasons, the Prophet Joseph Smith referred to the threadworn admonition of Paul so religiously followed by many other sects:

Johanna Southcott professed to be a prophetess, and wrote a book of prophecies in 1804, she became the founder of a people that are still extant. She was to bring forth in a place appointed, a son, that was to be a Messiah, which thing has failed. Independent of this, however, where do we read of a woman that was the founder of a church, in the word of God? Paul told the women in his day, "To keep silence in the church, and that if they wished to know anything to ask their husbands at home;" he would not suffer a woman "to rule, or to usurp authority in the church;" but here we find a woman the founder of a church, the revelator and guide, the Alpha and Omega, contrary to all acknowledged rule, principle, and order. 2

In the same editorial, Joseph Smith discussed the Irvingites in which sect the Misses Campbell played as active part. After a brief account of some of their beliefs, he stated:

It may be asked, where is there anything in all this that is wrong?

First. The church was organized by women, and God placed in the Church (first apostles, secondarily prophets,) and not first women; but Mr. Irving placed in his church first women (secondarily apostles,) and

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the church was founded and organized by them. A woman has no right to found or organize a church—God never sent them to do it.

Second. Those women would speak in the midst of a meeting, and rebuke Mr. Irving or any of the church. Now the scripture positively says, "Thou shalt not rebuke an Elder, but entreat him as a father;" not only this, they frequently accused the brethren, thus placing themselves in the seat of Satan, who is emphatically called "the accuser of the brethren."3

These references indicate that the general Biblical concept of woman's status was accepted by Church leaders: that women were to be silent in the church, were not to usurp authority, and would not be recognized by God as instruments in the establishment of His work upon the earth.

In commenting upon the status of woman in the Church, Parley P. Pratt also referred to Paul. The following article entitled "Duties of Women" appeared in August of 1840 in the Millennial Star published in Manchester, England:

A certain Elder writes us, 22nd of June, "If you would set forth the duty and standing of women in the church, in one of your numbers, it would be of some use to us, as some of our sisters feel a little disposed to get out of order.

It is clearly implied in the above statement that the sisters referred to know what their duty and standing is; (for how could they feel disposed to get away from a thing they were ignorant of) and the Elder also must have known their duty and standing; (or else, how could he have been qualified to bring such a charge against them?) and knowing these things, why does he ask us to set forth their duty?

Leaving this question for the Elder to answer, we would refer him, and all Saints, to the sacred writers for Paul gave his opinion on this matter, when writing his first Epistle to Timothy, v. 14; and if the sisters follow that counsel, they will be very likely to escape the errors mentioned in the 13th verse of the same chapter.

Ephes. v. 22-29; Titus ii. 2-6; and I Peter iii. 1-7; and a score of other similar passages, contain much good instruction on the subject before us; and while the brethren are watching the sisters very closely to see that they do not get out of order, we hope they will notice some of the gentle admonitions to themselves in the quotations referred to, and see that they shew the sisters that repent which is their due, and not lay upon them any heavier burdens than they are able to bear, or the Lord requires. I Cor., xiv. 34, is explained by I Tim. ii. 11 and 12; so that while it is not the privilege of the sisters to teach the brethren, or usurp authority over them, and especially over the priesthood, or govern the church of Christ; or dictate her discipline; or control the Elders and Officers in any manner: it is their privilege and duty to warn all, both men and women, of what God is doing in these last days, so far as they have opportunity,—and invite all to come and submit themselves to the gospel of Christ. It is a very different thing to warn the world, professors or non-professors, to repent, and invite them to the ordinances of God's house, from what it is to teach the Church (or those who have obeyed the gospel,) and to usurp authority over those to whom they should be in subjection. Women may pray, testify, speak in tongues, and prophesy in the Church, when liberty is given by the Elders, but not for the instruction of the Elders in their duties. The spirit of the prophets must be subject unto the prophets. Women may vote in the Church, and yet keep silence.—It is their privilege to make and mend, and wash, and cook for the Saints; and lodge strangers; and wash the Saints' feet; and this is surely a most acceptable treat to the servants of God when they are weary, and their feet are sore with long travels: and we rejoice that the sisters esteem it a privilege thus to minister to our necessities; and it is their privilege thus in all such things, to labour with us in the gospel, like the holy women in the days of Paul; and inasmuch as they
do these things, and live by every word of the Lord, they shall in no wise lose their reward.

While the endorsement of this scripture definitely placed Mormon woman in subjection to her husband and immensely restricted her church participation, yet Parley P. Pratt almost in refutation of certain admonitions contained in these references, gave Mormon women the right to do missionary work, to vote, and with the consent of the Elders to pray, speak in tongues, testify, and even prophesy in the Church. This attitude reflects the two dominant trends of the time: the strict authority of men in church government of the older sects, and the evergrowing active participation of women in the newer sects.

II. THE BOOK OF MORMON

The Book of Mormon makes only a few references to woman and does not give any specific revelation from the Lord or instructions from the ancient prophets regarding her status in the Church.

Only three women are mentioned by name in the Book of Mormon. The words "woman" and "women" occur about forty-seven times in all, and a goodly number of those references are to the fact that Christ should be born of woman. The words "mother" and "mothers" occur about sixty times. The word "wife" occurs at least thirty

times; the word "wives" is to be found about fifty times. 5

The fact that woman is so seldom mentioned in the lengthy accounts of life among the early inhabitants of America would indicate that their concept of woman's status was about the same as that of the ancient Hebrews: she did not have a place in public life; in civic and church government she did not have a voice. Whatever part she played in Book of Mormon life was not considered sufficiently important to be made a part of the official record.

III. THE PEARL OF GREAT PRICE

In the fourth chapter of the "Book of Moses" of The Pearl of Great Price, verse sixteen of chapter three of "Genesis" is given almost word for word. This would indicate that even in modern revelation the relationship indicated therein is the "word of the Lord":

Unto the woman, I, the Lord God, said: I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception. In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children, and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee. 6

As in the Biblical account, the instruction regarding the eating of the forbidden fruit was given to Adam prior to


to the creation of Eve. Both accounts state that both Adam and Eve heard the voice of the Lord while they were walking in the Garden. The only other mention of Eve in the Bible account is in the statements regarding the birth of sons.

The fifth chapter of the "Book of Moses" gives information which is not given in "Genesis." It is noticeable here that in addition to statements regarding the bearing of sons, Eve is depicted as working and worshiping side by side with Adam, and the Lord again spoke to both of them. The following phrases indicate this close companionship:

And Eve, also, his wife, did labor with him.
And Adam and Eve, his wife, called upon the name of the Lord, and they heard the voice of the Lord . . .
And he gave unto them commandments . . .
And Adam and Eve blessed the name of God . . .

While it does state that an angel appeared to Adam and the Holy Ghost fell upon Adam, it continues, "And Eve, his wife, heard all these things and was glad . . . ."

While there is no particularly new doctrine in these statements, yet they give a definite feeling of co-laboring, of man and woman sharing equally in the work of the world and the blessings of God. These short phrases place Eve on a far higher plane than do the brief references to her in the Bible. Woman as symbolized by Eve stands by the side of man. The Lord speaks to her as He does to man.
IV. THE DOCTRINE AND COVENANTS

The book known as The Doctrine and Covenants is unique in Mormonism because members of the Church accept its contents as revelations given by the Lord to the Prophet Joseph Smith between the years 1823 and 1844. It is, therefore, an authoritative base for much of Mormon theology and for the plan of Church government during the period covered by this study.

Part of these revelations were first published in 1833 under the title of The Book of Commandments. This edition contained 65 chapters. In 1835, the first edition of The Doctrine and Covenants was printed and contained 102 sections. The next edition was in 1844 and contained 111 sections. The 1921 edition contains 136 sections. The Book of Commandments, the 1844 and the 1921 editions of The Doctrine and Covenants have been used in this study.

Of the 136 sections in the 1921 edition, 123 are designated as the word of the Lord, being revelations, visions, or prophecies. The remaining 13 are designated as instructions or contain important historical information. Over sixty of the revelations are addressed directly to men, while one is addressed to a woman, Emma Smith. Most of the revelations were given in answer to direct inquiries by Joseph Smith of

God regarding specific questions. It does not appear that the Prophet ever asked the Lord directly for a revelation regarding the position of woman in the Church. Therefore, it is necessary to make deductions from the general revelations. While many of the revelations were addressed to specific individuals, the content of all of them was generally accepted as doctrine to the entire Church.

With few exceptions masculine terms are used throughout all editions. It is difficult to tell when these masculine terms are intended to include both sexes and when they refer only to men. The following five references, for instance, regarding relationship to God, speak of "sons" while only twice is the term "sons and daughters" used. (See page 68.)

... but verily, verily I say unto you, that as many as receiveth me, them will I give power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on my name.

Who so loved the world that he gave his own life, that as many as would believe might become the sons of God:

... But, to as many as received me, gave I power to become my sons, and even so will I give unto as many as will receive me, power to become my sons.

... and they who have not faith to do these things, but believe in me, have power to become my sons, and

8. The Book of Commandments, X:12.
9. Ibid., XXXVI:3.
10. Ibid., XLI:2.
inasmuch as they break not my laws, thou shalt bear their infirmities.\textsuperscript{11}

But unto as many as received me gave I power to do miracles, and to become the sons of God, and even unto them that believed on my name gave I power to obtain eternal life.\textsuperscript{12}

The nouns "man" and "men" and the pronouns "he" and "him" are often used to designate both sexes:

\ldots and he that repenteth not from him shall be taken even the light which he hath received— for my spirit shall not always thrive with man, saith the Lord of Hosts.\textsuperscript{13}

In many places so far as content is concerned, one cannot differentiate between where women were intended to be included and where they were not.

\textbf{Woman's place in Church leadership.} Woman could not hold an executive position in the Church. Authority in the government of the Church was centered in the \textit{priesthood} which as in Biblical times "was confirmed to be handed down from father to son."\textsuperscript{14} There is not any reference which indicates that the priesthood could be conferred upon women.

Section II of the 1844 edition of \textit{The Doctrine and Covenants} states that there were to be in the church organi-

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{11} Ibid., XLIV:39.
\item \textsuperscript{12} Ibid., XLVIII:10.
\item \textsuperscript{13} Ibid., I:5.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Doctrine and Covenants, 1844 edition, III:18.
\end{itemize}
zation elders, priests, teachers, and deacons, apostles, bishops, high councilors, and high priests. The authority of these various ranks differed but altogether included: right to baptize and confirm members; administer the sacrament; preach, teach, expound and exhort; take the lead in all meetings; and ordain others to the priesthood.

Section III of the 1844 edition is a revelation on priesthood, given through Joseph Smith the Prophet, at Kirtland, Ohio, on March 28, 1835, and more fully outlines the organization and powers of the priesthood in the Church. A revelation given in Nauvoo, Illinois, on January 19, 1841, wherein the Prophet Joseph Smith is perfecting the church organization there, gives an excellent example of the general plan of Church leadership. The many executive positions in the Church are enumerated and the men who are called to serve in the various capacities are stipulated. There is clearly no place for woman; according to the "word of the Lord" woman did not have a place in the official personnel of the Church government. She could not hold the priesthood and therefore could not hold a position of authority. As stated, while there is not a specific statement in The Doctrine and Covenants to the effect that women cannot hold the priesthood, the Biblical practice of the priesthood's being held only by men seems to have been taken for granted. This was certainly
the understanding of the Prophet Joseph Smith and other early Church leaders.

Woman's right to vote. The authority for the transaction of the general business of the Church was vested in the priesthood as they met in "conferences."

The several elders composing this church of Christ are to meet in conference once in three months, or from time to time as they shall direct or appoint, to do church business whatsoever is necessary.15

It shall be the duty of the several churches, composing the church of Christ, to send one or more of their teachers to attend the several conferences held by the elders of the church, with a list of the names of the several members uniting themselves to the church since the last conference, or send by the hand of some priest, so that there can be kept a regular list of all the names of the whole church, in a book kept by one of the elders; ...16

This plan definitely excluded woman from any voice in the administration of general Church affairs. The plan seems to be similar to that of the Methodist and other sects who held conferences periodically for the clergy and over which there were long disputes as to lay representation and especially as to the right of women to serve as delegates. While in other sects women won places in the main church councils, in Mormonism, the priesthood plan closed the councils of Church government to women.

15. The Book of Commandments, XXIV:43.

16. Ibid., XXIV:61.
Voting by all members in the individual churches, however, was implied in the following, provided we accept the term "church" to include all members, male and female:

No person is to be ordained to any office in the church, where there is a regularly organized branch of the same, without the vote of that church; but the presiding elders, traveling bishops, high counsellors, high priests, and elders, may have the privilege of ordaining, where there is no branch of the church, that a vote may be called. 17

And all things shall be done by common consent in the church, by much prayer and faith; . . . 18

And now, I give unto the church in these parts a commandment, that certain men among them shall be appointed, and they shall be appointed by the voice of the church; . . . 19

As was pointed out in the previous chapter, women in many sects of that day were allowed to vote in the individual church assemblies although they were not permitted a place in general church councils.

The power of church discipline rested largely with the priesthood. Members who committed the sins of killing, robbing, stealing, or lying were to be delivered to the law of the land. Adultery and other personal offenses, however, were to be handled by the priesthood of the Church:

And if any man or woman shall commit adultery, he or she shall be tried before two elders of the church or

18. The Book of Commandments, XXVII:3.
19. Ibid., XL:30.
more, and every word shall be established against him or her by two witnesses of the church, and not of the enemy. But if there are more than two witnesses it is better: but he or she shall be condemned by the mouth of two witnesses, and the elders shall lay the case before the church, and the church shall lift up their hands against him or her, that they may be dealt with according to the law of God. 20

The second verse implies that the Church membership was to have a voice in the final judgment. In the following verse, however, "church" is interpreted to mean only elders:

And if thy brother or sister offend thee, thou shalt take him or her between him or her and thee alone; and if he or she confess thou shalt be reconciled. And if he or she confess not, thou shalt deliver him or her up unto the church, not to the members, but to the elders. And it shall be done in a meeting, and that not before the world. 21

Section V gives in detail the procedure for a trial by a high council, in which woman had no place. The purpose for the high council is given in verse 1:

The high council was appointed by revelation for the purpose of settling important difficulties, which might arise in the church, which could not be settled by the church, or the bishop's council, to the satisfaction of the parties. 22

Whether the "church" here means the entire membership or the elders as indicated above is not clear. However, it is clear that the actual judiciary bodies were to consist

of only the members bearing the priesthood. Other than a possible confirmation vote, women did not have a voice in this phase of Church government.

It is of interest to note that in the two quotations from Section XIII just given, the male and female pronouns are conspicuously used. Inasmuch as this plan of specifying the inclusion of both sexes was not generally followed, it is particularly noticeable. In Section XLVII of The Book of Commandments where this same material is given, only the male pronoun is used.

**Restrictions in Church participation.** In addition to restrictions placed upon woman's participation in the government of the Church, there were provided by revelation certain opportunities and ordinances for men in which women did not have a part.

Provision was made for the education of the men of the Church in "the school of the prophets," which was initiated for "all the officers of the church, or in other words, those who are called to the ministry in the church, beginning at the high priests, even down to the deacons: . . ."23

The ordinance of washing of feet presented in the same revelation was apparently only for the members of the school of the prophets:

And ye shall not receive any among you, into this school, save he is clean from the blood of this generation; and he shall be received by the ordinance of the washing of feet, for unto this end was the ordinance of the washing of feet instituted.

And again, the ordinance of washing feet is to be administered by the president, or presiding elder of the church. It is to be commenced with prayer: and after partaking of bread and wine he is to gird himself, according to the pattern given in the thirteenth chapter of John's testimony concerning me. Amen. 24

The endowment to be given in the Kirtland temple seems to have been intended for the priesthood only:

... and this cannot be brought to pass until mine elders are endowed with power from on high: for behold, I have prepared a great endowment and blessing to be poured out upon them, inasmuch as they are faithful, and continue in humility before me; therefore it is expedient in me that mine elders should wait a little season for the redemption of Zion. 25

Verily I say unto you, it is expedient in me that the first elders of my church should receive their endowment from on high, in my house, which I have commanded to be built unto my name in the land of Kirtland. 26

The place and opportunities granted to woman. In spite of the many foregoing restrictions placed on the activities of women in the Church, there are a number of passages which do specifically mention woman and do help to define in Mormon theology her place and give her certain opportunities.

24. Ibid., VII:46.
25. Ibid., CII:3.
26. Ibid., CII:10.
She is acknowledged as a daughter of God.

...that by him, and through him, and of him, the worlds are and were created; and the inhabitants thereof are begotten sons and daughters unto God. 27

Hearken unto the voice of the Lord your God, while I speak unto you, Emma Smith, my daughter; for verily I say unto you, all those who receive my gospel are sons and daughters in my kingdom. 28

Woman was to participate in the ordinance of baptism:

...for all men must repent and be baptized; and not only men, but women, and children who have arrived to the years of accountability. 29

Participation in baptism qualified her for the following gifts:

...therefore, as I said unto mine apostles I say unto you again, that every soul who believeth on your words, and is baptised by water for the remission of sins, shall receive the Holy Ghost; and these signs shall follow them that believe.

In my name they shall do many wonderful works; in my name they shall cast out devils; in my name they shall heal the sick; in my name they shall open the eyes of the blind, and unstop the ears of the deaf: and the tongue of the dumb shall speak: and if any man shall administer poison unto them it shall not hurt them: and the poison of a serpent shall not have power to harm them. 30

Revelation to Emma Smith. Inasmuch as the revelations

28. Ibid., XLVIII:1.
29. Ibid., XLIII:6.
30. Ibid., IV:10-11.
directed to various men in the Church were accepted as doctrine, so may the following revelation given to Emma Smith, in July of 1830, be so accepted:

Hearken unto the voice of the Lord your God, while I speak unto you, Emma Smith, my daughter, for verily I say unto you, all those who receive my gospel are "sons and daughters in my kingdom." A revelation I give unto you concerning my will, and if thou art faithful and walk in the paths of virtue before me, I will preserve thy life, and thou shalt receive an inheritance in Zion. Behold, thy sins are forgiven thee, and thou art an elect lady, whom I have called. Murmur not because of the things which thou hast not seen, for they are withheld from thee, and from the world, which is wisdom in me in a time to come.

And the office of thy calling shall be for a comfort unto my servant, Joseph Smith, Jr. thy husband, in his afflictions with consoling words, in the spirit of meekness. And thou shalt go with him at the time of his going, and be unto him for a scribe, while there is no one to be a scribe for him, that I may send my servant Oliver Cowdery, thithersoever I will. And thou shalt be ordained under his hand to expound scriptures, and to exhort the church, according as it shall be given thee by my Spirit: for he shall lay his hands upon thee, and thou shalt receive the Holy Ghost, and thy time shall be given to writing, and to learning much. And thou needest not fear, for thy husband shall support thee in the church: for unto them is his calling, that all things might be revealed unto them, whatsoever I will, according to their faith.  #31

And verily I say unto thee, that thou shalt lay aside the things of this world, and seek for the things of a better. And it shall be given thee, also, to make a selection of sacred Hymns, as it shall be given thee, which is pleasing unto me, to be had in my church: for

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31. Where the wording in this verse reads "for thy husband shall support thee in the church," in the Book of Commandments it reads "for thy husband shall support thee from the church."
my soul delighteth in the song of the heart; yea, the song of the righteous is a prayer unto me. And it shall be answered with a blessing upon their heads. Wherefore, lift up thy heart and rejoice, and cleave unto the covenants which thou hast made.

Continue in the spirit of meekness, and beware of pride. Let thy soul delight in thy husband, and the glory which shall come upon him. Keep my commandments continually, and a crown of righteousness thou shalt receive. And except thou do this, where I am you cannot come. And verily, verily, I say unto you, that this is my voice unto all: Amen. 32

The term "elect lady" may have been taken from the second Epistle of John, verse 1:

The elder unto the elect lady and her children, whom I love in the truth; and not I only, but also all they that have known the truth; . . . 33

The appointment of Emma Smith as scribe marks the first appointment of woman in the Church. It was, however, to be a temporary one as indicated by the phrase "while there is no one to be a scribe for him." The revelation, however, included a second appointment: the selecting of hymns for the Church.

A large field was indeed opened for woman in the seventh verse. Authority from God was here given for woman to be ordained to expound scripture, which would give her the right to speak in church services and to do missionary

32. Ibid., XLVIII:1-4.
work. The following phrase, "to exhort the church according as it shall be given thee by my spirit," was in decided contrast to Paul's admonition that woman must be silent in church. Woman here is told that she herself may be directed by the Spirit of God in speaking to the church.

That woman may reach the ultimate in glory is indicated in the text in the last verse: "Keep my commandments continually, and a crown of righteousness thou shalt receive. And except thou do this, where I am you cannot come."

That these promises are not for Emma Smith alone is definitely stated in the last lines: "And verily, verily, I say unto you, that this is my voice unto all."

The only other woman mentioned in *The Doctrine and Covenants* is Vienna Jaques:

> And again, verily I say unto you, it is my will that my handmaid, Vienna Jaques, should receive money to bear her expenses and go up unto the land of Zion.34

**Temple participation.** While the revelation regarding the endowment in the Kirtland Temple excluded women, a revelation six and a half years later, regarding the Nauvoo Temple, did not. It will be noted that in the following passages the Lord is speaking to "all ye my saints" and does not differentiate between baptisms for the dead in which women had been

participating (see p.127 ) and washings and anointings which were to be done in the temple. He spoke of revealing ordinances "unto my people" and revealing things unto the "church" and not just to the elders or brethren.

But I command you, all ye my saints, to build a house unto me; and I grant unto you a sufficient time to build a house unto me—and during this time your baptisms shall be acceptable unto me.

But behold, at the end of this appointment your baptism for your dead shall not be acceptable unto me; and if you do not these things at the end of the appointment, ye shall be rejected as a church, with your dead, saith the Lord your God.

And verily I say unto you, let this house be built unto my name, that I may reveal mine ordinances unto my people; for I deign to reveal unto my church, things which have been kept hid from before the foundation of the world; things that pertain to the dispensation of the fulness of times; . . .55

Welfare of women. Several revelations indicate a concern for the welfare of women and their children:

Thou shalt love thy wife with all thy heart, and shalt cleave unto her and none else; and he that looketh upon a woman to lust after her shall deny the faith, and shall not have the Spirit, and if he repent not, he shall be cast out.

Thou shalt not commit adultery; and he that committeth adultery and repenteth not, shall be cast out . . .56

. . . behold, I say unto you that it is the duty of the church to assist in supporting the families of those,

35. Ibid., CIII:10-12.

and also to support the families of those [sic] who are called and must needs be sent unto the world to proclaim the gospel unto the world.37

And again, verily, verily, I say unto you, it is expedient, that every man who goes forth to proclaim mine everlasting gospel, that inasmuch as they have families and receive money by gift, that they should send it unto them, or make use of it for their benefit, as the Lord shall direct them, for thus it seemeth me good.38

The following is a revelation regarding the claims of women and children given in April, 1832:

Verily thus saith the Lord, in addition to the laws of the church concerning women and children, those who belong to the church, who have lost their husbands or fathers: women have claim on their husbands for their maintenance, until their husbands are taken; and if they are not found transgressors they shall have fellowship in the church; and if they are not faithful, they shall not have fellowship in the church; yet they may remain upon their inheritances according to the laws of the land.

All children have claim upon their parents for their maintenance until they are of age; and after that, they have claim upon the church; or in other words upon the Lord's storehouse, if their parents have not where-with to give them inheritances. And the storehouse shall be kept by the consecrations of the church, and widows and orphans shall be provided for, as also the poor: Amen.39

The New and Everlasting Covenant. Unique in Mormonism of this period was woman's position under the New and Everlasting Covenant of marriage. Sections 131 and 132

38. Ibid., IV:18.
of the 1921 edition of *The Doctrine and Covenants* which contain the doctrines of celestial marriage and plurality of wives were not given in the 1844 edition. They are said to have been placed in written form in May and July of 1843 but were not printed. These doctrines however, were taught by the Prophet Joseph Smith as early as 1842.

Marriage was declared to be ordained of God:

> And again, verily I say unto you, that whoso forbiddeth to marry is not ordained of God, for marriage is ordained of God unto man.40

Marriage was believed necessary to obtain the highest exaltation in the life to come:

> In the celestial glory there are three heavens or degrees; And in order to obtain the highest, a man must enter into this order of the priesthood (meaning the new and everlasting covenant of marriage); And if he does not, he cannot obtain it.

> He may enter into the other, but that is the end of his kingdom; he cannot have an increase.41

Marriage in this life under the everlasting covenant was believed necessary as there was to be no marriage after death:

> Therefore, if a man marry him a wife in the world, and he marry her not by me nor by my word, and he covenant


with her so long as he is in the world and she with him, their covenant and marriage are not of force when they are dead, and when they are out of the world; therefore, they are not bound by any law when they are out of the world.

Therefore, when they are out of the world they neither marry nor are given in marriage; but are appointed angels in heaven; which angels are ministering servants, to minister for those who are worthy of a far more and an exceeding, and an eternal weight of glory.

For these angels did not abide my law; therefore, they cannot be enlarged, but remain separately and singly, without exaltation, in their saved condition, to all eternity; and from henceforth are not gods, but are angels of God forever and ever.42

In contrast to this thwarted stage was the glorious future for those who complied with the law:

And again, verily I say unto you, if a man marry a wife by my word, which is my law, and by the new and everlasting covenant, and it is sealed unto them by the Holy Spirit of promise, by him who is anointed, unto whom I have appointed this power and the keys of this priesthood; and it shall be said unto them—Ye shall come forth in the first resurrection; and if it be after the first resurrection, in the next resurrection; and shall inherit thrones, kingdoms, principalities, and powers, dominions, all heights and depths—then shall it be written in the Lamb's Book of Life, that he shall commit no murder whereby to shed innocent blood, and if ye abide in my covenant, and commit no murder whereby to shed innocent blood, it shall be done unto them in all things whatsoever my servant hath put upon them, in time, and through all eternity; and shall be of full force when they are out of the world; and they shall pass by the angels, and the gods, which are set there, to their exaltation and glory in all things, as hath been sealed upon their heads, which glory shall be a fulness and a continuation of the seeds forever and ever.

42. Ibid., 132:15-17.
Then shall they be gods, because they have no end; therefore shall they be from everlasting to everlasting, because they continue; then shall they be above all, because all things are subject unto them. Then shall they be gods, because they have all power, and the angels are subject unto them.43

This principle gave an assurance that sex was eternal. It made man and woman dependent upon each other for eternal salvation. It assured woman an equal place with man in exaltation in the next life, and clearly indicated that a woman may become a god. Such doctrine definitely took woman out of the position of subjection and placed her on an equal basis with man.

As has been indicated only married men and women, sealed for time and eternity, were to be eligible for the highest degree of exaltation, and these sealings had to be performed in this life. Though not clearly explained in The Doctrine and Covenants the principle of vicarious work for the dead was later applied to sealings as it had been to baptism.

The second half of Section 132 presented the doctrine of plurality of wives. No other principle in the church has had as much effect on the lives of women as has this. It is spoken of as "the law of the priesthood":

43. Ibid., 132:19-20.
And again, as pertaining to the law of the priesthood—If any man espouse a virgin, and desire to espouse another, and if the first give her consent, and if he espouse the second, and they are virgins, and have vowed to no other man, then is he justified; he cannot commit adultery for they are given unto him; for he cannot commit adultery with that that belongeth unto him and to no one else.

And if he have ten virgins given unto him by this law, he cannot commit adultery, for they belong to him, and they are given unto him; therefore is he justified.

But if one or either of the ten virgins, after she is espoused, shall be with another man, she has committed adultery, and shall be destroyed; for they are given unto him to multiply and replenish the earth, according to my commandment, and to fulfill the promise which was given by my Father before the foundation of the world, and for their exaltation in the eternal worlds, that they may bear the souls of men; for herein is the work of my Father con-tinued, that he may be glorified.

And again, verily, verily, I say unto you, if any man have a wife, who holds the keys of this power, and he teaches unto her the law of the priesthood, as pertaining to these things, then shall she believe and administer unto him, or she shall be destroyed, with the Lord your God; for I will destroy her; for I will magnify my name upon those who receive and abide in my law.

Therefore, it shall be lawful in me, if she receive not this law, for him to receive all things whatsoever I, the Lord his God, will give unto him, because she did not be-lieve and administer unto him according to my word; and she then becomes the transgressor; and he is exempt from the law of Sarah, who administered unto Abraham according to the law when I commanded Abraham to take Hagar to wife.44

An analysis of these verses indicates the following:

First. Woman was given the keys of this principle. Man himself could not enter into this order of marriage without the

44. Ibid., 132:61-65.
consent of woman. That is, a man was not to take a second wife without the consent of his first wife. This gave woman a status which she had not heretofore held. It gave her the power to open to man the opportunity for greater exaltation.

Second. If the woman did not give her consent, however, the Lord might overrule and give unto man whatsoever He wished and man was exempt from the law of Sarah, from being required to have the consent of his first wife.

Third. If woman did not comply with the law, the Lord said that she would be destroyed.

Fourth. Woman was given unto man to multiply and replenish the earth, and in the eternal world she was to bear the souls of men.

The concepts that woman would retain her identity throughout eternity, that her mission of procreation was eternal, and that she held the key to the final exaltation of man, subject to the will of the Lord, helped to give her an important status in Mormon theology.

V. SUMMARY

The status of woman in the Bible was reflected to a considerable extent in the philosophy of Mormonism during the years 1830 to 1845. The Book of Mormon did not give any specific references to her status. In the "Book of
Moses" of The Pearl of Great Price, Eve was depicted on a fare more equal level with Adam than was indicated in "Genesis" of the Bible.

Of the "standard works" of the Church, however, The Doctrine and Covenants was the most enlightening regarding the "word of the Lord" as to the status of woman in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints during the years 1830 to 1845. The revelations recorded in this volume indicated that inasmuch as the priesthood was not conferred upon woman, she was not permitted to hold official office in the Church. The only voice she had in Church government was voting in the congregations of the individual churches.

According to certain revelations women were excluded from participating in certain opportunities and ordinances provided for men. No mention was made of woman's participation in the school of the prophets provided for the education of the men of the Church.

The ordinances of washing of feet and temple endowments in Kirtland were only for the male members of the Church.

In The Doctrine and Covenants there were some revelations which gave woman considerable opportunity for Church participation as well as a unique status in Mormon theology. The opportunity for Church participation included the right to heal the sick and perform miracles, to preach in Church services, and to participate in the Nauvoo temple ordinances.
Woman, according to revelation, was to be provided for by her husband, and widows and orphans by the Church.

Under the New and Everlasting Covenant of marriage woman was placed on an equal with man, even to becoming a God with him. She was also given the key to the principle of plurality of wives, subject to the will of the Lord, which placed her in an important position in relation to the final exaltation of man.

The extent to which the specified restrictions and opportunities, and her theological position are reflected in her Church participation and status in the Church during the years 1830 to 1845 is discussed in the following chapters.
CHAPTER IV

THE FUNCTIONAL POSITION OF WOMAN IN THE CHURCH

In the preceding chapter the writer discussed woman's position in Mormon philosophy as indicated by the revelations from God given through the Prophet Joseph Smith during the years 1820 to 1844. These revelations, being "the word of God," are the main source of authority for the official status of woman in the Church.

An official status, however, does not always indicate actual social conditions. Religious history indicates, also, that scripture is sometimes subject to changing interpretations in light of contemporary conditions. Then, too, the "revealed" word on woman's position as contained in the "standard works" is very meagre and there are many phases of church activity in which her position is not thus defined.

In a study of woman's position in the philosophy of Mormonism, it is, therefore, equally important to determine woman's functional position in the Church during the years 1830 to 1845 when the pattern of Church government and organization was being laid under the leadership of Joseph Smith. An historical description of this position is the purpose of the following two chapters.
The specific purpose of Chapter IV is to determine the extent of woman's participation in the official functions of the Church and in the gifts and sacred ordinances of the Church, which of course are closely allied to official authority. In this discussion there will be noted the extent to which the revelations discussed in the preceding chapter found expression in the actual practices of the Church and the extent to which woman's position was further designated by sermons and writings of the leaders of the Church during this period.

I. DIVINE RECOGNITION

During the ten years between 1820 and 1830, Joseph Smith received visitations from God the Father, Jesus Christ, the angel Moroni, John the Baptist, Peter, James, John, and an unnamed angel. In 1836, Jesus Christ, Moses, Elias, and Elijah appeared in a vision in Kirtland Temple. Most of these visitations were shared by other men, but no mention is made of any woman's being present. Three witnesses were called and by an angel were shown the plates from which The Book of Mormon was translated. The plates were shown to eight other witnesses. All were men.

Though not recorded in official Church history, the following references indicate the possibility of two
women's having been give this same privilege.

An article entitled "The Thirteenth Witness to the Plates of the Book of Mormon" appearing in the Juvenile Instructor in January of 1889 states that the Angel Moroni appeared to Mary Musselman Whitmer, wife of Peter Whitmer, senior, and mother of five of the "Eight Witnesses." The following is claimed to have been narrated by John C. Whitmer, the grandson of Mother Whitmer, on October 11, 1888:

My grandmothertold me that the strange visitor met her as she was going to milk the cows. At first she was afraid of him, but he spoke so kindly to her, explaining to her the nature of the work of translation to go on in her house, that she felt a thrill of inexpressible joy, which removed all fear from her. Comforting words were spoken promising her strength and pleasure in her increased labors, and salvation at the end. Moroni took from his knapsack the plates and exhibited them as already explained by David. The personage then suddenly vanished with the plates, and where he went, she could not tell.¹

This article ends with the statement: "This was the only favored female to gaze upon the plates." To substantiate this, the author of this article states that Major Bidamon had said to him that on the 6th of October of the previous year Emma Smith had told him that she had never seen the plates, but that she had felt them when

they were covered up.

Rev. Henry Caswall, a visitor to Nauvoo states that he was taken to the home of the Prophet's mother who welcomed him and bore the following testimony:

"I am old," she said, "and I shall soon stand before the judgment seat of Christ; but what I say to you now, I would say on my death-bed.

... I have myself seen and handled the golden plates; they are about eight inches long, and six wide; some of them are sealed together and are not to be opened, and some of them are loose. They are all connected by a ring which passes through a hole at the end of each plate, and are covered with letters beautifully engraved. I have seen and felt also the Urim and Thummim. They resemble two large bright diamonds set in a bow like a pair of spectacles. My son puts them over his eyes when he reads unknown languages, and they enable him to interpret in English. I have likewise carried in my hands the sacred breast-plate. It is composed of pure gold, and is made to fit the breast very exactly."

Somewhat official recognition seems to have been given to certain dreams or visions of women. Joseph Smith records in his history the following:

After our departure from Colesville, after the trial, the Church there were very anxious, as might be expected, concerning our again visiting them, during which time Sister Knight, wife of Newel Knight, had a dream, which enabled her to say that we would visit them that day, which really came to pass, for a few hours afterwards we arrived; and thus was our faith much strengthened concerning dreams and visions in the last days, foretold by the ancient Prophet Joel; ...  

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A lengthy account, written by Parley P. Pratt, appears in the *Millenial Star* for August, 1842, under the title "Remarkable Vision" which relates a vision of Sarah Smith of Hanley, England. She tells of being carried away into a beautiful garden, of being met by angels and the Lord Jesus, and of being seated at the right hand of God.4

Another lengthy account tells of a dream of a Sister Robinson of the Isle of Man.5

Women, of course, were entitled to individual revelation: "Every member has the right of receiving revelations for themselves, [sic] both male and female."6

As indicated by the words of the Prophet Joseph Smith, however, as given on pages 53 and 54 of this thesis, the Lord in establishing His work, would not speak through woman.

The revelation given in Section 43 of *The Doctrine and Covenants*, stating that only Joseph Smith had been selected by the Lord to receive revelations for the Church, was occasioned by a woman by the name of Hubble, coming to

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the Prophet professing to be a prophetess and to having received certain revelations from the Lord. 7

Of the revelations recorded by Joseph Smith there are two addressed specifically to women: one to Emma Smith given on page 68 of this work, and one to Nancy Marinda Hyde wherein she is told to go to Ebenezer Robinson and request that he and his wife take her and her children into their home and care for them until Orson Hyde returns from his mission. 8

II. PARTICIPATION IN OFFICIAL MEETINGS

Organization meeting. The record in Joseph Smith's History of the Church of the first meeting held April 6, 1830, in Fayette, New York, states that six were in attendance. This meeting was held for the purpose of organizing the Church. The account states that after prayer they proceeded "to call on our brethren to know whether they accepted us as their teachers in the things of the Kingdom of God." The six specified are established by an affidavit signed by Joseph Knight to be all men. That there were others in attendance is implied in the paragraph immediately

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following the account of the meeting:

Several persons who had attended the above meeting, became convinced of the truth and came forward shortly after, and were received into the Church; among the rest, my own father and mother were baptized, to my great joy and consolation; and about the same time, Martin Harris, and Orrin Porter Rockwell. 9

Whether the father and mother of the Prophet were among those who had attended the meeting is not clear from the above statement. A footnote states they were baptized on the day of the organization of the Church. If this were true, it would seem reasonable to assume that they had attended the meeting.

The Journal History of the Church, however, states: "It appears that Joseph the Prophet visited his parents, at Manchester, Ontario county, New York, soon after the organization of the Church, and that while there he preached several times and baptized his father and mother." 10

Lucy Smith, in her history of the Prophet, states: "About the first of April of the same year in which the Book of Mormon was published, Joseph came from Pennsylvania and preached to us several times. On the morning of the sixth day of the same month, my husband and Martin Harris


10. "Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," entry for April 6, 1830. The "Journal History of the Church" is a MS day by day record of happenings in the Church. The only copy is in the library of the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.
were baptized. She does not mention her own baptism.

From available sources it does not seem possible
to determine whether there were or were not women in
attendance at the first official meeting of the Church.
It is clear that if they were there they either had not
been baptized and thereby considered members, or were not
expected to participate in an official capacity as shown
in the preceding quotation from the History of the Church,
"... we proceeded, according to previous commandment to
call on our brethren to know whether they accepted us as
their teachers..."

On Sunday, April 11, 1830, another meeting was held
at which Oliver Cowdery preached the first public discourse.
This meeting was also held at the home of Peter Whitmer, Sr.
in Fayette. The report indicates that "large numbers of
people attended" and that on the same day six persons were
baptized, three of whom were women. It is reasonable to
assume that these women were in attendance at the preceding
meeting.

Early baptisms. As heretofore indicated, the date
of the baptism of the Prophet's mother, Lucy Mack Smith,

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11. Lucy Smith, Biographical Sketches of Joseph
Smith, the Prophet, and His Progenitors for Many Generations,
p. 151.
is not definitely indicated. From the available sources it does appear that she was among the first women baptized into the church, if not the first. Other early recorded baptisms of women are:

**April 11, 1830**
- Katherine Page
- Anne Whitmer
- Elizabeth Whitmer

**April 18, 1830**
- Mary Whitmer
- Elizabeth Jolly
- Elizabeth Anne Whitmer

**June, 1830**
- Julia Anne Jolly
- Harriet Jolly
- Katherine Smith
- Caroline Rockwell
- Electa Rockwell
- Emma Smith
- Wife of Hezekiah Peck
- Wife of Joseph Knight, Sr.
- Wife of William Stringham
- Wife of Aaron Culver
- Polly Knight
- Julia Stringham

Among the first nine converts baptized in Preston, England, on July 30, 1837, there were three women: Ann Elizabeth Walmesley, Mary Ann Brown, and Ann Dawson.12

Attendance at official conferences. The Doctrine and Covenants directed that the Elders of the Church should meet in conference once in three months to transact whatever church business needs to be done at the time. One or more teachers were also to be sent by each church to attend the conference held by the elders. (It appears that at first each new unit of the church was called a "church," while later they were referred to as "branches.")

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Inasmuch as it was at these quarterly meetings that the business of the Church was to be handled, it is significant to note the extent to which women participated in them.

Minutes of the first conference held in June indicate that this meeting was a conference of the Elders held in accordance with the prescribed plan:

Minutes of the first conference held in the township of Fayette, Seneca County, State of New York by the Elders of the Church, June 9th, 1830, according to the Church Articles and Covenants. Elders present:

Joseph Smith, Jr.       David Whitmer,
Oliver Cowdery,          John Whitmer,
Peter Whitmer,           Ziba Peterson.

Ezekial 14th read by Brother Joseph Smith, Jr., and prayer by the same. Articles and Covenants read by Joseph Smith, Jr. and received by unanimous voice of the whole congregation, which consisted of most of the male members of the Church... 


Exhortation by Joseph Smith, Jr. and Oliver Cowdery, conference adjourned to the 26th of September, 1830, to be held in the same place. Brother Oliver Cowdery appointed to keep the Church record and conference minutes until the next conference. Prayer by all the brethren present and dismissed by Brother Oliver Cowdery, Clerk.13

There is nothing in the minutes to indicate that any women were in attendance. It seems clear that if any were present, they were not called upon to vote on the Articles and Covenants.

13. "The Conference Minutes and Record Book of Christ's Church of Latter-Day Saints," p. 1. This is a MS minute book, commonly referred to in the Church as the "Far West Record."
The Prophet, however, indicates that there were many in attendance at this meeting who were not members of the Church:

On the ninth day of June, 1830, we held our first conference as an organized Church. Our numbers were about thirty, besides whom many assembled with us, who were either believers or anxious to learn.¹⁴

Of the "many" who assembled with them, some may have been women.

The minutes of the second conference do not indicate the presence of women. This conference was held on Sunday, September 26, 1830. The Elders present included: Joseph Smith, Jr., Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, John Whitmer, Peter Whitmer, Samuel H. Smith, and Thomas B. Marsh. Joseph Smith was appointed "by the voice of the conference to receive and write revelations and commandments for the Church." Thirty-five members were reported to have united with the Church since the last conference making a total up to date of sixty-two. Priesthood ordinations were made. Prayers and exhortations were given by "all the Elders respectively." Conference adjourned to January 1, 1831.¹⁵

Joseph Smith's account of this conference would indicate that it was attended by all the members of the Church:

¹⁴. Joseph Smith, op. cit., I, 84.

At length our conference assembled. The subject of the stone previously mentioned was discussed, and after considerable investigation, Brother Page, as well as the whole Church who were present, renounced the said stone, and all things connected therewith, much to our mutual satisfaction and happiness.

During this conference, which continued three days, the utmost harmony prevailed, and all things were settled satisfactorily to all present, and a desire was manifested by all the Saints to go forward and labor with all their powers to spread the great and glorious principles of truth, which had been revealed by our Heavenly Father. A number were baptized during the conference, and the word of the Lord spread and prevailed.\textsuperscript{16}

The words "The whole Church" and "all the Saints" might well have been intended to include women as well as men. In the account by the Prophet it states that the conference lasted three days. It is probable, therefore, that the minutes give an account of a meeting of just the priesthood, while the Prophet refers to other sessions.

There do not appear to be any minutes of the third general conference, but Newel Knight gives the following account which again indicates that there was a general assembly of the Saints:

On the 2nd of January, 1831, the third conference of the Church assembled. Many of the Saints came together from the region around, and much good instruction was given. The Saints manifested unshaken confidence in the great work in which they were engaged, and all re-

\textsuperscript{16} Joseph Smith, \textit{op. cit.}, I, 115-116.
joiced under the blessings of the gospel. Considerable business was transacted for the Church.17

The next meeting while not called a conference falls at the three-month mark and the minutes indicate that it was held to transact the business of the Church:

At a special meeting of the Elders of the Church of Christ, held at Kirtland, Geauga County, Ohio, April 9, 1831, to do Church business and etc. Agreeable to a commandment received March 8, 1831, John Whitmer was appointed to keep the Church record and history by the voice of ten Elders. Conference adjourned until the first Saturday in June next.18

It appears that this was a meeting of Elders only for the transaction of Church business.

The Conference Minutes indicate that a general conference was held on June 3, 1831. Forty-three Elders, nine Priests, and ten Teachers were in attendance. There is nothing to indicate other attendance.19

Newel Knight's account of this conference is as follows:

The Elders, from various parts of the country where they had been laboring came in, and the power of the Lord was displayed in our midst. A number were ordained to the Melchizedek Priesthood, and the hearts of the


19. Ibid., pp. 3-5.
Saints rejoiced in the rich blessings bestowed upon them.20

The following appears in John Whitmer's history of the Church:

June 3rd, 1831, a general conference was called, and a blessing promised if the Elders were faithful and humble before him. Therefore the Elders assembled from the east and from the west, from the north and the south, and also many members.21

Both of these quotations leave a possibility that women were in attendance.

During the first year of the Church it appears from the minutes that the quarterly conferences were attended only by the Priesthood of the Church. From other sources it would seem that in connection with these meetings general sessions might have convened which the entire membership attended.

The conference minutes for the following three years, in nearly every instance, list the Elders in attendance but do not indicate the presence of members. In the few instances which mention that members were present, there is nothing to indicate whether or not they were all men. Minutes of a special conference held August 4, 1831, state,


21. "The Book of John Whitmer." This is a copy of an original MS record and is in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City, Utah.
"Thirty-one members present, who with the Elders, partook of the sacrament." 22 A conference held in Winchester on November 29, 1831, was adjourned "until the Church is notified and assemble and the subject laid before them." 23 Minutes of the convened session, however, state: "All the brethren forgave Brother Henry Jackson..." 24 It seems that if women were in attendance they were not called upon to participate.

That the business of the Church was to be transacted by the Elders seems to still have been definitely understood in the fall of 1832. At a meeting of the High Priests in Independence, Missouri, the following question was asked:

Are the High Priests in the land of Zion required to meet as Elders in the three-month conference according to the Articles and Covenants to do Church business? 25

The accounts of many meetings are confusing as to attendance. The Prophet in telling of a meeting held January 22, 1833, lists the names of only the Elders who were assembled in conference, but then tells how he and "all the Elders spake in tongues, and several members, both male and female, exercised the same gift." 26

25. Ibid., p. 38.
On April 6, 1833, the first meeting held to commemorate the anniversary of the Church was held in Jackson County, Missouri, regarding which the Prophet states: "On the 6th of April, in the land of Zion, about eighty officials, together with some unofficial members of the Church, met for instruction and the service of God."

The account of this same meeting in the Evening and Morning Star indicates that it was a meeting for only the "ordained" members of the Church.

That meetings of the priesthood were sometimes followed by general sessions is indicated by the minutes of a meeting held October 25, 1831: "Voted that Brother Sidney Rigdon, Oliver Cowdery, Hyrum Smith, and Orson Hyde speak this day to the congregation which shall assemble."

Several references from the Messenger and Advocate indicate that often the Priesthood met and then a general assembly was held:

On Saturday the 6th, the elders assembled in conference, in a large and convenient room... .

At an early hour on Sunday the congregation

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27. Ibid., p. 336.


commenced assembling, and by the usual hour for the commencement of public services, the house was filled to overflowing.30

Minutes of a Conference of Elders held in West Township, Columbiana Co., O. commencing Friday, June 16, 1837. . .

On Saturday and Sunday there was preaching to a respectable and attentive audience. . .31

From neither the minutes nor the reports by the Prophet or others does it seem possible to determine when women were in attendance at the conference sessions. It does seem, however, that during the early years of the Church, women did not attend the sessions held for the transaction of the business of the Church, or if they did attend they were not considered official members.

The following references taken from the Messenger and Advocate are typical of the announcements regarding conferences and indicate that women were either not expected to attend or their attendance was not considered of sufficient importance to mention in reports.

Brethren members of the Church of Latter Day Saints met in Conference agreeable to previous appointment.32

The elders in the south and west will remember that


31. Messenger and Advocate, III. (June, 1837), 525-526.

32. Ibid., I. (April, 1835), 101.
a Conference is to be held at New Portage, on the 6th of next month. 33

This meeting of the elders and brethren was a joyous one—the number of elders I do not recollect, but there were some eighteen or twenty, representing several little branches of the church. . . 34

We are requested by our Elders now in Tennessee and Kentucky to notify our brethren and friends that a conference of the elders and brethren of the Church of Latter Day Saints will be held on the first Friday, Saturday, and Sabbath, in September next, at Daymonts Creek, Caolloway Co., Kentucky. 35

A conference of the Elders and brethren of the Church of Latter Day Saints, will be held in New Portage, Ohio, on the 24th and 25th inst. 36

Minutes of a conference, held in the house of the Lord, on the 22nd day of December, 1836. The authorities of the church being present; viz: . . . and many other official members, such as Priests, Teachers, Deacons, &c. . . 37

A woman claiming to have been the wife of a Mormon Elder and who had left the Church, wrote the following in reference to common church gatherings:

. . . They used to meet together to discuss questions of business, but Smith, who always directed the meetings, would only propose the most indifferent and puerile subjects, and these being hurried over, he would call on them to rehearse their dreams or visions, as well as their success in working miracles.

33. Ibid., I (May, 1835), 128.
34. Ibid., I. (June, 1835), 142-143.
35. Ibid., II (June, 1836), 335.
36. Ibid., II (September, 1836), 377.
37. Ibid., III (January, 1837), 443.
As the sisters were usually permitted to be present, though generally forbidden to take part in the deliberations, I persuaded Mrs. Murry to accompany me on one occasion. . . ."38

To what extent this picture is a true one is hard to estimate. It does seem, however, from the publications of the day that during the first years of the Church the priesthood was the all-important factor in Church government.

From 1837 on, however, there seems to be a rather noticeable change in the announcements of conferences and in the minutes. The stress on the Elders seems to be far less as will be noted from the following:

A Conference of elders and members of the church of Latter Day Saints will be held in West Township, Columbiana Co. Ohio, on the first Friday, Saturday and Sabbath of October next, commencing at 10 o'clock A. M. on Friday the 6th, elders and members from the branches of our church being in the vicinity are respectfully invited to attend.39

Clay County, Missouri, July 25, 1836
A general assembly met at the house of President Phelps to transact business for the church.

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

. . . Therefore resolved, by the High Council, and Bishop and Elders and multitude, to prevent mobbing and confusion, and pestilence and death, if possible.40

38. Female Life Among the Mormons, pp. 98-99.
At a meeting pursuant to notice by the Presidency the following quorums met, viz: The High Council, two of the Apostles and about 10 of the Seventies and the Bishop and one of his counselors together with a numerous body of the members.41

Agreeable to a resolution passed by the high council of Zion, March 3rd, 1838, the saints in Missouri assembled at this place, to hold the anniversary of the church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and to transact Church business.42

A conference of elders and members of the church of Latter Day Saints, was held in Bath, Steuben county, New York, on the tenth of July, last.43

In these accounts the writer believes that the terms "members" and "general assembly" included women as well as men.

Voting in Church assemblies. None of the above references indicate that women, if they were in attendance, voted on Church business.

A very significant session is one held on August 17, 1835. The minutes indicate that a general assembly was held for the purpose of considering the labors of a committee appointed to arrange the items of the doctrine of the Church. These minutes state that this committee had been appointed by a general assembly of the Church on

41. Iblå., p. 71.

42. Elders' Journal, I (July, 1838), 46.

September 24, 1834, but the minutes of that session clearly indicate that that was just a meeting of the High Council.

At this August, 1835 session the men were organized into quorums: the High Councils, Seventies, Elders, Priests, Teachers, and Deacons. The Book of Doctrine and Covenants, together with a written testimony of the Twelve concerning its verity, was presented. In their order the various groups of the priesthood bore testimony of the truth of the book and accepted it by unanimous vote. Following the acceptance of the Deacons the minutes state:

The venerable assistant president, Thomas Gates, then bore record of the truth of the book, and with his five silver-haired assistants, and the whole congregation, accepted and acknowledged it as the doctrine and covenants of their faith, by a unanimous vote.

The several authorities and the general assembly, by a unanimous vote, accepted the labors of the committee.

At the same meeting an "Article on Marriage" (which states that "we believe that one man should have one wife") and an article entitled "Of Governments and Laws in General" were presented, accepted, and ordered to be printed in the same book.44 (See The Doctrine and

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44. Joseph Smith, op. cit., II, 243-250.
Covenants, Section 134).

If the terms "general assembly" and "congregation" are accepted as including women, this would indicate that as early as 1835 women voted on a major Church issue, although they did vote following those who held the priesthood.

The same procedure seems to have been followed at the dedication of the Kirtland Temple in March of 1835:

After closing his discourse he (Sidney Rigdon) presented Joseph Smith, jr. to the Church as a Prophet and Seer. The Presidents of the church then all in their seats, acknowledged him as such by rising. The vote was unanimous in the affirmative.

The question was then put, and carried without a manifest dissenting sentiment to each of the different grades of quorums of church officers respectively and then to the congregation.45

That "the congregation" here included women is established by the paragraph which immediately follows the preceding quotation:

Intermission for about 15 minutes during which none left their seats except a few females, who from having left their infants with their friends were compelled to do so to take care of them. . .46

This vote, of course, was just a sustaining vote.

Minutes of a meeting held November 7, 1837, at Far West

45. _Messenger and Advocate_, II (March, 1836), 276.

46. _Loc. cit._
indicate that women were in attendance at a meeting held "to take into consideration and transact the business of said Church." Here they voted with the priesthood in a sustaining vote and also seem to have voted on church policy:

After singing, the moderator addressed the Throne of Grace in prayer, after which President Sidney Rigdon explained the object of the meeting, giving a relation of the recent re-organization of the Church in Kirtland; the minutes of said meeting were read by the moderator, who also nominated Joseph Smith, Jr. the first president of the whole Church, to preside over the same. All were re-question (males and females) to vote. . .

Other officers of the Church were then presented, several of whom were rejected by the vote of the congregation. 47

Minutes of a convened session of the same conference states:

The congregation then, after a few remarks from President Rigdon, unanimously voted not to support stores and shops selling spirituous liquors, tea, coffee, or tobacco. 48

The fact that women were specifically instructed to vote in this meeting might be an indication that this practice was not generally understood. On the other hand, women had no doubt voted previously or more importance

47. "The Conference Minutes and Record Book," op. cit., p. 82.

48. Ibid., p. 84.
would have been given to this occasion.

At a general meeting held August 1, 1837, in Missouri, there were in attendance, according to the minutes, "the Presidency, High Council, Bishop and Council and multitude." The following action is recorded:

Voted unanimously by the authorities present and the audience—that in the absence of the Presidents, Councilors, Bishop and Counselors, who were at Kirtland, the Elders had no authority, consequently their acts in that space of time are considered null and void. . . .49

If women were in this audience, it is evident that by this time they were voting on important business of the Church.

Minutes of the trial of the Far West Presidency in February, 1838, indicate that this very serious matter was presented to the entire membership. It appears that a special committee was appointed by the Prophet to handle the matter. The caption to the minutes reads: "Minutes of the Proceedings of the Committee of the whole Church in Zion, in General Assembly. . . ." The following paragraph from the minutes of their meeting at Far West is of interest:

Elder John Murdock then took the stand and showed to the congregation why the High Council proceeded thus was that the Church might have a voice

49. Ibid., p. 79.
in the matter; and that he considered it perfectly legal according to the instructions of President Joseph Smith, Jun. 50

Following the meeting at Far West they met with other branches to present the same matter. It likewise appears in these instances that the entire membership was called in:

In Simeon Carter's settlement the Saints assembled on the 6th instant, when they unanimously rejected the three above-named Presidents. On the 7th, the Saints assembled at Edmond Durphy's, agreeable to appointment, where the above-named presidents [David Whitmer, John Whitmer, and William W. Phelps] were unanimously rejected; also on the 8th at Nahum Curtis' dwelling house, they were unanimously rejected by the assembly; also at Haun's Mills, on the 9th, the Saints unanimously rejected them. 51

The minutes of the organization of the stake of Zion at Adam-ondi-Ahman read:

Adam-ondi-Ahman, Missouri, Daviess county, June 28, 1838. A conference of Elders and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was held in this place this day, for the purpose of organizing this Stake of Zion, called Adam-ondi-Ahman. . . .

It was then moved, seconded and carried by the unanimous voice of the assembly, that John Smith should act as President of the Stake of Adam-ondi-Ahman. 52

Though there seems to have been a definite trend towards more authority resting with the general assembly,

51. Ibid., III, 5-6.
52. Ibid., III, 38.
the quarterly conference of the Elders was still prevalent in 1838 in Missouri. Minutes of the First Quarterly Conference at Far West begin as follows:

Agreeable to a resolution of the High Council, March 3, 1838, the general authorities of the Church met, to hold the Quarterly Conference of the Church of Latter-day Saints, at Far West, on the 7th of April, 1838. 53

Only the various quorums of the priesthood appear to have been in attendance as is also the case of the second and third quarterly conference in Missouri in the same year.

Far West, Missouri, Friday, July 6, 1838.
The authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, opened at this city to hold the second quarterly Conference, in this city of Zion and to transact Church Business. 54

The Third Quarterly Conference of the authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, assembled in Far West, on Friday, October 5, 1838. However, there were not sufficient members of the High Council or any other quorum to do business so the conference was adjourned.

By the time the Church had become established in Nauvoo, the plan of semiannual general conferences seems

53. Ibid., III, 14.
to have been established. Minutes of a conference held October 6, 7, and 8, 1839, as given by the Prophet Joseph Smith, do not indicate whether any of the sessions were for the priesthood alone. There appear throughout the minutes such statements as: "wanted to know the views of the brethren," "the President proceeded to give instructions to the Elders," and "the President spoke at some length to the Elders." However, the following statement would indicate that women were present: "Those persons who had been baptized, were then confirmed, and several children received blessings. . ."55

Minutes of conferences held in April of 1840; October, 1840; October, 1841; and April, 1842 do not specifically indicate attendance of women. They are all but the last called general conferences and at many of the sessions mention is made of the choir's singing, and confirmations being given, and vast multitudes being in attendance, which would indicate the presence of all members, male and female.

Regarding the April, 1840 conference, Leonora Taylor wrote to her husband:

We have had a Conference, I suppose the best the church has ever had. It commenced with preach-
ing, on Sunday the 5th of April, and continued until Thursday evening. There was more than seventy baptized during Conference. . ."56

At the conference in October of 1841 the Prophet declared that another conference should not be held until the temple was completed. Therefore the conference held in April of 1842 is called a "special" conference. Special conferences held in Nauvoo on August 29 and April 10, 1843, appear to have been only for the Elders. A general conference was held on the floor of the temple on April 6, 1843. The minutes state that there was a very large assembly of the Elders and Saints. One of the orders of business was the sustaining of the general authorities of the Church. The voting seems to have been in unison:

Motion was made and seconded, that President Joseph Smith continue President of the whole Church. After a few minutes' silence, the motion was put by President Brigham Young, when one vast sea of hands was presented and the motion carried unanimously.57

The conference held October 6, 1843, is called a special conference but seems to have been for the general congregation. It was at this meeting that the status of Sidney Rigdon was laid before the Church and the Prophet renounced him. However, the congregation voted that he be


retained as Counselor in the First Presidency.\textsuperscript{58}

The title General Conference is again used in connection with the conference held in April of 1844. In an address by Elder Hyrum Smith, the women are specifically addressed. In speaking of the temple he says: "You sisters shall have a seat in that house. I will stand on the top of that pulpit and proclaim to all what the sisters have done." The sessions of this conference seem to have been for instruction only.\textsuperscript{59}

Official participation in church business is shown by original manuscript petitions,\textsuperscript{60} one dated April 22, 1842, addressed to Joseph Smith as president of the Church of Latter-day Saints, asking that a church be organized in the north part of the city of Philadelphia, and another dated October 18, 1842, from the Union Branch at Golden's Point asking for a new branch. In both instances the petitions are signed by women as well as men.

Seating of women in church services. Several references indicate that women were seated in special

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., VI, 47-52.

\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., VI, 239.

\textsuperscript{60} Original MSS on file in office of Historian of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
sections in the general assemblies of the Church. This may have resulted from the attempt to arrange the priesthood quorums in special seating arrangements.

Conference in Nauvoo, October 2, 1841: "the several quorums were arranged and seated in order."61

Conference in Nauvoo, April 6, 1842: "President Joseph Smith had the several quorums put in order and seated."62

Ann H. Pitchforth in a letter dated May, 1845, to her father and mother describes a conference she attended in Nauvoo:

- The first Sunday was the Grand Conference when we were astonished at the mighty congregation, upwards of 30,000 people. No building could hold them here so the preaching was in the open air. It was a fine sight. In the center the Twelve Apostles, then the women with hundreds of parasols, then the men. On the outside were the carriages and the horses.63

Regarding a meeting which he attended on Sunday, September 17, 1843, the Prophet states:

After preaching, I gave some instructions about order in the congregation, men among women, and women among men, horses in the assembly, and men and boys on the stand who do not belong there.

At a meeting on Sunday afternoon, August 13, 1843, the Prophet spoke on the same subject:


62. Ibid., IV, 583.


64. Joseph Smith, op. cit., VI, 34.
President Joseph Smith complained of the citizens of Nauvoo. He reproved some young men for crowding on to the ladies' seats on the meeting ground, and laughing and mocking during meeting; and, as mayor, he instructed the marshal to keep that portion of the grove clear of young men. 65

A visitor to the Kirtland Temple gives the following description. No other verification of this arrangement was found by the writer.

At the right, under the stairway, is the temple "Register Room," containing a record of visitors. The ladies' entrance is on the right, the gentlemen's on the left. 66

One of the pillars contains a windlass, which, in the occupancy of the place by the Mormons, controlled some canvas curtains from above—a large curtain that fell in grooves between the high-backed pews, in such a manner as to separate the men from the women—while the smaller curtain was at right angles with the other, and when desirable it could be lowered so as to divide the men and women into separate class-rooms. 66

Church trials. As indicated on pages 64 and 65 of this work, the judiciary power in the church as designated by revelation rests with the priesthood. It was in February, 1831, that Section 42 was given outlining the plan for judgment. Joseph Smith's History of the Church, however, does not record early instances of application of this plan. The first trouble mentioned was in October of 1831:

65. Ibid., V, 531.

On the 21st, I attended a special conference, to settle a difficulty which had occurred in Kirtland, on account of William Cahoon and Peter Devolue having abused one of Brother Whitney's children. Elder Rigdon and myself were appointed to go to Kirtland and settle the difficulty, which we did. 67

The first trial by a group recorded here seems to be in February of 1833, when Brother Burr Higgs was cut off from the Church by a unanimous vote of a conference of High Priests. 68 In June of 1833 "Doctor" Philastus Hurlburt was likewise declared to no longer be a member of the Church of Christ, by a conference of High Priests. 69 A council of Elders at Westfield, New York, on June 23 ruled to cut James Higby off from the Church. 70

In February of 1834 at Kirtland by revelation the High Council of the Church of Christ was organized for the purpose of "settling important difficulties which might arise in the Church, which could not be settled by the Church or the Bishop's council to the satisfaction of the parties." 71 Many instances are recorded in Church history of trials by the High Councils at Kirtland and in

68. Ibid., I, 327.
69. Ibid., I, 352.
70. Ibid., I, 355.
71. Ibid., II, 28.
Missouri. In none of these trials, of course, did women have any voice, although many of them were subjects of the trials.

That women probably attended the meetings of the High Council where trials were conducted is indicated by the following account given by the Prophet Joseph Smith:

*After supper I went to the High Council in company with my wife and some others that belonged to my household. I was solicited to take a seat with the Presidency and preside on a trial of Sister Elliot. I did so. My mother was called upon for testimony, and began to relate circumstances that had been before the Church and settled.*

The action in the matter, however, was taken by the Council.

*In August, 1834, a trial involving the Prophet Joseph Smith and Sylvester Smith was conducted by High Priests and Elders of the Church and the Church merely advised of the results.*

*It is of interest, however, to note that later in the case of important trials the entire congregation was given a voice; for example, the trial of the Presidency at Far West in February, 1838, (see page 104). In this case the congregation voted on the issue in February and it was discussed by the High Council in March. The* 

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*72. Ibid., II, 294-295.*

*73. Ibid., II, 142-144.*
council ratified the action of the "united voice" of the Church. In Nauvoo the Prophet presented to the entire congregation "The case and standing of Elder Sidney Rigdon, Counselor in the First Presidency." Church services. There seem to be only a few instances recorded where women took any part in the actual Church services. The minutes recorded in the Far West Record, those in the Joseph Smith's History of the Church, and those appearing in the contemporary publications of the day are of priesthood and special conference meetings. According to the Church Historian there are not available any minutes of regular weekly sacrament services. The minutes which are available in the sources just mentioned do not indicate that women were called upon to either pray or speak in the services reported. At the General Conference held in Nauvoo in October, 1845, Lucy Smith, the mother of the Prophet, is reported to have spoken:

Mother Lucy Smith, the aged and honored parent of Joseph Smith, having expressed a wish to say a few words to the congregation, she was invited upon the stand. She spoke at considerable length, and in an audible manner, so as to be heard by a large portion of the vast assembly.

She commenced by saying that she was truly glad that

74. Ibid., III, 3-8.
75. Ibid., VI, 47-52.
the Lord had let her see so large a congregation. She had a great deal of advice to give, but Brother Brigham Young had done the errand, he had fixed it completely. There were comparatively few in the assembly who were acquainted with her family. . . . She gave notice that she had written her history, and wished it printed before we leave this place. . . .

Women did participate in the choirs and in testimony meetings. Women also on some occasions were called to give testimony in trials.

That there were occasions when women "took" the liberty of speaking is indicated by an account given by Newel Knight. The Prophet had sent copies of revelations to be read to the Colesville Branch:

On reading one of these revelations to the branch, my aunt, of whom mention has been made, arose and contradicted the revelations, saying it must be taken in a spiritual light. She went to such a length that I felt constrained to rebuke her by the authority of the Priesthood."

In a discussion of the Spaulding manuscript, Dickinson states that in 1834 a woman preacher who had been recently converted to Mormonism appointed a public meeting and quoted extensively from the Book of Mormon. There is no indication in Church literature that a woman was authorized to follow such a procedure.

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77. Knight, op. cit., pp. 73-74.

78. Dickinson, op. cit., p. 79.
From the material presented it appears that women participated very little in the general official meetings in the Church between the years 1830 and 1845. As minutes of branch weekly meetings have not been preserved, it is not possible to determine to what extent women did participate in those services.

There is, however, in the minutes and reports of the general conferences of the Church, some indication of increased recognition of woman as the organization of the Church progressed.

During the first six or seven years of the Church, most of the announcements regarding conferences were addressed to the Elders or brethren. Great stress was placed in the notices and minutes of the conferences on the attendance of the ordained members of the Church. From about 1837 on, notices of conferences were often addressed to the Elders and members of the Church and the minutes speak of members, the congregation, and general assembly rather than just Elders or brethren.

The plan of government entirely by the priesthood, as outlined in *The Doctrine and Covenants*, seems to have been closely followed for the first few years, but in later years much important business was presented to general assemblies in which the women participated.
Women were often seated in special sections of the assemblies and at first voted following the quorums of the priesthood. In many instances, however, during the second half of this period they voted with the priesthood, not just in a sustaining or confirmation voting, but on vital Church problems.

III. THE EXERCISING OF SPIRITUAL GIFTS

Man has often prohibited woman from having a voice in the general procedures of church services but have had to concede her a place when she has professed to have spoken under the spirit of divinity. In early Mormon history, while woman does not seem to have been called upon to take an active part in church assemblies, yet in the exercising of the spiritual gifts she often played a prominent part.

Speaking in tongues. Verse 11 of the 46th Section of The Doctrine and Covenants states that "to every man is given a gift by the Spirit of God." The many gifts are enumerated. Verses 24 and 25 states that to some is given the gift of speaking "with tongues" and to others is given the gift of interpretation of tongues.79 It was

generally accepted in the Church that women had a right to these gifts.

On October 24, 1833, when a group were gathered in a home listening to the Prophet, one member of the group expressed a desire that one of those who had just been baptized might speak in tongues. The Prophet replied that if one of them would arise he would speak in tongues. All eyes were immediately turned on Lydia Knight and she was urged to rise. The account continues:

And then the great glory of God was manifested in this weak but trusting girl. She was enveloped as with a flame, and, unable longer to retain her seat she rose and her mouth was filled with the praises of God and His glory. The spirit of tongues was upon her, and she was clothed in a shining light, so bright that all present saw it with great distinctness above the light of the fire and the candles.80

In August, 1834, at a trial held in Clay county, Missouri, a Sally Crandall of the Hulet Branch was reported to have often interpreted the speaking in tongues of one of the brethren. She also professed to prophesy and be able to see into men's hearts.81

Zina D. Young exercised this gift when she was very young:

The Huntingtons embraced the Gospel at Watertown, New York, and Zina D., when only fifteen years old was

80. *Lydia Knight's History*, pp. 21-22.
baptized by the Patriarch Hyrum Smith, August 14, 1835, and soon after went to Kirtland with her father's family. In this year she received the gift of tongues. . . At Kirtland she received the gift of interpretation. . . 82

In the branches of the Church in England the gift seems to have been prevalent among the women:

The Saints are rejoicing in the Lord, for he is with us here in Preston; he is according to his promise—his handmaids do prophecy [sic] and speak in tongues, and the brethren do speak in tongues and interpret, and are rejoicing in the Lord.83

Singing in tongues also seems to have been quite prevalent. Prescindia Huntington relates the following:

Accordingly we went with our cousin to the meeting, during which a Brother McCarter rose and sang a song of Zion in tongues; I arose and sang simultaneously with him the same tune and words, beginning and ending each verse in perfect unison, without varying a word. It was just as though we had sung it together a thousand times.84

Tullidge also states that Mother Whitney was one of the first to manifest this gift approvedly; that she was commanded by the Prophet Joseph to rise and sing in the gift of tongues in the early days of Kirtland. After she had done so the Prophet stated that it was the "Adamic tongue" and Parley P. Pratt afterwards gave a written interpretation in verse, it being an account of Adam bless-

82. Augusta Joyce Crocheron, Representative Women of Deseret, p. 12.

83. "Correspondence," Millennial Star, II (December, 1841), 125.

84. Tullidge, op. cit., pp. 208-209.
ing his family. 85

Another account, this one from the Nauvoo period, appears in the minutes of The Female Relief Society for April 19, 1842:

Counselor Cleveland stated that she many times felt in her heart what she could not express in her own language and as the Prophet had given us liberty to improve the gifts of the Gospel in our meetings, and feeling the power resting upon her, she desired to speak in the gift of tongues, which she did in a powerful manner.

Mrs. Sessions arose and gave the interpretation of what counselor Cleveland had spoken in an unknown tongue and said that God was well pleased with this society. 86

In speaking of the exercising of this gift in early Church history, Tullidge says:

As might be expected the majority of these "mediums" were among the sisters. In modern spiritual parlance, they were more "spiritual." Indeed, for the manifestation of both powers the sisters have always been the "best mediums" (adopting the descriptive epithet now so popular and suggestive). 87

From the warning given by the Prophet Joseph it might be inferred that the gift was used too frequently by the sisters. In addressing the Female Relief Society in April of 1842 he said:

85. Ibid., pp. 474-475.

86. "Minutes of Nauvoo Relief Society, March 17, 1842 to March 18, 1844," p. 22. Original MS is in the office of the Church Historian's office. A copy is in the office of the National Women's Relief Society, Salt Lake City, Utah. This copy was used.

87. Tullidge, op. cit., p. 57.
If you have a matter to reveal, let it be in your own tongue; do not indulge too much in the exercise of the gift of tongues, or the devil will take advantage of the innocent and unwary. You may speak in tongues for your own comfort, but I lay down this for a rule, that if anything is taught by the gift of tongues, it is not to be received for doctrine. 88

In a letter signed by Sidney Rigdon, Joseph Smith, Jr., and F. G. Williams "To the Brethren in Zion," the following warning is given:

... As to the gift of tongues, all we can say is, that in this place, we have received it as the ancients did; we wish you, however, to be careful, lest in this you be deceived. Guard against evils which may arise from any accounts given by women, or otherwise. 89

Healing. The right of women to administer to the sick was affirmed by the Prophet Joseph Smith in a meeting of the Female Relief Society held April 28, 1842. No doubt referring to the 84th Section of the Doctrine and Covenants, he states that to anyone who believes may be given the gift of healing, whether male or female. The minutes of this meeting read:

Pres. Smith then offered instructions respecting the propriety of females administering to the sick by the laying on of hands, said it was according to revelation, etc. Said he never was placed in similar circumstances, and never had given the same instruction before. 90

At a meeting held a little over a week before,

89. Ibid., VI, 369.
Counselors Cleveland and Whitney had administered to a Mrs. Leonard for the restoration of her health. This may have been the reason for the following remarks:

He said the reason of these remarks being made was that some little things were circulating in the society, that some persons were not doing right in laying hands on the sick, etc. . .

Respecting the females laying on hands, he further remarked, there could be of devil in it, if God gave his sanction by healing, that there could be no more sin in any female laying hands on the sick than in wetting the face with water.91

The following statement implies that women were to be ordained or set apart for this special work. As indicated in the preceding paragraphs, however, women had previously participated in the administration of this ordinance. The ordaining at this time seemed to be a new step.

. . . He asked the Society if they could not see by this sweeping promise, that wherein they are ordained, it is the privilege of those set apart to administer in that authority, which is conferred on them; and if the sisters should have faith to heal the sick, let all hold their tongues, and let everything roll on.92

This is confirmed by an account which appears to have been written by Mrs. Elizabeth Whitney:

. . . It was during our residence in the brickstore that the Relief Society was organized, March 17, 1842,

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91. Ibid., pp. 24-27.
and I was chosen Counselor to the President of the Society, Mrs. Emma Smith. In this work I took the greatest interest, for I realized in some degree its importance, and the need of such an organization. I was also ordained and set apart under the hand of Joseph Smith the Prophet to administer to the sick and comfort the sorrowful. Several other sisters were also ordained and set apart to administer in these holy ordinances.  

In an account of the life of Mary Isabella Horne, the following incident of healing is related:

... In this miserable log cabin Mrs. Horne lived during the time of the persecutions of the Saints. Here her eldest daughter was taken very ill, and her life despaired of, in fact it seemed impossible for her to get better. The mother of the Prophet, Mrs. Lucy Smith, came and blessed the child, and said she should live. This was something new in that age, for a woman to administer to the sick, but the Lord blessed the administration and manifested his power in behalf of the child, and she speedily recovered.

Another interesting account is given by Tullidge. He tells of the experience of Abigail Leonard in connection with a woman who was living with her who was very ill. The Elders were called but their endeavors were not successful. She then told the husband of the woman that there was only one thing to do and that was to call the sisters. "The sisters came, washed, anointed, and administered to her." Though there was every indication that the woman was dying,

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before the sisters finished the administration, "the blood went coursing through her system, and to her extremities, and she was sensibly better."95

The idea of this gift belonging to women does not seem to have been entirely new in the restoration plan:

Mother Huntington was a woman of great faith. She believed that God would hear and answer prayer in behalf of the sick. The gift of healing was with her before the gospel was restored in its fullness.96

The exercising by women of the spiritual gifts of speaking in tongues and administering to the sick was approved by the Prophet Joseph on April 28, 1842. These gifts were participated in to a considerable extent by the women during the years 1830 to 1845. The minutes of the Female Relief Society show clearly that women were exercising both of these gifts prior to the public sanction given on April 28. While women were acknowledged as having the right to receive the gift of tongues for their own guidance, the Prophet made it clear that any instructions so given were not to be considered as doctrine of the Church. The Prophet also stated that women were to be ordained or set apart by the priesthood to administer to the sick. As no other instructions regarding this function of women are

95. Tullidge, op. cit., p. 169.

96. Ibid., p. 206.
recorded, it is not clear whether the intention was that women from that time on must be ordained before they could officiate in this calling. The foregoing statements of the Prophet, however, do give official recognition to this function of women and the ordination involves a delegation of authority through the priesthood to women.

IV. PARTICIPATION IN SACRED ORDINANCES

The extent to which women participated in what were considered the sacred ordinances of the Church is an indication of their place in the general philosophy of Mormonism.

From the very beginning of the Church women partook of the sacrament; they also received their blessings from the patriarch of the Church:

... Brother and Sister Winters received their patriarchal blessings in the temple at Kirtland, and before blessings were recorded in books, from Father Joseph Smith. ...97

Temple ordinances in Kirtland. As indicated in Chapter III (p. 67) of this thesis, the revelations regarding the ordinances to be performed in the Kirtland Temple, did not imply that women were to participate in them. This rule seems to have been followed in the practices of

the Kirtland period of Church history. John Whitmer in his History of the Church so states:

Now, the time drew near when the Lord would endow his servants and before he could do this, we must perform all the ordinances that are instituted in his house. There was one ordinance, viz: the washing of feet, that we had not as yet observed, but did perform it according to revelation, which ordinance belongs only to ordained members and not the whole church. (For particulars read the private history of Joseph Smith, the Seer).

After the washing of feet came the anointing with holy oil, which was performed by Joseph Smith, Sen., among the Presidents, then the Presidents of each quorum proceeded to anoint the members thereof, in the proper time and place.98

The accounts of the Prophet Joseph Smith indicate that on January 21, 1836, the ordinance of washing of feet was performed in the attic story of the printing office. He states: "We also perfumed our bodies and our heads, in the name of the Lord." The same ordinance of anointing seems to have been repeated the same evening in the temple. The Prophet states that his scribe, the Bishop of Kirtland with his Counselors, and the Bishop of Zion with his Counselors received their anointing.99

It appears that the Prophet, Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams first anointed the Prophet's father, and then

he in turn anointed and blessed each of the First Presidency.100

Another account of the priesthood participation in this ordinance and the exclusion of women is given by George A. Smith:

Four hundred and sixteen Elders, Priests, Teachers, and Deacons met in the Kirtland Temple on the evening of its dedication. I can see faces here that were in that assembly. The Lord poured His Spirit upon us, and gave us some little idea of the law of anointing, and conferred upon us some blessings. He taught us how to shout hosannah, gave Joseph the keys of the gathering together of Israel, and revealed to us, what? Why the fact of it was, He dare not yet trust us with the first keys of the Priesthood. He told us to wash ourselves, and that almost made the women mad, and they said, as they were not admitted into the Temple while this washing was being performed that some mischief was going on, and some of them were right huffy about it.101

Baptism for the dead. In the year 1840 the ordinance of baptism for the dead was introduced into the Church. Records indicate that women participated in this ordinance at an early date. An original manuscript pasted in "Book A" of "Baptisms for the Dead," reads as follows:

Wm. Niman died Thurad. 10th Sept. 1840. Husband of Jane Newman. [sic] Jane Newman was baptized for her son Cyrus Livingston Neyman, Sund. Sept. 12, 1840 by Harvey Olmsted in the Mississippi River, Nauvoo. Vienna Jaque rode into the river to hear the ceremony


performed.\textsuperscript{102}

In the "Supplementary Record of Endowments" there is a list given of the baptisms in the Lima Branch in the year 1840. Among the agents who performed the baptisms are listed: Sally Whiting, Lucy Morley, Sarah Weston, and Phebe McKowin.\textsuperscript{103}

Emma Smith was baptized for her father, Isaac Hale, in 1841.\textsuperscript{104}

It was not until after the Prophet’s death that the rule was made that a man cannot be baptized for a woman nor a woman for a man. Brigham Young on April 6, 1845, in the City of Joseph, gave this instruction. The following extract from his sermon on this subject indicates that baptisms by women were generally accepted. The change in the policy, no doubt, was occasioned by the new temple ordinances which had recently been instituted:

Why, here go our beloved sisters and they are baptized in the river or the font for their uncles, for their fathers, for their grandfathers and great grandfathers.

Well, now I will take you and confirm you for

\textsuperscript{102} "Baptisms for the Dead, Book A." This original MS is pasted in the front of this book which is a MS record in the Salt Lake Temple vaults.

\textsuperscript{103} "Supplementary Record, Nauvoo Temple, Endowments, December 10, 1845 to February 7, 1846," p. 85. This is a MS record in the Salt Lake Temple vaults.

\textsuperscript{104} "Baptisms for the Dead, Book A.," p. 45.
your uncles, for your fathers, for your grandfathers,
and for your great grandfathers, and let you go;
after a while, here come our beloved sisters, saying,
I want to be ordained for my uncle, and for my
father, and for my grandfather, and great grandfather.
... A person that commences a work and hast not
ability and power to finish it, only leaves the un-
finished remains as a monument of folly .... 105

Temple ordinances in Nauvoo. One of the most marked
changes affecting women in the practices of the Church dur-
ing the years 1830 to 1845 seems to be in the participation
of women in the temple ordinances. While they were entire-
ly excluded from any participation in the special ordinances
performed in the Kirtland temple, they were admitted to
full participation in the Nauvoo period.

As was pointed out in Chapter III, (see pp. 71-72)
the revelation dated January 19, 1841, regarding Temple
ordinances recorded in The Doctrine and Covenants implies
that women as well as men are to participate.

A little over a year after this revelation was given,
the first endowments in this period were given to some of
the men. The following entry is under May 4, 1842, in the
autobiography of Brigham Young:

I met with Joseph, Hyrum, Heber, Willard, Bishops
Whitney and Miller, and Gen. James Adams, in Joseph's
private office, where Joseph taught the ancient order
of things for the first time in these last days, and

105. "Speech delivered by President B. Young, in the
City of Joseph, April 6, 1845," Millennial Star, VI (October,
1845), 121.
received my washings and anointing and endowments.106

The first indication that women were to participate in temple ordinances found by the writer is recorded in the minutes of the Female Relief Society for April 28, 1842. The following is an extract from an address by the Prophet:

He spoke of delivering the keys of the Priesthood to the Church, and said that the faithful members of the Relief Society should receive them in connection with their husbands, that the Saints whose integrity has been tried and proved faithful, might know how to ask the Lord and receive an answer; for according to his prayers, God had appointed him elsewhere.

He exhorted the sisters always to concentrate their faith and prayers for, and place confidence in their husbands whom God has appointed for them to honor, and in those faithful men whom God has placed at the head of the Church to lead His people; that we should arm and sustain them with our prayers; for the keys of the kingdom are about to be given to them, that they may be able to detect everything false; as well as to all the Elders who shall prove their integrity in due season.107

If the keys referred to were the endowment and the law of celestial marriage, then it is clear that by this time the idea that women were to participate had taken definite form. This quotation, however, would indicate that women were to participate only with their husbands.

On July 12, 1843, over a year after the above reference, the revelation regarding the eternal marriage


covenant and plurality of wives was recorded. This was placed in written form over two and a half years after the revelation regarding the temple ordinances.

It seems that only a few months after the recording of this revelation, the administration of the endowment to women began. Mrs. Elizabeth Whitney seems to have been the first to participate. The following is an entry in the autobiography of Brigham Young under date of November 27, 1843: "I attended prayer-meeting in the evening at President Joseph Smith's. Bishop N. K. Whitney and wife were anointed." On the 23rd of December of the same year appears this entry: "I spent the day with the Quorum in the Assembly Room. Brother Morley and wife received their endowments."108

Bathsheba Smith participated in these ordinances at about the same time:

In the fall of 1843, George A. and Bathsheba received their endowments and were united under the holy order of celestial marriage. Sister Bathsheba heard the Prophet Joseph charge the Twelve with the duty and responsibility of the ordinances of endowments and sealing, for the living and the dead. Sister Bathsheba met many times with her husband, Joseph and others who had received their endowments, in an upper room dedicated for the purpose, and prayed with them repeatedly in those meetings.109

108. Brigham Young, op. cit., entries for November 27 and December 23, 1843.

In her own testimony Bathsheba states that she received her endowments "near the close of the year 1843, or in the beginning of the year 1844."\textsuperscript{110}

In the "Supplementary Record of the Nauvoo Temple," twenty-one women are listed as having received their endowments before the Prophet's death. The following women's names have been taken from that source:

It has been ascertained from various sources, that the following name [sic] received their Endowments on, or about, the dates noted; some of them had the ordinance repeated in their behalf several times afterward, possibly for the purpose of further instruction therein:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cutler, Mrs. Loris</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cahoon, Mrs. Thirza</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyde, Mrs. Marinda N.</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimball, Mrs. Viplate</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lott, Mrs. Permilla</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller, Mrs. Mary</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marks, Mrs. William</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morley, Mrs. Lucy</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratt, Mrs. Mary Ann</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phelps, Mrs. Sally</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Mrs. Mary</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Mrs. Bathsheba</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spencer, Mrs. Catherine</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Mrs. Clarissa</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Mrs. Agnes</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Mrs. Lucy</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylor, Mrs. Leonora</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thompson, Mercy R.</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitney, Mrs. Elz'hub</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodworth, Mrs. Thebe</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young, Mrs. Mary Ann</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In each case it appears that the woman was the wife of a man who received his endowments at about the same time. More definite dates do appear in other sources for some of these. For instance Joseph Smith gives this entry for Sunday, October 8, 1843: "My brother Hyrum and his wife were blessed, ordained, and anointed."111

It is significant that within a few months women were participating in the highest ordinance, the second endowment. Again quoting from Brigham Young:

January, 1844.

...14 (Sunday) Preached in the city. In the evening attended prayer-meeting at the Assembly Room. My wife Mary Ann and I received our second anointing.

...20. Met with the Quorum. Heber C. Kimball and his wife Vilate received their second anointing.

...28. The Quorum met in the Assembly Room. Wilford Woodruff and his wife Phebe W. were sealed and received their second anointing.

...30. The Quorum met at my house. John and Leonora Taylor were sealed and anointed.

...31. I met with the Quorum at my house. George A. and Bathsheba W. Smith were anointed, having been sealed on the 20th inst. 112

It will be noted that in the first list of endowments there appears the name of Mrs. Thebe Woodworth, while

111. Joseph Smith, op. cit., VI, 46.
112. Young, op. cit., p. 73.
in the above quotations the name appears Phebe W. Woodruff.

From the very beginning women were called upon to officiate in the administration of the ordinances to women. In the list of those who received their endowments in 1843 the name of Emma Smith is not given. The following reference, however, indicates that she assisted in the administration of the ordinances which would presuppose her own participation in them:

The writer has often heard President Bathsheba W. Smith refer to her experience at this period, and she related how she herself and other women with her received their preliminary blessings under the hands of the Prophet's wife, Emma Hale Smith; and then how they joined their husbands in the completion of the ceremonies, led and taught as the company was by the Prophet himself who explained and enlarged wonderfully upon every point as they passed along the way.113

An affidavit signed by Bathsheba W. Smith states:

"I received the ordinance of anointing in a room in Sister Emma Smith's house in Nauvoo, and the same day in company with my husband, I received my endowment in the upper room over the Prophet Joseph's store."114

The following also indicates that Mrs. Whitney assisted in ordinance work prior to the opening of the Nauvoo temple:


Sister Whitney was one of the very first of her sex who received the ordinances of the House of the Lord and to officiate as a Priestess in holy [sic] places and afterwards in the Temple in Nauvoo where hundreds of the daughters of Eve were blest under her hands. 115

The first endowment work recorded in the Nauvoo temple records was on Thursday, December 10, 1845. 116 On that date twelve women received their endowments; on the 11th, 1; on the 12th, 5; on the 15th, 7. 117 Each day's record from there on contains the names of many women, all of whom were anointed "queens" and "priestesses."

The women may have responded too readily because on December 25, 1845, Brigham Young expressed concern:

... He (Brigham Young) also said that he would not permit so many women to pass through as has been done in the past, as it will be advisable to give the Elders their endowments first, and then should there be time afterward, we will then give the women their washings and anointings...118

The "Supplementary Record" contains a list of the men and women who "were ordinance workers, or assistants, in the Nauvoo Temple, in various capacities and at various times," stating the date on which they probably began their


117. "Nauvoo Endowment Record and Minutes, November 29, 1845 to February 7, 1846," p. 3. This is an original MS record in Salt Lake Temple vaults.

118. Ibid., p. 22.
work. Thirty-six women are on the list, the first ones having begun their work on December 10, 1845.119

V. SUMMARY

During the years 1830 to 1845 when the philosophy of Mormonism was taking definite form, women seemed to come gradually into prominence in the official functions of the Church. This statement is substantiated by the following:

First. Divine manifestations in the forms of visitations, dreams, and visions came to women and were acknowledged by Church leaders.

Second. At first, the official conferences of the Church were considered to be primarily for the priesthood, but they were soon expanded to include sessions for all the membership of the Church.

Third. As early as 1835 women were called to vote on important Church business, and this practice seemed to become more common as the years progressed. At first women were seated in separate sections and voted with the general congregation following the priesthood, but in later years they voted at the same time.

Fourth. According to Mormon scripture the judicial functions of the Church belong to the priesthood. In certain instances, however, women were allowed to vote with the general congregation on important judicial matters.

Fifth. Women were considered eligible to receive the spiritual gifts such as speaking in tongues and healing the sick. By 1842 women were being ordained and set apart for the latter function.

Sixth. In the Kirtland period of Church history, women were not permitted to participate in the sacred ordinances in connection with the temple. By 1840 they were allowed to participate in the ordinances of baptism for the dead and by 1843 women received their endowments with their husbands, were anointed to be "queens" and "priestesses," and also officiated in the administering of the ordinances to other women.
CHAPTER V

PARTICIPATION OF WOMAN IN ACTIVITES OF CHURCH AND COMMUNITY

In the preceding chapter there was discussed the participation of woman in the official functions of the Church and in the spiritual gifts and sacred ordinances which were a part of accepted church services and ritual.

Of equal importance is woman's participation in the general activities of the Church not directly related to or regulated by its theology, and in the activities of Mormon dominated communities. These factors indicate her position in the Church during the period covered by this study and they also left their mark on the forming philosophy of Mormonism.

The purpose of this chapter is to present an historical description of:

First. Woman's participation in Church organizations.
Second. Woman's participation in the general activities of the Church.
Third. Provision for and woman's participation in the educational program of the Church.
Fourth. Status of woman in social relationships.

I. PARTICIPATION IN CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS

Sunday Schools. The following references indicate
that Sunday School classes were held in the Kirtland period of the Church, and that women participated as teachers.

Helen Mar Whitney in her reminiscences of Kirtland states:

... I would think of all these things; and among other pleasing recollections were our Sunday Schools, where I used to love to go and recite verses and whole chapters from the New Testament, and we received rewards of primers, etc., which I think were more high [sic] appreciated in those days than they are at the present time. At ten o'clock we would form in line and march with our teachers up to the Temple ... .

The same author in speaking of a Johnson family who lived near to them further states:

One of their sisters that died had been our teacher in Sunday School which she kept at their house. We were in the habit of reciting portions of whole chapters to her from the New Testament and how delighted we felt when she presented us with little Primers containing "Babes in the Woods," "Robin Hood," etc., etc. ... .

The writer did not find any indication in Church history that Sunday School classes in Kirtland were under the direction of the authorities of the Church. In 1844 in Nauvoo, however, the Prophet Joseph Smith appears to have ordered the beginning of such an organization:

One Sunday morning early in June, 1844, I was at a meeting in the grove east of Mulholland street, when Brother Joseph arose and said he wanted all the children that could, to bring their testaments and hymn books and meet there the next Sabbath and have a Sunday


2. Ibid., X (June 1, 1881), 6.
School. He said, "I don't know as I will be here—
I will if I can, but Brother Stephen Goddard will be
here and take charge of you, won't you Brother Goddard?" Borther Goddard assented, and then Brother Joseph called
for teachers and a number volunteered. He spoke at some
length on the importance of this move, and as far as I
know this was the first Sunday School in the history of
the Church. I attended the next Sabbath and my teacher
was Sister Clara Chase. I cannot remember of meeting
but twice in the Sunday School when those awful days
came that terminated in the martyrdom of Brother Joseph
and Hyrum Smith—8

Young Gentlemen and Ladies Relief Society. This or-
ganization had its beginning in Nauvoo in January of 1843.
Elder Heber C. Kimball was the motivating power behind the
organization. The main purposes seem to have been the pro-
viding of an opportunity for the leaders of the Church to
address the young people, and the organization of the youth
to assist in the charity work of the community. In an
account signed by J. M. Monroe, Secretary,4 eight general
meetings are reported at which young men and young women
were in attendance. The last of these eight sessions was
held about the end of March, so they must have averaged
about one a week. This same account reports two sessions
which were just for the young men. It seems that the
business of the organization was conducted by the young

3. Mary A. S. Winters, "Mothers in Israel, Auto-
biography," Relief Society Magazine, III (November, 1916),
641.

4. "An Interesting Outgrowth of the Relief Society
in Nauvoo," The Relief Society Magazine, IV (March, 1917),
123-129.
men alone. At the first of these separate meetings a committee was appointed to draft a constitution. The second meeting of the men convened on the 21st of March and the committee submitted the constitution. This was unanimously adopted and officers for the organization chosen. Nine men were elected to various positions. It would seem that even in an apparent joint organization the authority still was held entirely by the male members.

Some of the provisions of the constitution are of interest:

1. Meetings were to be held on the last Tuesday of each month at 6 o'clock p. m.

2. Officers were to be chosen annually on the last Tuesday in March.

3. The officers were to include a president, and vice president, treasurer (who was to furnish a $1,000 bond), secretary, and a committee of vigilance.

4. Members were to be under thirty years of age.

The advice of Elder Kimball was that anyone of any denomination be admitted to membership.

The Female Relief Society. The beginning of the Female Relief Society is very significant in a study of woman's position in the Church. It was the first move to
recognize woman in an executive capacity. Prior to March 17, 1842, when this Society was officially organized, women were participating in sewing circles and other miscellaneous activities, which were common to churches of that day. It is reasonable to suppose that the impetus for an organization grew out of such groups. This is substantiated by the following account given by Sarah M. Kimball, although the date as given is not in agreement:

In the summer of 1843, a maiden lady (Miss Cook) was seamstress for me, and the subject of combining our efforts for assisting the Temple hands came up in conversation. She desired to be helpful but had no means to furnish. I told her I would furnish material if she would make some shirts for the workmen. It was then suggested that some of our neighbors might wish to combine means and efforts with ours, and we decided to invite a few to come and consult with us on the subject of forming a Ladies' Society. The neighboring sisters met in my parlor and decided to organize. I was delegated to call on Sister Eliza R. Snow and ask her to write us a constitution and by-laws, and submit them to President Joseph Smith prior to our next Thursday's meeting. She cheerfully responded, and when she read them to him he replied that the constitution and by-laws were the best he had ever seen. "But," he said, "this is not what you want. Tell the sisters their offering is accepted of the Lord, and He has something better for them than a written constitution. I will invite them all to meet me and a few of the brethren in the Masonic Hall over my store next Thursday afternoon, and I will organize the sisters under the priesthood after the pattern of the priesthood." He further said, "The Church was never perfectly organized until the women were thus organized." He wished to have Sister Emma Smith elected to preside in fulfillment of the revelation which called her an Elect Lady. 5

Many references indicate the organization was believed to be part of the "divine" plan of the Gospel. Eliza R. Snow wrote:

According to authentic testimony, an organization of which the present Female Relief Society is a facsimile, has always existed when the Church of Jesus Church [sic] has been fully organized. "Elect Lady" as it occurs in the New Testament has direct reference to the same— alluding to one who presided over this institution. See Epistle of John 1st verse.6

The reason given by the Prophet for the delay in beginning this organization, Eliza R. Snow states, was the great pressure of duties, labors, and responsibilities.

Elder Cahoon in addressing the organization said that "the Relief Society was organized according to the mind of God." Counselor Cleveland said "this society was organized under the order of heaven, etc."

Regardless of the force which motivated its organization, it is interesting to note its timeliness. The Church by 1842 had enjoyed three full years of comparatively unmolested growth in Nauvoo. Normal Mormon community life had had its first real opportunity to develop. The building of the temple was uniting the people in a centralized community project. The men were organized under the priesthood to do their part. The women through a "Penny Subscription Fund"

and sewing circles were thinking in terms of organized effort. Mormon women naturally knew that women in other churches and communities were organized in various forms.

From the standpoint of need of the organization in the Church, the time was most opportune. The care of the poor was generally recognized as a church function. The United Order which had been instituted for the benefit of the poor had not proved satisfactory. During the years of severe persecution when the people were driven from place to place, no one had much more than a mere subsistence and in the tragic situations which were constantly before them, men and women shared whatever they did have.

By 1842, however, families were getting homes and acquiring land. They were thinking individually in terms of becoming established. But there was the constant influx of the immigrants, many of whom arrived there destitute; there were the widows and orphans. The care of the poor no doubt was becoming a major problem in the Church.

In light of the social situation, therefore, it is reasonable that the women should have suggested organization; in light of the need in the Church, it is reasonable that the Prophet should have recognized its practicability; and that following the plan of a priesthood-governed church, it is natural he should have desired its being organized
under the priesthood rather than as a separate woman's project. It was thus at the call of the priesthood that the first meeting was held.

On the appointed day of March 17, 1842, President Joseph Smith, John Taylor, and Willard Richards met in the Lodge room with the following eighteen women who had been specifically invited to be there: ⑦

Mrs. Emma Smith          Leonora Taylor
Mrs. Sarah M. Cleveland    Bathsheba W. Smith
Phoebe Ann Hawkes         Phoebe M. Wheeler
Elizabeth Jones            Elvira A. Coles
Sophia Packard            Margaret A. Cook
Philinda Merrick          Sarah M. Kimball
Martha Knight             Eliza R. Snow
Desdemona Fulmer          Sophia Robinson
Elizabeth Ann Whitney     Sophia R. Marks

The first officers of the organization were: Emma Smith, president; Sarah M. Cleveland and Elizabeth Ann Whitney, counselors; Elvira A. Coles, treasurer; Eliza R. Snow, secretary; and Phoebe M. Wheeler, assistant secretary. The only changes in officers seem to be in the secretary. E. A. Holmes is indicated as secretary in June, 1843, and H. Ells was appointed secretary on March 9, 1844. Emma Smith was the wife of the Prophet and Elvira A. Coles and Eliza R. Snow were sealed to the Prophet.

Just what further organization the Prophet had in

⑦ "Minutes of Nauvoo Relief Society, March 17, 1842 to March 18, 1844," p. 1. The original MS record is in the office of the Church Historian. A copy is in the office of the National Women's Relief Society in Salt Lake City, Utah. This was used.
mind is not clear. He said that if any other officers were needed, "let them be set apart, as Deacons, Teachers, etc., are among us." 8

This organization was not to be for all members of the Church automatically but members were to be admitted by the vote of the membership. The Prophet urged them to examine each candidate carefully and not to admit any member except on a written petition signed by two or three members in good standing.

The membership grew rapidly. Forty-eight were admitted at the second meeting. At the third the Prophet warned them against growing too fast. The membership for the two years as listed in the "Minute" book totals 1,317 with a possible duplication in names of 31. 9

At the second meeting Emma Smith mentioned the possibility of other units being formed throughout the city. A Mrs. Elizabeth Jones was authorized to collect funds for the organization in Ohio which indicated an intention to carry its functions throughout the Church.

Eighteen meetings were held between the date of its organization, March 17, and September 28, 1842. The organi-

8. Ibid., p. 2.

9. Ibid., pp. 91-103.
zation was then adjourned until June 16, 1843. About this time it was thought advisable to hold a separate meeting for each of the four city wards in Nauvoo, rotating one at a time. This was tried but by August it was decided to all meet together again. On October 14, 1843, meeting adjourned until March 9, 1844. Only one other meeting, March 16, was held in the Nauvoo period. At these last two sessions the attendance was too large for the meeting place and the meeting was repeated. The last minutes close with this statement: "Meeting adjourned until a suitable place can be obtained." 10

Being organized by the President of the Church and considered to be a part of the divine plan of the restoration of the Gospel, gave the organization an important status in the Church. President Smith said at the first meeting that whatever charity he gave he would give through this organization. At the third meeting there was presented a communication from him and other general authorities calling upon the women for their aid in meeting the attempts of some men to convince women of the Church that the First Presidency was sanctioning certain practices contrary to the old established morals and customs. The communication began:

10. Ibid., p. 88.
"Can the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo be trusted with some important matters that ought actually to belong to them to see to, which men have been under the necessity of seeing to their chagrin and mortification in order to prevent iniquitous characters from carrying their iniquity into effect."¹¹ Such recognition of the organization by the leaders of the Church naturally emphasized its importance.

From the minutes of a meeting held August 13, 1843, it seems that probably the sisters were questioning their right to do the charity work in the wards. Several had resigned from the visiting committees. Elder Cahoon "reproved the sisters for their fearfulness, said they were not acting in the Bishop's place nor intruding upon them in their calling."¹² He further said that this committee had been appointed by Emma Smith, that she had been appointed by the Prophet, and that the organization had agreed to follow the Prophet, and so they had nothing to do but go ahead. The organization certainly had the full support of the leading men in the Church.

The purposes of the organization were stated by the Prophet Joseph Smith in the first meeting as follows:

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¹¹. Ibid., pp. 59-60.

¹². Ibid., p. 76.
That the society of sisters might provoke the brethren to good works in looking to the wants of the poor--searching after objects of charity, and in administering to their wants--to assist by correcting the morals and strengthening the virtues of the community, and save the Elders the trouble of rebuking; that they may give their time to other duties, etc. in their public teachings.\textsuperscript{13}

In other instances such purposes as watching over the morals of the members, meeting extraordinary calls for relief, purging out iniquity and considering the organization not only to relieve the poor but to save souls were stated. A little more poetically they were expressed by the Prophet as "the relief of the poor, the destitute, the widow and the orphan, and for the exercise of all benevolent purposes ... they will fly to the relief of the stranger, they will pour oil and wine to the wounded heart of the distressed; they will dry up the tears of the orphan and make the widow's heart to rejoice."\textsuperscript{14}  

In the organization and government of the Society there seems to have been a mixture of democratic and authoritative principles. Regarding the election of officers, at the first meeting the Prophet Joseph Smith clearly stated that the sisters should elect a presiding officer and that she should choose two counselors. This procedure was followed:

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., p. 2.

\textsuperscript{14} Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Period I, IV, 567-68.
"Moved by Sister Elizabeth A. Whitney, and seconded by Sister Sophia Packard, that Mrs. Emma Smith be chosen president. Carried unanimously." 15  Parliamentary procedure was common in early church government. Regarding term of office, the Prophet advised that the officers elected should hold office so long as they continued to fill the office with dignity.

That Emma's position was not purely elective, but divinely appointed seems to have been emphasized from the beginning. Immediately following the election, Joseph Smith read what is now known as Section 25 of The Doctrine and Covenants and stated that Emma had been ordained at the time of this revelation and was called an "elect lady" because this meant to be elected to preside. Elder John Taylor spoke similarly: "He rejoiced to see this institution organized according to the law of heaven--according to a revelation previously given to Mrs. Emma Smith, appointing her to this important calling . . ." 16

The Prophet stated that the business of the organization should be conducted according to parliamentary procedure and the vote of the majority should be binding upon the


organization. This appears to be democratic. The sisters, however, were also told by the Prophet, "You will receive instructions through the order of the Priesthood which God has established, through the medium of those appointed to lead, guide and direct the affairs of the Church in this last dispensation . . ."17

When explaining that Emma Smith had been ordained by revelation to expound the scriptures to all and to teach the female part of the community, the Prophet said that not she alone but others might attain to the same blessing. The verse to which the Prophet was evidently referring reads: "And thou shalt be ordained under his hand to expound the scriptures, and to exhort the church, according as it shall be given thee by my spirit." Though this verse seems to give all women a right to divine guidance themselves, the preceding paragraph implies that the order of the Church was to be that instructions for this woman's organization were to come through the priesthood. This thought is also in the following: "If this Society listens to the counsel of the Almighty through the heads of the Church, they shall have power to command queens in their midst."18

18. Ibid., p. 605.
Therald N. Jensen in his dissertation on "Mormon Theory of Church and State" discusses this Mormon philosophy of democracy pointing out this mixture of authoritarianism and democracy. It is summed up in the following statement quoted by Jensen:

The proper mode of government is this--God first speaks, and then the people have their action. It is for them to say whether they will have his dictation or not. They are free; they are independent under God.

So the Female Relief Society was organized on democratic principles of self-government (so characteristic of the nineteenth century), subject to the will of God which was to be manifested through the priesthood held by the men of the Church.

In the temporal affairs of the organization, the women were free to conduct their own business in their own way. In spiritual matters, however, they were to look to the men bearing the priesthood for guidance. When the men did meet with the women in the Relief Society meetings from the first meeting they withdrew when the women voted upon routine business.

It is interesting to note from the minutes how readily

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the women assumed the responsibilities of leadership. Emma Smith stepped into the presiding chair at the first meeting with apparent ease. In the selection of the name of the organization, the women freely expressed themselves. The men and the women were divided in their choice between the words "relief" and "benevolent." The women's choice was accepted. The discussion of the women indicated that they themselves had a fair understanding of other organizations of the day of a similar nature.

In their meetings women were at once called upon to pray, bear testimony, and give reports. In most instances when the Prophet was in attendance it appears that he took charge and opened the meeting with prayer. The minutes do not indicate whether this was by invitation or not. That the women did go ahead and preside when the priesthood was in attendance is indicated by the minutes of August 13, 1843. Counselor Whitney and Mrs. Billings were in charge of the meeting. Prayer was offered by Sister Chase. A little later the minutes read: "Elder Cahoon who had been invited to attend, arose." 21

The activities of the organization during the approximate two years of its existence in Nauvoo seemed to follow

closely the purposes set out. The first annual report showed $507 received in donations of money, clothing, provisions, etc., and $298.48 appropriated for the relief of the poor. This report stated that during the past winter many had not only been relieved but preserved from famishing through the efforts of the members of the organization.\footnote{22} Clarissa S. Williams stated in the early meetings it was not uncommon for women to stand in meeting and say: "I will give my jewels for the sick," or "I give all my jewels for clothing for those who are in need."\footnote{23} The minutes refer to donations for the schooling of children, finding employment for a widow, housing the poor, boarding the workmen on the temple, donating material, and making clothes. The Necessity Committee discussed quilts and dresses and proposed and appointed sewing meetings.

One of the purposes of the organization was to "put down iniquity." While women did not participate in the regular judicial proceedings of the Church the Prophet gave them authority to act in behalf of their own sex: "If members of the society shall conduct themselves improperly, deal with them, and keep all your doings within your own bosoms, and hold all characters sacred." Emma Smith seemed

\footnote{22. "Report of the Nauvoo Relief Society," \textit{Relief Society Magazine}, II. (March, 1915), 100.}

\footnote{23. "General Conference of the Relief Society," \textit{Ibid.}, III (December, 1916), 668.}
to place considerable emphasis on this phase of their work. At the second meeting she read a report where Clarissa Marvel was accused of circulating falsehoods regarding the characters of Joseph Smith and Mrs. Agnes Smith, and appointed a Mrs. Markham to investigate the matter. A report was given at the third meeting and two other women were appointed to investigate the charge of four women against Clarissa Marvel. At the eighth meeting the President said that she was afraid that under existing circumstances the sisters were not careful enough in exposing iniquity. It seems that a Sister Miller was also up for investigation in the August 4th meeting in 1842. On May 26, 1842, Emma Smith in speaking to the organization said that sin must not be covered, especially those sins which are against the law of God and the laws of the country; she said that any who knew of heinous sins and did not expose them became the offender. At the same meeting the Prophet urged them not to do more harm than good with their tongues, to rather spare ten iniquitous ones than to condemn one innocent one and ended with: "Fret not thyself because of evil doers. God will see to it." There seems to be a little difference in emphasis here. Both seemed to

24. "Minutes of Nauvoo Relief Society," p. 34.
25. Ibid., p. 37.
feel free to express themselves, however.

An interesting public gesture was a petition signed by one thousand members of the organization addressed to Governor Carlin of Illinois pleading for protection for the Prophet. The petition was personally delivered to the Governor in Quincy by Emma Smith and Eliza R. Snow.

Because this organization offered the first opportunity for the Prophet to speak directly to women, the minutes reveal, more than does any other source, his concept of the place of women in the Church. Some of the interesting instructions which have a bearing on her status are:

The gifts of the spirit shall follow those that believe, male and female.

Women shall have power to heal the sick, cast out devils, speak in tongues, and take up serpents.

Faithful members of the Relief Society shall receive the keys of the priesthood in connection with their husbands.

After the instructions here given, women will be responsible for their own sins.

Females, if they are pure and innocent, can come into the presence of God.

The key was turned in behalf of women in the name of the Lord and they were told that knowledge and intelligence should flow down henceforth.

Their organization was to be similar in pattern to that of the priesthood.

In discussing the exercising of the gifts by women, the Prophet stated that he had never been placed in a similar
position before and therefore had never before given such instruction. From the fourth statement one may wonder whether prior to the instruction received in this organization women were not considered responsible for their own conduct.

Admonitions too were given:

Never give a cross or unkind word to your husbands; let kindness, charity, and love crown your works. This organization should teach women how to behave towards their husbands.

Don't envy the finery and fleeting show of sinners.

Let your labors be confined largely to those around you and especially to those of the organization.

The female part of the community are apt to be contracted in their view; they must be liberal in their feelings.

I would to God you could be wise. I now council you if you know anything hold your tongues and the least harm will be done.

As females possess refined feelings and sensitiveness, they are also subject to overmuch zeal, which must ever prove dangerous, and cause them to be rigid in a religious capacity—they should be armed with mercy, notwithstanding the iniquity.

The Female Relief Society of Nauvoo was believed to be organized according to the will and plan of God. It provided an opportunity for the women of the Church to unite in their own organization to serve the Church and community. Though democratic in its form of government it was nevertheless to be guided by the will of God as manifested
through the priesthood of the Church. Women of the period seemed capable of assuming positions of leadership. The attendance of the leaders of the Church at the sessions of the organization provided opportunities for them to speak directly to the women; advice and doctrine there given helped to clarify woman's status in the Church.

Woman's participation in Sunday School teaching was apparently very limited. Her participation in the Young Gentlemen and Ladies Relief Society appears to have been limited to just holding membership. In the Female Relief Society, however, approximately thirteen hundred women participated as members and many served as officers or members of committees.

II. PARTICIPATION IN CHURCH ACTIVITIES

In addition to participation in the three organizations of the Church just discussed, women also participated in other church activities. Temple building and missionary service were hubs of activity around which life revolved both in Kirtland and Nauvoo periods.

Temple Building. Heber C. Kimball tells of the work of the women in Kirtland in connection with the building of the temple there:

At this time the brethren were laboring night and day building the house of the Lord. Our women were
engaged in spinning and knitting in order to clothe those who were laboring at the building, and the Lord only knows the scenes of poverty, tribulation, and distress which we passed through in order to accomplish this thing. My wife toiled all summer in lending her aid towards its accomplishment. She had a hundred pounds of wool, which, with the assistance of a girl, she spun in order to furnish clothing for those engaged in the building of the Temple, and although she had the privilege of keeping half of the quantity of wool for herself, as a recompense for her labor, she did not reserve even so much as would make her a pair of stockings; but gave it for those who were laboring at the house of the Lord. She spun and wove and got the cloth dressed, and cut and made up into garments, and gave them to those men who labored on the Temple; almost all the sisters in Kirtland labored in knitting, sewing, spinning, etc., for the purpose of forwarding the work of the Lord. . ."26

The women of Kirtland also worked on the "veils" for the inside of the temple. Under Tuesday, February 23, 1836, the Prophet Joseph Smith records:

This afternoon the sisters met again at the Temple to work on the veil.

Towards the close of the day I met with the Presidency and many of the brethren in the house of the Lord, and made some remarks from the pulpit upon the rise and progress of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and pronounced a blessing upon the sisters, for their liberality in giving their services so cheerfully, to make the veil for the Lord's House; also upon the congregation; and dismissed.27

These veils were huge canvas curtains which could be dropped to divide the lower floor of the Temple into four divisions.


The outside of the temple was covered with a stuccoed plaster with which was mixed broken glass and chinaware which gave a glistening effect. This glass and chinaware it is believed was given and collected by the women. 28

The account given on page 142 indicates that in Nauvoo the women too devoted much of their time to providing for the workmen who were laboring on the temple there. In addition to providing clothing, the women were asked to give board and room to many of the men.

What appears to be the first organized effort of women in the Church began in 1841 (prior to the organization of the Female Relief Society) in the form of a "Penny Subscription Drive." This perhaps was similar to the missionary Cent Societies promoted by women in other churches. (See page 47.) Mary Fielding Smith, wife of Patriarch Hyrum Smith is given credit in the following source for the instigation of the plan:

In 1841, Mary set in motion the organization of a simple and modest fund which was called "The Sisters' Penny Subscription" for the purpose of buying nails and glass for the Nauvoo Temple. So quietly did this plan operate that only the briefest mention is made of it in the periodicals of the day; but it worked something of a financial miracle, for hundreds of dollars were thus collected. Who may say that this

28. N. B. Lundwall, Temples of the Most High, p. 11.
initiative on the part of Mary Fielding Smith was not productive of much of the later organized effort put forth by the women of the Church. 29

Patriarch Hyrum Smith, however, in 1844 gave a little different picture of its beginning and early progress. In an address to the Conference on April 6, he stated:

... I thought some time ago I would get up a small subscription, so that the sisters might do something. In consequence of some misunderstanding, it has not gone on as at first. It is a privilege to any one to pay a cent a week, or fifty cents a year. I want it by next fall to buy nails and glass. It is difficult to get money. I know that a small subscription will bring more than a large one. The poor can help in this way. I take the responsibility upon myself and call again upon the sisters. I call again until I get about $1,000. It only requires two thousand subscribers.

I have sent this subscription plan to England and the branches. I am not to be dictated to by any one except the Prophet and God. I want you to pay in your subscription to me, and it shall always be said boldly by me, the sisters bought the glass in that house, and their names shall be written in the Book of the Law of the Lord. It is not a tax, but a free will offering to procure something which shall ever be a monument to your works. No member of the Relief Society got it up. I am the man that did it. They ought not to infringe upon it. 30

Though Hyrum Smith states that he sent the plan to England, it was done under the names of the sisters. The following notice was published in the Millenial Star in England:


Nauvoo

To the Sisters of the Church of Jesus Christ in England: Greeting.

Dear Sisters,—This is to inform you that we have here entered into a small weekly subscription for the benefit of the Temple Funds. One thousand have already joined it, while many more are expected, by which we trust to help forward the great work very much. The amount is only one cent or a halfpenny per week.

As Brother Amos Fielding is waiting for this, I cannot enlarge more than to say that myself and Sister Thompson are engaged in collecting the same.

We remain your affectionate sisters in Christ,

Mary Smith,
M. R. Thompson

Nauvoo, Dec. 25, 1843.

The Ladies' Subscription for the Temple of one cent per week, is fully sanctioned by the First Presidency.

Hyrum Smith.

That the women of England responded to the call is indicated by the following comment.

The sisters of Liverpool and elsewhere have our grateful acknowledgments for their praiseworthy exertions in raising funds for the completion of the Temple. Sister Hill, of Liverpool, has forwarded accounts to us for upwards of twenty pounds, paid by the sisters of this branch.

The success of the plan is verified in the following article:

33. "Notice," Times and Seasons, VI (March 15, 1845), 84.
By the counsel of the Twelve, Mrs. Hyrum Smith and Mrs. Thompson requested all those sisters who have received papers to collect the penny subscription, to forward them as soon as possible that they may be able to ascertain whether all those employed as collectors have been faithful; as it appears that there is suspicion resting upon a certain individual of having kept the money which she had collected. They would say for the gratification of the sisters that about one thousand dollars have been received, and most of the sisters with whom they have conversed, seem inclined to continue paying their cent a week until the temple is finished; and money being wanted to purchase other things besides glass and nails, they invite all those who are able and feel so disposed to pay for the present year; and as there are some poor sisters who are extremely anxious to throw in their mite who cannot possibly raise money, they would say that any kind of useful articles will be received from such.

Mary Smith
Mercy R. Thompson

When the temple neared completion, the women assisted on the inside. Helen Mar Whitney states that the following women worked on the cushions or upholstery on a new altar: Mary Ann Young, Vilate Kimball, Elizabeth Ann Whitney, Eliza R. Snow, Mary and Agnes Smith, Mercy R. Thompson and Sarah Ann Whitney.34

An entry in the Nauvoo Endowment Record indicates that on November 29, 1845, the following women assisted the men in laying carpets and preparing the rooms for the endow-

ment: Vilate Kimball, Elizabeth Ann Whitney, Sarah Ann Whitney, and Bathsheba Smith.35

There is no doubt that women carried their share of the burden and sacrifice needed to accomplish the great work of temple building in these early struggling days of the Church.

Missionary work. Though in Section 25 of the Doctrine and Covenants woman is given the right and almost the command to "expound scriptures," the writer did not find many references to her asserting herself in a missionary capacity.

At an early date a few wives accompanied their husbands into the mission field. On June 1, 1831, Willard Richards went to Richmond, Massachusetts, and took his family with him.36 In 1835, Elder Patten took his wife with him to Tennessee.37 On February 16, 1837, John E. Page left Kirtland for his mission in Canada taking his wife and two children with him.38 A Brother Thompson and his wife left Kirtland on June 13, 1837, for a mission in

38. Ibid., p. 57.
Canada. 39

There is nothing to indicate that these women did active missionary work. From the following extract from a letter written by Orson Hyde to his wife Marinda, from Preston, England, on September 14, 1837, it seems that the Prophet advised at least the Elders going to England to leave their wives at home:

If Brother Joseph never advised correctly before, he certainly did when he advised the brethren to leave their women at home. My humble advice is, that if they have any compassion on their wives, let them for God's sake and for their wives' sake leave them at home. 40

In 1840, Parley Pratt took his wife, his wife's sister, his wife's daughter, and his two sons with him to England. They remained there for two years. 41 The wife of Erastus Snow was with him in Rhode Island in 1842. 42 In November of 1843, Brigham Young wrote Elder John E. Page: "When you have built a church at Washington so as to warrant the expense. It will be wisdom for you to send or take your wife to Washington; so says President Joseph." 43

43. Joseph Smith, op. cit., VI, 82.
Wilford Woodruff took his family to England with him in 1845.44

Lucy Smith, the mother of the Prophet, records two incidents which show that she asserted herself in proselyting when the opportunity presented itself. While on a boat on the way to Detroit with five others it was decided that nothing should be said about religion, but later it was proposed by Hyrum Smith that Mother Smith should be allowed to say just what she pleased, and if she got into difficulty the elders would help her. She was soon in conversation with a woman to whom she explained the Book of Mormon. While visiting in Pontiac on this same trip, Mother Smith visited her brother's widow and preached to her at great length and convinced her of the truth of the Gospel.45 On a previous boat trip when a group of eighty were on their way to Kirtland, Lucy Smith took charge of the entire party, providing for both the temporal and spiritual needs of the group. When she met some brethren from Colesville at Buffalo she asked them if they had said they were Mormons. They told her that they had not and that she must not mention her


45. Lucy Smith, Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and his Progenitors for Many Generations, pp. 188 ff.
religion. She immediately retorted that she would tell the people precisely who she was. 46

Other activities. When the Church was only four months old, Emma Smith was appointed by revelation to act as scribe for the Prophet and prepare a selection of hymns. The histories of the Church do not indicate to what extent she functioned in the capacity of scribe. The selection of hymns, as commanded, was made and in 1835 a hymn book was printed in Kirtland bearing the title page: "A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Church of Latter Day Saints, Selected by Emma Smith." Ninety hymns were in this collection. A second edition of this selection of hymns was published in 1841 in Nauvoo, Illinois. 47

Although these early hymn books do not indicate the composers of the hymns, Webb states that there were compositions of Eliza R. Snow in the first edition; one specially mentioned is "Great is the Lord; 'Tis Good to Praise." 48 The well-known Mormon hymn "O My Father" was

46. Ibid., p. 176.


48. Ibid., p. 27
written by Eliza R. Snow early in 1843. Its first appearance in a hymn book of the Church was in 1851 in a European edition. Writings of Eliza R. Snow appeared occasionally in the contemporary publications of the Church.

Among the interesting activities of women is the leadership of Lucy Smith in the building of a school house in Kirtland. This was evidently during the time when Joseph and Hyrum were with the Zion's Camp expedition in Missouri. When the brethren left, the building which was to serve as a meeting-house and school had been started and was left in the hands of Reynolds Cahoon. As the summer went on, however, nothing was done to complete the structure, so Lucy Smith with the consent of her husband wrote a subscription paper and took it from home to home. She then hired workmen. Her initiative seemed to be questioned and a council was called. After three hours deliberation "it was voted that mother Smith should go on, and finish the house as she thought proper."49 When the work was finished she was only six dollars short.

49. Lucy Smith, op. cit., pp. 198-200.
III. WOMEN IN EDUCATION IN THE CHURCH

In American history, education had its beginning in the churches. While at the time Mormonism was growing, the separation between church and school was rapidly being accomplished in the eastern states, it is quite natural that a new religion in pioneer country should follow the older pattern. Mormonism encompassed all of life and anything pertaining thereto was the concern of the Church. It is therefore of interest to this problem to note the extent to which women participated in the educational program sponsored by the Church.

Elementary education. As early as June, 1831, a commandment was given by revelation to W. W. Phelps to assist Oliver Cowdery in the selection and writing of books for schools in the Church. On January 24, 1832, at a conference in Jackson County, Missouri, Oliver Cowdery, Wm. W. Phelps and John Correl were appointed to superintend the schools of the Church in that land. 50 Though there appears to have been a delay in accomplishing what the Prophet had instructed to be done, in June of 1832 he again urged that the matter be taken care of, but in the meantime, he instructed parents and guardians in the Church to see

that children were instructed. Elementary education in
the United States had long been given equally to boys and
girls, so it is natural that this plan should have been
followed in the Church. Helen Mar Whitney related that
during the spring of 1836 she attended a school taught by
Eliza R. Snow at a house adjoining the dwelling-house of
the Prophet. The Book of Mormon was one of their texts. 51
This was a school for young ladies.

That elementary schools were also coeducational is
indicated by Mrs. Whitney:

The second winter after my father left us we were
once more in the enjoyment of health. William and I
attended school taught in a room belonging to Brother
Winchester by Justin Johnson brother to Mrs. Marinda
Hyde, who was living in our neighborhood. . . . 52

Emily D. P. Young tells of the schools in Missouri:

About the first thing the Saints did after provid-
ing shelter for their families, was to start a school
for their children. The first school I remember at-
tending was in a log cabin in Jackson County. The
school was taught by Miss Nancy Carl, a young woman
belonging to our Church. 53

In Nauvoo when the Board of Regents adopted the
books for the Common Schools in December of 1841, there

51. Helen Mar Whitney "Life Incidents," Woman's
Exponent, IX (April 15, 1881), 170.

52. Ibid., X (August 1, 1881), p. 34.

53. Emily D. P. Young, "Autobiography," Woman's
Exponent, XIII (November 15, 1884), 103.
was a girl's reading book as well as a boy's. Aurelia Spencer Rogers tells of attending a school taught by her father in Nauvoo where she met Mary Ann Stearns and Ellen Pratt. She would have been about 10 or 11 at this time.

**Women as teachers.** School teaching on the elementary level seems to have been somewhat common among Mormon women. Mary Fielding Smith writing to her sister, Mrs. Mercy R. Thompson from Kirtland in 1837 states: "I am now teaching school which I took for one month. . . ." Eliza R. Snow taught "a select school of young ladies" in Kirtland in 1836, served as governess to the children of the Prophet in 1837, and in 1839 went to Commerce to teach the family school of Elder Rigdon. Eliza R. Snow is credited with being the first woman school teacher in the Church. Helen Mar Whitney speaks of attending a school in Far West taught by Brother Jesse Haven and his sister, and also an English woman by the name of Eliza Monroe who taught a school of young ladies during the summer. Mary Ann

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59. Ibid., p. 73.
Stearns Winters mentions attending a school in Nauvoo taught by Miss Alvira Wheeler.\textsuperscript{60} Zina D. Huntington Young also taught school in Nauvoo.\textsuperscript{61} Emily D. P. Young in her autobiography stated that while she was living with Joseph and Emma Smith they gave her the privilege of attending a school during the summer of 1841 taught by Brother and Sister Coray.\textsuperscript{62} She was about seventeen at this time.

A young woman referred to as Sister Malissa in 1843, when about 19 years of age, attended school in Nauvoo: "She spent most of the following winter in his (Joseph Smith's) family, going to school in the so-called brick store. The Prophet's children, Joseph, Frederick, and Alexander, went to the same school, under the immediate watchcare of Sister Malissa."\textsuperscript{63} From this quotation it would seem that the school must have been mostly of an elementary nature.

An attempt at certification of teachers for common schools was attempted in Nauvoo. Teachers were required

\textsuperscript{60} Susa Young Gates, \textit{op. cit.}, III, 580.

\textsuperscript{61} "Centennial of President Zina D. Huntington Young," \textit{Relief Society Magazine}, VIII (March, 1921), 132.

\textsuperscript{62} Emily D. P. Young, "Autobiography," \textit{Woman's Exponent}, XIV (August 1, 1885), 37.

\textsuperscript{63} Jensen, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 119.
to procure a certificate of competency from the chancellor and the registrar of the University before they could be recognized by the wardens in the various ward schools.

**Secondary education.** It is hard to determine to just what extent any of the education sponsored by the Church might fall into this category. In February of 1835 there appeared in the *Messenger and Advocate* the following notice:

The spring term of the "Kirtland School" will commence on the 20th of April next. Young gentlemen and ladies from a distance can obtain board, in respectable families for $1.00 to $1.25 per week.

The Trustees of this institution design introducing the higher branches of English literature, at as early a period as possible.64

It would seem from this notice that the intent was to offer something above the ordinary common school. A report of the work of this school up to February 25, 1835, states that at first both large and small were received but due to crowded conditions all the small students were dismissed. The subjects presented were penmanship, arithmetic, English grammar, and geography. This would classify it more as an elementary than a secondary school. The notice does imply that advanced work was to be given dur-

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64. "Notice," *Messenger and Advocate*, I (February, 1835), 80.
ing the following term. But the significant point is that whatever was being offered was for young women as well as for young men.

In the winter of 1836-1837 the "Kirtland High School" met in the attic story of the Temple. Inasmuch as mathematics and languages were in the curriculum, it is probable that part of the work offered here was of a secondary quality.

From minutes of a High Council meeting held on March 24, 1838, it appears that evening schools for young men and young women had been tried. They were being disapproved because of the lightmindedness of the students. One young man had been seen to hug a girl and another had winked at one as she went to get some water.

That older women too may have participated in some form of schooling is indicated by the following extract from a letter written by Elder William E. Mc'LeIIin to his wife:

You say that it will not be in your power to go to school this summer. I am glad that it is not, since Elder Hyde has returned and given me a description of the manner in which it is conducted, though we do not wish to cast any reflections.

When this matter was discussed by the Twelve the

school in question was referred to as "President Rigdon's school."68

In the February 1837 issue of the Messenger and Advocate there appeared an article addressed to "Young Men of Kirtland" which urges them to study, to brush away the cobwebs and improve their intellectual facilities. This is immediately followed by an article by Hannah Moore which discussed the education of females, stressing the importance of character training.69

Higher education. The charter of Nauvoo signed by the Governor of Illinois on November 16, 1840, provided for a University wherein the arts, sciences, and learned professions might be taught. The chancellor, registrar, regents, president, and professors named were all men, though the plan was elaborate it does not seem that there was an opportunity for it to materialize to any considerable extent. Inherent in the plan, however, was the provision for higher education and equal opportunities for young women with young men. In the Millennial Star it is stated that: "The benefits of this institution are accessible to all the citizens on equal and reasonable terms."70

68. Ibid., p. 283.

69. "Messenger and Advocate, III (February, 1837), 455-56.

In his inaugural address, Mayor John C. Bennett, in speaking of education and the University, commented on the education of girls generally, which would indicate that there certainly was no thought of excluding them from any of the educational offerings in Nauvoo.\textsuperscript{71}

Women do not seem to have been allowed to participate in the School of the Prophets and the School of the Elders. These were instituted in Kirtland as early as 1832. Their primary purpose was to school the priesthood for proselyting. This, of course, was a common practice in religions of the day. Many of the frontier colleges were founded for the explicit purpose of helping to train ministerial leadership. English grammar, geography, history, and Hebrew were among the subjects taught, as well as lectures given on theology.

Investigation of the Mormon philosophy of education during the period studied shows that equal educational opportunities were intended for men and women. Only in the School of the Prophets and the School of the Elders were women not included and this no doubt was due to the fact that these schools were considered to be primarily for priesthood training.

\textsuperscript{71} Joseph Smith, \textit{op. cit.}, IV, 289-291.
IV. WOMAN'S SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Franchise. As was pointed out in Chapter II the struggle for equal political rights for women in the United States was just beginning to gain momentum during the years 1830 to 1845. The Nauvoo Charter was therefore in keeping with the general practice throughout the nation in granting voting rights to male inhabitants. Section seven reads:

All free white male inhabitants, who are of the age of twenty one years, who are entitled to vote for State Officers, and who shall have been actual residents of the city sixty days next preceding said election, shall be entitled to vote for City Officers.72

There does not appear to have been any discussion regarding woman's being granted equal franchise in Nauvoo.

As stated in the preceding section, women were not appointed in any executive capacity in connection with the educational system.

The following accounts indicate participation in civic demonstrations. In a lecture delivered in Salem, Mr. J. B. Newhall tells of a military display in Nauvoo in which six ladies appeared on horses with white feathers or plumes waving over black velvet, riding up and down in front of the Legion.73 Bennett tells of ladies' presenting to the le-

73. Ibid., V, 432.
gion a beautiful silk flag they had made. He conducted them to Lieutenant General Smith who alighted from his charger and walked up to them. The ladies presented the flag and made an appropriate address.\textsuperscript{74}

**Family relationships.** Joseph Smith and other Church leaders taught that the man is head of the family; the wife and children are to obey the father; the husband and father is to be kind to the wife and children. In 1835, Joseph Smith admonished the elders to recognize and respect this order:

And secondly, it is the duty of Elders, when they enter into any house, to let their labors and warning voice be unto the master of that house; and if he receive the Gospel, then he may extend his influence to his wife also, with consent, that peradventure she may receive the Gospel; but if a man receive not the Gospel, but gives his consent that his wife may receive it, and she believes, then let her receive it. But if a man forbid his wife, or his children before they are of age, to receive the Gospel, then it should be the duty of the Elder to go his way, and use no influence against him, and let the responsibility be upon his head: shake off the dust of thy feet as a testimony against him, and thy skirts shall then be clear of their souls.\textsuperscript{75}

This concept, of course, makes man responsible for the salvation of his wife. It is wondered if the instruction given by the Prophet in 1842 to the women, wherein he

\textsuperscript{74} John C. Bennett, *History of the Saints*, p. 29.

\textsuperscript{75} Joseph Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 263.
stated that from that time on they would be responsible for their own sins, was intended to be a modification of this doctrine.

The Prophet further stated that if the master of that house gave his consent, the Elder may preach to his family, his wife, his children and his servants, or his slaves. He admonished fathers to be kind to their children, husbands to their wives, masters to their slaves or servants; children to be obedient to their parents, wives to their husbands, and slaves or servants to their masters. He continues:

Wives, submit yourselves to your own husbands, as unto the Lord, for the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church; and He is the Savior of the body . . .

Wives, submit yourselves to your own husbands, as it is fit in the Lord. Husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter against them . . .”

Three years later, in 1838, similar instruction appears again:

It is the place of the man to stand at the head of his family, and be lord of his own house, not to rule over his wife as a tyrant, neither as one who is fearful or jealous that his wife will get out of her place, and prevent him from exercising his authority . . . .

And on the other hand, it is the duty of the wife, to be in subjection to her husband at all times, not as a servant, neither as one who fears a tyrant, or a master,

76. Ibid.; 263-64.
but as one, who, in meekness, and the love of God, regards the laws and institutions of Heaven, looks up to her husband for instruction, edification, and comfort. 77

Brigham Young, in 1841, in writing to the editor of the Star about family prayer states: "Let the head of the family dictate; I mean the man, not the woman." 78

In speaking to the Relief Society in 1842, the Prophet exhorted the sisters to have faith in and pray for their husbands "whom God has appointed for them to honor." A few years later than this period Lorenzo Snow stated: "It requires greater exertion on the part of wives to learn than it is for husbands, because women have not the degree of light and knowledge that their husbands have . . . . 79

Woman's position might be seen in the light of the answer which Joseph Smith gave when General Law asked him why the sun was called by a masculine name and the moon by a feminine one:

I replied that the root of masculine is stronger, and of feminine weaker. The sun is a governing planet to certain planets, while the moon borrows her light from the sun, and is less or weaker. 80


78. Joseph Smith, op. cit., IV, 309.


80. Joseph Smith, op. cit., V, 211.
Marriage. Some minor sects of this period were condemning the orthodox marriage pattern. The Shakers forbade it. John Humphrey Noyes was formulating his theory of complex marriage. In the philosophy of Mormonism, however, from its very beginning, marriage was considered to be God ordained. Then the introduction of the principle of eternal marriage gave it a new status. When marriage was considered binding for the hereafter as well as for this life, it naturally took on new significance. It was the principle of celestial marriage, however, which most affected the status of woman.

President Brigham Young at the April Conference in 1845 spoke regarding celestial marriage as follows:

And I would say, as no man can be perfect without the woman, so no woman can be perfect without a man to lead her. I tell you the truth as it is in the bosom of eternity, and I say so to every man upon the face of the earth—if he wishes to be saved, he cannot be saved without a woman by his side. 31

Under such a doctrine, woman became essential to man's exaltation. If man wished to attain the highest exaltation in the celestial kingdom, he would have to have a woman by his side. If a man wished to eternally progress and become a God, he would have to have a woman who was worthy to progress with him. This placed woman in a new

31. "Speech Delivered by President B. Young," Millennial Star, VI (October 1, 1845), 121.
light. She was no longer only a home-maker. She was
now essential to man's ultimate glory; she was now an
eternal traveling companion who must be worthy and capable
of traveling with man. There was no possibility of de-
ferring this ordinance until the next life. Marriages
had to be made on this earth. Speaking of the everlasting
covenant Joseph Smith said: "a man and his wife must enter
into that covenant in the world, or he will have no claim
on her in the next world."82 Unmarried men and women in
the next life were to be only servants and ministering
angels.

Theoretically, at least, marriage seems to have
been established on an equal basis in Mormon philosophy.
The first marriage ceremony presented to the Church for
approval did not include the word "honor" nor "obey."
It seems to require the same pledges from both the man and
the woman:

You both mutually agree to be each other's com-
panion, husband and wife, observing the legal rights
belonging to this condition: that is, keeping your-
selves wholly for each other, and from all others,
during your lives? And when they have both answered
"yes," he shall pronounce them "husband and wife,"
in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by virtue
of the laws of the country and authority vested in
him.83

A later ceremony which includes the eternal marriage

provision is equally impartial. The wording is practically the same for the man as for the woman.

**Plural marriage.** A discussion of marriage and family relationships naturally brings us to the unique feature of marriage in Mormonism—polygamy. How early in Church history this doctrine was in the mind of the Prophet, of course, is now known. Whitmer in his history of the Church states that in the fall of 1836, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and others "lusted after the forbidden things of God, such as covetousness, and in secret combinations, spiritual-wife doctrine, that is plurality of wives."\(^84\)

In the revelation given in March of 1831 the Prophet said: "Wherefore, it is lawful that he (man) should have one wife, and they twain shall be one flesh, and all this that the earth might answer the end of its creation; . . ."\(^85\) The "Article on Marriage" accepted by the Church in August of 1836 states that "We believe that one man should have one wife, and one woman but one husband, except in case of death, when either is at liberty to marry again."\(^86\) Under date of May 8, 1838, Joseph Smith records answers to cer-

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86. *Joseph Smith, op. cit.*, II, 247.
tain questions which had been asked of him. One question and the answer given is: "Do the Mormons believe in hav-
ing more wives than one? No, not at the same time. But they believe that if their companion dies, they have a right to marry again...." 87

References indicate that by 1842 the doctrine of plural marriage was taught by the Prophet Joseph Smith. Emily Young, who was sealed to Joseph Smith states: "The first intimation I had from Brother Joseph that there was a pure and holy order of marriage, was in the spring of 1842, but I was not married until 1843. 88 Sarah M. Kim-
ball bears the same testimony: "Early in the year 1842, Joseph Smith taught me the principle of marriage for eternity, and the doctrine of plural marriage. 89

The doctrine, however, was only taught to a few during this year. An article which appeared in the Millennial Star in August of 1842 indicates this:

But, for the information of those who may be assailed by those foolish tales about the two wives, we would say that no such principle ever existed. among the Latter-day Saints, and never will; this is well known to all who are acquainted with our books and actions, the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants;

87. Ibid., p. 28
88. Emily D. P. Young, op. cit., XIV (August 1, 1885), 37.
and also all our periodicals are very strict and explicit on that subject, indeed far more so than the Bible. 90

It was not until July of 1843 that the revelation regarding this doctrine was committed to writing. On August 12, 1843, the revelation was read before the High Council and Presidency of the Stake of Nauvoo and all were urged to accept the law.

That many women were sealed to the Prophet Joseph Smith and other church leaders during the years 1842 and 1843, is a well-established fact. In an account of the life of Artemisia Beaman Snow it is stated that her sister Louisa was the first woman married in this order of marriage, being the second wife of the Prophet Joseph Smith, and that her sister Mary Adeline Noble bore the first child in this order. 91 Mrs. Newel K. Whitney states that her seventeen-year-old daughter who was sealed to the Prophet was the first woman given in plural marriage with the consent of both parents. 92

As pointed out in Chapter III, the revelation on this doctrine states that a husband must obtain the con-


91. "In Memoriam," Woman's Exponent, XI (January 1, 1883), 117.

sent of his wife before he may take a second wife, that if she refuses she shall be destroyed, and the Lord may give other wives unto him. The promise for obedience to this law is exaltation in the hereafter. That woman was threatened with destruction if she did not enter into this order of marriage would lead one to feel that fear might have been a strong factor in influencing women. Testimonies indicate that women wrestled with the problem and accepted this new doctrine because they believed it was an order from God and would bring celestial glory. Phoebe W. Carter Woodruff states that when she first heard of plural marriage she thought it was the most wicked thing she had ever heard of and opposed it with all her ability until she became sick and wretched; she wrestled with God in prayer but the answer finally came and she knew that this was the will of God.93

Bathsheba Smith became convinced that this doctrine was from God and, in her own words, "having a fixed determination to attain to celestial glory. . . and believing it was for my husband's exaltation that he should obey. . . I had given to my husband five wives. . . ."94 It was an implicit faith in "Thus saith the Lord" that

93. Crocheron, op. cit., p. 37
made it possible for the women to accept this principle. Bathsheba Smith continues by saying: "To say that it was no cross to these Mormon wives—daughters of the strictest Puritan parentage—would be to mock their experience." 95

Eliza R. Snow expresses the same thought:

It seemed for a while as though all the traditions, prejudices, and superstitions of my ancestry, for many generations accumulated before me in one immense mass; but God, who had kept silence for centuries was speaking; I knew it, and had covenanted in the waters of baptism to live by every word of his, and my heart was still firmly set to do his bidding.96

There were also women who did not accept this practice as a commandment of God. Emma Smith was among this group. Though at first she accepted or condoned the principle, before it was placed in written form she had rejected it. Speaking of the Prophet, Emily D. P. Young states:

I was married to him on the 11th of May, 1843, by Elder James Adams and Emma was present. She gave her free and full consent. She had always, up to this time, been very kind to me and my sister Eliza, who was also married to the Prophet Joseph with Emma's consent, but ever after she was our enemy. She used every means in her power to injure us in the eyes of her husband, and before strangers, and in consequence of her abuse, we were obliged to leave the Mansion House, and expected to leave the city to gratify her, but things were overruled otherwise, and we remained in Nauvoo. . . . Emma about this time gave her husband two other wives—Maria and Sarah

95. Tullidge, op. cit., p. 169.
96. Ibid., p. 206.
Lawrence. 97

It was Hyrum Smith who urged his brother Joseph to place the revelation in written form in July of 1843, offering to take it to Emma and convince her of its truth. He brought it back to Joseph, however, stating that he had never had a more severe talking to. 98

When one of the men complained to the Prophet about the things that Emma had been telling his wife, Joseph said: "Brother Taylor, sister Emma would dethrone Jehovah himself, if she could, for the accomplishment of her purposes." 99

Much of the anti-Mormon literature is based on the practice of polygamy. In Bennett's History of the Saints many documents are given purporting to relate to affairs between Joseph Smith, Mrs. Orson Pratt, a Mrs. Schindle, and Nancy Rigdon, all of whom did not accept the teachings of the Prophet.

John C. Bennett who was disfellowshipped from the Church in 1842 because of immoral conduct gives a lengthy discussion of three orders in which women in Nauvoo were supposed to be placed: The Cyprian Saints, or those of

97. Emily D. P. Young, op. cit., XIV (August 1, 1885), 37.

98. Joseph Smith, op. cit., V, pp. xxxii-xxxiii

the White Veil who were supposed to be convicted by the Female Relief Society of immoral conduct and thereafter held at the command of the trustworthy members of the Church; The Chambered Sisters of Charity, or Saints of the Green Veil, women who had special permission of the Prophet to indulge in sexual relationships without restraint; and the Consecratees of the Cloister, or Saints of the Black Veil, who were the women specially consecrated to particular individuals as spiritual wives.

This type of anti-Mormon literature did much to debase the Mormon woman in the minds of the non-Mormons. This was not seriously felt, however, until a later period.

As discussed in Chapter III there is inherent in the doctrine of celestial marriage and the promises for obedience to the law of "the new and everlasting covenant" an equalizing concept. The dependence of man and woman upon each other for celestial glory and the sharing of the highest exaltation together do place woman on an equal basis with man. That some men of this early period caught this vision is shown by the following written by Parley P. Pratt:

It was Joseph Smith who taught me how to prize the endearing relationships of father and mother, husband and wife; of brother and sister, son and daughter.
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 affections 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.

It was from him that I learned the true dignity and destiny of a son of God, clothed with an eternal priesthood, as a patriarch and sovereign of his countless offspring. It was from him I learned that the highest dignity of womanhood was, to stand as a queen and priestess to her husband, and to reign for ever and ever as the queen mother of her numerous and still increasing offspring.

I had loved before but I knew not why. But now I loved—with a pureness—an intensity of elevated, exalted feeling, which would lift my soul from the transitory things of this grovelling sphere and expand it as the ocean. I felt that God was my heavenly Father indeed; that Jesus was my brother, and that the wife of my bosom was an immortal, eternal companion; a kind ministering angel, given to me as a comfort, and a crown of glory for ever and ever. In short, I could now love with the spirit and with the understanding also.

V. SUMMARY

The participation of Mormon women in the general activities of the Church and community do show a definite increase during the years 1830 to 1845.

Women taught Sunday School classes in both the Kirtland and the Nauvoo periods. In the Kirtland period

these classes did not appear to be initiated by the Church authorities but in Nauvoo the Prophet Joseph Smith ordered their organization and called women to assist. In 1842 the Female Relief Society was organized in Nauvoo. This was the first opportunity granted to women to serve in an executive capacity in the Church. They were given the right to conduct their own organization on democratic principles, subject however to the guidance of God which was to be manifested through the priesthood held by the men of the Church. This organization provided an opportunity for the leaders of the Church to speak directly to women and through these addresses women’s place in the Church began to be defined.

Also in the Nauvoo period the Young Gentlemen and Ladies Relief Society was formed. The young women had membership in this organization but the direction and authority in the organization appeared to rest with the male members.

Women assisted in sewing and providing needed materials for the Kirtland temple. In addition to these activities, through an organized Penny Subscription drive they raised funds to assist in the construction of the Nauvoo temple.

Educational opportunities provided by the Church
seemed to be for both sexes, except in the School of the Prophets and the School of the Elders which were for missionary training. Many women taught in the elementary schools of both periods.

Many women accompanied their husbands into the mission field in both periods but do not appear to have actively participated in proselyting. Some women were active in certain capacities. Lucy Smith, the mother of the Prophet, was energetic in doing her part in spreading the Gospel. In Kirtland she took the initiative in seeing that the school and meeting house was completed. Two editions of the hymn book of the Church bear the notation that the hymns were selected by Emma Smith. Writings of Eliza R. Snow were recognized early in Church publications.

Woman's right to vote does not appear to have been considered in the formation of the Nauvoo Charter. She did participate, however, in civic demonstrations. The women of Nauvoo also presented a petition to the Governor of Illinois.

The marriage ceremonies used in the Church did not bear the words "honor and obey" for the woman. Church leaders, however, made it clear in their instructions that the man was to stand at the head of his wife and family and it was their duty to obey him. Missionaries were not
allowed to preach the Gospel to any married woman without the consent of her husband. This to a considerable extent placed woman's salvation in the hands of her husband. In 1842, however, the Prophet told the women that from that time forward they were responsible for their own sins.

The introduction of the laws of celestial marriage and plurality of wives gave woman a new status. Under the law of celestial marriage man's salvation is to some extent dependent upon her. She may rise with him to the highest degree of glory in the hereafter and become a "queen." Under the practice of polygamy she held the key by which she might grant her husband the right to take other wives, thereby adding to his possibility to exaltation as well as to her own. Women of the Nauvoo period entered into this practice with the faith that it was the commandment of the Lord upon which future blessings were predicated.

The actual effect of the doctrine and practice of eternal and celestial marriage and polygamy on the status of woman in Mormonism cannot be measured in the period covered by this study due to the fact that these principles were made public less than a year before the death of the Prophet Joseph Smith. It is of interest to note, however, that within a two-year period--1842-1844--there appear
the first teachings of the doctrine of celestial marriage and plurality of wives, followed by the establishment of the first woman's organization in the Church, the ordaining of women to positions of leadership, the bestowing of authority to administer in certain ordinances of the Church, and the admission of woman to the ordinances of the endowment.

In the Kirtland period of the Church there is very little mention of woman in the histories and contemporary publications. In the Nauvoo period she comes into considerable prominence through participation in the auxiliaries, participation in the ordinances of the Church, and because of her important part in the new doctrine of celestial marriage and plurality of wives.
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND MARGINAL PROBLEMS

In this study of woman's status in the philosophy of Mormonism, the writer, after a presentation of the problem, presented in Chapter II data which indicate (1) the frontier environment in which Mormonism had its beginning and early growth, (2) the status of woman in the general culture of the United States during the years 1830 to 1845, and (3) the status of woman in the various religious sects of this period.

In Chapter III the data presented outline the status of woman in Mormon theology of the selected period. Chapters IV and V present data from which can be determined the official place accorded woman in the Mormon Church by Church leaders and the functional place she assumed in the church and community during these years.

From these data the writer has attempted (1) to determine the status of woman in the philosophy of Mormonism during the years 1830 to 1845 as defined by the theology of the Church and as indicated by the practices within the Church during this period; (2) to determine to what extent woman's status in the Church changed during the selected period and to analyze the causes of such changes; and
(3) to evaluate the position of woman in the philosophy of Mormonism by comparing the Mormon woman's status with that of women generally in the United States and of women in other religious sects of the period.

I. WOMAN'S STATUS AS DEFINED BY THEOLOGY AND PRACTICES OF THE CHURCH

The data presented indicate that the status of woman in the philosophy of Mormonism during the years 1830 to 1845 was a developing process, both in the theology and practices of the Church. In the following section are discussed the ways in which the position of woman changed during this period. There are, however, a few specific concepts of woman's position in the Church and community which are definitely characteristic of the selected period.

First. Paul's admonitions that woman should be silent in the church, which men have used for centuries to restrict woman's participation, seemed to have their influence on the philosophy of Mormonism of this period. Woman did not occupy the pulpit in Mormon churches; she was not ordained to the ministry nor officially called to do missionary work. Church leaders quoted Paul in answer to questions regarding woman's place in the Church. According to the Prophet Joseph Smith, woman had no right to found nor organize
a church, nor had she any right to accuse or rebuke any
of the brethren, nor to usurp any authority in the church.

In a revelation from God, however, woman was told
that she should be ordained to exhort the Church and expound
scripture as the spirit directed. Precept, therefore, seems
to have been more liberal than practice. Woman's partici-
pation in regular church services appears to have been
limited to testimony bearing in the individual churches
and singing in the choirs. Lucy Smith's address to the con-
ference in 1845 is an exception to this general practice.

Second. Authority in Church government rested with
the priesthood which could not be bestowed upon woman. The
Church had extended the priesthood to all worthy male mem-
bers of or above the age of twelve years. This was a great
innovation for the period inasmuch as in other sects the
priesthood was usually held only by a select group. In this
liberalism, woman had not been included. Near the end of
the period studied there developed an idea of woman's sharing
the priesthood with her husband. Women were ordained to
lay on hands and anoint for the healing of the sick; women
were anointed to be priestesses. There seemed to be a ten-
dency toward giving to woman a place in the priesthood plan.

Inasmuch as woman could not hold the priesthood, she
could not, of course, hold an executive position in the
general Church organization. Even in a joint organization such as the Young Gentlemens and Ladies Relief Society the authority rested entirely with the male members. Only in her separate organization was she given a position of leadership, and then it was specified that this was under the direction and guidance of the priesthood. Mormon scripture stated that the business of the Church should be conducted by the priesthood of the Church in special quarterly meetings, while again it stated that everything in the Church should be done by common consent of the "church." Practice of the period seemed to tend toward increasingly greater participation of women in voting in general assemblies on important Church business.

Third. In the educational philosophy of the Church there was not any discrimination between sexes. Except in the schools established for priesthood training, boys and girls, men and women were given equal opportunities. Women participated in teaching in the elementary schools to a considerable extent.

Fourth. Church leaders taught that the patriarchal order in the family was God ordained. Man was head of the family and his wife and children were to be obedient to him. Women were to honor their husbands and administer to their needs. Man was considered stronger spiritually and intellec-
tually than woman. The holding of the priesthood helped to justify this belief. These concepts, however, were expressed more liberally by the men of the Church than they were in the scripture. Woman as symbolized by Eve in the "Book of Moses" stood side by side with man whether working in the field or worshiping God. In the concept of eternal progression as given in The Doctrine and Covenants, man and woman must travel together. Man and wife are dependent upon each other for exaltation. Mormon marriage ceremonies did not contain the phrase "obey."

Fifth. Man had definite responsibilities to woman. By scripture man was commanded to love his wife and cleave unto her and none else. Men were to support their wives and families, and when husbands died or were sent into the mission field, it was the responsibility of the Church to support them. If men in the mission field received gifts of money, they were commanded to send them to their families.

Sixth. Church history and other records indicate that whenever women of the Church asked for recognition or privileges such requests were granted. Church responsibilities were assigned to Emma Smith four months after the organization of the Church. When Lucy Smith asked to be allowed to supervise the completion of the school and meeting house in Kirtland, the brethren gave their consent. When Lucy
Smith wanted to preach to the passengers on the boat going to Detroit, the elders agreed that she should be allowed to do so. When the women suggested that they be allowed to organize in Nauvoo, the leaders of the Church took over the responsibility of the organizing and during the existence of the organization gave the women their full support. Women were highly praised for the contributions which they made in the temple building projects.

It is possible, of course, that incidents where their requests were granted were more apt to be recorded than times when they were ignored. George A. Smith\(^1\) indicates that women did complain when only men were admitted to the temple in Kirtland for certain temple ordinances.

**Seventh.** Basically there seems to be inherent in the philosophy of Mormonism in the years 1830 to 1845 a spirit of equality between man and woman. When measured strictly by the concept of equality as interpreted in civil life, this may not be too apparent. However, when one goes to Mormon theology which after all is the heart of its philosophy, one finds fundamental concepts which gave woman an important status. That these were not fully comprehended during this period and totally reflected in the culture was perhaps due to the background of the men and women who constituted the membership of the Church, or perhaps to an insufficient time for these

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\(^1\) George A. Smith, *Journal of Discourses*, II, 216.
concepts to mature. However, important roots of woman's equality are there:

A. Man and woman were subject to the same moral code.

B. Woman was acknowledged as having the right to receive direction from the Lord and to exercise the gifts of the Holy Ghost such as speaking in tongues, healing the sick, etc.

C. Woman was assured that she might progress throughout eternity and reach the highest degree of glory with her husband. She might become a God with him. She might become a "queen."

D. The principle of eternal and celestial marriage made it important to the man that woman progressed upon this earth, worked out her own salvation in order that she might be worthy to travel with him in the hereafter.

E. If woman did not marry it is true that she could not obtain the highest exaltation, but neither could the unmarried man. Neither man nor woman could participate in the highest temple ordinances without the other.

F. In the principle of polygamy, which was considered by the world to be degrading to woman, woman was given the right to accept or reject the principle for herself and her husband. Though her objection might be "overruled by the Lord," yet the fact that man must consult woman and to a
considerable extent wait upon her decision, gave woman an important status in this era of Church history. Though in entering the practice of polygamy, women of this period recognized that they were making a social sacrifice this was comparatively insignificant in the longer range view of eternal exaltation for themselves and their husbands.

II. PROGRESS IN WOMAN'S STATUS

As has been stated, the status of woman in the philosophy of Mormonism became more definitely defined as the Church grew in experience and doctrinal understanding. From the data presented it is evident that during the years 1830 to 1845 her place in Mormon philosophy became more important. Her changing status is indicated by the following:

First. While during the early years of the Church official conferences were called primarily for the elders and brethren, by 1837 most of the notices specified that the conferences were for the *members* of the Church. During the first six or seven years of the Church most of the notices in the publications of the day mentioned only the priesthood meetings. Notices during the latter part of the period, however, give considerably more importance to the meetings of the entire membership.
Second. While scripture and early practice indicate that the official business of the Church should be transacted by the "elders" as they assembled in quarterly conferences, by 1835 important business was presented to the Church membership and women instructed to vote thereon. While early history records instances of women's voting following the quorums of the priesthood, later practice was for the entire congregation to vote together.

Third. In 1836 in Kirtland, women were not allowed to participate in the temple ordinances which were there introduced. There is no mention at all in the period of woman's participating in these ordinances. By 1842, however, women were participating in the ordinances of baptism for the dead and the endowment. Women were anointed to be "priestesses" and many were called to be temple workers and given the power to anoint other women to be "queens" and "priestesses." The liberalism of this plan is significant. Brigham Young's instructions that women should wait until the men had had an opportunity to participate in the temple ordinances, however, indicates the prevailing concept of man's first importance.

Fourth. Though no mention of women's organizing was made in the Kirtland period, in 1842 in Nauvoo, Illinois, the Prophet Joseph Smith organized the Female Relief Society and stated that it was part of the divine plan of the Church.
Women were given the right to conduct their own organization under the direction of the priesthood.

Fifth. While very little mention was made of women in early sermons or instructions, after the organization of the Female Relief Society they were told that they might share the blessings of the priesthood with their husbands, that they were responsible for their own salvation, that they should discipline the women of the Church, and that they should be ordained to officiate in the ordinance of healing the sick.

The fact that the position of woman became strengthened as the Church progressed may be explained by the following factors:

The emphasis on the priesthood during the early years of the Church, to the exclusion of much mention of woman, was no doubt due to the fact that inasmuch as the Church was to be built on the priesthood plan of government, that foundation had first to be built securely. Most of the churches from which the Mormon leaders had come were clergy governed and the establishment of an order of government by those appointed to positions of authority was naturally considered of primary importance. With such emphasis on the priesthood it is natural that the concept of woman's place under such a plan would take time to mature.
The extending of more liberal voting privileges to women as the Church moved west might also have been influenced by the frontier environment. When men and women worked together, suffered, and struggled together, an equality such as that depicted between Adam and Eve in the "Book of Moses" may have been better understood.

The writer believes that the principle of eternal and celestial marriage greatly affected woman's status in Mormonism. Though the introduction of this principle came late in the period covered by this study, much of the liberalism of this period seemed to grow out of this doctrine. There are two theories either of which may explain its late introduction. The first is that the Lord did not see fit to reveal these principles until late in this era of Church history. The other is that even though these principles may have been revealed, it had not been wise to give them to the people because of their inability at that stage of development to accept these concepts. George A. Smith in a discourse given in Salt Lake Valley said that if the Lord on the day of the great solemn assembly in Kirtland temple had told the men that they could not be exalted to the celestial kingdom without a woman, they would have risen up shouting that they did not believe it; and that if at the same time they had been told that in the eternity they might have two wives, they no doubt
would have all apostatized. Perhaps the leveling influence of the frontier, the absorption of the ideas of equality which were forming throughout the United States, and the maturing of the democratic concepts in Mormonism were necessary before man could accept woman as an eternal partner.

III. COMPARISON WITH GENERAL STATUS OF WOMAN IN THE UNITED STATES

Because of the frontier environment in which Mormonism grew during the years 1830 to 1845, one might expect to find in its philosophy a more liberal concept of woman's rights and privileges than existed in the social structure of the older communities of the eastern states. Because of the physical hardships of the frontier, however, one cannot expect to find women asserting themselves in an organized form until the threats against mere existence had been overcome.

It is impossible to measure the effect of the growing agitation for women's rights in the United States on the forming philosophy of Mormonism. The first organized effort of women for the franchise and other recognition did not come until after the close of the period covered by this thesis. The writer, however, considers the "list of grievances" presented

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2. Smith, loc. cit.
at the first Woman's Rights Convention held in 1848 an excellent basis for the comparing of woman's place in Mormonism with her place in the general culture of the period.

The first objection of the women at the convention was the denial by society of equal franchise for women. Just what position women were to have in public life does not appear to have been clearly defined in Mormon philosophy up to 1845. When the Nauvoo charter was framed in 1840, it followed the prevailing custom of extending voting privileges to male citizens only. Church history does not indicate that there was any discussion on this point. As heretofore stated, women were allowed to vote in the Church. Mormon scripture stated that everything in the Church was to be done by common consent of the "church" which was generally interpreted to mean the entire membership. There are incidents recorded in Church minutes where women were specifically told to vote on the question of retention or expulsion of church leaders.

The second objection on the "list of grievances" was that women were subject to laws in the forming of which they had no voice. In the Nauvoo civil government there does not appear any indication that women had any place in the law-making or law-enforcing bodies. Liberalism is shown in

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3. This period is used because it represents the first distinctive Mormon community which it had been possible for the Church to establish.
the passing of a semi-civic law at a meeting at Far West in 1837 at which women were specifically told to vote. The entire congregation voted not to support stores and shops selling spirituous liquors, tea, coffee, or tobacco. In Church government most of the laws were believed to be God inspired so the human element of male or female was of little consequence. Mormon theology of and practice during this period, however, indicate that the formation, interpretation, and enforcement of laws rested with the quorums of the priesthood composed only of male members with women having only a possible confirmation vote.

The women further claimed that man had made woman morally an irresponsible being, that woman was compelled to promise obedience to her husband, and that he was understood to be her master. In the marriage ceremonies provided by Church leaders, the woman was not required to promise obedience to her husband. In their instructions and admonitions, however, Joseph Smith and others made it clear that woman was to be obedient and subject to her husband, that the gospel was not to be preached to woman without her husband's consent, and that he was head of the family.

Two other objections of the convention were that women were civilly dead and denied property rights. Mormon women
did not participate in civil government. The petition signed by 1,000 women and presented to Governor Carlin by Emma Smith and Eliza R. Snow was an attempt to be heard in civic government. The question of property rights does not seem to have been discussed in the Church. Women were told that in case of their husband's death, they may remain upon their inheritances as provided by law.

The complaint against the restriction of employment was not an issue in Mormon culture during this period due to the fact that their frontier environment offered no choice. In elementary school teaching, however, Mormon women seemed to follow the practice extant throughout the nation. That woman's place was in the home was stressed in an article entitled "Woman--At Home" which appeared in 1842 in The Wasp, a Nauvoo publication:

... Does she seek for honor? It lies in the honor she renders to her husband, "calling him lord," in her children, educated, and lead to the paths of usefulness and heaven; in her domestic arrangements the admiration of all. Does she seek for happiness? Where can she find it but in a peaceful home? The wife was appointed to make a home for man, to form the centre of his affections, and bind them there; to act constantly as oil upon the troubled waters of life...

For the period it seems that the claim of the convention that women were not given opportunities for education

was not entirely well founded as the data in Chapter II indicate. In Mormon philosophy the theory of equal educational opportunities for women seems to have kept abreast with the progress throughout the nation. While there were only seven colleges in the United States offering higher education for women in 1840, this principle was inherent in the charter of the Nauvoo University. While the first training school for teachers in the United States was opened in 1839, in Nauvoo early in the forties an attempt of certification of teachers was made.

The "list of grievances" stated that men and women were not subject to the same moral code. In the philosophy of Mormonism both men and women were expected to abide by the same code.

The women of the convention also objected to their exclusion from the ministry and church affairs. This phase is discussed in the following section.

As will be seen from the above, the position of Mormon women in the community and civic life of the period was in most instances comparable to that of women generally through the United States. There is no evidence that Mormon women enjoyed less freedom than did other women of the period and as shown in certain phases of life the Mormon woman enjoyed a preferable status.
IV. COMPARISON WITH STATUS OF WOMEN IN OTHER SECTS

In many respects the place of woman in Mormonism during the years 1830 to 1845 was similar to that of women in other religious groups, but there were some distinguishing features.

As in many churches of the period, women were often seated in separate sections of the churches. The practice of women's voting in the congregations of the individual Mormon churches was similar to the practice among the Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, Quakers, and other minor sects.

The higher circles of Church government were closed to Mormon women. In the older sects of the period, the quarterly and annual conferences were open only to the clergy, which was entirely male. In Mormonism the inner councils were for only the priesthood, also entirely male. In other sects, however, as lay representation in the conferences was granted, women were given an opportunity to serve in the council. In Mormonism the priesthood plan permanently excluded woman. In the newer sects such as the Shakers and Wilkinsonians women were given equal and often superior power to men in church government. Quaker women for years had been granted a voice in church government.
As to a place in the ministry, many sects were more liberal than was Mormonism during this period. The Shakers, Quakers, Wilkinsonians, and Irvingites are examples of those who permitted women to preach in their services. The older sects such as Methodism, Presbyterianism, etc., though not permitting women to be ordained to the ministry, by 1845 were sending many women out as missionaries. Many of these sects held separate meetings for the instruction of the women and to provide opportunities for the women to discuss the gospel. It was not until 1842 that anything similar to this was provided in Mormonism. Testimony bearing in general sessions was common to many groups as well as to the Mormons. While in Mormon scripture woman is told that she shall expound the scriptures and exhort the Church, little opportunity seems to have been given her during this period. She was not called to do active missionary service, nor from records available does it appear that she was called to participate in general church sessions. The address of Lucy Smith to the large conference assembly in 1845, however, indicates there was not marked prejudice against such a practice in the Church and the fact that there was not much comment about it may be an indication that it was not an entirely new experience in the Church.
Women's participation in Mormon church activities seems to have been similar to that of women in other churches. Sunday School teaching and young people's organizations were common to other churches. Women's participation in church sewing circles was general. The Penny Subscription Fund conducted by the women in Nauvoo was similar to the "Cent" missionary drives conducted by the women in many churches. The work of Mormon women at the temples is similar to the activities of women in other church building projects. Female organizations were common to churches of the period. Visiting the sick, caring for the needy, raising money needed in the church, and sewing were common objectives of these societies. The element of trial in the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo bears a resemblance to the separate meetings of the Quaker women. The claim of woman's organization being a part of the divine plan of the church, however, seems to be unique to Mormonism.

Ordination of women by the priesthood to administer to the sick is distinctive in Mormonism. This delegation of priesthood authority is significant in this period, as is also the anointing of women as "priestesses." Some orders for women had been established in the Catholic church in the United States prior to this time but the deaconess work in other churches was not begun until after 1845. Women were given
status in some of the minor sects. In Shakerism, for instance, women were appointed as "elderesses."

Woman's participation in the temple ordinances was unique. These ordinances were considered the highest possible in the Mormon church, yet they were extended equally to men and women, and in certain aspects could be enjoyed only together. The fact that woman participated in the administration as well as the receiving of the temple endowments is significant.

Functionally the position of woman in Mormonism during the years 1830 to 1845 was very similar to that of women in other sects. While much of Mormon theology of this period followed the Biblical priesthood of male dominance, some of the liberalism of the newer sects of the nineteenth century can be seen in church practices. While woman's separate activities were late in developing in Mormonism, the whole-hearted support given to them by the Church leaders indicates that physical conditions rather than theological prejudice were responsible for the delay.

As has been heretofore stated, the unique status given to woman in Mormonism came mostly with the introduction of the celestial marriage doctrine. This, however, came too late in the period treated by this thesis to be reflected in the general functions of the Church. As has been previously
pointed out, it is of interest to note that within the same year that the celestial marriage doctrine was introduced, at least to a part of the membership of the Church, the Female Relief Society was organized, women were given specific responsibilities and opportunities in Church activities, were ordained to officiate in certain ordinances, and admitted to participation in all of the temple ceremonies.

As stated in the preface, the writer has not attempted to prove any particular hypothesis regarding the status of the Mormon woman but has presented this historical description of the developing concept of woman's place in the philosophy of Mormonism during the years 1830 to 1845 as a basis for further study in this area of research.

V. MARGINAL PROBLEMS

In the research incident to the preparation of this thesis the writer has become conscious of a number of marginal problems which are related to the work here presented.

Of significance would be a similar study or studies of woman's position in the next era of Church history. The writer believes that the principles of celestial marriage and polygamy greatly affected woman's status in the early years of Church history, and that there were in the Utah period definite reactions to the liberalism of this doctrine as it affected
woman.

The writer feels a lack in this presentation of a study of the individual women of the day, of the sacrifices, trials, and struggles of the women of this frontier period of Church history. A study of the place of Emma Smith in the Church would be most interesting. There is much valuable material available from which the writer believes can be shown that Mormon women played as heroic a part in such treks as Zion's Camp, the Mormon Battalion, and the great western trek to Salt Lake Valley as have any women in history, and also that they were subjected by antagonistic peoples to as barbaric treatment as have any women in the United States.

In the Utah period of Church history another interesting study of women would be an historical description of her part in the early industries—her development of sericulture and the women's cooperative movements.

The history of woman's participation in the missionary system of the Church might also be a worthy contribution.

Not dealing directly with women, the writer feels that a study of certain changes in Church government during the 1830 to 1845 period would also be of great value.
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