Utah State University
DigitalCommons@USU

Arrington Annual Lecture | Leonard J. Arrington Mormon History Lectures

11-7-1995

Faith and Intellect as Partners in Mormon History

Leonard J. Arrington

Recommended Citation
Arrington, Leonard J., "Faith and Intellect as Partners in Mormon History" (1995). *Arrington Annual Lecture.* Paper 1.
http://digitalcommons.usu.edu/arrington_lecture/1

This Lecture is brought to you for free and open access by the Leonard J. Arrington Mormon History Lectures at DigitalCommons@USU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Arrington Annual Lecture by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@USU. For more information, please contact digitalcommons@usu.edu.

LEONARD J. ARRINGTON
MORMON HISTORY LECTURE SERIES
No.1

FAITH AND INTELLECT AS PARTNERS IN MORMON HISTORY

by

Leonard J. Arrington

November 7,1995

Sponsored by

Special Collections & Archives
Merrill Library
Utah State University
Logan, Utah

Introduction

Throughout its history the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, through its leaders and apologists, has declared that faith and intellect have a mutually supportive relationship.[1] Faith opens the way to knowledge, and knowledge, in turn, often reaches up to reverence. Spiritual understanding comes with faith and is supported by intellect. Church President Spencer W. Kimball told Brigham Young University students in his "Second Century Address" in 1976: "As LDS scholars you must speak with authority and excellence to your professional colleagues in the language of scholarship, and you must also be literate in the language of spiritual things."[2]

The theme of faith *and* intellect, not faith *versus* intellect, was established in the early days of the Restoration. Joseph Smith taught that "it is impossible for a man to be saved in ignorance" (D&C 131:6),[3] and that "a man is saved no faster than he gets knowledge."[4] "If a person gains more knowledge and intelligence in this life through his diligence and obedience than another, he will have so much the advantage in the world to come" (D&C 130:19). "Seek ye out of the best books words of wisdom, seek learning even by study and by faith" for "the glory of God is intelligence, or, in other words, light and truth" (D&C 109:7; 93:36). In a revelation that came to Joseph Smith in 1829, Oliver Cowdery was instructed that spiritual insight is not a product of the "heart" only. The use of the intellect could not be ignored in seeking the revealed word of God (D&C 8 and 9).[5] Indeed the visions and revelations of the founding prophet initiated, as the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* declared, "a dynamic interplay between mind and spirit."[6]

Intellectual activity has been the means of developing and enriching life and faith among the Latter-day Saints and furthering the growth and betterment of the kingdom of God.[7] Mormon theology, based, as it is, upon the Scriptures and modern revelation,

reaches a balance between rationalistic explanation and faith in heavenly experiences.

This belief that intellectual activity was clearly an aspect of worship was built upon the teaching of Jesus, who inferred the harmony of faith and intellect: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind" (Matthew 22:37). There is a similar statement in section 4 of the Doctrine and Covenants: "See that ye serve him [God] with all your heart, might, mind and strength" (D&C 4:2). Under these divine instructions Latter-day Saints sought knowledge out of the best books (D&C 88:118) and established schools for instruction in both sacred and secular matters. These began with the Schools of the Prophets in Kirtland and Missouri and continued on the western frontier with the establishment of ward schools, stake academies, and colleges and universities in many settlements and stakes.

Speaking as a Latter-day Saint, I believe faith means trust in God and the Restored Gospel—a confidence that the world is God's and that when the gospel dwells among us and we teach and instruct one another with the wisdom in the best books we shall have the spirit of Christ (Colossians 3:16). Far from being the antithesis of faith, intellect helps us express our profound wonderment and eager enthusiasm in creative and meaningful ways—ways that may awaken a sense of gratitude and awe.[8]

Mormon leaders in every decade of the church's history have been persons of high intellect—and at the same time persons of undoubted faith. In each period of the church's history, persons in leadership positions, with God's blessing, established a partnership of faith and intellect. There may have been occasional confrontations of faith and intellect, as with all religious leaders, but such tensions were resolved with the accommodations of mind to the spirit and spirit to the mind.[9]

Although the question of the relationship between faith and reason has a long history and is not limited to any one faith community, I have chosen five Latter-day Saint leaders of thought to discuss this evening: three men and two women. I begin with Joseph Smith and then follow with four who knew the founding prophet personally: Eliza R. Snow, Brigham Young, Emmeline B. Wells, and George Q. Cannon.[10] Unlike many leaders of religious thought, they did not experience a period of wrestling with the problem of being pulled in two directions, as had been true of the Apostle Paul, St. Augustine, Erasmus, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and John Henry Newman.[11] They seem to have readily accepted the desirability and necessity of maintaining a healthy balance between faith and reason, regarding the two as complements, not competitors. When Jesus said "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free" John 8:32), they seem to have assumed that He meant both reasoned truth and spiritual truth. All five of those I shall discuss were human beings, with observable imperfections, but they exhibited astonishing intellectual vitality, spiritual power, and moral courage, and appealed to "the better angels of our nature." As Latter-day Saints believe, the divine spirit shone brilliantly through their writings and acts. For each of them, faith and intellect were partners.[12]

Joseph Smith

Our founding prophet was a man of both intellect and personal charm; he is remembered for his divine revelations, sociability, and warm personality.[13] A visionary, city-planner, candidate for president of the United States, and father of eleven (of which two were adopted), he was also an imaginative organizer, friend of the helpless, brilliant debater, and intense student of the Scriptures. In an era when religious revivalism was

characterized by intense enthusiasm, preachers pounding the pulpit demanding fealty and fear of God, he spoke of ideas and images, expanded perspectives of a largely uneducated people, and respected the commentary of others. He was at home, whether discussing complex religious philosophies or playing a game of ball with a group of boys and young men. He walked the streets of Nauvoo, played with children, chatted with neighbors, and opened his home to every kind of visitor. His followers thought he was precisely the kind of person the Lord would choose to restore his church.

Although not schooled or well read by traditional standards, Joseph Smith was a person with both intellectual powers and charisma. Dr. John M. Bernhisel, graduate of the Philadelphia Medical School and Utah's first (and four-term) delegate to Congress, a new convert who was a physician for the Saints in Nauvoo, Illinois, lived for most of a year in the household of Joseph and Emma Smith. Just before the prophet's death in June 1844, Dr. Bernhisel gave this appraisal of his friend:

Joseph Smith is naturally a man of strong mental powers, and is possessed of much energy and decision of character, great penetration, and a profound knowledge of human nature—He is a man of calm judgment, enlarged views, and is eminently distinguished by his love of justice. He is kind and obliging, generous and benevolent, sociable and cheerful, and is possessed of a mind of a contemplative and reflective character; he is honest, frank, fearless, and independent, and as free from dissimulation as any man to be found. But it is in the gentle charities of domestic life, as the tender and affectionate husband & parent, the warm and sympathizing friend, that the prominent traits of his character are revealed.[14]

Here is a similar appraisal by Emmeline B. Wells who, as a bright and well-educated girl of fourteen, left Massachusetts and joined the Saints in Nauvoo in the spring of 1844:

In the Prophet Joseph Smith, I believed I recognized the great spiritual power that brought joy and comfort to the Saints; and withal he had that strong comradeship that made such a bond of brotherliness with those who were his companions in civil and military life, and in which he reached men's souls, and appealed most forcibly to their friendship and loyalty. He possessed too the innate refinement that one finds in the born poet, or in the most highly cultivated intellectual and poetical nature.[15]

Not a systematic theologian, Joseph Smith was a revelator; that is, he made known divine truths that had been revealed to him by heavenly voices and angels in dreams and visions. He communicated these to his followers in books of Scripture, in articles in church periodicals, and in frequent sermons. In addition to the Book of Mormon and the Book of Abraham, translated from ancient documents, and the Book of Moses, an explication and emendation of the text of the Old and New Testaments, the products of his mental and revelatory powers included many revelations published in the Book of Commandments and in the Doctrine and Covenants, doctrinal instructions recently published in *The Words of Joseph Smith,* and comments about such previously neglected texts as the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Above all, with his introduction of new Scriptures and revelations, he demonstrated the limitations of Bible literalism which

circumscribed the religious doctrines and practices of the Protestants of his day.[16] His thoughts and expressions challenged many widely held doctrines. Yet he was convincing as a pulpit orator and presenter of ideas—well conceived and expounded.

Joseph Smith became concerned about religion when he was twelve; he read the Scriptures carefully, prayed frequently, had religious discussions with his father and mother, attended a variety of religious services, and joined a debating society. In his 1832 description of his early conversion experience, Joseph Smith reveals that he had been torn between the universalism and rationalism of his father's beliefs and his mother's emphasis on the spiritual quality of religion. Here was the conflict between faith and intellect that Joseph prayed about and which heavenly revelations helped him to resolve. Thus, through his father, Joseph inherited the rationalism of the Enlightenment and the philosophical movement of the 17th and 18th centuries that stressed the power of human reason and worked for improvements in politics, religion, and education. From his mother he inherited the enthusiasm and religious excitement and warmth, zeal, and ardor of contemporary New England.[17] One gets true religion "by study and by faith," "through the mind and through the heart;" you "must study it out in your mind" (D&C 9:8). "I will tell you in your mind and in your heart" (D&C 8:2). On the one hand, he did not fear intellectual inquiry; on the other hand, he welcomed "gifts of the spirit," such as faith healing, speaking in tongues, and shouts of "hosanna" at the dedication of temples.[18]

Joseph Smith was no Thomas Aquinas, the thirteenth-century Italian Catholic philosopher whose *Summa Theologica* gave a carefully organized and precise analysis of God, his attributes, and his relation to the universe and who systemized Catholic theology and the moral and political sciences in a superb monument of the medieval intellect. Nevertheless, Joseph's teachings provided satisfying answers to the major questions of human existence; he was a prophet to his people, a conveyor of the will of deity. His sermons, according to those who heard them, were intellectually and spiritually uplifting and satisfying. Joseph's King Follett discourse, given before several thousand Saints in Nauvoo in April 1844, is still regarded by Latter-day Saints as one of the great sermons in human history. In this last general conference address, delivered less than three months before he was martyred, the prophet discussed the character of God, the origin and destiny of man, the unpardonable sin, the resurrection of children, the creation, the tie between the living and their progenitors, and the prophet's love for all men.[19]

In short, the prophet's mind and heart were alive and alert. Faith and intellect were partners in achieving both spiritual and temporal goals. The works he published, whatever his own contribution to their substance and wording, were sophisticated, had significant intellectual content, and are worthy of the attention of students of American intellectual history.[20] The prophet exercised leadership in relating individual members and the group to the universe and to society at large, he legitimated church authority and defined its responsibilities, and he interpreted the church's historical role.

Eliza R. Snow

One person on whom the prophet had enormous influence was Eliza R. Snow. She was present at the April 28, 1842 meeting of the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo at which the prophet told the assembled sisters: "I now turn the key to you in the name of God, and this Society shall rejoice, and knowledge and intelligence shall flow down from this time. This is the beginning of better days for this Society."[21] Eliza knew that an essential part of the Restoration was restoring to women the status they enjoyed in early

Christian communities. Eliza and the other women present at this meeting believed this to be a revelation on their behalf, and as they saw a gradual improvement in the position of women—in the church and in civilized society—they were quick to attribute this to God, to divine influences for good. Eliza was a leader in this activity.[22]

Born in Massachusetts and reared in Ohio, Eliza R. Snow, who had lived as a governess in the household of Joseph and Emma Smith, was baptized in 1835.[23] She wrote: "As I was reflecting on the wonderful events transpiring around me, I felt an indescribable, tangible sensation . . . commencing at my head and enveloping my person and passing off at my feet, producing inexpressible happiness. Immediately following, I saw a beautiful candle with an unusual long, bright blaze directly over my feet. I sought to know the interpretation, and received the following, 'The lamp of intelligence shall be lighted over your path."[24]

Eliza R. Snow organized and directed schools in Nauvoo. She herself taught the children of the prophet and Emma. And, since she had an original poem for every occasion, she was known as "Zion's poetess." She was the first secretary of the Nauvoo Relief Society, for which she drafted the constitution.

With the assurance that came from the prophet's inspiration, in Salt Lake City she directed the woman's section of the Endowment House on Temple Square and gave instruction on prayers and administrations to midwives who were appointed to care for women who were about to give birth. Eliza and several female associates often administered to sick women and children, a practice that had the support of church authorities.

In 1854, with the help of her brother Lorenzo, Eliza organized the Polysophical Society, a group that met bi-weekly at Lorenzo Snow's home or the Seventies Hall. Eliza referred to the meetings as a "magnificent moral, intellectual and spiritual picnic." There were original speeches, songs, readings, and recitations, as well as instrumental music on guitar, organ, piano, and bagpipe. In a time of general male domination, the women were there with their husbands and brothers as equals, performing as well as listening, and Eliza contributed often poetry, essays, and inspirational thoughts.[25]

A charismatic, highly visible person, Eliza was instrumental in the formation of Relief Societies in the 1850s and 1860s. As the number of Relief Societies grew, particularly after 1867, Eliza was set apart as president of the sisterhood of the entire church, in which position she served until her death in 1887. She became, in effect, a counselor to Brigham Young on matters pertaining to women and was often introduced as "presidentess." Eliza also formed in each ward and settlement the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Associations (Y.L.M.I.A.) for young women from ages twelve to twenty-five and the Primary Associations for boys and girls from three to twelve.

On January 13, 1870, Eliza presided at a mass meeting in the Old Tabernacle in Salt Lake City (where the Assembly Hall now stands), where some six thousand women came to protest the passage by the U.S. Congress of the Cullom Bill, a bill that removed authority from local courts and juries, deprived wives of immunity as witnesses against their husbands, and authorized the use of the U.S. military to enforce these and other federal anti-Mormon regulations. Eliza's address was strong and eloquent, as were those of other LDS women leaders. The meeting was given good national coverage, and from that time Mormon women were no longer regarded by national commentators as submissive and degraded. A month later the women of Utah agitated for and were

granted suffrage, the first women in the nation to exercise this privilege. Now, as Eliza observed, "no woman in Zion need mourn because her sphere is too narrow. "[26]

Eliza exerted another influence when she encouraged Utah women to go East to study medicine. Under her direction and with the financial support of the Relief Societies, Utah quite possibly had, around the turn of the century, the largest colony of trained women doctors of any region in the nation.[27]

In 1876–77 Eliza directed the preparation of a manuscript which, with the assistance of Edward W. Tullidge, was published under the title *The Women of Mormondom* (New York, 1877). This 552-page book, containing the personal histories and important talks of twenty-six LDS women and shorter sketches of fifty-six additional women, was remarkable for the 1870s when women were just emerging as a visible force in Mormon society and culture. The final paragraphs testify to the influence of Joseph Smith:

Paul, in the egotism of man's apostleship, commanded, 'let the woman be silent in the church,' . . . and the Prophet Joseph corrected Paul, and made woman a voice in the church, and endowed her with an apostolic ministry. . . . First, woman in her ever blessed office of motherhood; next, in her divine ministry. . . . Woman shall leaven the earth with her own nature. She shall leaven it in her great office of maternity, and in her apostolic mission. . . . This is the woman's age. . . . Woman must, therefore, lay the cornerstone of the new civilization.[28]

In the late 1870s and early 1880s, Eliza continued to organize and supervise Relief Societies, Young Ladies' Mutuals, and Primaries in local wards and settlements; taught them the proper forms of washing and anointing women who were ill or about to give birth; made a special effort to work on behalf of American Indian women; published a hymnal (Salt Lake City, 1880); prepared a book of *Bible Questions and Answers for Children* (Salt Lake City, 1881); assisted in establishing the Deseret Hospital, of which she was president; published a *First and Second Speaker* or book of recitations for the Children's Primary Association (Salt Lake City, 1882); and completed her *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City, 1884).

While one seldom finds any intellectual issues addressed by Eliza in her books and letters, her poems do reflect in veiled ways the seeds of such confrontations and struggles over plural marriage, the rights of women, Brigham Young's penchant for giving advice to girls and women, and such doctrinal issues as the nature of the resurrection and the existence of the Heavenly Mother. Eliza accepted authority, but she sometimes challenged policies and procedures and, particularly on issues relating to women, was not timid in exerting her own authority.

Until her death in 1887, at the age of 83, Eliza was an intellectual center around whom women clustered for mental stimulation. A born leader, an efficient organizer, her firmly established convictions of the principles of the Gospel, which had been personally taught her by the prophet, "gave her the confidence and assurance to act independently in places, and at times, when other women would have faltered or hesitated to undertake such heroic efforts."[29]

Brigham Young

Just as Joseph Smith had been the dominant figure in the early days of the

Mormon church, Brigham Young was the most prominent person in pioneer Mormon country. He was the first governor of Utah Territory, the first superintendent of Indian Affairs, the founder of many industries and enterprises, the leading colonizer, and president of the church from 1844 until his death thirty-three years later. Like Joseph Smith, Brigham Young came close to being all things to all Latter-day Saints. He supervised the construction of houses, canals, roads and the erection of fences. He counseled settlers on farm operations; household management; relationships with wives, husbands, and children; and on the careful husbanding of cash. A superb organizer, Brigham formed wards and stakes, established courts and community offices, helped obtain machinery and equipment for the erection and operation of mills and factories, and fostered friendly relations with the native Americans in the region.[30] Brigham Young was a disciplinarian on the trail west, a hard-headed businessman, a practical politician, and a visionary prophet; but he was also a kind and helpful human being—tender, understanding, and compassionate, and with a lively sense of humor.

Living on the frontier of western New York as a child and young man, Brigham Young had only eleven days of formal schooling. His invalid mother, who suffered from tuberculosis, helped Brigham, who sometimes carried her from bed to table and back to bed, by schooling him in the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic. He read the Bible daily, kept informed of current events by reading the newspaper, and listened carefully to visiting preachers and other educated persons. As the ninth child in a family of eleven, he learned to cook, keep house, clear fields of timber and brush, plant and tend crops, trap animals and birds. Occasionally, he attended religious meetings. He was bright, inquisitive, and interested in everything.

Brigham had seen a copy of the Book of Mormon when it first appeared in 1830, and he was convinced of its authenticity. But he postponed baptism until he had determined that the members and officers of the Mormon church manifested "right good sense." After meeting with Joseph Smith in 1832, he was baptized, undertook his first mission, and strove to learn all he could from the prophet. He was with him on Zion's Camp; he directed the Saints' migration from Missouri when the prophet was in jail; and he served as one of Joseph's most trusted advisors.

Brigham Young became an apostle in 1835, led a group of apostles in a massive missionary effort in Great Britain in 1839–41, served as a business manager of the church until Joseph Smith's death in 1844, and from his position as senior president of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles succeeded Joseph Smith as leader of the Saints in 1844. He was formally sustained as president of the church in 1847, the year he led the advance company of pioneers to the Salt Lake Valley.

As Joseph Smith had been, Brigham Young was a persuasive speaker. He believed that most Christian sermons were too formal and other-worldly. Instead, he spoke earnestly about everyday and practical concerns. In a spirited manner he castigated the malfeasant politicians in Washington, warned his people to expect more of the same kind of treatment unless they repented and united, and pled with them to obey their leaders. Let the idle find employment, he said—the discouraged seek to obtain the Spirit of God. He often closed with a ringing affirmation of his testimony of Joseph Smith and the eventual victory of the Restoration. Between such items he delivered nuggets of doctrinal wisdom. He sometimes used stern images and folksy humor and conducted impatient chastenings, but his primary focus was to maintain the unity of the Latter-day

Saints in the face of political, legal, social, and military pressure.[31]

Brigham Young was no more a formal theologian than Joseph Smith. He considered himself an eminently practical man whose religion was centered in earthly concerns and pragmatic admonitions. When his more educated colleagues voiced their speculative instincts, he curbed and corrected their effulgences in the light of hardy New England common sense. He believed in the simple Gospel. Once, in 1857, after listening to one of Orson Pratt's long, involved, abstractly reasoned arguments, he declared: "[It] makes me think, 'O dear, granny, what a long tail our puss has got!'"[32] Young's scattered and unsystematized theological pronouncements were generally directed to the here-and-now. His great overriding vision was the literal establishment of the Kingdom of God in the valleys of the mountains. The Mormon village was a covenant community, based on the concept of gathering for those who had been converted in the East and foreign lands.

There was in Brigham's theology something of the medieval ideal of community. For him the injunction "the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof" was not simply a poetical metaphor. God ruled. Brigham and his fellow Saints were human stewards erecting at long last the divine commonwealth. Its citizens must yield personal desires to the whole. Temporal and spiritual unity and equality were emphasized.[33]

Although Brigham realized that environment and events limited human agency, still enough individual freedom remained to allow mankind to choose good or evil. Correct choices, in turn, were rewarded by unending personal growth and the opportunity for eternal procreation. His eschatology for the righteous climaxed with the promise of a harmonious social order based upon enduring family relationships. Conversely, evil acts would bring upon the offenders diminution of self, the loss of increase, and inferior social organization.

While he frequently urged, cajoled, and reproved his congregations, Brigham never preached depravity nor damnation. He believed that men and women were good, perfectible, and possessed of the divine. To realize their potential they must be liberated from erroneous tradition. They were, in fact, Gods in embryo, men and women seeking a heavenly partnership. Such a lofty, optimistic opinion of mankind, when joined with his view that men should never seek gifts from God which sweat and sinew could independently achieve, proved enormously energizing. It was a theology of empire building.

At every turn Brigham pulled his theology and metaphysics earthward. Having a keen understanding of human nature, he believed that self-discovery brought a knowledge of God, and he accordingly molded this theology around daily human experience. Thus his laws of freedom, reward, growth, procreation, and organization were earthly as well as heavenly. They could be validated by experience. When asked why God's determining hand did not more often intercede for the Saints, Young replied: "Man is destined to be a God, has to act as an independent being, and is left [by God] to see what he will do, to practice depending on his own resources, to be righteous in the dark, to do the best he can when left to himself to show his capacity."[34] The mission and responsibility of men and women, their destiny and privilege, Brigham said, was to build society—to plant trees, gardens, and vineyards; to build houses, shops, and meetinghouses; to dig ditches and dugways; to organize schools, concerts, and study classes. The whole face of the earth must be beautiful until it shall become like the Garden of Eden.[35] A prime imperative is to keep learning—to grow, to develop, and

to have joy.

Empiricism undergirded all this thought; he was eminently practical. Both he and Joseph Smith believed that if the realm of God was to have any applicability to humankind, it must be explicable in terms men and women could understand and employ in their daily lives. If, on the other hand, the heavens operated on principles fundamentally different from the earth, he could see little hope or relevancy in discussing them. Brigham believed that revelations came frequently and that they were based on natural principles—not always (perhaps seldom) conveyed by ineffable experiences. Yet he did have an interior life of rich spirituality. He prayed—in private, in his family circle, and in council meetings and congregations. And he was a devoted participant in sacred ceremonies. There Brigham, removed from the ordinary routine of life, experienced an approach to God. A daring and courageous leader who dealt with a wide variety of practical matters, he was also responsive to the chords of celestial music as mediated through the liturgical experiences of the Salt Lake Endowment House and the Nauvoo and St. George temples. In most respects Brigham's theology was simple, literalistic, and conservative in the Mormon context.

Although Brigham was not an intellectual in any narrow definition of the term, he was unquestionably a person of intellectual power and mental alertness and had enormous influence on his generation of Saints—influence on doctrine, on "practical" thought, on the images and metaphors that have become part of the Gospel. He founded Brigham Young Academy, now Brigham Young University; Brigham Young College in Logan, which educated many early Utah teachers before closing in 1926; and the University of Deseret, which educated undoubted intellectuals like B. H. Roberts, James E. Talmage, John A. Widtsoe, William H. Chamberlin, Ephraim E. Ericksen, and other Mormon intellectual giants, and later evolved into the University of Utah.

All truth—scientific and philosophical as well as doctrinal—was a part of Mormonism. "`Mormonism,'" Brigham said, "embraces all truth that is revealed and that is unrevealed, whether religious, political, scientific, or philosophical."[36] Such a pronouncement encouraged his followers not only to develop moral excellence and purity bur also to grow in knowledge and intelligence. The arts and sciences came from God and were designed for the good of the Lord's children. Since God operated on the basis of natural principles, learning more about the geology, chemistry, and other aspects of the order of nature was expected: "Every art and science known and studied by the children of men is comprised within the gospel. Where did the knowledge come from which has enabled men [and women] to accomplish such great achievements in science and mechanism [engineering] within the last few years? We know that knowledge is from God."[37] This approach encouraged young Mormons of the second generation to seek higher education in colleges and universities where they could make the best of their abilities.

Under Brigham Young's leadership, the hierarchial structure of the church continued. The theophanous works of Joseph Smith were canonized, and the doctrine and organizational structure of the church were firmly fixed. An accelerated educational program resulted in the founding of several colleges and universities and many academies and high schools in the various settlements.

George Q. Cannon

Brigham Young's appreciation for intellect is manifested by his calling George Q. Cannon, a bright young immigrant from Great Britain, to serve as a counselor in the First Presidency, a position he held from 1873 to 1901.[38] He was in Nauvoo as a teenager and became well acquainted with Prophet Joseph Smith.

Born in 1827 in Liverpool, England, the eldest of seven children of a family living on the Isle of Man, his family was converted to the Mormon church in 1840 by his uncle, John Taylor, then an apostle. In 1842 they moved to Liverpool, then to Nauvoo. His mother died on the ocean voyage from Liverpool; his father died in Nauvoo. A young orphan, he was taken into the John Taylor home, where he worked with his uncle on the *Times and Seasons* and the *Nauvoo Neighbor* as both a writer and printer. He was adopted by John Taylor in 1846 in the Nauvoo Temple and moved west with the Taylor family in 1847, when he was twenty.

In the fall of 1849 Cannon and two or three dozen other young men were called to California to mine gold for the benefit of the church and some of its aging but faithful early members. They worked for almost a year but their mining was not particularly successful. In the fall of 1850 he and nine others were called to preaching missions in the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii). Although five of the elders returned to Utah when they met with little success with the White settlers in the Islands, young Cannon remained, mastered the language, and worked with Hawaiian natives. He acquired the language rapidly. The natives loved and revered him. Within four years 4,000 native Hawaiians had joined the church and Cannon began translating the Book of Mormon into Hawaiian. In 1854 he returned to Salt Lake City to marry Elizabeth Hoagland. The two moved to San Francisco to publish the Hawaiian Book of Mormon and the church's *Western Standard* magazine.

When the U.S. Army's Utah Expedition invaded in the spring of 1858, the Deseret News press was moved to Fillmore, Utah, and Cannon was appointed managing editor. He held this position and that of editor until 1880, when Charles W. Penrose became editor-in-chief. Later in 1858 Cannon was sent to preside over the Eastern States Mission with instructions to influence eastern editors who were pressured by anti-Mormon sentiments.

In 1860 Cannon returned to Utah and was ordained an apostle; he was only twenty-seven. Sent to England with Apostles Charles C. Rich and Amasa M. Lyman to preside over the European Mission, he edited and published the *Millennial Star,* remaining four years with the exception of part of 1862 when he was called back to Washington, D.C., to lobby for Utah statehood. Back in Salt Lake City from 1864 to 1867, he worked as private secretary and assistant president to Brigham Young. He was named general superintendent of the church's Sunday schools in 1867 and held this position until his death in 1901. He founded the semi-monthly (after 1880 a monthly) *Juvenile Instructor* for the Sunday schools beginning in 1866. Profusely illustrated with clever and faith-promoting drawings and art work, the magazine continued in expanded form as the organ of the Sunday school until 1970.

Through the George Q. Cannon and Sons Publishing Company, he printed the "Faith Promoting Series" of journals, biographies, and personal histories. Above all, he promoted education: "Latter-day Saints are ardent friends of learning, true seekers after knowledge. They recognize in a good education the best of fortunes, it broadens

the mind, creates liberal and noble sentiments, and fits the possessor for a more successful struggle with the obstacles of life. . . . The possession of knowledge is of itself the highest pleasure."[39]

With his publications aimed primarily at the youth, Cannon was an important bridge between the first generation of church leaders and the late nineteenth century church membership. He served as an assistant president and then in the First Presidency from 1873 to 1901 as a counselor to four church presidents. He was intelligent, articulate, and well informed and had a wide circle of friends, both Mormon and non-Mormon. Next to Orson Pratt he was probably the pioneer who was recognized most widely for his faith and intellect.

Cannon was a careful, thoughtful observer, a constant reader, and a student of men and policies. He was a "natural" diplomat, ready conversationalist, and popular speaker. He served in the legislature, was often called to Washington, D.C., to lobby for the church, undertook several short-term religious missions, and, as mentioned earlier, supervised the *Deseret News.* "More than any of the Mormon leaders," as Orson F. Whitney wrote, "he was prepared to meet men of the world."[40]

Cannon was a counselor to Brigham Young, 1873–1877, to John Taylor, 1877–1887, to Wilford Woodruff, 1887–1898, and to Lorenzo Snow, 1898–1901. He was Utah's elected delegate to Congress in 1872 and served nine years. With his affable and engaging manner, his knowledge of departments and functions of government, and his wide acquaintance with people, he was a human book of ready reference. He was one of the ablest speakers in the House and had wide influence. He was known as "smooth-bore Cannon." As Brigham's secretary and confidant, he was one of the three executors of Brigham Young's estate after Brigham died in 1877. As delegate to Congress he welcomed two presidents to Utah: Ulysses S. Grant in 1875 and Rutherford B. Hayes in 1880. As an active member of the First Presidency, he helped promote the electric industry, mining, beet sugar, salt, Saltair Resort, railroads, and many other enterprises.

President Cannon's writings include *My First Mission* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1879), *The Life of Nephi* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1883), *The Latter-day Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1900), *Young People's History of the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1890), *The Life of Joseph Smith, The Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1888), and *The First Book of the Faith Promoting Series,* 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1882). He produced about three hundred recorded sermons or discourses and thousands of editorials and magazine and newspaper articles. He died in 1901 in California at the age of seventy-four.

None of Cannon's books or articles suggests that he experienced tension between his faith and intellect at any stage of his life. Those who believe this was inevitable may find evidence in his personal diary, which, since his death, has been in the vault of the First Presidency, and selections from which are currently being prepared for publication by his family. He was too bright not to have been aware of conflicting viewpoints. Orson F. Whitney, himself a distinguished Mormon intellectual, wrote of Cannon: "Possessed of an unusual mentality, he absorbed knowledge as a sponge takes in water, and what his quick and wide apprehension encompassed, his marvelous memory ever after retained."[41]

Cannon was among the finest orators in the Mormon church's history, one of the finest writers, one of the brightest intellects—eloquent and magnetic—and certainly one of the most faithful.

Emmeline B. Wells

Emmeline Blanche Woodward, a woman of brilliant intellect, talented writing and editorial skills, determination, and perseverance, was born in Petersham, Worcester County, Massachusetts, in 1828, the seventh of nine children of descendants of early Puritan settlers.[42] Her grandfather fought in the Revolutionary War and her father, who died when Emmeline was four, was in the War of 1812. A precocious child, Emmeline attended local schools and then was sent off to a select boarding school in New Salem. During her absence, her mother joined the Mormon church. When Emmeline returned from school in 1842, she accepted the Gospel and was baptized in an ice-covered pool on their farm on her fourteenth birthday. She taught school for a year in Orange, Massachusetts, and then at the urging of her mother, who worried that she might succumb to the pressure of her friends and superiors to give up Mormonism, she married James Harris, the son of the local branch president. They moved to Nauvoo, Illinois, arriving aboard a Mississippi River steamboat in March 1844. She met Joseph Smith, was electrified by his presence, and forever after bore testimony that he was a prophet of God.[43]

"Emmie," as she was called at the time, taught grade school and Sunday school in Nauvoo. She gave birth to a son who died within a month. Shortly after, her husband, perhaps intending to earn quick income, left her, never to return. Emmeline was befriended by Elizabeth Ann Whitney, wife of Presiding Bishop Newel K. Whitney and a counselor to Emma Smith in the first Relief Society. Emmeline married Whitney as a plural wife in 1845. After the exodus from Nauvoo, Emmeline taught school and Sunday school in Winter Quarters, Nebraska, and arrived with the Whitneys in the Salt Lake Valley in October 1848. She resumed teaching in a small log schoolhouse in Salt Lake City's Twelfth Ward.

After the death of Bishop Whitney, by whom she had two daughters, Emmeline married Daniel H. Wells as a plural wife and had three daughters by him. A prominent Salt Lake City businessman, superintendent of public works for the church, and later a counselor to Brigham Young in the First Presidency, Wells was able to provide Emmie with a home and some income. He paid for the education of her five daughters and allowed her to concentrate on her reading, writing, and public speaking. Through him, she also gained a prominent place in the community.

Emmeline was a small woman, barely five feet tall and weighing about one hundred pounds, but she had a strong will. Having suffered, with other women, from discriminatory actions, such as low pay, she vowed, in her words, "to do all in my power to help elevate the condition of my people, especially women . . . to do those things that would advance women in moral and spiritual, as well as educational work and tend to the rolling on of the work of the Lord upon the earth."[44]

Beginning in 1869, under Eliza Snow's presidency, she began to serve as secretary of the Young Ladies' Retrenchment Association of the church. Impressed with the importance of providing cultural development for young people along literary and musical lines, she joined with others in 1874 to organize the Wasatch Literary Association. The thirty young Salt Lake City men and women, all active

Latter-day Saints, met weekly to present original essays, poems, orations, plays, and dramatic readings, as well as vocal and instrumental musical renditions. Two of the group later became apostles, one was Utah's first elected governor, one became head of the Christian Science Church in Boston, one became Utah's first general in the U.S. Army, one became president of the LDS Church, and several were stake presidents. One became senior president of the First Quorum of Seventy, and one served twenty-four years as president of the Primary Association of the church.[45] Others became members of the Y.W.M.I.A. general board. With Emmeline's assistance and encouragement, these high-spirited future leaders fostered as much culture as their theocracy and pioneer economy would permit.

As an educated product of Massachusetts schools, Emmeline read national newspapers and magazines, and as she reared her children, she watched with mounting interest the formation of a female reform movement aimed at social, educational, economic, and political equality with men. She was well aware of the efforts of Massachusetts women, particularly Abigail Adams, who agitated for women's rights in the federal constitution, and she had read Margaret Fuller's American feminist statement *Woman in the Nineteenth Century,* published in 1845. Emmeline also read of the first women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York, which Elizabeth Cady Stanton organized in 1848 and which launched the woman suffrage movement.[46] In 1874 Emmeline became vice president for Utah of the National Woman Suffrage Association.

Emmeline knew there were good reasons for these movements. Women could not vote, hold office, sit on juries, or, if married, own property unless by special dispensation. Women were not expected to hold high positions in church, go to college, practice law, or speak in public.[47] Emmeline rejoiced when Utah women were given the vote in 1870 and she began immediately, eagerly, to exercise her prerogatives. She became a member of the Central Committee of the People's Party, the church's political party; she was a member of several constitutional conventions when Utah was attempting to become a state; and she was nominated for the territorial legislature but was forced to withdraw when it was not clear from the constitution whether women could hold elective office. In 1879 she experienced first-hand discrimination when she was denied the office of Salt Lake City treasurer because she was a woman.

In 1872, when the *Woman's Exponent* was founded by Louisa Lula Greene, under the careful tutelage and protection of Eliza R. Snow and Brigham Young, Emmeline submitted material for it, often using the pen name "Blanche Beechwood." Many of her articles dealt with women's issues—equal pay for equal work and equal treatment in athletic programs. Emmeline became assistant editor of the *Exponent,* then editor in 1877, a position she held for thirty-seven years. Under her editorship the *Exponent* recorded the national story of women's suffrage, the silk industry, the activities of the Relief Societies, literary and other club functions, and welfare organizations and educational institutions. She commented on slavery, polygamy, European diplomacy, congressional reform, and presidential elections. If it happened to women, whether locally, nationally, or overseas, Emmeline reported it in the *Exponent,* believing that Mormon women "should be the best-informed of any women on the face of the earth, not only upon our own principles and doctrines but

on all general subjects."[48] For more than twenty years, the masthead carried the motto "For the Rights of Women of Zion and All Nations."

In strong editorials Emmeline campaigned against the "Cult of True Womanhood" of the period:

[Ladies] must be preserved from the slightest blast of trouble, petted, caressed, dressed to attract attention, taught accomplishments that minister to man's gratification; in other words, she must be treated as a glittering and fragile toy, a thing without brains or soul, placed on a tinselled and unsubstantial pedestal by man, as her worshipper.[49]

Is there nothing then worth living for, but to be petted, humored and caressed, by a man? . . . That man is the only thing in existence worth living for I fail to see. All honor and reverence to good men; but they and their attentions are not the only sources of happiness on the earth, and need not fill up every thought of woman. And when men see that women exist without their being constantly at hand, that they can learn to be self-reliant or depend upon each other for more or less happiness, it will perhaps take a little of the conceit out of some of them.[50]

A woman ought to be "a joint-partner in the domestic firm." To Emmeline, a satisfying marriage was one in which both partners supported and uplifted the other.[51]

Indeed, through the pages of the *Exponent,* Emmeline called for women to be given the same educational opportunities as men:

[We] should learn that there is a better part for women than to be man's dupe, or slave, or drudge. . . . The training of daughters as well as sons should be such as to develop powers that will strengthen character, attributes that will prepare them to put into practical execution the finest talents they may possess, so that they may learn how to live without leaning wholly on, or trusting blindly to another . . . .

In the name of justice, reason, and common sense, let woman be fortified and strengthened by every possible advantage, that she may be adequately and thoroughly fitted not only to grace the drawing room, and manage every department of her household, but to perform with skill and wisdom the arduous and elaborate work of molding and fashioning the fabrics of which society is to be woven.[52]

If women were given the same opportunities for work and for education as men, Emmeline insisted, they would demonstrate that they were as smart as men, as able as men to exercise leadership in social, religious, and business activities. The desirable goal was for men and women to work and learn together, to be united, to share both responsibilities and ideas.[53]

Emmeline was not contending that women should neglect their children in seeking to do "public work." She had a close relationship with her own daughters—Belle, Mellie, Emmie, Annie, and Louie—mentioning them almost daily in her diary. But she insisted that women should also be free to assume responsibilities outside the home—in church, in the community, and in the world of business.[54]

Emmeline found herself juggling family and personal challenges with her work with the *Woman s Exponent,* the woman suffrage movement, and the Relief Society.[55]

Several specific assignments given to Emmeline in the 1870s evolved into life-time responsibilities. In 1870 church leaders encouraged Emmeline and Zina Young Williams to attend the meeting of the National Woman Suffrage Association in Washington, D.C.; Relief Society leaders continued to take an active role in that association until the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution granting suffrage to women in 1920. Utah women already had the right to vote, which was what the national suffrage leaders were fighting for; and national leaders believed that legislation should not be enacted to limit women's rights, which Congress sought to do in the passage of anti-Mormon legislation. So here was a partnership; national leaders respected and admired Mormon women leaders, and the high regard was reciprocated. Emmeline wore a gold ring Susan B. Anthony gave to her, declaring, "It is a symbol of the sympathy of two great women for one great cause."[56] On Miss Anthony's eightieth birthday Emmeline presented her with a black brocaded dress made from Utah silk. Emmeline formed close friendships with other national women leaders: Frances E. Willard, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Anna Howard Shaw, Sarah Andrews Spencer, Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe, May Wright Sewall, Clara Barton, Matilda Joslyn Gage, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward, and others.

In 1891 Emmeline went to Washington, D.C., with Jane S. Richards to attend the first session of the National Council of Women. At that time the council accepted the Relief Society as a charter member of the feminist organization.

At the World's Congress of Women, held in Chicago at the Columbian Exposition in 1893, Emmeline was a prominent figure and presided at one of the important council meetings. May Wright Sewall, national chairman of the Congress of Women, recognized the importance of the Relief Society and Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association and used her influence to arrange department meetings for them in connection with the congress. At the Relief Society session, Emmeline gave papers entitled "Western Women in Journalism" and "The Storage of Grain." Emmeline also edited two books exhibited in the Utah Pavilion: *Charities and Philanthropies: Woman's Work in Utah* and *Songs and Flowers of the Wasatch,* both published in 1893 by George Q. Cannon and Sons.

In the years that followed, Emmeline attended suffrage conventions and women's congresses in Washington, D.C., Omaha, New Orleans, Des Moines, Atlanta, Detroit, Chicago, Indianapolis, and London and addressed several of them. At the Atlanta convention, held in 1895, she delivered an address dealing with Utah and the Mormon people. So well was her talk received that, at its conclusion, the auditorium resounded with tumultuous applause and Susan B. Anthony came forward on the rostrum and embraced her.

In June 1899, as an officer of the National Council of Women (she was recording secretary from 1899 to 1902), Emmeline attended and was a speaker at the International Council and Congress of Women held in London. She presented her address in Convocation Hall, Church House, Deanery of Westminster Abbey, London. She visited historic places while in England, Scotland, and France and spent evenings with prominent literary figures. She formed friendships with many leading

European women.[57]

Emmeline also advanced in responsibility on the church scene. In 1888 she became general secretary and a member of the general board of the Relief Society and assisted in the organization of the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association and the Primary Association.

On October 3, 1910, after twenty-two years of service on the general level of the Relief Society, Emmeline, now eighty-two years old, was called to be the fifth general president of the organization, succeeding her long-time friend Bathsheba B. Smith. She continued as president until 1921, when she was ninety-two. Under her dynamic leadership, belying her age, she standardized and systematized the work of the Relief Society, instituted the *Relief Society Magazine,* began the first uniform course of study, and adopted the slogan "Charity Never Faileth." Welfare work became more methodical, and she coordinated Relief Society work with those of civic and county agencies. In 1919 a social services department was organized under the direction of Amy Brown Lyman. Under Emmeline's leadership the Relief Society also established courses in theology, genealogy, art, and literature, while courses on obstetrics, nursing, "home science," and home arts were continued. Each ward and stake, however, was encouraged to work out its own program.

Emmeline also founded the Utah Woman's Press Club and the Reapers' Club and in 1895 published a book of her poetry entitled *Musings and Memories.*

In recognition of her many efforts and achievements in literature, Brigham Young University, in 1912 on her eighty-fourth birthday, conferred upon Emmeline the honorary degree of doctor of letters. She was the second person to receive the honor and the first woman to do so. BYU would wait forty-four years before honoring another woman in this way.[58]

When Emmeline turned ninety, a party was given for her at the Hotel Utah. In honor of the occasion, a moving picture was made of her and other pioneers who had been living in Nauvoo during the time Joseph Smith, the prophet, was alive. On her ninety-second birthday, more than a thousand people attended her birthday party in the Hotel Utah.[59]

Shortly after her release from the presidency of the Relief Society, Emmeline died at age ninety-three, and her funeral was in the Tabernacle in Salt Lake City, the second funeral ever held in that Temple Square facility for a woman. (The first was for Bathsheba Smith, who was Emmeline's predecessor as general president of the Relief Society.)

On what would have been her hundredth birthday, seven years after her death, the women of Utah placed a bust of Emmeline in the rotunda of the Utah State Capitol building. The brief inscription reads: "A fine soul who served us."

Conclusion

We might close with the analogy of Socrates in Plato's *Phaedrus.* The human soul, like a charioteer, must drive two horses as it progresses toward heaven. The horses must work together or the chariot will just go round and round.[60] To St. Augustine the horses might be spirit and flesh, to Shakespeare passion and reason, to Joseph Smith and his successors, faith and intellect. It would be unfortunate if either should outstretch the other. Over-emphasizing intellect to the neglect of spirituality, and over-emphasizing faith without the application of reason are both unworthy of

practicing Latter-day Saints. We cannot achieve spiritual excellence without intellectual rigor, and intellectual excellence is hollow without active spirituality. We need to have the spirit as we learn, and we need to have learning as we build faith. Working together, faith and intellect help us achieve the Latter-day Saint goal of eternal progression.

1. I am grateful for the suggestions of Davis Binon on this lecture and on some of the sources on which it is based.
2. Spencer W. Kimball, "Second Century Address," *BYU Studies* 16 (summer 1976): 466.
3. Doctrine and Covenants, cited as D&C.
4. Joseph Fielding Smith, ed., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 217.
5. See also Mark R. Grandstaff, "Having More Learning Than Sense," *Dialogue* 26 (winter 1993): 41.
6. Richard F. Haglund Jr. and David J. Whittaker, "Intellectual History, " in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 2:687.
7. Ibid., 685. There may, of course, have been instances in which intellectual activity has had an opposite effect.
8. Van Austin Harvey, *The Historian and the Believer: The Morality of Historical Knowledge and Christian Belief* (New York: Macmillan, 1966), 264.
9. Penetrating essays that discuss Mormonism and intellectuals are Ephraim E. Ericksen, "William H. Chamberlin, Pioneer Mormon Philosopher," *Western Humanities Review* 8 (autumn 1954): 275–85; R. Kent Fielding, "Historical Perspectives for a Liberal Mormonism," *Western Humanities Review* 14 (winter 1960): 69–80; Davis Bitton, "Anti-Intellectualism in Mormon History," *Dialogue* 1 (autumn 1966): 111–34; also James B. Allen, "Comment," *Dialogue* 1 (autumn 1966): 134–40; and Thomas F. O'Dea, "Sources of Strain and Conflict," in *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 222–57. See also Leonard J. Arrington, "The L. D. S. Intellectual Tradition," *Dialogue* 4 (spring 1969): 11–26; *"To Be Learned Is Good If . . .* " (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1987); and Clara V. Dobay, "Intellect and Faith: The Controversy over Revisionist Mormon History," *Dialogue* 27 (spring 1994): 91–105.
10. There are, of course, others who could be mentioned: Sidney Rigdon, Orson Pratt, B. H. Roberts, James E. Talmage, John A. Widtsoe, William H. Chamberlin, Amy Brown Lyman, J. Reuben Clark Jr., Belle Smith Spafford, Henry Eyring, Hugh Nibley, and Lowell L. Bennion, to mention a few.
11. See *The Confession of St. Augustine,* trans. F. J. Sheed (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1943); Robert Richardson, *Emerson: The Mind on Fire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); John Henry Newman, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* (New York: Longmans Green, 1902) and *An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent* (New York: Longmans Green, 1902); Robert Shafer, *Christianity and Naturalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926); Roland H. Bainton, *Erasmus of Christendom* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969); R. G. Collingwood, *Faith and Reason,* ed. Lionel Rubinoff (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968); Nels F. Ferre, *Reason in Religion* (London and Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1963); George Santayana, *Reason in Religion* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936).
12. The Arrington lectureship at Utah State University permits, but does not insist upon, a

"friendly" treatment of Mormon history by the invited scholar-lecturer.
13. The best biography of Joseph Smith is Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1977). See also Leonard J. Arrington, "Joseph Smith," in *The Presidents of the Church: Biographical Essays,* ed. Leonard J. Arrington (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1986), 340; Richard Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984); John Henry Evans, *Joseph Smith: An American Prophet* (New York: Macmillan, 1933; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989); Preston Nibley, *Joseph Smith, the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1944); Truman G. Madsen, *Joseph Smith the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1989); and Larry C. Porter and Susan Easton Black, eds., *The Prophet Joseph: Essays on the Life and Mission of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988).
14. John M. Bernhisel to Thomas Ford, 14 June 1844, Bernhisel Collection, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City.
15. Emmeline B. Wells's statement can be found in "Joseph Smith, the Prophet," *Young Woman's Journal* 16 (December 1905): 556.
16. Joseph Smith's thought is contained in Joseph Fielding Smith, ed., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City, 1940); Alma Burton, comp., *Discourses of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City, 1960); Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1980); B. H. Roberts, *Joseph Smith: The Prophet Teacher* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1908, 1967); John A. Widtsoe, *Joseph Smith: Seeker after Truth* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1957); and Garland E. Tickemyer, "The Philosophy of Joseph Smith and Its Educational Implications" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1963). See also Truman G. Madsen, "Teachings of Joseph Smith," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 3: 1339–43.
17. Haglund and Whittaker, "Intellectual History," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism,* 2:687. See also Richard Bushman, 9–42.
18. A stimulating article is Mark R. Grandstaff, "Having More Learning Than Sense: William E. McLellin and the Book of Commandments Revisited," *Dialogue* 26 (winter 1993): 23–48.
19. Donald Q. Cannon, "The King Follett Discourse: Joseph Smith's Greatest Sermon in Historical Perspective," *BYU Studies* 18 (winter 1978): 179–92. In the same issue of *BYU Studies* are Van Hale, "The Doctrinal Impact of the King Follett Discourse," 209–25, and Stanley Larson, "The King Follett Discourse: A Newly Amalgamated Text," 193–208.
20. See Thomas O'Dea, *The Mormon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 22–40.
21. Minutes, Nauvoo Female Relief Society, March 1842 to 16 March 1844, 37–40, LDS Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.
22. Joseph Smith's attitudes toward women are discussed in Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Mormon Women and the Temple: Toward a New Understanding," in *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective,* ed. Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 80–110; Linda King Newell, "Gifts of the Spirit: Women's Share," in *Sisters in Spirit,* 111–50; Jill Mulvay Derr, "'Strength in Our Union': The Making of Mormon Sisterhood," in *Sisters in Spirit,* 153–207; Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Knopf, 1979), 220–42;

Leonard J. Arrington, "Persons for All Seasons: Women in Mormon History," *BYU Studies* 20 (fall 1979): 39–58; and Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Mormon Women and the Struggle for Definition: The Nineteenth Century Church," *Sunstone* 6 (November–December 1981): 7–11.
23. Sources on the life of Eliza Roxcy Snow Smith include Augusta Joyce Crocheron, "Eliza R. Snow Smith," in *Representative Women of Deseret* (Salt Lake City, 1884), 1–9; Andrew Jenson, "Snow, Eliza Roxey," in *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City, 1901), 1:693–97; Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "Eliza R. Snow's Nauvoo Journal," *BYU Studies* 15 (summer 1975): 391–416 and "The Eliza Enigma: The Life and Legend of Eliza R. Snow," in *Sister Saints,* ed. Vicky Burgess-Olson (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978) and "Eliza R Snow," in *Mormon Sisters: Women in Early Utah,* ed. Claudia L. Bushman (Cambridge, Mass.: Emmeline Press, 1976), 24–41; Janet Peterson and LaRene Gaunt, "Eliza R. Snow," in *Elect Ladies* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1990), 23–40; Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, ed., *The Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995).
Many of Eliza's writings have been compiled and published as a separate volume: Bryant S. Hinckley, LeRoi Snow, and Arthur M. Richardson, comps., *Eliza R. Snow, an Immortal: Selected Writings of Eliza R. Snow* (Salt Lake City: Nicholas G. Morgan Sr. Foundation, 1957); *Life and Labors of Eliza R. Snow Smith* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1888). See also Leonard J. Arrington, "The Legacy of Latter-day Saint Women," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 10 (1990): 3–17; Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Eliza and Her Sisters* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1991); "The 'Leading Sisters': A Female Hierarchy in Nineteenth Centuty Mormon Society," *Journal of Mormon History* 9 (1982): 25–39; Beecher, "The Eliza Enigma," *Dialogue* 11 (spring 1978): 30–43.
24. Hinckley, Snow, and Richardson, 6.
25. Eliza R Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City, 1884), 252–53. See also Maureen Ursenbach, "Three Women and the Life of the Mind," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (winter 1975): 26–40. Eliza published her first book of poems in 1856 under the title *Poems, Religious, Historical and Political* (Liverpool, 1856). A second volume was published in 1877. Both were ambitious projects; the first was 270 pages, the second 284 pages long.
26. "An Address by Miss Eliza R Snow . . . August 14, 1872," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 36 (13 January 1874): 21.
27. See Arrington, "Blessed Damozels: Women in Mormon History," *Dialogue* 6 (summer 1971): 22–31; Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "A Decade of Mormon Women—the 1870s," *The New Era* (Salt Lake City) 8 (April 1978): 35–36.
28. Edward R Tullidge, *The Women of Mormondom* (New York, 1877), 541–51.
29. Beecher, "Three Women and the Life of the Mind," 35–40; Emmeline B. Wells, "L.D.S. Women of the Past: Personal Impressions," *Woman's Exponent* 36 (February 1908): 49–50.
30. Biographies of Brigham Young include Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Knopf, 1985); Newell G. Bringhurst, *Brigham Young and the Expanding American Frontier* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1986); Eugene England, *Brother Brigham* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980); Francis M. Gibbons, *Brigham Young: Modern Moses, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1981); M. R.

Werner, *Brigham Young* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1925); and Susa Young Gates, in collaboration with Leah D. Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young* (New York: Macmillan, 1930).
31. On Brigham Young's thought: John A. Widtsoe, ed., *Discourses of Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1941); Carl J. Furr, "The Religious Philosophy of Brigham Young" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1937); H. Carleton Marlow, "Brigham Young's Philosophy of History" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959); Arrington, *Brigham Young,* chapters 12 and 17.
32. *Journal of Discourses* (hereafter JD) 4:267, sermon of 8 March 1857.
33. Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation among the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976).
34. Brigham Young Secretary Journal, 28 January 1857, 6, typescript, LDS Church Archives.
35. JD 1:254, sermon of 5 June 1853.
36. JD 9:149, sermon of 12 January 1862.
37. Widtsoe, *Discourses of Brigham Young,* 246.
38. Beatrice Cannon Evans and Janath Russell Cannon, eds., *Cannon Family Historical Treasure* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon Family Association, 1967), 85–140; Joseph J. Cannon, "George Q. Cannon," *The Instructor,* January 1944 through November 1945, a serialized biography; Orson F. Whitney, "George Quayle Cannon," *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1892–1904), 4:659–63; and George Q. Cannon, "Twenty Years Ago: A Trip to California," *The Juvenile Instructor* 4 (January–June 1869): intermittently in 12 issues, 6–92.
39. *Juvenile Instructor* 27 (1892): 210.
40. Whitney, "George Quayle Cannon," 661.
41. Ibid., 659–63.
42. The standard biography is Carol Cornwall Madsen, "A Mormon Woman in Victorian America" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1985). Excellent short biographies include Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Emmeline B. Wells: Romantic Rebel," in *Supporting Saints: Life Stories of Nineteenth Century Mormons,* ed. Donald Q Cannon and David J. Whittaker (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1985), 305–41; Janet Peterson and LaRene Gaunt, "Emmeline B. Wells," *Elect Ladies* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1990), 79–94; Patricia Rasmussen Eaton-Gadsby and Judith Rasmussen Dushku, "Emmeline B. Wells," in *Sister Saints,* ed. Vicky Burgess-Olson (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 457–78; Augusta Joyce Crocheron, "Emmeline B. Wells, " in *Representative Women of Deseret* (Salt Lake City: privately published, 1884), 62–71; Andrew Jenson, "Wells, Emmeline Blanche Woodward," in *Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1898–1936), 2:731–34, 4:199–200; Orson F. Whitney, "Emmeline B. Woodward Wells," *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1892–1904), 4:586–90; Susa Young Gates, "Emmeline B. Wells," *History of the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association,* rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: General Board of the Y.L.M.I.A., 1911), 45–53. See also Rebecca Anderson, "Emmeline B. Wells: Her Life and Thought" (master's thesis, Utah State University, 1975).
43. *Young Woman's Journal* 16 (December 1905): 554–56.
44. Emmeline B. Wells, Diary, 4 January 1878, 207, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham

Young University, Provo, Utah.
45. Ronald W. Walker, "Growing up in Early Utah: The Wasatch Literary Association, 1874–1878," *Sunstone* 6 (November–December 1981): 44–51.
46. Madsen, "A Mormon Woman in Victorian America," 148. See also Eleanor Flexner, *A Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in America* (1959; rev. ed., Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1975).
47. Anne Firor Scott, "Mormon Women, Other Women: Paradoxes and Challenges," *Journal of Mormon History* 13 (1986/87): 4.
48. Emmeline B. Wells to Mary Elizabeth Lightner, 7 April 1882, Wells Papers, LDS Church Archives.
49. Quoted in the article on Emmeline in Richard S. Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walket, *A Book of Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1982), 384. The most complete description of the meaning of the objectionable phrase is Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1800–1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (1966): 151–74.
50. "Why, Ah! Why," *Woman's Exponent* 3 (1 October 1874): 67. I have made good use of Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Emmeline B. Wells: Romantic Rebel," in which many Wells quotations are found.
51. "Real Women," *Woman's Exponent* 2 (1 January 1874): 118.
52. "After Long Years," *Woman's Exponent* 6 (15 November 1877): 89; *Woman's Exponent* 4 (15 May 1876): 191.
53. See also Orson F. Whitney, "Woman's Work and Mormonism," *Young Woman's Journal* 17 (July 1906): 295–96.
54. "Life Lessons, by Blanche Beechwood," *Woman's Exponent* 4 (1 October 1875): 70.
55. Peterson and Gaunt, 85, where the preceding quotations also appear.
56. Rebecca Anderson, 33.
57. Carol Cornwall Madsen, "'The Power of Combination': Emmeline B. Wells and the National and International Councils of Women," *BYU Studies* 33 (fall 1993): 646–73.
58. About this time Susa Young Gates wrote of her: "Emmeline's mind is keen, her intellect sure, and her powers unending. She possesses a rarely beautiful spirit, and is affectionate, confiding and exquisitely pure. . . . She is an eloquent speaker, a beautiful writer, a true friend, and a wise counsellor." Susa Young Gates, "President Emmeline B. Wells," *Album Book: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers and Their Mothers,* ed. Joseph T. Jakeman (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1911), 54.
59. Peterson and Gaunt, 90.
60. See B. Jowett, *The Works of Plato,* 4 vols. in one (New York: Dial Press, 1938), 3: "Phaedrus," 361–449; and Neal W. Kramer, "The Intellect and the Spirit," *New Perspectives* (published by Ricks College) 9 (December 1992): 14–20.