

THE ANOINTED QUORUM IN NAUVOO, 1842-45

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ON 4 MAY 1842, Joseph Smith and nine other men assembled in the room above his red brick store in Nauvoo and, with his brother, Hyrum, administered to them the endowment ceremony that would later be reserved for the temple, slowly rising in gleaming limestone on the bluff above them. They were James Adams, Heber C. Kimball, William Law, William Marks, George Miller, Willard Richards, Newel K. Whitney, and Brigham Young. The next day, these eight would bestow the same washings, anointings, and endowment upon Joseph and Hyrum.

According to Glen M. Leonard, the instructions and covenants

[set] forth a pattern or figurative model for life. The teachings began with a recital of the creation of the earth and its preparation to host life. The story carried the familiar ring of the Genesis account, echoed as well in Joseph Smith's revealed book of Moses and book of Abraham. The disobedience and expulsion of Adam and Eve from

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the Garden of Eden set the stage for an explanation of Christ's atonement for that original transgression and for the sins of the entire human family. Also included was a recital of mankind's tendency to stray from the truth through apostasy and the need for apostolic authority to administer authoritative ordinances and teach true gospel principles. Participants were reminded that in addition to the Savior's redemptive gift they must be obedient to God's commandments to obtain a celestial glory. Within the context of these gospel instructions, the initiates made covenants of personal virtue and benevolence and of commitment to the church. They agreed to devote their talents and means to spread the gospel, to strengthen the church, and to prepare the earth for the return of Jesus Christ.¹

A primary purposes of the endowment was to teach initiates the true order of prayer, during which participants could pray with the confidence that their prayers would be answered.

By receiving these ordinances on these two days in early May 1842, this group of men set themselves apart from the rest of the church and formed the beginnings of the Quorum of the Anointed (also called the "Holy Order"), an elite body of men (and later women) possessing special power and status. Joseph Smith would initiate only one more ordinance before his death: the second anointing (or fullness of the priesthood ordinance) in 1843.² This article is an in-depth exploration of the individuals who made up the Quorum of the Anointed, the evolution of that quorum over time, particularly before Joseph Smith's death, and its purpose. From the

¹Glen M. Leonard, *Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, A People of Promise* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002), 258-59.

²The function and purpose of the Quorum of the Anointed must be understood in the broader context of Joseph Smith's unfolding understanding of temple theology and accompanying ordinances. Although such a history lies outside the scope of this paper, it includes "power from on high" associated with ordination to the Melchizedek Priesthood in Kirtland, Ohio (1831), the construction and dedication of the Kirtland Temple (1833-36), the establishment of the School of the Prophets (1832-33), the ordinance of washing feet (1833), the development of the concept of sealing first referred to in the Book of Mormon, washings and anointings (1836), baptism for the dead (1840), the Nauvoo Temple (begun 1840), marriage for eternity (1841), the establishment of a Masonic Lodge in Nauvoo (1841), and the endowment ceremony (begun May 1842).

minutes kept of this quorum and references scattered throughout diaries and the reminiscences of participants, it is possible to reconstruct its meeting schedule, typical procedure, and goals. Although frequently misunderstood as having a political purpose, this quorum instead seems to have served almost exclusively a spiritual purpose, uniting its participants in prayer and bringing them consolation and affirmation as they faced increasing tensions in Nauvoo after the deaths of Joseph and Hyrum.

The nine men who were the first to experience the modern temple endowment were all members of Nauvoo's Masonic lodge. Three had been Masons for more than two decades. Hyrum Smith had apparently joined sometime before 1821; Heber C. Kimball became a member in 1823; and George Miller had been a Mason since 1819. James Adams had joined a lodge in Illinois after the Saints had entered the state.³ Joseph's explanation of similarities between the two ceremonies, according to Kimball, was that "masonry was taken from priesthood but has become degenerated."⁴ Nineteenth-century accounts of the two rituals show that they contain a handful of nearly identical words and gestures.⁵ For those believing in the restoration of all things, such parallels would have pointed to the ancient origins of Free Masonry.⁶ Historian D. Mi-

³Andrew F. Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Mormon Succession Question" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1982), 42-43.

⁴Heber C. Kimball, Letter to Parley and Mary Ann Pratt, 17 June 1842, Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS Church Archives). "It may not be coincidental that the Holy Order consisted of nine men," observed Michael Homer, "'Similarity of Priesthood in Masonry': The Relationship Between Freemasonry and Mormonism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994): 38. "A Royal Arch Chapter, also known as the Holy Order of the Royal Arch, consists of at least nine Master Masons, and was the next logical step on Freemasonry for those who had advanced to the third degree."

⁵David John Buerger, *The Mysteries of Godliness: A History of Mormon Temple Worship* (San Francisco: Smith Research Associates, 1994), 53-55.

⁶The view that Masonry originated during the construction of King Solomon's temple has been abandoned by modern scholars, and most Mormons today do not believe that the divinity of the endowment depends

chael Quinn observes that, despite the similarities, “the Mormon endowment or Holy Order had the specific purpose of preparing the initiate for ‘an ascent into heaven,’ whereas Freemasonry did not.”⁷ Another factor, whose contribution to the text of the endowment was just as, if not more, important, was Joseph’s study of the Bible, Book of Moses, and Book of Abraham.

By 1840, Masonry had developed from a network of crafts guilds into a fraternity emphasizing personal study, self-improvement, and service. One of Masonry’s important benefits from a Mormon standpoint was the pledge of protection that members swore to each other.⁸ Joseph supported the idea of a Nauvoo lodge for the prestige it would bring to the city and church. Initial requests to the

on the ancient origins of Masonry. According to Armand L. Mauss, “Culture, Charisma, and Change: Reflections on Mormon Temple Worship,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Winter 1987): 79-80, “That the Masonic ceremony itself changed and evolved even in recent centuries does not necessarily invalidate Joseph Smith’s claim that he was restoring, by revelation, an even more ancient temple ceremony to which the Masonic one bore certain resemblances. On the other hand, neither does that claim constitute a declaration of the total independence of the Mormon temple ceremony from any external cultural influences, including Masonry. Frankly, I have some difficulty understanding why this should be such a big issue, except to those with a fairly limited understanding of how a prophet gets ideas. Since prophets and religions always arise and are nurtured within a given cultural context, itself evolving, it should not be difficult to understand why even the most original revelations have to be expressed in the idioms of the culture and biography of the revelator.”

⁷D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1994), 115.

⁸For studies on Mormonism and Masonry, see Kenneth W. Godfrey, “Joseph Smith and the Masons,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 64 (Spring 1971): 79-90; Reed C. Durham Jr., “Is There No Help for the Widow’s Son?” typescript (privately circulated), 1974; Mervin B. Hogan, “Mormonism and Freemasonry: The Illinois Episode,” in *Little Masonic Library*, edited by Carl H. Claudy, 5 vols. (Richmond, Va.: Macoy Publishing & Masonic Supply Co., 1977), 2:267-327; Robin L. Carr, *Freemasonry in Nauvoo, 1839-1846* (Bloomington, Ill.: Masonic Book Club and the Illinois Lodge of Research, 1989); and Michael W. Homer, “Similarity of Priesthood in Masonry.”

Grand Lodge in June 1841 for a Nauvoo dispensation were denied, yet four months later Abraham Jonas of the Columbus Lodge approved the Saints' application. In December 1841, eighteen Masons met to organize a Nauvoo lodge at Hyrum Smith's home. Jonas officially installed the lodge and its officers on 15 March 1842. Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon, his counselor in the First Presidency, were both initiated on this occasion in a room above Joseph's red brick store. More than five hundred Mormon men joined or were elevated within the first five months, causing Nauvoo Masons to outnumber all other Masons in the state combined.⁹

In addition to their Masonic membership, shared widely with other men in Nauvoo, these nine were among the highest ranking and most trusted leaders of the church. Hyrum was assistant church president; William Law was a member of the First Presidency; Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards were apostles; William Marks was Nauvoo Stake president; Newell K. Whitney served as Presiding Bishop; James Adams and George Miller held positions of local leadership.

The Anointed Quorum met on at least two subsequent occasions (perhaps as many as four) before the end of 1842. Vinson Knight apparently became the tenth man to be initiated that year, although this is not certain.¹⁰ Those who left accounts of these meetings record that they often received instruction, discussed items of business and current interest, and engaged in prayer. For example, on 26 and 28 June 1842, meetings focused on "the situation of the pine country & Lumbering business" where men were logging Wisconsin timber for the temple. On each occasion, quorum members "united in solemn prayer," asking, for example, for aid in dealing with legal matters facing the Church, and for protection of a quorum

⁹Homer, "Similarity of Priesthood in Masonry," 28-29.

¹⁰John C. Bennett, *A History of the Saints; or, An Exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism* (Boston: Leland & Whiting, 1842), 247-48. Bennett cites a letter from George W. Robinson dated 8 August 1842 which claims that Vinson Knight had been endowed. Because Knight had died a week earlier on 31 July 1842, his initiation, if Bennett is correct, must have occurred between May 6 and the end of July. Because he was bishop of Nauvoo's Lower Ward and an early polygamist, he is included in the list of members in this essay.

member who was to leave the next day to bring his family to Nauvoo.¹¹

Following meetings in July (and possibly September), the Anointed Quorum did not meet again until May 1843. The gap between meetings probably resulted from the John C. Bennett crisis that placed most of the Church's business, including the temple construction, on hold. Bennett, who had moved to Nauvoo in September 1840, quickly rose to prominence in the new community. Within five months he was mayor of Nauvoo, chancellor of the University of Nauvoo, and major general of the Nauvoo Legion. Two months later, he was sustained as acting counselor to Joseph Smith. Church leaders soon learned, however, that Bennett had been secretly practicing his own version of plural marriage without Joseph's authorization. (Joseph had begun revealing his doctrine of plural wives to other Church leaders, including members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in mid- to late-1841.) Joseph branded Bennett's activities as adulterous, and Bennett withdrew from the Church shortly after the organization of the Anointed Quorum in May 1842.

During the fall of 1842, Bennett published a book-length exposé of Joseph Smith, the Saints, plural marriage, and the Anointed Quorum. Although many of Bennett's claims were based on hearsay, others reflected first-hand knowledge, and the situation posed a dilemma for Joseph, who wanted to keep knowledge of both plural marriage and the Anointed Quorum private. Public discussion over Bennett's charges of "spiritual wifery" forced Joseph to denounce Bennett's allegations publicly while privately remaining true to the doctrines that he had been teaching and living.¹²

¹¹William Clayton, Diary, Kept for Joseph Smith, in "Book of the Law of the Lord," 26, 28 June 1842, in *The Papers of Joseph Smith, Volume 2: Journal, 1832-1842*, edited by Dean C. Jessee (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 393-94.

¹²George D. Smith, "Nauvoo Roots of Polygamy, 1841-1846: A Preliminary Demographic Report," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Spring 1994): 1-72; Todd M. Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997); Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), and Kathryn M. Daynes, *More Wives Than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840-1910* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press,

The situation intensified when Hyrum Smith, William Law, and William Marks, all members of the Anointed Quorum who were unaware of Joseph's plural marriages, tried to rid the Church of such teachings. Joseph's private secretary, William Clayton, recorded 23 May 1843: "Conversed with H[eber] C. K[imball] concerning a plot that is being laid to entrap the brethren of the secret priesthood by Brother H[yrum] and others."¹³ As Brigham Young later related, apparently within a day or two, Hyrum approached him: "I have a question to ask you," Hyrum began. "You and the twelve know some things that I do not know. I can understand this by the motions, and talk, and doings of Joseph, and I know there is something or other, which I do not understand, that is revealed to the Twelve. Is this so?" Young responded: "I do not know any thing about what you know, but I know what I know." Hyrum continued: "I have mistrusted for a long time that Joseph has received a revelation that a man should have more than one wife, and he has hinted as much to me, but I would not bear it. . . . I am convinced that there is something that has not been told me." Brigham then responded:

[B]rother Hyrum, I will tell you about this thing which you do not know if you will swear with an uplifted hand, before God, that you will never say another word against Joseph and his doings, and the doctrines he is preaching to the people. He replied, "I will do it with all my heart;" and he stood upon his feet, saying, "I want to know the truth, and to be saved." And he made a covenant there, never again to bring forward one argument or use any influence against Joseph's doings. Joseph had many wives sealed to him. I told Hyrum the whole story, and he bowed to it and wept like a child, and said, "God be praised." He went to Joseph and told him what he had learned, and renewed his covenant with Joseph, and they went heart and hand together while they lived, and they were together when they died, and they are together now defending Israel.¹⁴

Hyrum's conversion to plural marriage and the renewed inti-

2002).

¹³George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Diaries of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1991), 105.

¹⁴Brigham Young, quoted in Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances," 57-59.

macy of the two brothers may have prompted the meeting of the Anointed Quorum on 26 May 1843, the first after at least eight months. The interval between William Clayton's diary entry, Hyrum's conversation with Brigham, and the quorum's meeting was only three days. William recorded in his diary on 26 May that "Hyrum received the doctrine of priesthood," meaning that he accepted plural marriage.¹⁵

Andrew Ehat suggests that the discussion of Hyrum's conversion to plural marriage did not occur in this meeting of the Anointed Quorum because William Law, who never accepted plural marriage, was present: "According to his testimony, William Law never knew from Joseph Smith that plural marriage was a practice of the Church until D&C 132 was recorded. This was seven weeks *after* the 26 May meeting."¹⁶ Joseph may have broached the topic indirectly, theoretically, or not at all. Michael Quinn, another historian of the Anointed Quorum, believes that Hyrum's conversion prompted Joseph at the 26 May meeting to reendow everyone who had been endowed the previous year. William Marks and George Miller were the only members of the Anointed Quorum absent from this meeting. Whether Joseph instructed quorum members in plural marriage at this time, Hyrum's acceptance revitalized the quorum and Joseph's plans for it. One result, according to Quinn, was that Joseph decided two months later to designate Hyrum his successor. After the 26 May meeting, according to Quinn, "Events in the Quorum of Anointed and other groups associated with the secret practices of Nauvoo were often more crucial than events occurring within open, public forums."¹⁷

On this occasion, the quorum also renewed the practice of prayer circles, a ritual which became increasingly important in quorum meetings and remains an important part of LDS temple worship. These ritual prayers imparted to members the "endowment of power" they believed they possessed.¹⁸ Diary entries mentioning, for example, "prayer meeting at J[oseph Smith].'s old house"¹⁹ usually refer to meetings of the Anointed Quorum.

¹⁵Smith, *Intimate Chronicle*, 106.

¹⁶Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances," 62.

¹⁷Quinn, *Origins of Power*, 54-55.

¹⁸D. Michael Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," *BYU Studies* 19 (Fall 1978): 79-105.

On 28 May, two days after this crucial meeting, Joseph Smith introduced another ceremony to the Anointed Quorum: marriage sealings for eternity.²⁰ On 28 May, Joseph Smith and James Adams were sealed to their spouses, Emma Hale Smith and Harriet Denton Adams. This was an important moment for the Smiths, as Emma Smith, like Hyrum, had originally opposed her husband's teachings on plural marriage (and would again), yet had reconciled herself to the doctrine and practice, for "in the background of Joseph's introduction of the temple ordinances was the principle of plural marriage."²¹ The next day, Hyrum, Brigham, and Willard Richards were all sealed to their legal wives.²²

Four months later, on 28 September, the first women were initiated into the quorum, beginning with Emma, who received her endowment on or just before that date. The previous year, Joseph had organized the women's Relief Society and, using Masonic terminology, had instructed the women in his vision of their organization. "Let this Presidency serve as a *constitution*," he said, proposing "that the society go into a close *examination* of every *candidate*. . . .

¹⁹Willard Richards, Diary, 12 November 1843, LDS Church Archives.

²⁰Joseph had actually begun marriage sealings for eternity in April 1841 when he married his first documented plural wife, Louisa Beaman.

²¹Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances," 74-75. He adds: "Joseph had persuaded Emma to accept plural marriage in part by assuring her she could choose his wives. Shortly before her 28 May sealing, she designated Emily and Eliza Partridge and Sarah and Maria Lawrence and witnessed their weddings to her husband. She did not know that Joseph had already married at least sixteen women, including the Partridge sisters, two months earlier. By July 1843 when Joseph dictated the revelation sanctioning polygamy (D&C 132), Emma had changed her mind. Hyrum Smith read it her, after which he reported to Joseph: 'I have never received a more severe talking to in my life. Emma is very bitter and full of resentment and anger.'" Quoted in Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1984, 142-52).

²²Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1986), 381. Hyrum Smith and Adams were not polygamists at this point; Young and Richards were. George Smith, "Nauvoo Roots," 37-69.

that the Society should grow up by *degrees*." He added that God would "make of this Society a *kingdom of priests* as in *Enoch's day*."²³

At the Anointed Quorum's meeting on 28 September 1843, Joseph "was by common consent and unanimous voice chosen President of the quorum and anointed and ord[ained] to the highest and holiest order of the priesthood (and companion [i.e., Emma])."²⁴ This ordinance, called the "fullness of the priesthood" or second anointing, fulfilled the promise of the first anointing.²⁵ According to Glen M. Leonard, this "crowning ordinance" was "a promise of kingly powers and of endless lives. It was the confirmation of promises that worthy men could become kings and priests and that women could become queens and priestesses in the eternal worlds."²⁶ "For any person to have the fullness of that priesthood," Brigham Young explained, "he must be a king and priest. A person may have a portion of that priesthood, the same as governors or judges of England have power from the king to transact business; but that does not make them kings of England. A person may be anointed king and priest long before he receives his kingdom."²⁷ Those who receive their second anointings, according to twentieth-century Apostle Bruce R. McConkie, "receive the more sure word of prophecy, which means that the Lord seals their exaltation upon them while they are yet in this life. . . . [T]heir exaltation is assured."²⁸ During the ordinance, explains historian Lyndon W. Cook, a husband is "ordained a priest and anointed a king unto God," while

²³Minutes of the Nauvoo Female Relief Society, 17 March 1842, in Buerger, *Mysteries of Godliness*, 51; emphasis his. These words were also common Masonic terms and prompted Bennett to accuse Joseph of establishing a lodge of female Masonry. Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," 85-86.

²⁴Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record*, 416.

²⁵David John Buerger, "'The Fulness of the Priesthood': The Second Anointing in Latter-day Saint Theology and Practice," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Spring 1983): 10-44.

²⁶Leonard, *Nauvoo*, 260-61.

²⁷Joseph Smith Jr. et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 6 vols. published 1902-12, Vol. 7 published 1932, 1980 printing), 5:527.

²⁸Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), 109-10.

wives are "anointed priestesses and queens unto their husband."²⁹ "These ordinances," Ehat adds,

depending on the person's ecclesiastical position, made the recipient a "king and priest," "in," "in and over," or (as only in Joseph Smith's case) "over" the Church. Moreover, the recipient had sealed upon him the power to bind and loose on earth as Joseph explained in his definition of the fulness of the priesthood. Another blessing, growing out of the promise of the sealing power was the specific blessing that whatever thing was desired it would not be withheld when sought for in diligent prayer.³⁰

"There is no exaltation in the kingdom of God," Joseph Fielding Smith, writing as Church Historian and apostle, "without the fulness of priesthood."³¹

Throughout the remainder of 1843, the quorum continued to expand, with eternal sealings and second anointings following initiation as members. Such ordinances consumed a significant portion of the time, but the quorum also addressed important issues confronting the Church. For example, on 12 November 1843, after Alpheus and Lois Cutler received their second anointing, "I [Joseph Smith] spoke of a petition to Congress, my letter to [James Arlington] Bennett, and intention to write a proclamation to the kings of the earth." On 3 December with "all present except Hyrum and his wife," William Wine Phelps read Joseph's appeal to the Green Mountain Boys of Vermont to require Missouri to redress its wrongs against the Saints. Joseph's written appeal "was dedicated by prayer after *all* had spoken upon it."³² As Quinn points out, these meetings during November and December 1843 were the first time in Church history that men and women together discussed theocratic issues. Other such meetings would follow.³³

However, the Anointed Quorum was not an administrative or legislative body. Its authority stemmed from their anointings and

²⁹Lyndon W. Cook, *Joseph C. Kingsbury: A Biography* (Provo, Utah: Grandin Book, 1985), 94.

³⁰Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances," 95-96.

³¹In Bruce R. McConkie, comp., *Doctrines of Salvation: Sermons and Writings of Joseph Fielding Smith* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1956), 3:132.

³²Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record*, 429-30; emphasis mine.

³³Quinn, *Origins of Power*, 116.

endowments, both of which were strictly spiritual in nature. They discussed the appeal to the Green Mountain Boys, then made it a matter of prayer. The quorum did vote on matters that affected the group, however. For example, when William Law rejected plural marriage and stopped attending quorum meetings, the group voted formally to expel him in early 1844. Bathsheba Bigler Smith, a member of the quorum and wife of George A. Smith, who attended this meeting, said that “each one present vot[ed] yes or no in his [or her] turn.”³⁴ Quinn summarizes: “All available evidence shows that the Holy Order’s only administrative function pertained to . . . the endowment ordinances from 1843 to 1845,” and stresses that “even when male members of the Anointed Quorum conducted administrative business, they sometimes made a distinct separation between meeting in their Church capacity to discuss administrative matters and meeting as the Quorum of Anointed to have a prayer circle about the matters discussed.”³⁵

By the end of 1843, the quorum numbered at least thirty-eight individuals and had met at least thirty-two times, mostly to endow new members, advance others in the ordinances, and engage in the true order of prayer. Eighteen women had been initiated into the quorum and been endowed. Fifteen members had received the second anointing while as many as seventeen couples had been sealed for eternity.

As the quorum grew, it is important to note the family relationships between Joseph and other quorum members (see Table 1). Although the quorum included a number of Joseph’s biological kin and relatives by marriage, relationships established by his and other plural unions also broadened the familial connections. Eventually, some thirty-nine initiates (44 percent of all quorum members) shared a family connection to Joseph, thus strengthening existing bonds of loyalty and increasing the trust Joseph hoped to foster and maintain within the group.

The year 1844 proved to be a difficult, yet prosperous twelve

³⁴Bathsheba W. Smith, Testimony, 16 March 1892, in *Complainant’s Abstract of Pleading and Evidence, In the Circuit Court of the United States, Western District of Missouri, Western Division at Kansas City. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Complainants vs. The Church of Christ at Independence, Missouri* (Lamoni, Ia: Herald Publishing House, 1893), 360.

³⁵Quinn, “Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles,” 90-91.

TABLE 1
FAMILY CONNECTIONS TO JOSEPH SMITH OF QUORUM MEMBERS,
1842-45

<i>Quorum Member</i>	<i>Family Connection to Joseph Smith</i>
Lucy Mack Smith	mother
Hyrum Smith	brother
Mary Fielding (wife of Hyrum Smith)	sister-in-law
Mercy Fielding Thompson (sister of Mary Fielding Smith and Hyrum Smith's plural wife)	sister-in-law by marriage
Joseph Fielding (Mary and Mercy's brother)	brother-in-law by marriage
Hannah G. Fielding (wife of Joseph Fielding)	sister-in-law by marriage
Samuel H. Smith	brother
William Smith	brother
John Smith (brother of Joseph Smith Sr.)	uncle
Clarissa Lyman Smith (wife of John Smith)	aunt by marriage
George A. Smith (son of John and Clarissa Smith)	first cousin
Bathsheba Bigler Smith (wife of George A. Smith)	cousin-in-law by marriage
Emma Hale Smith	first wife
Louisa Beaman/Beman	plural wife
Mary Adeline Beaman/Beman Noble (sister of Louisa Beaman)	sister-in-law
Joseph Bates Noble (husband of Mary Beaman)	brother-in-law by marriage
Olive Grey Frost	plural wife
Mary Ann Frost Pratt (sister of Olive Frost)	sister-in-law
Parley Pratt (husband of Mary Ann Frost)	brother-in-law by marriage

<i>Quorum Member</i>	<i>Family Connection to Joseph Smith</i>
Marinda Nancy Johnson Hyde	plural wife
Orson Hyde (husband of Marinda Nancy Johnson)	co-husband
Helen Mar Kimball	plural wife
Heber C. Kimball (father of Helen Mar Kimball)	father-in-law
Vilate Murray Kimball (mother of Helen Mar Kimball)	mother-in-law
Fanny Murray Young	plural wife
Vilate Murray Kimball (stepmother of Fanny Young)	stepmother-in-law
Heber C. Kimball (stepfather of Fanny Young)	stepfather-in-law
Rhoda Richards	plural wife
Levi Richards (brother of Rhoda Richards)	brother-in-law
Willard Richards (brother of Rhoda Richards)	brother-in-law
Jennetta Richards Richards (wife of Willard Richards)	sister-in-law by marriage
Sarah Ann Whitney	plural wife
Joseph C. Kingsbury (civil husband of Sarah Ann Whitney; and son-in-law; wife, Caroline Whitney [deceased])	co-husband
Newel K. Whitney (father of Sarah Ann Whitney)	father-in-law
Elizabeth Ann Whitney (mother of Sarah Ann Whitney)	mother-in-law
Agnes M. Coolbrith	plural wife
Elizabeth Davis Durfee	plural wife
Zina D. H. Jacobs	plural wife
Mary E. Rollins Lightner	plural wife
Sylvia Porter Sessions	plural wife
Eliza Roxcy Snow	plural wife

months for the quorum. Members were added by vote. In late January, for example, William Clayton recorded: "Brother [Reynolds] Cahoon came to my house to say that a vote had been taken on my being admitted into the quorum and I was accepted."³⁶ It is unknown if recommendations for admission came solely from Joseph or also from other quorum members. However, each member had a say in the matter and admissions received unanimous votes. In her reminiscence of the decision to drop Law, Bathsheba Smith also recalled: "One member hesitated to vote, which called forth earnest remarks from the Prophet Joseph. He showed clearly that it would be doing a serious wrong to retain him longer. After his explanation the vote was unanimous."³⁷

Although the quorum met primarily for prayer and ordinance work, meetings also included instruction on scripture and doctrine. For example, on 28 January 1844, in addition to the usual prayer circle, Joseph spoke on the coming of Elijah as recorded in Malachi 4. The following week, he expounded on the scriptural teaching of the 144,000 in the book of Revelation. At an earlier meeting that month, John Taylor had addressed the quorum and "made some appropriate remarks unto edification."³⁸ The quorum met more than twenty times in January and February 1844, averaging at least twice and often three times a week.

After William Law's expulsion from the Anointed Quorum, he became estranged from Joseph and was excommunicated three months later on 18 April 1844, along with his wife and brother. Three days later, he helped to found the Reformed Mormon Church and for the next two months worked to expose Joseph as a "fallen" prophet. Meetings of the Anointed Quorum became less frequent as Church leaders dealt with these latest challenges: only four times in March, once in April, and six times from May until Joseph's and Hyrum's deaths in late June. Meetings also dealt less with spiritual matters and more on the crisis with dissidents and reformers. For example, William Clayton recorded on 28 April: "We united [in prayer] for President Joseph the Church, the presidency contests the

³⁶Smith, *Intimate Chronicle*, 125.

³⁷Bathsheba Smith, *Testimony*, 360.

³⁸Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898*, typescript, edited by Scott G. Kenny, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-85): 2:344, 348, 346.

Lawsuits. The apostates, the sick &c. &c.” Still, he added, “We had a good time.”³⁹ The friendship, trust, and unity experienced within the quorum was a welcome respite from the turmoil in the community at large.

On 7 June 1844, Law and others published the first (and only) issue of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, which detailed Joseph’s plural marriage teachings and advocated repeal of Nauvoo’s city charter. Joseph, as mayor of Nauvoo, and the city council, declared the *Expositor* a nuisance and ordered its destruction. Joseph was charged with inciting a riot and other treasonous activities. While awaiting trial in Carthage Jail, he and Hyrum were killed by a mob on 27 June.

Their deaths placed in a special category those who had already joined the Anointed Quorum compared to those initiated during the next year and a half, before the completion of the Nauvoo Temple. What role did plural marriage play in membership? Although there was a high correlation, not all in the Anointed Quorum were polygamists. (See Table 2.) Of the thirty-seven men and twenty-nine women (sixty-six total) initiated during Joseph’s lifetime, sixteen men and twenty women (54.5 percent of all members) were polygamists either before or after initiation. These sixteen men represented 43 percent of male initiates (24 percent of all members); the twenty women represented 69 percent of female initiates (30 percent of all members). Thus, practicing plural marriage was not required for admission into the quorum although acceptance of the doctrine certainly was.⁴⁰

The correspondence between membership in the Anointed Quorum and those who received their second anointings was also not complete. Of the men and women initiated during Joseph’s lifetime, nineteen men and seventeen women (56 percent of all initiates) received their second anointing prior to Joseph’s death. (See Table 3.) These nineteen men represented 51 percent of male members (29 percent of all members), the seventeen women 59 percent of female members (26 percent of all members). Of the nineteen husbands who received the second anointing during Joseph’s lifetime, eleven (58 percent) were polygamists, eight (42 percent) monogamists. No plural wife received the ordinance until after Joseph’s

³⁹Smith, *Intimate Chronicle*, 131.

⁴⁰See the list of Nauvoo polygamists in George D. Smith, “Nauvoo Roots,” 37-69.

TABLE 2
PLURAL MARRIAGE AMONG QUORUM MEMBERS
DURING JOSEPH SMITH'S LIFETIME

I. Plural Husbands and Wives Initiated During Joseph Smith's Lifetime

<i>Husbands</i>	<i>Wives</i>
James Adams	Harriet Denton Adams, Roxena Repshire*
Reynolds Cahoon	Thirza Stiles Cahoon, Lucina Roberts*
William Clayton	Ruth Moon Clayton, Margaret Moon
Orson Hyde	Marinda Nancy Johnson Hyde, Martha Rebecca Browett,* Mary Ann Price*
Heber C. Kimball	Vilate Murray Kimball, Sarah Peak Noon*
Vinson Knight	Martha McBride Knight,* Philinda Clark Eldredge Myrick*
Isaac Morley	Lucy Gunn Morley, Hannah Blakeslee Finch Merriam*
Parley Pratt	Mary Ann Frost Pratt, Elizabeth Brotherton*
Willard Richards	Jennetta Richards Richards, Sarah Longstroth*
Hyrum Smith	Mary Fielding Smith, Mercy R. Fielding Thompson, Catherine Phillips*
John Smith	Clarissa Lyman Smith, Mary Aikens,* Julia Ellis Hills*
Joseph Smith	Emma Hale Smith, Agnes M. Coolbrith, Elizabeth Davis Durfee, Marinda Nancy Johnson Hyde, Fanny Young Murray, Louisa Be[a]man,* Prescindia L. H. Buell,* Sarah Kinsley Cleveland,* Hannah Ells,* Olive Grey Frost,* Desdemona Fullmer,* Elvira Annie Cowles Holmes,* Zina D. H. Jacobs,* Almera Woodward Johnson,* Helen Mar Kimball,* Martha McBride Knight,* Maria Lawrence,* Sarah Lawrence,* Mary E. Rol- lins Lightner,* Melissa Lott,* Sarah Scott Mulholland,* Emily Dow Partridge,* Eliza Maria Partridge,* Rhoda Richards,* Ruth Vose Sayers,* Patty Bartlett Sessions,* Sylvia Porter Sessions,* Delcena Johnson Sher- man,* Eliza Roxcy Snow,* Lucy Walker,* Sarah Ann Whitney,* Nancy Maria[h] Win- chester,* Flora Ann Woodworth,*
William Smith	Caroline Amanda Grant Smith,* Mary Ann Covington Sheffield,* Mary Jones*
John Taylor	Leonora Cannon Taylor, Elizabeth Kaighan,* Jane Ballantyne*
Lyman Wight	Harriet Benton,* Jane Margaret Ballantyne?,*

II. Known Plural Husbands Not Initiated in the Anointed Quorum During Joseph Smith's Lifetime

George F. Adams	John E. Page
Ezra T. Benson	Ebenezer Richardson
Howard Egan	William Sagers
William Felshaw	Erastus Snow
William D. Huntington	Theodore Turley
Joseph A. Kelting	Edwin D. Woolley
Joseph Bates Noble	Lorenzo Dow Young

*Not a member of the Anointed Quorum during Joseph Smith's lifetime.

TABLE 3
THE SECOND ANOINTING AND PLURAL MARRIAGE
AMONG QUORUM MEMBERS DURING JOSEPH SMITH'S LIFETIME

<i>Members Who Received Second Anointing</i>	<i>Wives</i>	<i>Marital Status at the Time</i>
<i>Husbands</i>		
Reynolds Cahoon	Thirza Stiles Cahoon	Polygamist
Alpheus Cutler	Lois Lathrop Cutler	Monogamist
Orson Hyde	[Anointed without wife]	Polygamist
Heber C. Kimball	Vilate Murray Kimball	Polygamist
Cornelius Lott	Permelia Darrow Lott	Monogamist
William Marks	Rosannah Robinson Marks	Monogamist
Isaac Morley	Lucy Gunn Morley	Polygamist
William W. Phelps	Sally Waterman Phelps	Monogamist
Orson Pratt	[Anointed without wife]	Monogamist
Parley P. Pratt	[Anointed without wife]	Polygamist
Willard Richards	Jennetta Richards Richards	Polygamist
George A. Smith	Bathsheba Bigler Smith	Monogamist
Hyrum Smith	Mary Fielding Smith	Polygamist
John Smith	Clarissa Lyman Smith	Polygamist
Joseph Smith	Emma Hale Smith	Polygamist
[Husband deceased]	Lucy Mack Smith	Monogamist
John Taylor	Leonora Cannon Taylor	Polygamist
Newel K. Whitney	Elizabeth Ann Smith Whitney	Monogamist
Wilford Woodruff	Phoebe Carter Woodruff	Monogamist
Brigham Young	Mary Ann Angell Young	Polygamist

death, leading Quinn to conclude that, during this period, “polygamy was only an appendage ‘to the highest order of the priesthood’ [i.e., the fullness of the priesthood] established on 28 September 1843.”⁴¹ Had Joseph lived, requirements for initiation into the quorum and the ordinances themselves would probably have evolved further, especially considering the changes that had taken place in defining and bestowing the endowment between 1831 and 1843.

During the succession crisis that followed Joseph’s death, some of the drama played out in the Anointed Quorum. As Quinn points out, during the five weeks after Joseph’s martyrdom, “the primary format for discussing succession was at meetings of the Quorum of Anointed. Three-fourths of the apostles and other leaders were weeks away from Nauvoo. Unlike all other quorums, the Quorum of Anointed had no requirement that a majority be present to conduct business.”⁴² However, quorum members were divided on appointing a trustee for the Church; some wanted to act immediately, while others, including Willard Richards, wanted to await the apostles’ return.⁴³ The second group prevailed. The quorum met six times between 27 June and 8 August: on 30 June 4, 7, 12, 14, and 24 July.

Following the arrival in Nauvoo of a majority of apostles, Sidney Rigdon, Joseph’s first counselor, presented the case for his appointment as “guardian” of the Church at a public meeting on 8 August. However, most Church members favored the leadership of the Quorum of the Twelve, with Brigham Young as its president. At Rigdon’s excommunication the next month, Apostle Orson Hyde denounced Rigdon’s revelations and observed that the dilemma could have been resolved elsewhere: “There is a quorum organized where revelations can be tested.” Although Hyde did not identify the Anointed Quorum by name, he was clearly thinking of its prayer circles.⁴⁴ The day after Rigdon’s failed bid, Young assembled the Anointed Quorum and its members voted to stop admitting new initiates “till times would admit.”⁴⁵

The meetings of the Anointed Quorum were also curtailed. In

⁴¹Quinn, “Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles,” 88.

⁴²Quinn, *Origins of Power*, 149.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 150.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 171.

⁴⁵Willard Richards, *Diary*, 9 August 1844.

September, there were three meetings, two in October, none in November, and one in December. At that meeting on 22 December, quorum members voted to admit three women, although they actually entered the quorum later. However, in 1845, Young presided over 146 meetings of the quorum, usually between five and ten times a month; but from 2 October to 11 December, they met daily. They also added more than twenty to the quorum. In the process, according to Quinn, Young helped “make polygamy an institution instead of furtive practice” by increasing the percentage of plural wives within the quorum from 7.6 percent during Joseph’s lifetime to 57.1 percent.⁴⁶ Young also resumed the administration of second anointings in 1845.

In addition to admitting or advancing members, the quorum regularly held prayer circles in its meetings. They prayed for deliverance from their enemies, for example, asking that Thomas Sharp, editor of the anti-Mormon *Warsaw Signal* and accused murderer of Joseph Smith, “be visited with judgements.” They also implored divine retribution on troublemakers inside the Church, such as presiding patriarch William Smith (Joseph’s younger brother), who “is endeavoring to ride the Twelve down.”⁴⁷ At a time when the Saints were struggling to complete their temple and simultaneously dealing with internal and external strife, many of the quorum’s meetings lasted late into the night. On 18 May 1845, for example, the quorum was in session until 2:00 A.M.; on May 22, the meeting ended at midnight; on 29 May, quorum members did not return home until 1:30 A.M. It is obvious from the minutes that the power they collectively invoked in the true order of prayer motivated them to unite together until they could open the temple, endow the Saints, and evacuate Nauvoo.

The Anointed Quorum met for the first time in the Nauvoo Temple on 7 December 1845. Three days later, they launched the monumental process of endowing the general adult membership of the Church. Although the temple was unfinished, the attic level was completed, allowing ordinances to be performed for over five thousand men and women until 6 February 1846.

While the Nauvoo era of LDS history is remembered, in part, for development associated with the temple, the Anointed Quorum

⁴⁶Quinn, *Origins of Power*, 176.

⁴⁷Smith, *Intimate Chronicle*, 167.

set the stage for those teachings. It was the Anointed Quorum that met together for three and a half years, participating in sacred rites and receiving instruction from Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and other leading Church officials. Any study of Nauvoo must treat the Anointed Quorum as Joseph's contribution to temple-related theology. The quorum should be recognized for its comforting and invigorating spiritual power, acting as a separate body from those governing the Church administratively.