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JOSEPH SMITH'S DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT
CONTRASTED WITH CARTWRIGHT,
CAMPBELL, HODGE, AND FINNEY

by

Lynne Savage Hilton Wilson, B.S. M.A.

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School,
Marquette University,
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

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ABSTRACT
JOSEPH SMITH'S DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT
CONTRASTED WITH CARTWRIGHT,
CAMPBELL, HODGE, AND FINNEY

Lynne Savage Hilton Wilson, B.S. M.A.

Marquette University, 2010

The dissertation is an historical-critical examination of Joseph Smith's (1805-1844) sermons and writings from 1830 to 1844 to determine the scope of his doctrine on the Holy Ghost. Many biographers dismiss Joseph Smith as a product of his environment. Superficially, his thoughts on the Holy Ghost appear to fall within the mainstream of the enthusiastic outbursts of the Second Great Awakening, but a closer look shows that they are an abrupt and radical departure from the pneumatology of his day. To clarify the unique parameters of Smith's pneumatology, it is necessary to place Smith's views in a historical context by examining the ideas circulating on the Holy Spirit in the early nineteenth century American Protestant thought. Smith's views are compared to those of four of his contemporaries: Peter Cartwright (1785-1872) Alexander Campbell (1788-1866), Charles Finney (1792-1875), and Charles Hodge (1797-1878). We examine these four men's use of the Holy Spirit from their sermons and other writings, and then compare them to Smith's interpretation.

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Abbreviations

D&C= *Doctrine and Covenants*

JST=Joseph Smith Translation or “Inspired Edition” of the Bible

JS-M= Joseph Smith's reordering of Matthew 24 in the *Pearl of Great Price* (1981 edition)

JS-H= Joseph Smith's history in the the *Pearl of Great Price* (1981 edition)

KJV=King James Version of the Bible

LDS=The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

SCSR= Scottish Common Sense Realism

Outline of *The Book of Mormon*

- I. Small Plates of Nephi
 - 1. First Book of Nephi (1 Nephi)
 - 2. Second Book of Nephi (2 Nephi)
 - 3. Book of Jacob
 - 4. Book of Enos
 - 5. Book of Jarom
 - 6. Book of Omni
- II. Mormon's Explanatory Notes
 - 7. The Words of Mormon
- III. Literary Editing by Mormon
 - 8. Book of Mosiah
 - 9. Book of Alma
 - 10. Book of Helaman
 - 11. Third Book of Nephi (3 Nephi)
 - 12. Fourth Book of Nephi (4 Nephi)
 - 13. Book of Mormon (Chapters 1-7)
- IV. Literary Editing by Moroni
 - 14. Book of Mormon (Chapters 8, 9)
 - 15. Book of Ether
 - 16. Book of Moroni

Outline of the *Pearl of Great Price*

- 1. Selections from the Book of Moses
- 2. Book of Abraham
- 3. Joseph Smith—Matthew
- 4. Joseph Smith—History
- 5. The Articles of Faith

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines the role of the gift of the Holy Spirit in the matrix of early nineteenth century religious history. Major historical studies have not emphasized that the period's fascination with the Holy Spirit was central to understanding the theological and historical American setting.¹ During the time that became known as the Second Great Awakening (1800-1840), Americans thrived on religious debate. The three most frequent religious discussions dealt with 1) revelation, 2) the depravity of man, and 3) the Trinity. All three of these are connected with different branches of pneumatology—the first two, with the Spirit's work of inspiration and regeneration, and the latter with the Spirit's identity in the Godhead. Among these three, the central issue was revelation. A broad nineteenth century definition of revelation includes all truth that God makes known to man—from the scriptures to personal inspiration.² Periodicals, pulpits, forums, and

¹ Several books describe general American religious history of the nineteenth century including Sydney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972); Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990); Edwin Gaustad and Leigh Schmidt, *The Religious History of America*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco, CA: Harper Collins, 2004); Barry Hankins, *The Second Great Awakening and the Transcendentalists* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004); Keith J. Hardman, *Seasons of Refreshing: Evangelism and Revivals in America* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1994); Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989); E. Brooks Holifield, *Theology in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America 1815-1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Winthrop Hudson, *Religion in America* (3rd ed., New York: Charles Scribner, 1981); Henry F. May, *The Enlightenment in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976); Mark A. Noll, Nathan O. Hatch, George M. Marsden, *The Search for Christian America* (Westchester, IL: Helmers and Howard, 1983, reprinted 1989); Mark A. Noll, *The Old Religion in a New World* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002); *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001); *America's God: from Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Amanda Porterfield, ed. *American Religious History* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002); Grant Wacker, *Religion in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Claude Welch, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century: 1799-1870* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972). Most of these authors agree that Christianity had a major influence in New England culture in early American history. By the nineteenth century the majority of the entire nation claimed Christian beliefs.

² Reading various statements on revelation from the nineteenth century led me to understand that early nineteenth century Americans defined revelation as supernatural communication of truth to the mind—whether from spiritual sources or from comprehending scripture. The first definition in the *Oxford English*

firesides became the avenues to discuss different ways to interpret and implement revelation. Building on the interest that developed in earlier centuries, American colonists clung to revelation “as they faced the rise of deism and the challenge of critical reason.”³ Their interest grew until revelation became “a central focus in the early nineteenth century.”⁴

New definitions for revelation (as well as the old creeds and traditions) were examined afresh in a new country in a new light. Americans from a Puritan-Calvinist heritage affirmed that one can find true knowledge of God “only through the revelation of scripture.”⁵ Others expanded revelation to include a personal spiritual experience.⁶ American religious historians document hundreds of preachers who felt inspired by the Spirit to raise their voices.⁷ Among them, Joseph Smith Junior (1805-1844) not only did not limit “revelation” to the Bible but also claimed that his personal revelations could become new scripture. His claims about the workings of the Holy Spirit were among the most far-reaching on a spectrum of nineteenth century American beliefs. To highlight those differences, this dissertation will compare and contrast Smith’s thought on the influence and gift of the Holy Ghost with the thoughts of four of his nineteenth century contemporaries.

Dictionary of revelation states: “The disclosure or communication of knowledge to man by divine or supernatural agency.” *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1933), VIII. 594.

³ Arie J. Griffioen, *Orestes Brownson and the Problem of Revelation* (New York: Peter Lang, 2003), xi-xii.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Holifield, *Theology in America*, 29.

⁶ Seventeenth century pietism sought a heartfelt faith where the Spirit communicated with man. By the eighteenth century, several religious leaders spoke out in favor of seeking personal religious experiences including Jonathan Edwards, John Wesley, Timothy Dwight, and at the turn of the century, Nathaniel Taylor.

⁷ Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Hearing Things* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Press, 2000), 41-49; see also Grant Underwood, “Attempting to Situate Joseph Smith,” *BYU Studies* 44.4 (Winter, 2005), 43. Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 184-190.

The context of this study is early nineteenth century religious thought in America. Although diverse in beliefs and practice, most Christians in this time period shared four assumptions: First, they believed in a dualistic nature of reality—physical and spiritual. Second, within the spiritual realm they believed in the reality of God the Father, God the Son Jesus Christ, and God the Holy Spirit. Third, they held firmly to the Bible as the revealed word of God. And fourth, many Americans held that reason, adherence to conscience, reading of the Bible, and prayer were significant preparatory tools to feel the Spirit of God. Against the backdrop of these assumptions, Americans sought different approaches to identify God's Spirit.

To appreciate early nineteenth century fascination with the Holy Spirit, historians need to include a pneumatological awareness (or study of the Spirit) in their review of American history. Ministers and their followers argued over how, when, and why God communicated with humanity. Their diverse understanding of the working of the Spirit underscored many levels of their doctrinal differences. However, modern historians often neglect the importance of pneumatology in early America. Rectifying this void is especially needed to appreciate Joseph Smith's contributions to American religious history. Smith identified the gift of the Holy Spirit as the doctrine that differentiated his beliefs from those of other Christians—but no one has analyzed his pneumatology prior to this dissertation.

Most American Christians viewed Joseph Smith's theology as radical in his day, and it remains controversial in many Christian circles nearly two centuries later. Smith's opponents today interpret his doctrines as creative responses to the cultural and religious environment of the Second Great Awakening. His contemporary antagonists did not think

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (“LDS” or “Mormon”) would survive his lifetime.⁸ Despite the growth of the LDS Church from its founding with six members in 1830 to the fourth largest Christian denomination in the United States in 2008,⁹ academic literature has not compared Joseph Smith’s specific theology with that of his contemporaries. This gap can be partially filled by a systematic, documented analysis of his doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

Joseph Smith identified the central position the gift of the Holy Ghost had in his church in a conversation with President Martin Van Buren on November 29, 1839. Smith traveled to Washington, DC, seeking federal redress after failing in local and state courts to regain Mormon property taken in conjunction with Governor Boggs’ 1838 extermination order against all Latter-day Saints (LDS) in Missouri.¹⁰ Smith had no problem meeting with several federal politicians, but failed to secure federal assistance.¹¹ President Van Buren apologized but felt his hands were tied legally and politically: “Gentlemen, your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you . . . If I take up for you I shall

⁸ Ronald K. Esplin, “Joseph, Brigham and the Twelve: a Succession of Continuity,” *BYU Studies* 21.3 (Summer, 1981): 244.

⁹ Eileen W. Linder, *Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches 2008* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2008), 11. Russell M. Ballard, “Faith, Family, Facts, and Fruits,” *Ensign* (November 2007): 32.

¹⁰ In the 1830s Mormons fled from their enemies in New York, Ohio, and Missouri. Mob violence became genocide on October 27, 1838, when an extermination order was issued by Governor Lilburn W. Boggs of Missouri. The timing of Boggs’ extermination order correlated directly to the period of time established by the federal government to secure property ownership for pioneers like the Mormons who gained first priority land status. During the winter of 1838-39, state troops and mobs drove fifteen thousand Mormons from Missouri off their property. Without success in the state courts, Smith sought federal assistance to regain the Mormons’ lost properties and monies. He and Elias Higbee traveled to Washington, DC, to personally deliver the LDS petitions of redress for Missouri grievances in the winter of 1838-39 (Sydney Rigdon began the trip with them but became ill and did not finish the trip). Smith reported in a letter to his brother, Hyrum: “We went to the door and requested to see the President, when we were immediately introduced into an upper apartment, where we met the President.” Joseph Smith Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (1844; Reprint Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1980), 4.40.

¹¹ While in Washington, DC, Smith dined with Judge Stephen A. Douglas and outlined the Missouri persecutions for three hours. Smith solicited other congressmen’s help and was told by Henry Clay: “You had better go to Oregon,” and by John Calhoun, “It’s a nice question—a critical question, but it will not do to agitate it.” Joseph Fielding Smith, ed., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1976), 302

lose the vote of Missouri.”¹² Rejected, Smith prepared to leave the President’s office when Van Buren asked him how his church differed from other religions of the day. Smith simply replied, “We differed in mode of baptism and the gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands.” He offered one more sentence of explanation in a letter written to his brother Hyrum a week later: “We considered that all other considerations were contained in the gift of the Holy Ghost.”¹³ In order to identify what Joseph Smith meant by “the gift of the Holy Ghost” and its implications, we must examine everything he wrote and preached about the Holy Ghost (or his interchangeable title, “Holy Spirit”) and contrast that to the views of some of his fellow Christians.

Even though Smith singled out “the gift of the Holy Ghost” as the key difference between his church and other Christian denominations, no one has studied the defining difference of Smith’s pneumatological beliefs in a historical context. This key element of Smith’s thought begs to be researched. Often historians and theologians dismiss Smith’s message because of its claim to mystical origins.¹⁴ One can examine his doctrines systematically, however, and contrast them with those of other Christian thinkers. To identify Smith’s pneumatology, we must open his texts and ask, “What did Smith mean by the gift of the Holy Ghost? What are its limitations and possibilities? How did he interpret New Testament verses on the gift of the Holy Ghost and gifts of the Spirit? What did his contemporaries understand about the Spirit and, specifically, about the gift of the Holy

¹² Smith, *History*, 4.80.

¹³ Ibid., 4.42. Smith wrote his brother from Washington, DC, on December 5, 1839.

¹⁴ Terryl L. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon* (Oxford, England: Oxford, University Press, 2002), 87: “Joseph succeeded, in a way no other modern religious figure ever had (or ever tried), in welding the book to [its mystic origins] . . . so powerfully that the internally persuasive power of the message was rendered *relatively* moot. . . . Joseph’s presentation of the Book of Mormon story (in which angels and interpreters function more prominently than synopsis or themes), in the rhetoric of critics (‘We have never seen a copy of the Book of Mormon, nevertheless . . .’) and in the history of Mormonism’s own rhetoric about the Book of Mormon.”

Ghost? How did his pneumatological beliefs differ and converge with the thinking of others in the early nineteenth century?” Superficially, Smith’s teachings on the Spirit seem to materialize from the spiritual enthusiasm of the Second Great Awakening. In reality, though, his claims to revelation and his avant-garde doctrines drastically diverged from those of Protestant America.

This dissertation provides an in-depth study of what Smith taught about the gift of the Holy Ghost in the larger context of what his contemporaries preached in order to illuminate what set Smith apart. I argue that Joseph Smith Junior’s pneumatology was not solely a product of his environment but included a greater breadth and depth than his contemporaries’ teachings. He worked within the framework of biblical vocabulary but expanded traditional pneumatological definitions to include his distinctive doctrines concerning the person and work of the Spirit. He expressed unique, multifaceted ideas on the Spirit’s relationship to the Godhead, to humanity, to scripture, and to modern prophets in restoring Christ’s church.¹⁵

This study compares and contrasts the doctrines of the Holy Spirit of four early nineteenth century theologians, with the writings and doctrines of Joseph Smith. Unfortunately, these men did not all record their thoughts in the same genre. We find their writings on the Spirit in newspapers, journal articles, autobiographies, sermons, letters, debates, histories, and systematic theologies. Each different setting and audience offered a different way of expressing their thoughts on the Spirit. This variety of literary parameters allows us to see a spectrum of thought, but it also makes it difficult to make like

¹⁵ His pneumatology included a different definition of the Trinity, an eternal history of the Holy Spirit, a pre-mortal existence for all spirits and humans, an eternal history of counterfeit spirits, an ordinance where the laying on of hands through a special priesthood call offers the gift of the Holy Ghost, claims to practicing all the gifts of the Spirit, and a multifunctional Holy Spirit of Promise that sealed the righteous to exaltation. All are discussed in chapter seven.

comparisons. With this qualification, we present a spectrum of early nineteenth century pneumatology to evaluate Joseph Smith's differences.

The dissertation begins with a general introduction to early American pneumatology, and then focuses on early nineteenth century American Protestant pneumatologies of Peter Cartwright (1785-1872), Alexander Campbell (1788-1866), Charles Hodge (1797-1878), and Charles Finney (1792-1875). Collectively, these ministers had a great impact on their society and represent much of the early nineteenth century American religious culture in which Joseph Smith developed his own thinking. They also represent a spectrum of ideas on pneumatology. But their beliefs do not lie on a linear continuum between traditional and innovative Christian thought; rather, they cover overlapping spheres in a multidimensional space. I chose these contemporaries because on some level, they had a significant impact on Joseph Smith's religious culture and addressed his beliefs.

Three of the ministers (Cartwright, Campbell, and Finney) lived in the same State with Smith for a period of time and knew of him.¹⁶ Charles Hodge never shared a regional proximity with him, but Hodge was so influential in Reformed theology that his impact infiltrated antebellum Presbyterianism—the denomination initially preferred by Smith's mother. Hodge also confronted the issues that Smith's revelations raised. Hodge is the standard of traditional thought and contrasts Smith's deviations most easily. Peter Cartwright described himself as a fellow backwoods, under-educated, itinerate Methodist preacher. The wave of Methodism that enveloped the nation in the early nineteenth century also whet young Joseph's religious curiosity and claimed his boyhood interest. Alexander Campbell sought to re-establish primitive Christianity as Smith did. Campbell

¹⁶ Only Cartwright mentioned a face-to-face conversation with Joseph Smith, but Campbell, Finney, and possibly Hodge's writings demonstrate they knew of Smith.

also became a major anti-Mormon writer stimulated by the exodus of many of his Ohio congregation who joined the Mormons.¹⁷ Finney, a fellow Yankee, was the closest geographically and pneumatologically to Smith. They shared a visionary tradition as well as an unrelenting focus on receiving personal inspiration.¹⁸ By examining each of these major theologians' theories on the Holy Spirit, we establish the theological context that enables us to compare and contrast Joseph Smith's differences with his contemporaries.

By demonstrating Joseph Smith's uniqueness, we will not prove anything about the origins of Smith's work—whether it was borrowed or created, satanic or divine. Because we find parallels between Smith and his culture and colleagues does not mean they are all the same. The comparative analysis will allow us to show the difference of Smith's thought and thereby see the nuance and depth in his pneumatology. Also by broadening the historical context we can increase our appreciation of Smith's variations.¹⁹ We can

¹⁷James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed., rev. and enl. (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1976), 64: "The missionaries, meanwhile, preached throughout the vicinity, and converts, many of them former Campbellites, began to flock in. Suddenly Ohio's Western Reserve became a more fruitful field than the Burned-over District in New York" where only 192 people had joined the church. "Before the missionaries left Ohio, they had baptized approximately 130 new members. When Joseph Smith heard the good news, he sent John Whitmer to preside in Ohio," and Smith moved to Ohio in January of 1831. "By the summer of 1831 about a thousand people had joined" the LDS Church (ibid.). These numbers suggest that discontented Campbellites made up a large majority of the early LDS church. According to Richard Hughes, Campbell was the first anti-Mormon author and claimed Smith was a product of his environment. A long list of critics has followed the same tradition. Campbell felt Smith used "every error and almost every truth discussed in New York for the last ten years," quoted in Richard Hughes, "Joseph Smith as an American Restorationist," *BYU Studies* 44.4 (Winter, 2005): 32. Hughes distinguishes the non-LDS view as those who say America created Joseph Smith from the LDS view that sees him as a prophet beyond USA (32-35).

¹⁸In addition to Finney and Smith, many Americans believed in visions and wonders. Terryl Givens included Lorenzo Dow and Elias Smith's claims to have a vision of Christ, supposedly John Samuel Taylor heard Christ call him in a dream, Asa Wild purportedly received a revelation that all Christianity had gone astray, and thirty-two published pamphlets described visionary experiences between 1783 and 1815. Givens, *Hand of Mormon*, 72. Nathan Hatch further explains, "What had been defined as 'enthusiasm' was increasingly advocated from the pulpit as an essential part of Christianity. . . Scores of preachers' journals, from Methodists and Baptists, from north and south, from white and black, indicated a ready acceptance to consider dreams and visions as inspired by God, normal manifestations of divine guidance and instruction." Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, 10.

¹⁹Richard Bushman, "Joseph Smith's Many Histories" *BYU Studies* 44.4 (Winter, 2005), 4; "If Joseph Smith is described as the product of strictly local circumstances—the culture of the Burned-over District, for example—he will be considered a lesser figure than if put in the context of Muhammad or Moses.

discover that his pneumatology was not only divergent and often the only one of its kind in his day, but also more extensive and far reaching than that of his contemporaries.

Literature Survey

In the past, no scholars have placed Joseph Smith's doctrine of the Spirit in the context of the early nineteenth century. Smith's history and doctrines have been examined by twentieth century scholars, including, most notably, James B. Allen, Leonard Arrington, Milton Backman, Susan E. Black, Harold Blum, Fawn Brodie, John Brook, Richard Bushman, Donald Cannon, Lyndon Cook, Richard Cowan, Larry Dahl, Andrew Ehat, Terryl Givens, Neitzel Holzapfel, Dean Jesse, Glen M. Leonard, Truman Madsen, Hugh Nibley, Michael Quinn, B. H. Roberts, Jan Shipps, Royal Skousen, Joseph Fielding Smith, and Dan Vogel. Doctors Allen, Bushman, Leonard, Shipps and Quinn delve the deepest into the cultural milieu of Smith's Americana—with Bushman as the most thorough in painting Smith's historical surroundings—although they do not contrast Smith's pneumatology with that of other religious leaders. Phyllis Olive, Joseph McConkie and Robert Millet have written books on the LDS theology of the Holy Spirit, but with only scattered references to Smith's teachings on the gift of the Holy Ghost and without an in-depth cultural context.²⁰

Moreover, writers who examine nineteenth century pneumatology, have not included Smith in their analysis. Even Bruce Stephens, who wrote *The Holy Spirit in American Protestant Thought, 1750 and 1850*, emphasized the century that encompassed Joseph

Historians who have been impressed with Joseph Smith's potency, whether for good or ill, have located him in a longer, more universal, history." Similarly, Grant Underwood, "The more the culture as well as verbal language of Joseph Smith is understood in all its depth and breath, the more nuanced and compelling will be the comparative histories that are attached to the prophet" (49).

²⁰ These authors' texts are all listed in the bibliography at the end of the dissertation.

Smith's life but did not include him in his analysis.²¹ Nevertheless, Stephens' work valuably demonstrates how this period of American history is punctuated with "rigorous discussions" on "the operations of the Spirit."²² One of the most historically-grounded views of Smith found in a general American history is Daniel Howe's *What Hath God Wrought*. He places Smith among the pre-millennialists of antebellum America, but does not address his doctrine of the Holy Spirit.²³ Similarly, Mark Noll gives accurate brief historical accounts and even acknowledges "Smith's account of a new revelation" but says no more on the subject.²⁴ Richard Hughes places him in the same restoration context as Campbell, claiming that both share a belief in baptism for the remission of sins, but Hughes separates their pneumatology by labeling Smith as a "romantic" and Campbell as a "rationalist." This separation can be helpful on a general level, but it places inaccurate limits that get in the way of accepting Joseph Smith on his own terms.²⁵ Hughes does not go into enough detail to appreciate fully the uniqueness of Smith's perspective.

Only a handful of historians looking back on this period appreciate that the absorption with the Holy Spirit is central to understanding the theological and historical

²¹ Bruce Stephens, *The Holy Spirit in American Protestant Thought, 1750-1850* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992). Stephens includes eleven theologians: Jonathan Edwards, Samuel Hopkins, Nathaniel Emmons, Timothy Dwight, Lyman Beecher, Charles Finney, Nathaniel Taylor, Leonard Woods, Charles Hodge, John Nevin, and Horace Bushnell.

²² Ibid., Preface: "The study of changing conceptions of the office and work of the Spirit in the period under consideration would appear to be a worthwhile undertaking both as a corrective to a neglected chapter in American religious thought and as a means to gaining insight into the religious experience of the American people."

²³ Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 312-319.

²⁴ Noll, *The Old Religion in a New World*, 102. See also *History of Christianity*, 195-197; *America's God*, 183-184.

²⁵ Michael W. Casey, Douglas A. Foster, eds. *The Stone-Campbell Movement: An International Religious Tradition*. (Knoxville, TN: The University Press, 2002). From the University of Richmond in Virginia, Terryl Givens reacted against Hughes' argument by explaining that historians do not accept Smith on his own terms. Hughes, for example, tied Smith into "Romanticism," but Givens argues, "these efforts have still failed to fully appreciate Smith and to meet him in the context of what we could call Romantic discourse." Terryl Givens, "Joseph Smith: Prophecy, Process, and Plenitude," *BYU Studies* 44.4 (Winter, 2005), 56.

American setting.²⁶ Religious historians (like Ahlstrom, Allitt, Cross, Givens, Hatch, Holifield, Howe, Hughes, May, Noll, and Wacker) who write on antebellum America often mention Joseph Smith among the fantastic religious figures, but none of them identify his thoughts on the Spirit as the distinctive difference between his doctrine and that of others. No previous historical work has evaluated Joseph Smith's Christian pneumatology within the context of the Second Great Awakening's various theologies.

To establish the uniqueness of Smith's pneumatology, we must first understand the doctrines of the day. Nineteenth century pneumatology was an outgrowth of previous centuries' thoughts, so we begin with a cursory overview of pneumatology from the Colonial Period through the Second Great Awakening. As part of the general historical context, chapter one narrows in on the initial public reaction to Mormonism. Chapters two through seven introduce the five historical figures: Cartwright, Campbell, Hodge, Finney, and Smith. In order to differentiate their thought, we examine each of their pneumatologies and place them on a spectrum of nineteenth century opinions. The final chapter compares their different points of view and contrasts Smith's grasp of the Spirit with the views of these four contemporaries. The impact these men had on their society allows us to extend their perspectives to a broader group of Christians. It also allows us to see a glimpse of the diversity and importance of the Spirit during the Second Great Awakening.

From the vantage point of multifaceted American Protestant pneumatology, we can then clearly argue that Joseph Smith stood out from his environment and had more

²⁶ A few historical analyses of the nineteenth century include the diversity of pneumatologies: Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 171-245; Joseph P. Chinnici, *Devotion to the Holy Spirit in American Catholicism* (New York: Paulist Press), 1985; Holifield, *Theology in America*; Hugh McDonald, *Ideas of Revelation: An Historical Study AD 1700-1860* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1950); Schmidt, *Hearing Things*; Stephens, *The Holy Spirit in American Protestant Thought*; Welch, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century*.

expansive and detailed doctrines of the Spirit than did others. We base this argument on Smith's claim to receive revelation from the Holy Spirit as new scripture; his claim to offer the baptism by fire or constant companionship of the Holy Spirit to all worthy baptized members; his claim to receive the apostolic priesthood and thereby practice all of the charismatic gifts of the Spirit; and specifically his claim to the gift of revelation and thereby restore Christ's church in preparation for the Second Coming. In making these claims, I acknowledge that I am a believing member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints studying under the tutelage of a Catholic Jesuit university.

Chapter 1

Historical Context: Reactions to Revelation and to Mormonism

This chapter outlines two historical phenomena: a general early American religious interest in the Holy Spirit and a specific religious reaction to the rise and development of Mormonism in the early nineteenth century. As early as the Colonial period we find a fascination with the Spirit among American Puritans who spoke and wrote about its influence in their lives. A keen interest in the Spirit grew during the First Great Awakening and erupted during the Second Great Awakening, a period in which Joseph Smith developed his doctrine of the Holy Spirit. His teaching evoked strong reactions in local and national newspapers, pamphlets and books. Smith's interpretation of revelation infuriated some. Part of the problem was Smith's expansion of the role of revelation (or the Spirit's influence) to greater spheres than had been acceptable for centuries of Christian tradition. We will look at only three responses: those reactions of Alexander Campbell, Peter Cartwright, and Charles Finney; but their religious controversy represents the larger animosity that circulated around the Mormon prophet. This general historical religious interest in the workings of the Spirit and specific reaction to Smith's claims of the Spirit's revelation provide the historical foundation to compare and contrast Smith's pneumatology.

Early American Interest in the Spirit

Colonial (1620-1700)

Thoughts on the Holy Spirit brewed for generations among religious colonial Americans.¹ Many immigrating Pilgrims, Puritans, Quakers, Dutch Reformed, Lutherans,

¹ Roger Finke and Rodney Stark point out that during the late Colonial period, only "10-20 percent of the population actually belonged to a church." *The Churching of America, 1776-1990: Winners or Losers in*

Catholics, and Anglicans brought religious fervor with them from their mother countries. They brought their books too, like *Pilgrim's Progress* where John Bunyan makes references to the Spirit's inspiration or revelation on almost every page.² Especially in New England, the Puritans and their progeny found "power in the service of the Spirit."³ For thirty-four years the Puritan John Cotton preached the need to discern "the revelation of the holy Ghost" which he felt was the "immediate Seal of the Spirit, a power 'above' even the biblical Word."⁴ Cotton's sermons on the Spirit drew enough interest that they were published for a wider audience in 1654 and again in 1659. Over the next century his ideas on the Holy Spirit were embraced by many New Englanders. A broad spectrum of religious leaders—like the exiled Anne Hutchinson and ministers like Samuel Willard, Solomon Stoddard, and Cotton Mathers—took up the torch to speak on the Spirit's work in revelation and conversion. Most of the early colonial clergy were well educated and preached the importance of the Spirit's regeneration from a biblical context. Of the 1,507 colonial Congregational pastors in New England, 95 percent were college graduates (60% from Harvard and 29% from Yale).⁵

Our Religious Economy (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University, 1992), 24. I am not emphasizing how many early Americans were religious, but rather that many of those who were religious shared an interest in the workings of the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, in some places of Colonial America church buildings were not easily accessible, making it difficult for some to attend regularly. Church attendance did not necessarily identify who was reading their Bibles and following Christian doctrine.

² For example: "What are the peculiar characters of a divine revelation? . . . He must have reason to believe himself inspired." John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come* (London: Harrison, 1786), 109.

³ Bernard Bailyn, David Davis, John Thomas, *The Great Republic* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1977), 51.

⁴ Quoted in Holifield, *Theology in America*, 45-47.

⁵ Finke and Stark, *Churching America*, 45. For example, Solomon Stoddard graduated from Harvard and became the first librarian.

Enlightenment (1700s)

Those Americans influenced by the Enlightenment relied on reason to examine the world.⁶ Newton, Locke and Descartes called for rational and empirical evidence and caused a rethinking and reshaping of religion. Scholars like Locke defended a rational interpretation of the Bible: “In matters of revelation, I think it not only safest, but our duty, as far as any one delivers it for revelation, to keep close to the words of the scripture, unless he will assume to himself the authority as one inspired, or make himself wiser than the Holy Spirit himself.”⁷ Daniel Howe observed “the predominant American attitude of the time” felt no “conflict between scientific and religious truth.”⁸ At that time, Americans relied on revelation and reason to better understand God’s creation.

During the Enlightenment, many Americans approached their Bibles as both believing Christians and rational thinkers.⁹ Bible reading did not always correlate to church attendance. Although many families had a Bible and studied from it daily, Mark Noll’s research found that only forty to fifty percent of the greater American population attended church in the 1770s.¹⁰ Those who attended often heard that some aspects of the

⁶ Benjamin Bayly, *An Essay on Inspiration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1708), 107 includes a section entitled “The Extreme Folly of admitting Pretences to Inspiration without any Examination of Proof, Reason is useful in Matters of Revelation.” Similarly, the topic is addressed in John Rogers, *The Necessity of Divine Revelation, and the Truth of the Christian Revelation, asserted in Eight Sermons* (London: G. Robinson, 1784), 84.

⁷ John Locke, *An essay concerning human understanding* (London: T. Longman, 1796), 367.

⁸ Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 3. Howe taught at Oxford and University of California, Los Angeles. He perceived that literature, education and science in the early nineteenth century “was saturated with religious meanings and motivations.”

⁹ Whitney Cross from Cornell University studied the link between education and religious interest. After examining different regions to ascertain how many “common schools” were running, how long each school was in session, how much public funding was given to education, the adult population mix of native born illiterates and illiterate immigrants, he concluded that the areas with the most education were the areas with the most religious fervor. *The Burned-over District* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1950), 90-102.

¹⁰ Noll, *History of Christianity*, 163. Noll further explained that attendance may have been higher, but formal church membership sank in 1790 to its “all-time low (somewhere between five and ten percent of the adult population).” Finke and Stark confirm this phenomenon by quoting Leonard Woolsey Bacon: “The closing years of the eighteenth century show the lowest low-water mark of the lowest ebb-tide of spiritual life in the history of the American church.” However they also point to the growth of the Methodist and

Spirit's influence were reasonable. Pulpits debated the reasonableness of revelation—especially upholding the Bible as the revealed standard of truth.

Each religious group defined revelation differently. Deists accepted revelation as viewed through the works of God's creation but not as "supernatural revelation."¹¹ Unitarians saw revelation bound by the parameters of reason.¹² Princeton's "Old School" Presbyterians emphasized that revelation was found in the Bible, and biblical facts were not an opinion or matter of speculation.¹³ Protestant evangelists asserted that personal revelation was the crux of Christian religion. Catholics saw limits to the process of reasoning as well; they believed reason could explain certain things, but other things were explained only with faith and revelation.¹⁴

Several Christians expanded their definition of revelation to include all revelatory interactions of the Holy Spirit as messages from God—including the answers received to prayer or in response to the desires of their hearts.¹⁵ As Enlightenment theologians and lay people contended these issues, new avenues opened to explore the interplay between reason and revelation and the validity of the workings of the Holy Spirit as a form of

Baptist denominations during this same period. The decrease in one denomination was picked up by another. *Churching America*, 57.

¹¹ Holifield, *Theology in America*, 162.

¹² Channing judged whether or not revelation was truth "at the bar of reason" (ibid., 200). Joseph Smith objected to these boundaries as he saw them as placing limitations on God's powers to function only within the mental capacity of mankind.

¹³ Mark Noll, ed. *The Princeton Theology 1812-1921: Scripture, Science, and Theological Method from Archibald Alexander to Benjamin Warfield* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2001), 61-71. Noll uses Archibald Alexander's discussions on the "Nature of Truth" (1812) as an example of an Old School Presbyterianism.

¹⁴ John Carroll (1736-1815), a representative of Catholic thought at the time, was the first Catholic Bishop in America and founder of Georgetown College. Carroll offered an "Address to Roman Catholics" in 1784 where he defined "revelation" as the divine disclosure of truth but a truth that was addressed to human reason and to the mind. Thomas O'Brien Hanley, ed., *The John Carroll Papers*, 3 vols (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), 1.82-90.

¹⁵ Holifield summarized Jonathan Dickinson's (1688-1747) sermon on the "Witness of the Spirit" in 1740 as a specific example of preaching on the Spirit: "The Spirit witnessed to the faithful by infusing the sanctifying influences that produced a holy life. But sometimes the Spirit's witness was more 'immediate' and extraordinary,' with an influence 'sensible' and perceptible.'" *Theology in America*, 99.

revelation. As Bernard Bailyn summarized: “Unlike the church in Europe, the American churches developing as they had in the colonial period, were neither enemies nor victims of the Enlightenment. . . . Religion was after all still the means by which most ordinary Americans confronted the world and gave it meaning.”¹⁶

First Great Awakening (1740s)

The Puritans’ fervor waned in their progeny until a resurgence occurred between 1739 and 1741, known as the First Great Awakening. The charismatic British preacher George Whitefield (1714-70) ignited a religious renaissance to the thirteen colonies during his seven tours from Maine to Georgia.¹⁷ His preaching aroused Colonial Americans’ fascination with the Holy Spirit: “Come holy Spirit, heav’nly Dove,/ With all thy quick’ning pow’rs; Kindle a Flame of sacred Love . . . Come.”¹⁸ His enthusiastic sermons captivated tens of thousands, who followed with great religious commitment.¹⁹ A

¹⁶ Bailyn, Davis, Thomas, *The Great Republic*, 403.

¹⁷ Benjamin Franklin recorded how Whitefield’s visit changed the city of Philadelphia, “The multitudes of all sects and denominations that attended his sermons were enormous. . . . It was wonderful to see the change soon made in the manner of our inhabitants; from being thoughtless or indifferent about religion, it seemed as if all the world were growing religious, so that one could not walk through the town in an evening without hearing psalms sung in different families of every street.” Benjamin Franklin, *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (New York, NY: Henry Holt, 1916), 191-192.

¹⁸ George Whitefield, *A Collection of Hymns for Social Worship*, 7th edition (London: William Strahan, 1758), 78. The first hymn in his collection reads, “Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire, / and lighten with celestial fire. / Thou the anointing Spirit art, / Who dost thy sev’nfold gifts impart. / Thy blessed unction from above, / Is comfort, life, and fire of love. / Illumine with perpetual light / The dullness of our blinded fight. / Anoint and cheer our soiled face / With the abundance of thy grace. / Keep far our foes, give peace at home: / Where thou art guide, no ill can come. / Teach us to know the Father, Son, / and Thee of both, to be but one; / That through the ages all along, / This, this may be our endless song” (3a). In both quotes I changed the printed “f” to our standard spelling “s.”

¹⁹ Whitefield attracted audiences up to 30,000 at his revival in Boston Commons according to Benjamin Franklin, *Autobiography*, 194-197. This number is even more significant when we realize that the population of Boston was only 20,000 in 1740. See also Schmidt, *Hearing*, 74. Not all Americans appreciated Whitefield’s “enthusiasm.” A contemporary professor at Harvard complained: “We charge him, with *Enthusiasm*. . . . we mean by an *Enthusiastic*, one that acts, either according to Dreams, or from sudden Impulses and Impressions upon his Mind, which he fondly imagines to be from the Spirit of God, persuading and inclining him thereby to such and such Actions, tho’ he hath no Proof that such Perswasions [*sic*] or Impressions are from the holy Spirit.” Finke and Stark, *Churching America*, 61.

“spiritual new birth” or personal witness of the Holy Spirit was his core message.²⁰ He claimed to preach from the Spirit’s inspiration and attacked the local clergy who did not: “The generality of preachers talk of an unknown and unfelt Christ. The reason why congregations have been so dead is because they have had dead men preach to them.”²¹ He taught that both God and humanity had a role to play in receiving the Spirit. For him the solution was to seek and then teach with a witness of the Spirit.

Whitefield sought the Spirit’s inspiration during prayer by incorporating lessons from the *Imitation of Christ*, a handbook on prayer, by Thomas à Kempis (1379-1471).²² Whether by Whitefield’s influence or Wesley’s—or simply by American interest in the Spirit—this guidebook became a best seller with thirty-four editions published in America between 1749 and 1830.²³ The book assured its readers that all seekers could receive intimate direct spiritual inspiration: “God speaks unto us in sundry ways. Without respect of persons . . . hearken not to the voice which soundeth outwardly, but unto the truth which teacheth inwardly . . . consider these things my soul, and shut up thy door of thy sensual desires, that thou mayest hear what the Lord God speaketh in thee.”²⁴

Equally as important as Whitefield’s revivals were Jonathan Edwards’ (1703-1758) writings, calling Americans to seek the Spirit in a spiritual rebirth.²⁵ Edwards, who

²⁰ Whitefield instructed his audiences to humble themselves and to pray with complete dependence on God’s salvation. Then the convert would receive a cleansing of the Holy Ghost—acknowledged by relief, joy, and evidences of the spirit (i.e. tongues prophecy, vision, trance, ecstatic exercise of the body). H.W. Bowden, ed., *Dictionary of American Religious Biography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press), 785.

²¹ Quoted in Finke and Stark, *Churching America*, 51.

²² Thomas à Kempis’ *Imitation of Christ* was written in Latin probably around 1425. In 1530 Richard Whitford first translated it into English as *The Following of Christ*, thereafter it was generally translated as *The Imitation of Christ* and in the eighteenth century as *Christian’s Pattern*.

²³ This number is even more astonishing, given that Kempis was Catholic at a time when the nation was basically Protestant. Schmidt, *Hearing Things*, 52.

²⁴ Quoted in Schmidt, 54.

²⁵ Jonathan Edwards was a Congregational minister and intellectual leader of the time. He is best known for his volumes of theological works, for his position as the president of Yale, and as a prominent American thinker. No other eighteenth century American theologian matched Edwards in the magnitude of his

became known as the father of American theology, emphasized the Holy Spirit working within humanity as “Spiritual and Divine Light immediately imparted to the soul by God.”²⁶ He understood the Spirit’s work of regeneration as greater than human reason or will; the Spirit initiated and led sinners through regeneration and then blessed them with an “indwelling vital principle.”²⁷ The fervent promptings of the Spirit in regeneration showed “evidence of holy affections working themselves out in the life of the regenerated.”²⁸ He believed the “Spirit operates in the minds of the godly by uniting himself to them, and living in them, and exerting his own [God’s] nature in the exercise of their faculties.” Edwards also taught that the Spirit communicated to humanity in a variety of ways; “for instance, he may excite thoughts in them, may assist their natural reason and understanding, or may assist other natural principles.”²⁹ With Whitefield and Edwards at the helm and many other influential preachers in their wake, the Great Awakening opened the door for more discussion on the workings of the Spirit across the Colonies.³⁰ Patrick

undertakings. His description of his own conversion in his *Personal Narrative* speaks of the Spirit’s influence: “The first instance that I remember of that sort of inward, sweet delight in God and divine things that I have lived much in since, was on reading those words, 1 Timothy 1:17. . . After this my sense of divine things gradually increased, and became more and more lively, and had more of that inward sweetness. The appearance of every thing was altered; there seemed to be, as it were, a calm, sweet cast, or appearance of divine glory, in almost every thing.” Ahlstrom, *Religious History*, 299. See also Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 185.

²⁶ H. Norman Gardiner ed., *Selected Sermons of Jonathan Edwards* (New York, NY: MacMillan, 1904), 26.

²⁷ Jonathan Edwards “A Divine and Supernatural Light,” in Harold P. Simonson, ed. *Edwards: Selected Writings of Jonathan Edwards* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1970), 69.

²⁸ Stephens, *The Holy Spirit in American Protestant Thought*, 8.

²⁹ Quoted in Gardiner, *Sermons of Edwards*, 26.

³⁰ For example, Gilbert Tennent (1703-1764), came to represent “New Evangelism” and was the leading figure of the Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies. His influence on the Presbyterian Church leaders augmented the requirements for adult membership to include a spiritual conversion experience. Bowden, *Dictionary of American Religions*, 545. In the southern colonies the spiritual awakening awoke from 1748 to 1759 with the preaching of Samuel Davies (1723-1761). The Anglicans and Presbyterians in Virginia were ignited from 1748 to 1746, the Baptists in North Carolina in 1760, and the Methodists shortly before the American Revolution in the early 1770s. Noll, *America’s God*, 25-30. See also Ahlstrom, *Religious History*, 314-329; 342-360. Mark Noll, Nathan Hatch, and George Marsden in *The Search for Christian America* stipulate that although the Great Awakening incited a spiritual outpouring, it was not a long term change of moral and religious behavior. “At best, the Awakening influenced certain aspects of the general tone of

Allitt argues that Whitefield's national tours unified the colonies for the first time. As Americans made religious choices during the Great Awakening, Allitt saw them paving the road to later making a political choice in 1776.³¹

Revolutionary Era (1773-1791)

The era of the American Revolution included a struggle for religious freedoms along with civil liberties.³² It endorsed the "Enlightenment's faith in liberty of conscience" while receiving momentum from religious forces in society.³³ A tourist looking at the American religious and political life after the Revolution observed: "I had almost always seen the spirit of religion and the spirit of freedom marching in opposite directions. But in America I found they were intimately united and that they reigned in common over the same country."³⁴ Revolutionists fought both religious and civic oppression thereby opening the door to religious freedom.

Several founding fathers saw their desire for political freedoms driven by God's Spirit. For example, George Washington, who referred to divine intervention as

American society in the era of the Revolution. But this influence did not necessarily lead to greater godliness or to a country with more Christians" (Westchester, IL: Helmers and Howard, 1983, reprint 1989), 65.

³¹ Patrick N. Allitt, *American Religious History: Course Guidebook* (Chantilly, VA: The Teaching Co, 2001), 25.

³² Gaustad and Schmidt, *The Religious History of America*, 121: "One common thread bound the states together in their peace even as it held them together in war: the fear of tyranny, of all tyranny, civil and ecclesiastic." Finke and Stark note: "By the start of the Revolution, the era of harsh religious persecution in the colonies had ended. Religious toleration prevailed in fact, if not yet in statute. And in the immediate post-war period, toleration slowly gave way to religious freedom." *Churching America*, 59.

³³ Bailyn, Davis, Thomas, *The Great Republic*, 402: "By the early nineteenth century the religious liberalization begun by the Revolution had created a democratic religious world that few in 1776 had expected."

³⁴ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York, NY: Colonial Press, 1900), 313. He further explained, "Upon my arrival in the United States, the religious aspect of the country was the first thing that struck my attention; and the longer I stayed there the more did I perceive the great political consequences resulting from this state of things, to which I was unaccustomed. . . . Religion in America takes no direct part in the government of society, but nevertheless it must be regarded as the foremost of the political institutions of that country; for it is in this same point of view that the inhabitants of the United States themselves look upon religious belief. I do not know whether all the Americans have a sincere faith in their religion, for who can search the human heart? But I am certain that they hold it to be indispensable to the maintenance of republican institutions. This opinion is not peculiar to a class of citizens or to a party, but it belongs to the whole nation, and to every rank of society" (313, 310).

Providence rather than God's Spirit, acknowledged heavenly powers in establishing the new nation: "When I contemplate the interposition of Providence, as it was manifested in guiding us through the revolution, in preparing us for the reception of a general government, and in conciliating the good will of the people of America towards one another after its adoption, I feel myself oppressed and almost overwhelmed with a sense of the divine munificence."³⁵ Washington's successor, John Adams, saw the new nation struggling with important issues in 1789 and called for a national fast: "beseeching [God] at the same time, of his infinite grace, through the Redeemer of the world, freely to remit all our offences, and to incline us, by his Holy Spirit, to that sincere repentance and reformation which may afford us reason to hope for his inestimable favor and heavenly benediction."³⁶ Political and religious choice intertwined.

The theological ramifications of Americans' new democratic opportunities spurred new thoughts about human effort in seeking a spiritual conversion. Rather than passively waiting for the Spirit to act as the Puritans taught, many liberated American Christians took ownership, as it were, of their spiritual life, seeking the Spirit's witness. They asked: "How much control does God exert in our spiritual lives?"³⁷ As if on a seesaw of spiritual empowerment, more and more Americans leaned toward human agency. With their new

³⁵ Quoted in Jared Sparks, ed., *The Writings of George Washington* (Boston, MA: American Stationers, 1837), 145 (also 8, 34, 64, 76, 119, 130, 138, 140, 143, 145, 159, 164, etc).

³⁶ Quoted in Charles F. Adams, *The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Co., 1854), 169-170. Mark Noll describes the founding father Benjamin Rush (1745-1813) supporting the synthesis of Christianity and republicanism in a letter to Thomas Jefferson, "I have always considered Christianity as the strong ground of republicanism. The spirit is opposed, not only to the splendor, but even to the very forms of monarchy." *America's God*, 65.

³⁷ Robert Baird (1798-1863) described widespread theological "debates about the constitution of the human mind, the analysis of responsibility and moral agency, and the old question of 'fate and free-will.'" Robert Baird, *Religion in America: or an Account of the Origin, Progress, Relation to the State, and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States, with Notices of the Unevangelical Denominations* (New York City, NY: Harper & Brothers, 1844), 290.

realization of freedom, many American Christians felt sanctioned to take the initiative in seeking the Spirit's witness.

In their efforts to seek inspiration, pious Americans perused the pages of the Bible believing it was God's word. In the aftermath of the Revolution, one of those biblical interpreters, Billy Hibbard, felt prompted by the Spirit to preach but feared that his sense of being called might be a satanic deception. He prayed that, "I might open the Bible on some text, clearly expressing the duty of one called of God to preach. But if not, that I might open on a text, expressing danger of running before I was sent."³⁸ Secretly hoping for disapproval, he opened his Bible, and his finger landed on Ezekiel 3:17-18: "Son of Man, I have made thee a watchman unto the House of Israel: therefore, hear the word at my mouth and give them warnings for me." The passage continues by forecasting dire details for the watchmen who fail to fulfill their calling. Hibbard still doubted and solicited his wife to try the same method. She opened to Luke 9:60; "Jesus said unto him, let the dead bury their dead; but go thou and preach the kingdom of God." Hibbard then admitted: "I yielded and gave myself up; poor, and weak and simple as I was."³⁹ Hundreds of others felt a similar call by the Spirit and became involved in the ministry.⁴⁰

³⁸ Quoted in Schmidt, *Hearing Things*, 49.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ For example, the New England itinerant Methodist preacher Lorenzo Dow (1777-1834), also known as "Crazy Dow," became enormously popular in New England and the middle colonies after he felt spiritually called in 1793, at age seventeen. He recounted: "One day being alone in a solitary place, whilst kneeling before God, these words were suddenly impressed on my mind: 'Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature.'—I instantly spoke out, 'Lord! I am a child, I cannot go; I cannot preach.' These words followed in my mind, 'Arise and go for I have sent you.' I said, 'Send by whom thou wilt send, only not by me, for I am an ignorant, illiterate youth; not qualified for the important task.'—The reply was—'what God hath cleansed call not thou common.'" Quoted in Charles Sellers, *Lorenzo Dow, the Bearer of the Word* (New York: J.J. Little and Ives, 1928), 42. For other examples see Schmidt, *Hearing Things*; and Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 181, 184.

Second Great Awakening (1801-1840)

Near the turn of the nineteenth century, general enthusiasm on the subject of religion soared in America, and specific searching to feel the Spirit prevailed.⁴¹ The period became known as the Second Great Awakening. Some historians peg the week long revival in Cane Ridge, Kentucky in August of 1801 as the beginning of the spiritual wave. It was one of the largest recorded revivals up to that time, with estimated attendance between ten and twenty-five thousand. To put these numbers in context, the largest city in the area, Lexington, had a population of only two-thousand. Curious seekers gathered to hear the spiritually-charged preaching of Barton Stone and other dynamic ministers.⁴² The sheer number of people combined with exuberant responses led one participant to relate that “the noise was like the roar of Niagara.”⁴³ The close of the Second Great Awakening is not as clearly marked. Some historians pin down the end of Charles Finney’s revivals in 1837; others claim dates ranging between 1830 and 1840. In any case, the first decades of the nineteenth century contained a series of religious revivals that transformed the fiber of the growing United States.

⁴¹ “Jon Butler and other scholars point out that contemporaries do not use the phrase ‘Second Awakening’ and claim ‘there never were awakenings.’” Finke and Stark, *Churching of America*, 87. However, a quick internet search found 793 references to “The Great Awakening” or “a Great Awakening” in books published between 1800 and 1860. The evidence supports the claim that popular interest about religion increased, however it may be described.

⁴² Stone described the scene: “four of five preachers were frequently speaking at the same time, in different parts of the encampment, without confusion. The Methodist and Baptist preachers aided in the work, and all appeared cordially united in it—of one mind and one soul, and the salvation of sinners seemed to be the great object of all.” Quoted in Finke and Stark, *Churching of America*, 93. Also Dale Jorgenson and Grant Wacker, *Theological and Aesthetic Roots in the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Kirksville, MO: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1989), 121. Wacker, *Religion in Nineteenth Century America*, 33. A historian on the American Enlightenment, Henry May, interprets the beginning of the Second Great Awakening a decade earlier in the 1790s in Connecticut and Massachusetts towns. See May, *Enlightenment*, 318.

⁴³ Schmidt, *Hearing Things*, 66. The noises of revivals were offensive to many. Schmidt continued, “the groaning, crying out, falling down and screaming”; the ‘terrible speaking’ of itinerants; the clapping, stomping, singing, roaring, and ‘hearty loud Laughter.’ It was the shouting that turned into screams and screeches that especially disgusted.”

The exuberance of the era was driven by yearnings for a witness of the Holy Spirit as a conversion experience. An evangelical minister, Robert Baird (1798-1861), described the American religious landscape for Europeans by emphasizing “the existence, the personality, the offices, and the saving operations of the Holy Spirit.”⁴⁴ As one who lived in the nineteenth century, he asserted:

There is no one thing which has more decidedly characterized the preaching of our best and most devoted Christians, than the doctrine of the existence, the personality, the offices, and the saving operations of the Holy Spirit. It has been the great dominate idea, if I may so term it, which has pervaded and influenced the Church of Christ in America during the last hundred years.⁴⁵

A hunger for a personal witness of the Spirit swept across the nation—a hunger to know one’s standing before God. Baird estimated: “Nineteen twentieths of all the evangelical churches in this country believe that there is such a thing as being ‘born, again,’ [or] ‘born of the Spirit.’”⁴⁶ Even if Baird exaggerated, it is safe to say that the majority of Americans sought to feel the Spirit’s witness or cleansing in the religious gusto of the Second Great Awakening.

Churches that emphasized a spiritual rebirth or witness of the Spirit before baptism grew the most dramatically during this time. Methodist membership rose from 4,921 members in 1776 to 130,570 in 1806.⁴⁷ Similarly, Baptists grew from 53,101 in 1784 to 172,972 by 1810. These numbers are more significant in light of the fact “that the nation’s

⁴⁴ Baird, *Religion in America*, 321. The quote “The esteem in which revivals of religion are held [demonstrates] . . . surely God has led his people to expect a great outpouring of his Spirit in the latter days. And surely, the world, as well as the Church has seen the need of such an influence, if it is ever to be brought under the renovating influences of the Gospel to a degree corresponding with its necessities.”

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 184. Baird continued: “And very few, indeed, admit the doctrine that a man who is not ‘converted,’ that is ‘renewed by the Spirit,’ may come without sin to that holy ordinance [the Lord’s Supper].”

⁴⁷ Finke and Stark claim that Methodists reached the position of 34% (or the largest denomination) of the religious adherents by 1850 (*Churching America*, 55).

population did not even double during this interval.”⁴⁸ These two denominations were not alone; religious debates swept across the nation in antebellum America addressing the reality of God, freedom of the will, infant baptism, universal salvation, reason, and revelation.⁴⁹ A spiritual zeal seized sophisticated intellectuals as well as passionate itinerant preachers as they advocated the need for the Holy Spirit in conversion, regeneration, biblical and personal revelation.

Missionary Efforts

The early nineteenth century is often identified by its “evangelical surge.”⁵⁰ Enthusiasm for missionary work became the most vigorous branch of many churches. Most preachers viewed the success of their missionary work by the Spirit’s intervention.⁵¹ As one missionary from the early nineteenth century stressed, “There is, in all evangelical and truly converted Christians among us, some sense of their dependence upon the Spirit for success in their efforts to grow in grace, as well as to turn sinners unto righteousness. There is, also, much earnest prayer for the outpouring of the Spirit upon their souls, and

⁴⁸ Ibid., 58-59.

⁴⁹ Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 446-8. Three theologians discussed in the study were involved in famous debates. Alexander Campbell’s debate of the British rationalist, Robert Owen, took place in April 1829. Charles Hodge debated the value of Old School versus New School Presbyterianism. And Charles Finney debated the need for personal will to receive salvation. Hewitt, Glen A. *Regeneration and Morality: A Study of Charles Finney, Charles Hodge, John W. Nevin, and Horace Bushnell*. Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing, 1991, 21-23. Outside of our study, Abraham Lincoln even debated religious questions before his political career.

⁵⁰ Mark Noll, *America’s God*, 161.

⁵¹ For example, Charles Finney wrote in his *Memoirs*, “I had no doubt then, nor have I ever had, that God led me by his Spirit, to take the course I did. So clearly did he lead me from day to day, that I never did or could doubt that I was divinely directed.” Charles G. Finney, *An Autobiography* (1908, reprint, Albany, OR: Books for the Ages, 1997), 208. (Other editions use the title, *Memoirs of Charles Finney*.) Peter Cartwright believed his ministerial efforts were prompted by the “baptismal fire of the Holy Ghost.” *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright* (1856, reprint, Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1984), 144. Joseph Smith gave “instruction to the Elders respecting preaching the Gospel, and pressed upon them the necessity of getting the Spirit, so that they might preach with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven; to be careful in speaking on those subjects which are not clearly pointed out in the word of God, which lead to speculation and strife.” Smith, *History*, 4.13.

upon all those who hear or read the Gospel.”⁵² He identified the zeal that motivated his missionary efforts as the Spirit of God. In some situations, the missionary zeal involved in spreading the Good News of the Spirit’s accessibility bridged theological and denominational differences. In 1801 the New England Congregationalists and Presbyterians revamped their missionary efforts by unifying into a “Plan of the Union.”⁵³

As the American population spread westward over the Appalachians, itinerant preachers tracked their new settlements. Church buildings could not keep up with the missionaries or the growing population, so outdoor worship services known as “camp meetings” became popular on the frontier. Itinerant preachers carried their portable platforms from town to town and notified the community when they were arriving. At the appointed time, crowds gathered in anticipation of a spiritual experience (often without refined religious manners). Thousands flocked to these meetings. Ministers spoke for hours often without notes, relying on inspiration from the Spirit. As one humbly admitted, “I tell this, not boastfully, but because it is a fact, and to give the praise to God, and not to any talents of my own. Let no man think that those sermons which have been called so powerful were productions of my own brain, or of my own heart, unassisted by the Holy

⁵² Baird, *America*, 321. Earlier Baird explained, “Some hold that all mankind, individually, are literally responsible before God for the sin of their first parents; others hold only that, in consequence of Adam’s sin, all his posterity are sinners. Some hold that sin consists in a propensity to sin concentered in the soul, or, at least, existing in the soul from the indivisible instant in which its existence commences, anterior to all choice, all intelligence, all desire or emotion; others hold that sin consists only in the perversion of the powers of human nature. Some hold that the ‘new birth’ is not only figuratively and morally, but literally and physically, a new creation; that it is a change in the being itself, from which a moral renovation inevitably proceeds; that anterior to repentance, to faith, to any right movement of the soul, there is not merely an influence of the Holy Spirit upon the soul, but a subjective change within the soul, which change they call repentance. Others, on the contrary, hold that conversion, or the turning of the soul to God in repentance and faith, is regeneration, and is the effect of a divine influence upon the soul. Some hold that the renewed man will persevere in holiness, because the power of God upon him is such that he *cannot* fall away; others that God’s promise to keep him cannot fail, and that therefore, he *will* not fall away” (290).

⁵³ May, *Enlightenment*, 319-320.

Ghost. They were not mine, but from the Holy Spirit in me.”⁵⁴ Camp meetings progressed into enormous outdoor revivals that lasted several days. Historians Gaustad and Schmidt estimate that by 1811, one-third of the national population—three to four million people—attended summer revivals.⁵⁵ In the early nineteenth century across rural and urban America, camp meetings and revivals became a popular place to gather together.

Two of the great names in revival history were the Methodist Francis Asbury (1745-1816) and the Congregationalist Charles Finney.⁵⁶ Their Spirit-filled preaching attracted thousands, and they quickly became two of the most well-known men in the country. Finney began preaching near his home in western New York and by 1832 moved rural camp meetings to urban settings. The established clergy frowned on his revivals and spoke against the noise, “new measures,” and “radical theology.”⁵⁷ Asbury likewise was persecuted. He came to America in 1771 as a Methodist missionary but in 1777 had to take refuge in Delaware because his message aroused anger. He recorded in his journal:

The success of our labours, more especially at camp-meetings, has roused a spirit of persecution against us—riots, fines, stripes, perhaps prisons and death, if we do not give up our camp-meetings: we shall never abandon them, but shall subdue our enemies by *overcoming evil with good*. What hath God wrought in America!”⁵⁸

Asbury and Finney looked beyond their attackers to defend their call from the Spirit. In Finney’s words: “This I regarded as a charge committed to me, to all ministers, and to the church; with the express promise that when we go forth to this work, with a single eye, and with a prayerful heart, Christ will be with us by his Spirit, giving efficiency to our

⁵⁴ Finney, *Autobiography*, 98.

⁵⁵ Gaustad and Schmidt, *Religious History*, 146.

⁵⁶ Wacker, *Religion in Nineteenth Century*, 35-36.

⁵⁷ Finney encouraged preachers to foster spiritual experiences by implementing the “anxious bench,” praying for sinners by name, and allowing women to worship, pray and testify along side of men. Glen A. Hewitt, *Regeneration and Morality: A Study of Charles Finney, Charles Hodge, John W. Nevin, and Horace Bushnell* (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing, 1991), 21-22.

⁵⁸ Francis Asbury, *Journal of Rev. Francis Asbury: Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: Lane and Scott, 1852), 263.

efforts to save souls.”⁵⁹ Most evangelists agreed—their efforts endured and prospered because of the Spirit’s direction.

Historian Bruce Stephens observes about this period: “From the rustic pulpit of the country preacher to the pulpit in the chapel at Yale everyone had something and many had much to say about the work of the Spirit.”⁶⁰ Robert Remini attributes the national interest in spiritual inspiration to “a new romantic age that succeeded the age of reason and emphasized the importance of human emotions and feelings.”⁶¹ He perceives that even where Enlightenment reasoning grew into New England transcendentalism, Americans’ “intuitive contemplation” led them to “hear the voice of God.”⁶² Whether the motivation was from the Romantic age, new freedoms, or plain popularity, Protestants across the nation flocked to the missionaries’ messages that promised they could hear God’s voice through His Spirit. Over the nineteenth century, most Americans left the philosophy of Calvinism’s passive election in favor of a self-initiated election that came from submitting oneself to Christ and seeking the Holy Spirit’s call. Bridging an array of denominations, Christians believed personal revelation or the Spirit’s witness was crucial to understand God, themselves, and their role in the new world.

During this period of religious excitement, not only did church membership grow, but the number of distinct denominations also increased every year.⁶³ Generally speaking,

⁵⁹ Finney, *Autobiography*, 150. Similarly Francis Asbury’s journal, of September 22, 1813 reads, “I preached to a large congregation on a short notice. I felt that I was commissioned by the anointing of the Holy Spirit” (Asbury, *Journal*, 421).

⁶⁰ Stephens, *The Holy Spirit in American Protestant thought*, Preface.

⁶¹ Robert V. Remini, *Joseph Smith* (New York City, NY: Viking-Penguin, 2002), 4.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 5.

⁶³ Bailyn, Davis, Thomas, *The Great Republic*, 402: “No society in all of Christendom contained such a multitude and such a variety of religious groups. The age-old Christian assumptions of orthodoxy and uniformity were clearly shattered. It was not simply that the traditional identity between church, state, and society was broken up. More important, the very idea of any religious group or ‘sect,’ demanding recognition as the true and exclusive church for the society was rendered meaningless.” By the Civil War,

the new upstart churches grew faster than the traditional Reformed faith of the nation's grandfathers. Mark Noll published a list of churches in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that spells out the growth.

Table One: Church Growth in Early America⁶⁴

Number of Churches		Multiple of Growth		
Denomination	1770	1790	1860	1770 to 1860
Methodist	20	712	19,883	994.1
Baptist	150	858	12,150	81.0
Presbyterian	500	725	6,406	12.8
Roman Catholic	50	65	2,550	51.0
Congregational	625	750	2,234	3.6
Anglican/Episcopal	356	170	2,145	6.0
Lutheran	125	249	2,128	17.0
Christian/Disciples	0	0	2,128	—
Quakers	228	375	676	3.2
Dutch Reformed	100	115	440	4.7
Total other churches	2,481	4,696	~52,500	21.2
<i>US Population (1,000s)</i>	2,148	3,929	31,513	14.7

The Baptists and Methodist emotional, heartfelt conversion struck a chord especially on the frontier and with African Americans.⁶⁵ Following the promises of freedom of religion in the Constitution, Roman Catholic immigration also increased.⁶⁶ William Miller's promise of knowing the date of Christ's Second Coming drew together thirty to a hundred thousand believers (or perhaps simply curious Americans) in a fourteen year period, only to be very disappointed after October 22, 1844 (his projected date of the Second

churches sprang up across America. Mark Noll explains, "In 1860 the census counted 38,183 church buildings, or an average of one house of worship for every 608 Americans. These churches were served by over 26,000 professional ministers and priests and by well over 10,000 part-time local preachers." *History of Christianity*, 220.

⁶⁴ Noll, *History of Christianity*, 166.

⁶⁵ Wacker, *Religion in the Nineteenth Century*, 86. Wacker admits that "tracking the slaves' religious progress is considerably more complicated," but holds to his thesis that "bondsmen . . . adopted Christianity."

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 88. Antebellum Catholicism grew mainly from immigration from Catholic countries (e.g. Ireland and sections of Germany).

Coming).⁶⁷ Moravian missionaries were “astonished at the power of the Holy Ghost, as it transformed their little flock of indifferent unbelievers to earnest and true followers of Jesus.”⁶⁸

Methodists. The most zealous missionaries in the early nineteenth century were the Methodists. In less than a century their numbers soared from a handful before the Revolution to the largest denomination in America.⁶⁹ One reason for the remarkable expansion was the congruency between Americans’ beliefs and the Methodist twin emphasis on 1) biblical faith and 2) an immediate witness of the Holy Spirit.⁷⁰ The latter witness personalized God’s love through His Spirit. Noll summarized Methodism as “a message of a loving God able to touch people with his Holy Spirit.”⁷¹ Americans were hungry for the Methodists’ message that taught if persons repented and received a witness from the Spirit, they were forgiven and adopted into Christ’s fold. Once they were adopted, the Spirit sanctified them and secured their place in heaven.⁷² This message fell like manna to many Americans who picked it up eagerly.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 55-56.

⁶⁸ Edwin Munsell Bliss, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Missions: Descriptive, Historical, Biographical, Statistical* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1891), 172.

⁶⁹ A reprinting of John Wesley’s Methodist views reached Americans in 1789. The initial growth of Methodism in America is attributed to Bishop Francis Asbury. Holifield, *Theology in America*, 270. Several LDS leaders in the early nineteenth century came to Mormonism from Methodism including Emma Smith and several of the quorum of the Twelve Apostles (i.e. Thomas B. Marsh, David W. Patten, Brigham Young, Orson Hyde, Luke and Lyman Johnson, and later ordained John Taylor, John Page—see *D&C* 118:1, 6).

⁷⁰ These are Wesley’s “twin stresses” according to Noll, *History of Christianity*, 351.

⁷¹ Noll, *America’s God*, 341. Methodists “believed that God did indeed care and that they could be made whole . . . through receiving the wholeness of the Transcendent in the Spirit” (331). Also Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 186, 236.

⁷² John Wesley’s teachings on adoption and how it related to the witness of the Spirit dominated Methodist thought. Methodists interpreted a spiritual adoption as an immediate and inward testimony of the Holy Spirit, giving an assurance of forgiveness. This was the doctrine through which they interpreted the ecstatic emotional experiences of the revivals. The witness of the Spirit assured them their salvation was “immediate, palpable, and emotional.” Methodists saw a dual nature in the role of the Spirit: first conversion and second sanctification. It was the Spirit that allowed them to experience perfection after their “new birth.” Holifield, *Theology in America*, 269.

Baptists. As the denomination with the second largest numerical growth, the Baptists returned to the New Testament focus on baptism by immersion and seeking a witness of the Spirit. In addition to holding camp meetings and revivals, in 1824 their missionary department founded the “Baptist General Tract Society” in Washington D.C.⁷³ In 1854 the publication arm of their missionary department expanded to sponsor the “American Baptist Publication Society.” It conducted “three kinds of missionary work: 1. The distribution of Bibles and other religious books among the poor; 2. The organization of Sunday Schools and the supplying them with Sunday School books and Bibles; 3. Aiding in the circulating of the scriptures and religious books in foreign countries.”⁷⁴

Training for the Ministry

As missionary efforts stretched across the expanding nation, new and old colleges supplied more ministers. By the turn of the nineteenth century Harvard was entrenched in spreading Unitarianism doctrine.⁷⁵ Ministers who professed New Divinity theology came from Andover, Massachusetts. Yale divinity school preached “New School Presbyterianism,” while the College of New Jersey at Princeton maintained the “Old School Presbyterianism.”⁷⁶ Missionary work in the Connecticut River Valley was assisted by Dartmouth where in 1800 forty New Light ministers were sent to churches near Joseph

⁷³ Gaustad and Schmidt, *Religious History*, 142.

⁷⁴ Bliss, *Encyclopedia of Missions*, 60.

⁷⁵ Finke and Stark note that by the late eighteenth century, Harvard was “essentially and conscientiously Unitarian. . . its faculty and students were Unitarian and remained so with few exceptions during the entire nineteenth century.” *Churching America*, 45.

⁷⁶ The grandson of Jonathan Edwards, Timothy Dwight, played an active role in the Second Great Awakening from his Yale pulpit. “He was determined to stamp out infidelity through heartfelt preaching about the perils of unbelief, and about Christ’s love for wayward humans.” Wacker, *Religion in Nineteenth Century America*, 34. Dwight’s fervor sparked church revivals along the eastern seaboard.

Smith's home.⁷⁷ In 1835 Charles Finney took his theology to the campus at Oberlin College in Ohio. Initially, the Methodists thrived without an educated ministry, depending on barely literate circuit riders. But by 1839 they formalized their missionary training by establishing seven colleges. The following year Alexander Campbell and his Disciples of Christ opened Bethany College to preach a return to the primitive church. Like Campbell, several denominations started their own colleges to expand their range of influence. This is only a sampling of the academic effort to supply the country with new missionaries, but it suffices to illustrate the public interest in religious studies.

Volunteerism and Voluntary Societies

In addition to the full time ministry, many Americans—especially women—looked for other ways to express their cherished religious beliefs; the result was the growth of volunteer organizations in religious milieus.⁷⁸ In 1816 the American Bible Society rose to meet the needs of distributing Bibles across the expanding nation. This group hoped that people who had a Bible would read it, and the more people who read the Bible would become converted by the Spirit. Similarly, in 1824 the American Sunday School Union organized with the goal of keeping frontier Americans literate and studying the Bible. In 1825, “The American Tract Society” promoted “sound religion.”⁷⁹ Other volunteers picked up the abolitionist and prohibition banners with a spiritual undergirding. Female volunteers dominated moral reform societies.⁸⁰ As a sampling, the New York Female

⁷⁷ Ahlstrom, *Religious History*, 289. The Great Awakening contributed to the split in the Presbyterian Church in 1741 into the New Lights and the Old Lights. The disagreement centered on the Edwardians' emphasis on the need for a spiritual witness to know truth.

⁷⁸ Bailyn, Davis, Thomas, *The Great Republic*, 401-402; “In the early decades of the nineteenth century voluntary associations of all sorts—professional, civic, religious, moral, cultural, and charitable—sprang up and multiplied to an astonishing extent. . . . The most important of these new voluntary associations were those emerging in religion.”

⁷⁹ Gaustad and Schmidt, *Religious History*, 142.

⁸⁰ Cross, *The Burned-over District*, 237.

Benevolent Society was established in 1833, the LDS Relief Society in 1842, a Ladies Temperance Union in 1850, Women's Missionary Union in 1873, and Women's Christian Temperance Union in 1874. In addition to national organizations, women organized many local shelters and orphanages. All this benevolence was observed by a French visitor, Alexis de Tocqueville, as remarkable: "There is no country in the world where the Christian religion retains a greater influence over the souls of men than in America."⁸¹ The daily lives of Americans in 1835 preached their beliefs to the French visitor.

Burned-over District

Whether from Manifest Destiny or otherwise, as the borders of the new nation expanded, the newly-opened lands became a magnet for missionary work. This was especially the case in northwestern New York where the longing for a spiritual conversion spread like a wild fire. Upstate New York received the nickname, "the Burned-over District" in honor of the outpouring of itinerant preachers and religious revivals that burned through the developing towns. In 1824 nearly one-fourth of the nation's Presbyterian ministers served in the Burned-over District. They were joined by Methodists, Episcopalians, Society of Friends, Baptists, and Freewill Baptists. More than anywhere else in the new nation, the Burned-over District kindled a fire of the Holy Spirit to new levels of enthusiasm. Whitney Cross demonstrated this extreme religious fervor by comparing the revivals in six states with those in the Burned-over-District from 1815 to 1818.⁸²

⁸¹ Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 308; also quoted in Noll, *History of Christianity*, 163.

⁸² Cross, *Burned-over District*, 10-12, 13, 355. Cross pointed to the winter of 1799-1800 as the Revival that initiated the religious spark that burned through upstate New York. He saw the greatest revivals in that area following the War of 1812. The Methodists alone gained 1,500 members in Oneida and Ostego counties and a sixteen percent increase growth across the region in the single year of 1818. Revivals had a ripple effect on different towns throughout the district. Cross found a correlation between the age of each community and its economic maturity and education opportunities with how enthusiastically the community received

Table Two: Religious Revivals in New England and New York between 1815 and 1818

Rhode Island	Connecticut	Pennsylvania	New Jersey	Eastern New York	Vermont	Massachusetts	Burned-over-District or upstate New York
6	15	21	21	21	45	64	80

Cross described upstate New York as a tinder-box of religious interest that spread from town to town climaxing between 1825 and 1837. Charles Finney and Joseph Smith heard their calls in that environment in the early 1820s and remained for a decade to call others.⁸³ Finally after approximately four decades of revival experimentation in the region, the fire of the Second Great Awakening burnt itself out in the 1840s. Before it burnt out, though, the Burned-over District offered the first breath of life to the “Church of Christ,” or as dubbed by its enemies, Mormonism.⁸⁴

Reactions to Mormonism

With this general review of America’s historical interest in the workings of the Holy Spirit in place, we now turn to look at a particular national reaction to an upstart church and its revelation claiming prophet, Joseph Smith, Junior. He too participated in the country’s religious enthusiasm—but his religious emphasis and his understanding of the Holy Spirit departed in significant ways from mainstream Protestants. That departure

missionaries. Participants included the Freewill Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and nondenominational itinerants.

⁸³ Smith’s family moved to the Burned-over District in 1816 and left in 1831. In 1794, Finney’s family moved to the district when he was two. Finney converted to Christianity in 1821 and preached in the region for the next decade.

⁸⁴ Within a year the name of the church was changed to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Smith, *History of the Church*, 1.87.

created some violent reactions to him and to the religious movement he developed.

American curiosity erupted when the twenty-one-year-old Smith professed to be a prophet and produced a new revealed scripture. He defined revelation as everything God revealed or communicated through His Spirit or angelic messengers in the past, present, or future. Revelation included theophanies, revealed scripture, visions, workings of the Spirit, gifts of the Spirit, and personal inspiration. A few believed his revelations and were baptized as members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) though most of Smith's contemporaries denounced his claims of receiving new divine revelation. Those who did not become Mormons (or became disenchanted) often attacked him and his circle of believers—verbally and physically. Their initial religious curiosity led to vocal animosity at its best and violent murders at its worst. Statements from newspaper articles and ministers illustrate this emotionally-charged historical context and offer a glance at the local and national sentiment about Mormons by non-Mormons.

The spread of printed communication intensified religious discussions and debates and fueled anti-Mormonism. Newspapers and periodicals molded opinions. Most cities had daily newspapers and villages had weekly news sheets.⁸⁵ In addition, a host of publications dedicated their print specifically to religious issues. These specialized periodicals incessantly attacked deism, atheism, spiritualism, Mormonism, and other “isms.” Usually religious matters entered the public newspapers only when they carried a political issue (i.e. temperance and anti-slavery). This was not the case in newspaper

⁸⁵ Cross, *Burned-over District*, 102-103. In upstate New York, “publishing followed only after the meeting and the school in order of Yankee cultural establishments.” By the second quarter of the century, “every village supported at least one news sheet.”

attacks against the new “species of fanaticism,” Mormonism.⁸⁶ The regular attacks against Joseph Smith and his followers provoked further animosity and engendered prejudice.

The press response to *The Book of Mormon* spread like wild fire. Within a week after its publication on March 26, 1830, the *Rochester Daily Advertiser* headline read:

“BLASPHEMY,” and then described: “*The Book of Mormon* has been placed in our hands. A viler imposition was never practiced. It is an evidence of fraud, blasphemy, and credulity shocking both to Christians and moralists.”⁸⁷ Within weeks these newspaper articles were picked up in New England. Richard Bushman observed: “the press response was universally scornful . . . thus was the *Book of Mormon* greeted when it came into the world.”⁸⁸ Smith and his congregations were persecuted out of the Burned over-District, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois. The worst maltreatment occurred in Missouri from 1832 to 1838. Written and verbal assaults led to an extermination order and potential genocide in late October 1838. By 1846, when the Mormons were chased out of the nation to Utah, they numbered thirty-four thousand.

What did the press find so offensive about Joseph Smith? Initially it was his claim to receive new revelation. Nearly every newspaper article attacking him mentioned something against his revelations or his “golden Bible.”⁸⁹ The first newspaper harassment came in the winter of 1829-30 while *The Book of Mormon* was still being published and the church was not yet organized.⁹⁰ A local Palmyra, New York, newspaper editor, Abner

⁸⁶ Ibid., 306, 70.

⁸⁷ Richard Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York City, NY: Random House, 2005), 270.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ An examination of local, state, and New England newspaper coverage is found in the second volume of Francis W. Kirkham, *New Witness of Christ in America*, vol. 2 (Independence, MO: Zion's Printing & Publishing, 1951), 39. He devoted the third chapter to: “Newspaper Explanations Printed after the Publication” of *The Book of Mormon*.

⁹⁰ Joseph Smith, *The Book of Mormon: Another Testament of Jesus Christ* (1830 reprint, Salt Lake City, UT: Corporation of the President, 1986).

Cole (under the pseudonym Obediah Dogberry), illegally copied and published sections of *The Book of Mormon* in his periodical, *The Reflection*.⁹¹ His pirated stories satirized the Book of Nephi as “the Book of Pukei” and resurrected prophets into an “Indian blanket and moccasins.”⁹² The derogatory Dogberry articles spread and were reprinted in the Painesville, Ohio *Telegraph* by the editor Ebner D. Howe.⁹³ A year later, Cole published another series of six weekly exposés against *The Book of Mormon* from January 7, 1831 to March 19, 1831.⁹⁴

In the spring of 1831, just a short year after the organization of the church (with LDS membership numbering around five hundred), local news took on international proportions when an earthquake in Peking, China, was attributed to Mormons. Smith’s journal recorded the following:

At this age of the Church many false reports, lies, and foolish stories, were published in the newspapers, and circulated in every direction, to prevent people from investigating the work, or embracing the faith. A great earthquake in China, which destroyed from one to two thousand inhabitants, was burlesqued in some papers, as “Mormonism in China.”⁹⁵

⁹¹ After publishing sections of *The Book of Mormon*, Cole (under the pseudonym, O. Dogberry, Esq) explained, “The appellation of ‘Gold Bible’ is only a *cant cognomen* that has been given it by the *unbelievers . . . its revilers and unbelievers*—by way of *derision*.” Russell R. Rich, “The Dogberry Papers and the Book of Mormon” *BYU Studies*, 10.3 (Spring, 1970): 317.

⁹² Givens, *Hand of Mormon*, 94. Abner Cole also described prophets as “spirit of money diggers,” in “fine clothing.”

⁹³ Allen and Leonard, *Latter-day Saints*, 52–53, 80; Abner Cole worked with the same printing office that was publishing *The Book of Mormon*. Cole read some of it, wrote his own satirized version, and then “printed it on Sunday, using E. B. Grandin’s press. After publishing several derogatory remarks about the forthcoming ‘Gold Bible,’ he announced that in January he would begin to print extracts from it. Because he was using Grandin’s office, Cole had found access, albeit unauthorized, to the printer’s manuscript, and some excerpts did appear in print. Hyrum Smith and Oliver Cowdery could not persuade him to desist, and finally Joseph Smith, Sr., went to Harmony and brought his son Joseph back with him. Even he could not persuade the belligerent Cole to cease, and only after the matter was submitted to arbitration was Cole obliged to stop violating the copyright.” Copyright laws of the time were less enforced, but did exist, as Cole well knew as an ex-justice of the peace.

⁹⁴ Kirkham, *A New Witness for Christ in America*, 2.68–73.

⁹⁵ Smith, *History*, 1.158.

The plot thickened as Simonds Ryder, a noted Campbellite preacher, “remembered that six weeks before, a young 'Mormon' girl had predicted the destruction of that city.”⁹⁶ The “revelation” convinced him of the validity of Mormonism, and he was baptized.

A few months later, with LDS membership still less than a thousand, a leading newspaper from New York City sent a journalist to the Burned-over District to gather first hand information about the church. When the reporter arrived, most of the Mormons were already driven from the state by persecution and were gathering in Kirtland, Ohio. Rather than track down the Mormons two hundred and sixty miles further west, the reporter interviewed neighbors and wrote an article from the second-hand, local sentiment. Two weeks later on August 31, 1831, James Gordon Bennett wrote in the *New York Morning Courier and Enquirer*:

You have heard of MORMONISM—who has not? Paragraph has followed paragraph in the newspapers, recounting the movements, detailing their opinions and surprising distant readers with the traits of a singularly new religious sect which had its origin in this state. Mormonism is the latest device of roguery, ingenuity, ignorance and religious excitement combined and acting on materials prepared by those who ought to know better. It is one of the mental exhalations of Western New York. The individuals who gave birth to these species of fanaticism are very simple personages, and not known until this thrust them into notice. They are the old and young Joe Smith.⁹⁷

The New York City article suggests that the new church made quite a stir even hundreds of miles away. In the early days of the church, local papers across the Burned-over District were littered with frequent attacks on Smith and his small following.⁹⁸ The regularity of

⁹⁶ Hoyt W. Brewster, Jr., *Doctrine and Covenants Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1988), 481.

⁹⁷ Leonard J. Arrington, “James Gordon Bennett’s 1831 Report on ‘The Mormonites,’” *BYU Studies* 10 (Spring 1970): 357. See also Noel B. Reynolds, ed., *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited: The Evidence for Ancient Origins* (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies-F.A.R.M.S., 1997), 36.

⁹⁸ Some of those include the *Niagara Courier* on August 27, 1829, the *Buffalo Journal & General Advertiser* on March 3, and December 8, 1830, June 22, 1831, the *Fredonia Censor* on April 21, 1830, June 2, 1830, January 5, 1831, May 18, 1831, May 25, 1831, July 6, 1831, the *Buffalo Patriot*, on December 28, 1830, May 31, 1831, June 21, 1831, the *Painesville Telegraph* November 16, 30, 1830, December 7, 1830,

articles demonstrates a great curiosity about Mormonism's claim to revelation in spite of its humble origins and initial small size.

A six-month sampling from the *New York Herald* between May and November 1844 shows the voracious appetite of readers for more news on "Joe Smith's Mormons." By that time, over a thousand miles separated Joseph Smith and the body of Mormons from New York City, but the new religion's claim of revelation captivated the general public enough to warrant at least weekly and often daily updates. In a simple counting, I found over sixty articles on Mormonism with forty references to revelation of the Spirit. It was a hot topic. Smith's claims to open the scriptural canon with modern revelation disrupted traditional Christianity's view of the Spirit's communication with humanity.

Not everyone reacted passionately against Smith. People who were "not religionist," as General Law from Illinois labeled himself, were not offended by the man Smith. After spending some time with Smith, General Law said, "From reports, we had reason to think the Mormons were a peculiar people, different from other people, having horns or something of the kind; but I find they look like other people: indeed, I think Mr. Smith a very good-looking man."⁹⁹ Other voices ranged from sarcastic to hostile as news of Smith's "golden plates" spread across the country.¹⁰⁰ Those with the loudest bark often had the most to lose (in either membership or reputation) from Smith's new church.

and the *Lockport Balance* May 31, 1831. Rather than attempt to gather first hand information, the printed coverage on Smith often focused on discrediting his claims to revelation. See also David Bitton, *Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1977), 62.

⁹⁹ Smith, *History*, 5.213.

¹⁰⁰ Givens, *Hand of Mormon*, 93, reports a sarcastic 1834 *Illinois Gazetteer* article (published five years before LDS gathered in Illinois): "Those who are particularly desirous of information concerning the millions of warriors, and the bloody battles in which more were slain than ever fell in all the wars of Alexander, Caesar, or Napoleon, with a particular description of their military works, would do well to read the '*Book of Mormon*,' made out of the '*golden plates*' of that distinguished antiquarian Joe Smith!"

Alexander Campbell

Alexander Campbell, a minister who sought a return to the primitive church, vehemently attacked Smith's version of a restoration. Campbell's pen was quick and harsh—he first published *Delusions: An Analysis of the Book of Mormon with an examination of its Internal and External Evidences, and a Refutation of its Pretences to Divine Authority* (1831) when *The Book of Mormon* (1830) was less than a year off the press.¹⁰¹ *Delusions* still forms the basis of much anti-Mormon literature today. Campbell's animosity against the Mormons erupted when many of his flock in Ohio left to follow Smith's restoration movement.¹⁰² Just over a month after Campbell's comrade Sydney Rigdon joined the Mormons, Campbell sent out a warning in his periodical, *The Millennial Harbinger* on February 7, 1831:

Since the Millennium and the evils of sectarianism have been the subjects of much speaking and writing, impostures have been numerous. In the memory of the present generation, many delusions have been propagated and received. . . . The Barkers, Jumpers, and Mutterers of the present age, need not be mentioned here . . . But we shall proceed to notice the most recent and the most impudent delusion which has appeared in our time. The people that have received this imposture are called, THE MORMONITES. I have just examined their bible . . . it is called the “Book of Mormon.”¹⁰³

Three days later, Campbell published his first edition of “Delusions.” He hoped to uncover the “falsehoods” of Joseph Smith's “miracles” and workings of the Spirit as hallucinations

¹⁰¹ Campbell first published “Delusions” as an article in the *Millennial Harbinger* and then in book form in 1832.

¹⁰² When Campbell separated from the Baptists, Sidney Rigdon and his group of followers became the third group to join Campbell's restoration movement. Rigdon's eloquent preaching and biblical scholarship ingratiated himself to Campbell, and he soon became a leader in the movement. In 1830 Rigdon's convert, Parley P. Pratt, came across a copy of *The Book of Mormon*, read it, believed it was the word of God, met Joseph Smith, was baptized, and soon thereafter was called to serve as a missionary. He returned to Ohio to tell Rigdon about his new faith. That fall Rigdon and several of his followers received Joseph Smith as a prophet and were baptized. Alexander Campbell lost hundreds of members but losing the leadership of Rigdon was even more significant. Allen and Leonard, *Latter-day Saints*, 17–18, 60–65.

¹⁰³ Alexander Campbell, “Delusions” *Millennial Harbinger*, II.2 (February 7, 1831): 86. Campbell's timing was extremely fast to procure a copy of the Book of Mormon, read it, and have this rebuttal published in Bethany, Virginia, within weeks of the Mormons arriving in Kirtland, Ohio.

of the devil: “‘Smith is an honest looking fellow.’ So was Simon Magnus [*sic*], the sorcerer. . . ‘But he was inspired.’ So was Judas, by Satan.”¹⁰⁴ Campbell arranged his attacks on Smith by presenting hypothetical statements followed by his logical perspective. “‘But Smith is the wonder of the world.’ So was the Apocalyptic beast! ‘an ignorant young man.’ That needs no proof. Gulliver’s Travels is a heroic problem in comparison to this book of Smith. ‘But he cannot write a page.’ Neither could Mohomet [*sic*], who gave forth the Alcoran [*sic*].”¹⁰⁵ Campbell denounced Smith’s book as a fable, satanic, and unchristian.

Campbell’s battle did not stop, and three months later as more of his members joined the Mormons, he published an editorial to “the followers of *Joseph Smith*, who believe in his Golden Bible or the plates of Nephi.” He warned against the disparity between Mormons’ behavior and beliefs: “Many of these visionaries are good citizens, kind friends, and benevolent neighbors . . . But we care not what their seeming devotion nor their decent morality may be. Believing the testimony of God, we must pronounce them deluded.”¹⁰⁶ Mormon conduct seemed Christian enough, but Campbell could not accept their irrational belief in modern revelation as scripture. Campbell saw Smith as another in the long line of false prophets.

Instead of countering Campbell’s attacks or doctrines (or anyone else’s attempts to rebuild primitive Christianity), Smith moved ahead in his own direction without

¹⁰⁴ Alexander Campbell, *Delusions: An Analysis of the Book of Mormon with an examination of its Internal and External Evidences, and a Refutation of its Pretences to Divine Authority* (1832 reprint, Morgan-Bruce Book Co: Salt Lake City, UT, 1925), 15. In an introduction to the 1832, 16 page book form of *Delusions*, Joshua Himes wrote: “Mormonites, a fanatical sect . . . I have had several interviews with these men, and have examined their book, called the ‘Book of Mormon,’ have endeavored to acquaint myself with the details of their history and principles, have put the result of my inquiries in writing, and am satisfied of the delusion and absurdity of their system, and of its evil tendency. After this investigation, I felt a desire to have the system exposed immediately in public print.” (1).

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Campbell, “The Times—IV,” *Millennial Harbinger*, II.5 (May 4, 1831): 212.

acknowledging the negative press.¹⁰⁷ After years of harassment, Smith finally responded to Campbell on September 24, 1834, in the Mormon newspaper in Kirtland, Ohio, *The Evening and the Morning Star*.¹⁰⁸

I have never been blessed, (if it may be called such,) with a personal acquaintance with Mr. Campbell, neither a personal interview, but the GREAT MAN, not unfrequently condescends to notice an individual of as obscure birth as myself, if I am at liberty to interpret the language of his "Harbinger," where he says, "Joe Smith! Joe Smith! imposture! . . . false prophet! and ridicule every man who may be disposed to examine the evidences which God has given to the world of its truth!

I have never written Mr. Campbell, nor received a communication from him but a public notice in his paper. . . . I wish to inform him further, that as he has, for a length of time, smitten me upon one cheek, and I have offered no resistance, I have turned the other also, to obey the commandment of our Savior; and am content to sit awhile longer in silence and see the great work of God roll on, amid the opposition of this world in the face of every scandal and falsehood which may be invented and put in circulation.¹⁰⁹

Smith's approach to virtually ignore verbal hecklers was consistent throughout his life. By so doing, he felt he could center all his energy on building "the great work of God."¹¹⁰

Peter Cartwright

In the early 1840s the Methodist itinerant preacher Peter Cartwright lived in Illinois at the same time that Joseph Smith was building Nauvoo—which was at that time, the

¹⁰⁷ Smith, *History*, 2.272; Smith discussed the doctrinal differences between himself and Campbell on September 1, 1835, in a letter to LDS elders: "Mr. Campbell and his associates taught faith in God, repentance and baptism for the remission of sins, they rejected wholly the doctrine of the laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost, and the enjoyment of the spiritual blessings which accompany the possession of that Spirit." Smith on the other hand sought the gifts of the Spirit and encouraged his congregation to do the same.

¹⁰⁸ The *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* summarizes the early Mormon newspapers. The first was a monthly issue of *The Evening and The Morning Star*. It was printed in Independence, Missouri as fourteen eight-paged, double-columns from June 1832 to July 1833. When the press in Missouri was destroyed by a mob, publication was resumed several months later in Kirtland, Ohio, with ten issues published from December 1833 to September 1834. Other early periodicals from Kirtland, Ohio, include *Messenger and Advocate* from 1834 to 1837, the *Northern Times* from 1835 to 1836, and the *Elders' Journal of the Church of Latter Day Saints* from 1837 to 1838. After the Mormons were driven to Nauvoo, Illinois, they published the *Times and Seasons* from 1839 to 1846 and *The Wasp* from 1842 to 1843, which was replaced by *Nauvoo Neighbor* from 1843 to 1846. Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism 4 vol.* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1.477, also 3.1174.

¹⁰⁹ Quoted in Dean C. Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, ed. (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1984), 334.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

largest city west of the Appalachian Mountains. Cartwright reports he met Smith once in Springfield, Illinois.¹¹¹ According to Cartwright's autobiography, their conversation focused on the gifts of the Spirit:

On a certain occasion I fell in with Joe Smith . . . we soon fell into a free conversation on the subject of religion and Mormonism in particular. I found him to be a very illiterate and impudent desperado in morals, but, at the same time, he had a vast fund of low cunning. . . . He expressed great and almost unbounded pleasure in the high privilege of becoming acquainted with me, one of whom he had heard so many great and good things, and he had no doubt I was one among God's noblest creatures, and honest man. He believed that among all the Churches in the world the Methodist was the nearest right, and that, as far as they went, they were right. But they had stopped short by not claiming the gift of tongues, of prophecy, and of miracles, and then quoted a batch of Scripture to prove his positions correct. Upon the whole, he did pretty well for clumsy Joe.¹¹²

According to Cartwright, Joseph Smith directed the conversation to his topic of choice—the gifts of the Spirit. He felt passionate about the subject while Cartwright was skeptical. Even though one of the founders of Methodism, Charles Wesley, sought for a reappearance of the gifts of the Spirit in one of his hymns, Cartwright did not seek charismatic endowments.¹¹³ He may have been influenced by the Calvinistic understanding that permeated much of America regarding the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit ceasing after the death of the last apostle.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Cartwright gives no date for this meeting. In Joseph's Smith's *History of the Church* he recorded several visits to Springville including a stop over en route to Washington, D.C., where he wrote a letter to his wife Emma dated November 9, 1839 (4.19). December 30, 1842, he met with Judge James Adams (5.238); January 1-5, 1843 (5.250) and Nov. 30, 1843 (6.95), he stayed at the home of a Mr. Sollars. None of these accounts includes a meeting with Peter Cartwright, nor is a meeting mentioned anywhere else in his journals or letters.

¹¹² Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 225. Other denominations also claimed to speak with the gift of tongues, like Ann Lee and the Shakers. Leigh Schmidt explains, "the gift of speaking in tongues . . . received a burst of attention from the 1830s into the 1850s." *Hearing Things*, 231.

¹¹³ Donald G. Bloesch, *The Holy Spirit* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2006), 128. Charles Wesley sought the gifts of the Holy Spirit and baptism by fire in one of his Methodist hymns. Another early Methodist leader, Thomas Walsh, recorded in his personal journal that he spoke in tongues. Another Methodist, Adam Clarke (died 1832) "made a place for charismatic endowments after conversion."

¹¹⁴ The Baptists took exception to this Reformed doctrine. In 1734 there were only fifteen Baptist churches in New England and in 1741 approximately 3,000 Baptist members. In 1790 their membership grew to 65,000. In 1876, the *North American Review* attributed their growth mainly to the following: "A distinctive

Their “high debate” concluded when Smith invited Cartwright to visit the Mormons:

“Now,” said he [Smith], “if you will go with me to Nauvoo, I will show you many living witnesses that will testify that they were, by the saints, cured of blindness, lameness, deafness, dumbness, and all the diseases that human flesh is heir to; and I will show you,” said he, “that we have the gift of tongues, and can speak in unknown languages, and that the saints can drink any deadly poison and it will not hurt them;” and closed by saying, “the idle stories you hear about us are nothing but sheer persecution.”¹¹⁵

Cartwright’s recollection of their conversation sounds exaggerated, but it unmistakably provides his impressions. Supposedly, Smith tried to prove his claims of receiving the gifts of the Spirit by offering an invitation to visit the Mormons, but Cartwright refused. Cartwright had no desire to meet another Mormon. He already had met a group who called themselves Mormons at one of his camp meetings. They pretended to speak with the gifts of tongues, but Cartwright saw the whole experience as “presumptuous and blasphemous nonsense.”¹¹⁶

Cartwright ended his dialogue with Smith by denouncing him and his people:

“‘Yes,’ said I, ‘Uncle Joe; but my Bible tells me, ‘the bloody and deceitful man shall not live out half his days;’ and I expect the Lord will send the devil after you some of these days, and take you out of the way.’”¹¹⁷ Cartwright felt justified in his exposure of a false prophet. Unfortunately, all we know about this conversation is from Cartwright’s perspective. Smith did not record anything about an engagement with Cartwright in his journal (but, as already noted, he did record visits to Springville three or four times

characteristic of the Baptists was the energy with which they extolled the gifts of the Spirit.” Ferdinand Piper, Henry Mitchell MacCracken, *Lives of the Leaders of the Church Universal to the Present Time* (Edinburgh, Scotland: T&T Clark, 1880), 609.

¹¹⁵ Quoted in Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 226.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 226

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 227. Cartwright’s use of “uncle” in a derogatory sense is similar to the derogatory exchange he had had with Abraham Lincoln in 1834. The same verbal slapping that Cartwright previously received from Lincoln, Cartwright used on Joseph Smith. Robert Bray, *Peter Cartwright: Legendary Frontier Preacher* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 148.

between 1839 and 1844 which makes the meeting plausible).¹¹⁸ Smith hardly ever recorded details about public feedback—positive or negative. We have only a few general summaries that affirm he knew of the caustic feedback, but it appears that it did not preoccupy him enough to discuss or write much about it.¹¹⁹

Cartwright's next reference to Mormons in his *Autobiography* also addresses the gifts of the Spirit. About 1843 he remembered a repentant sinner, "soundly converted to God."¹²⁰ He described the new convert as having "the innocence and simplicity of a child. He was very zealous for God and gave great promise of doing good."¹²¹ The problem for Cartwright was that his convert's relatives were Mormons living in Nauvoo. They

¹¹⁸ Joseph Smith did record his observations about Methodist and Presbyterian claims of feeling the Holy Spirit though. In an article, "*Try the Spirits*" (first printed in the *Times and Seasons*), Smith said, "Methodists, Presbyterians, and others frequently possess a spirit that will cause them to lay down, and during its operation animation is frequently entirely suspended; they consider it to be the power of God, and a glorious manifestation from God,—a manifestation of what?—is there any intelligence communicated? Are the curtains from heaven withdrawn, or the purposes of God developed? Have they seen and conversed with an angel; or have the glories of futurity burst upon their view? No! but . . . a shout of glory, or hallelujah, or some incoherent expression' but they have had 'the power.' The Shaker will whirl around on his heel impelled by a supernatural agency, or spirit, and think that he is governed by the spirit of God: and the Jumper will jump, and enter into all kinds of extravagancies, a Primitive Methodist will shout under the influence of that spirit, until he will rend the heavens, with his cries; while the Quakers, (or Friends) moved as they think by the spirit of God, will sit still and say nothing. Is God the author of all this? If not of all of it, which does he recognize? Surely a heterogeneous mass of confusion never can enter in to the kingdom of Heaven. Every one of these professes to be competent to try his neighbour's [*sic*] spirit, but no one can try his own, and what is the reason? Because they have not a key to unlock, no rule wherewith to measure, and no criterion whereby they can test it; could any one tell the length, breadth, or height of a building without a rule? . . . certainly not; and if such ignorance as this is manifested about a spirit of this kind who can describe an angel of light, if Satan should appear as one in glory? . . . Or who can drag into daylight and develop the hidden mysteries of the false spirits that so frequently are made manifest among the Latter-day Saints? We answer that no man can do this without the Priesthood, and have a knowledge of the laws by which spirits are governed" (*History*, 4.572). Smith acknowledged that some of his own members were deceived by false spirits. Chapter seven discusses Smith's teachings on the gift of the Holy Ghost, working through the power of the priesthood as the guide to determine true from false movements of the Spirit.

¹¹⁹ For example, "We had been saluted with such reports every day after we came through Jacksonville, Illinois; but we paid little attention to it, trusting in that God for protection which had called upon us to gather ourselves together to the land of Zion, and who had thus far delivered us out of the hands of all our enemies, on every hand, not only in Kirtland, but on all our journey" Smith, *History*, 3.143; also 2.70, 105-106; 3.68-69; 4.219-220; 6.432-433. Other times, Smith reported: "I spoke at some length concerning the evil reports which were abroad in the city concerning myself, and the necessity of counteracting the designs of our enemies, establishing a night watch, &c." (5.12-13; for other examples of acting on enemy reports, see 6.164, 467).

¹²⁰ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 260.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

“professed to have the gift of tongues, and . . . the gift of healing, and the interpretation of tongues.”¹²² The young convert “in his zeal for God, was impressed that he must go to Nauvoo” as a missionary of Methodism to convert his relatives and all other Mormons.¹²³

Cartwright tried to dissuade him, but to no avail:

As I predicted . . . they told him if he would join the Mormons and live faithful that in a very little time he would have the gift of tongues, and the gift of healing, so that by faith he would raise the dead as did the first Christians. The fatal bait was gulped down; they took him to the river and ducked him; and when I last saw him he was in daily expectation of these great gifts. I told him he would never receive them; and he promised me if he did not, he would leave them. What has become of him I know not, but it is probable he is at Utah, and has fifteen or twenty wives.¹²⁴

For Cartwright, the Mormons’ talk about revelation and the gifts of the Spirit was “artful and cunning . . . practicing frauds and religious jugglery.”¹²⁵ He believed in the Spirit and felt its witness, but the idea of practicing the gifts of the Spirit was extreme and sheer fanaticism to him.

Charles Finney

Surprisingly, Charles Finney wrote very little on Joseph Smith and the Mormons. Their geographic paths overlapped for twenty years, so we assume that both famous men knew of each other. Both men lived in the Burned-over District during the 1820s and in Ohio, within sixty miles of each other, in the 1830s. But no personal encounters are recorded. Smith never mentions Finney in his writings as he did not mention most people outside the Mormon world. Likewise, Finney’s writings pay no attention to Mormonism—except once. In his *Lectures on Theology*, Finney criticized Smith’s claims to revelation:

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 260-261.

¹²⁵ In addition to speaking against Mormons, Cartwright spoke against other denominations he mentioned in his *Autobiography*: Universalist (44), Calvinist (33, 44, 136-7), Baptists (96-99), Shakers (47-49), Millerites (46-47), Campbellites (262-264), Presbyterian (43-44), and “Romanish” (317). To him they were all spiritual imposters and only the Methodist Episcopal Church taught truth.

“Mormonism is ridiculous credulity, founded in utter ignorance or a disregard of the first principles of evidence in relation to the kind and degree of testimony demanded to establish anything that claims to be a revelation from God.”¹²⁶ Finney’s criticism does not explain what “testimony” would establish real revelation, but clearly he felt Smith’s “ridiculous” attempt failed. Steve Harper observes that by taking this position relative to Mormonism, Finney “retreated to eighteenth century Presbyterianism, vacating the fertile ground of democratized religious experience that Joseph stepped into and that so appealed to ante-bellum Americans.”¹²⁷ Finney’s, Cartwright’s, and Campbell’s criticisms illustrate the widespread negativism toward Smith’s “revelations.”

Conclusion

The early nineteenth century is not known for its spiritual unity, but for its passionate multiplicity. More than any previous period in American history, the Second Great Awakening became an explosion of religious discussions on revelation and the doctrine of the Spirit of God. Ministers preached in every nook and cranny of the country in an attempt to convert the sinner. Across a spectrum of beliefs, most Christians agreed that the root of revelation was the work of the Holy Spirit. American audiences were fascinated about the Spirit’s work of forgiveness, regeneration, inspiration, witnessing, and guidance. Most American Protestants held the Bible as sacred, divinely inspired, the source of authority and revelation as unlocked by the Spirit.

When deists or Mormons *diminished* this holy book, a battle ensued. Joseph Smith did not intend to deny the truth of the Bible by introducing *new revealed scripture*, but his additions to the canon, visions, new priesthood, and renewed gifts of the Spirit were all

¹²⁶ Charles Finney, *Lectures on Theology* (Minneapolis: Bethany Fellowship, 1986), 19.

¹²⁷ Stephen Harper, “Missionaries in the American Religious Marketplace: Mormon Proselyting in the 1830s,” *Journal of Mormon History*, 24.2 (Fall, 1998): 2-29.

highly offensive to his unbelieving neighbors. Nearly everything offensive to the Christian community about Mormon doctrines stemmed from Smith's new revelations. To discredit his revelations, his enemies vilified his character. Cartwright and Campbell, for example, attempted to protect the foundation of Christianity by portraying Joseph Smith and his church members as indolent, ignorant, deluded, unchristian, or wicked.

American religious histories dealing with the early nineteenth century often tie Joseph Smith and the beginnings of Mormonism to the ideas circulating in the Burned-over District and the Second Great Awakening.¹²⁸ But little to nothing has been printed in the last century comparing the pneumatology of Smith with the beliefs of his day. It is true that his favorite subject, revelation, was a favorite subject of the day. However, by examining his teachings on the Spirit we realize that he was not simply a creature of his culture. His pneumatology went beyond the received Christian tradition and made some new or renewed claims about the role of the Spirit in religious life. He shared a biblical foundation, but many of his thoughts stand in opposition to, not harmony with, his contemporaries.

His stance on revelation is what ignited so much persecution against the Mormons. He claimed to reopen the canon and proposed a continuous revelation of the "Word of God" through the Spirit.¹²⁹ In future chapters we will show his claims to restore the apostolic priesthood through revelation as well as the administration of sacraments and ordinances as revealed to him by God. He also claimed to practice all the gifts of the Spirit

¹²⁸ Cross, *Burned-over District*, 145; Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet*, 2nd ed. (New York, Knopf, 1971), 69.

¹²⁹ Smith encouraged his followers to accept his "revelations" as the words of God. "The Israelites were destroyed in the wilderness for despising the revelations given to them through Moses; and Christ said that the world, in the days of the Apostles, would be condemned for not receiving the word of God through them: Thus we see that the judgments of God in the past ages have come upon the people, not so much for neglecting the revelations given to their forefathers, as for rejecting those given immediately to themselves." Smith, *History*, 1.277.

outlined in 1 Corinthians. His message offended many and repulsed some. Mobs followed him his whole adult life, assaulting him when they could with tar and feathers or incarceration.¹³⁰ Twenty-four times he was arrested but never found guilty. His problem was not breaking the civil law, but breaking the religious norms. According to the religious traditions of the day, revelation had ceased with the Lord's Apostles, and Joseph Smith challenged that belief.

Before examining Joseph Smith's pneumatology, this study will first investigate theologically four of his contemporaries who felt strongly about their interpretation of the biblical concept of the Spirit: Peter Cartwright (1785-1872), Alexander Campbell (1788-1866), Charles Hodge (1797-1878), and Charles Finney (1792-1875). Each taught from the Bible, and yet each differed in his pneumatological application. By examining the lives and writings of these four Protestant religious leaders we find points of continuity as well as differences in their pneumatologies. Perhaps the greatest pneumatological point they differed on was how much credit to give human intervention in receiving divine inspiration. When we add Joseph Smith's thoughts on the Spirit into the comparison, we find an even greater diversity. Significantly, in almost every facet of pneumatology, Smith's vocabulary was biblical, but he used those biblical words in a way that differed from the usage of his fellow religious leaders.¹³¹ His teachings on the Spirit did not match the thoughts of the day.

¹³⁰ Larry C. Porter, Milton V. Backman, Jr., and Susan Easton Black, eds., *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint History: New York* (Provo, UT: Department of Church History and Doctrine, BYU, 1992), 104; Milton V. Backman, Jr. ed; *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint History: Ohio*. (Provo, UT: Department of Church History and Doctrine, BYU, 1990), 37; Smith, *History*, 1.261-262.

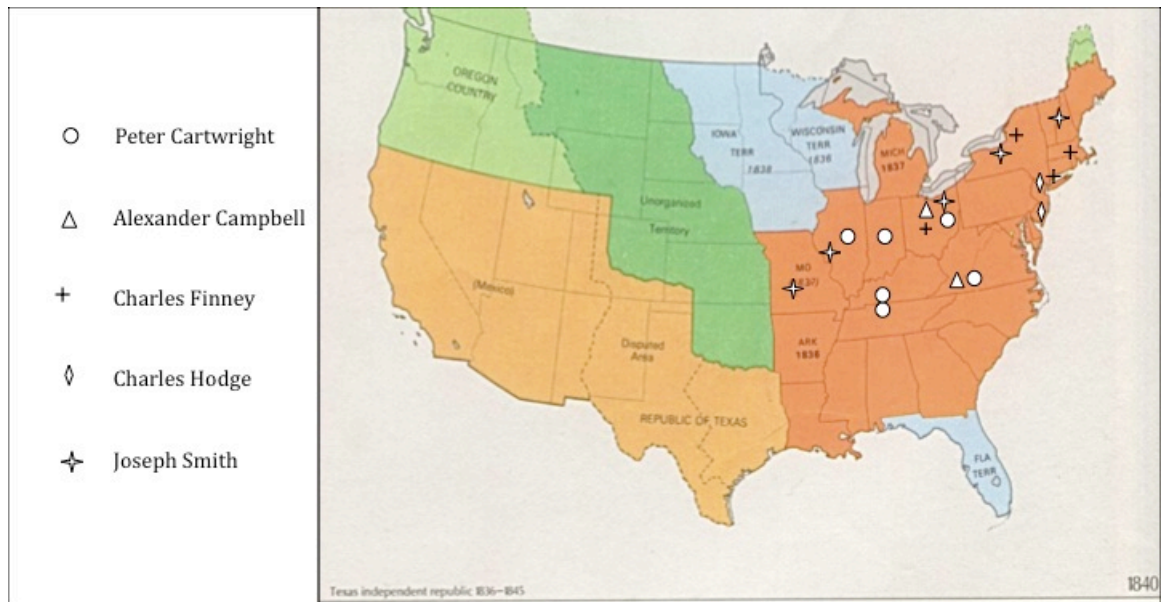
¹³¹ For example, "the Holy Spirit of Promise" is a special title for the Spirit's function of sealing ordinances as discussed in chapter seven. Also Smith defined "calling and election" as an ordinance given only after "the Lord has thoroughly proved [a man and his wife], and finds that the [couple] . . . determined to serve Him at all hazards ." Following the trial and reward, Smith taught, "then it will be his privilege to receive the other Comforter, which the Lord hath promised the Saints, as is recorded in the testimony of St. John, in the

The next six chapters examine the lives and pneumatology of Cartwright, Campbell, Hodge, Finney, and Smith (with two chapters used to unfold Smith's background and teachings). Then chapter eight compares and contrasts their doctrines on the Spirit. By placing these theological neighbors side by side, we will find a kaleidoscope of pneumatological thought. However, within this representative sampling of nineteenth-century religious leaders, we will find the uniqueness of Joseph Smith's doctrine of the Spirit. This disparity will allow us to reject the theory that his pneumatology was solely a product of his environment.

A timeline of each of these religious leaders is found in appendix one. We examine familial, social, and economic dimensions of all five men's upbringings to trace the roots that influenced their pneumatology. Each of them experienced a power of goodness and joy, which they attributed to the Spirit of God, and discussed the workings of the Spirit in their writings. Three were well educated in their youth, one in law, and two in theology. All five became powerful religious leaders in their communities and made an impact in the Second Great Awakening and beyond. Four of the five men were born in the original thirteen states, and only Campbell was born outside of the nation, in Ireland. Four men moved west, with only the most traditional, Hodge, never moving from the east coast. The following map of antebellum America identifies their geographic proximity over the course of their lives.

14th chapter, from the 12th to the 27th verses" (Smith, *History*, 3.380). More examples are discussed in chapter seven.

1840 USA Map **Identifying where Cartwright, Campbell, Finney, Hodge, and Smith Lived**



Chapter 2

Peter Cartwright (1785-1872)

Peter Cartwright fills an important role in this dissertation as the representative of Methodism in America.¹ Many Americans felt Methodism's magnetic pull as it grew into the largest denomination of the early nineteenth century.² In his early teens, Joseph Smith studied various religious traditions and became "somewhat partial to the Methodist sect."³ His desire to experience personally the Spirit came in part because of his Methodist minister's encouragement.⁴ By age fourteen, Joseph's youthful curiosity ended, and he departed from most points of Methodist doctrine.⁵ On the other hand, Cartwright remained a faithful disciple of Methodism all his life. He also personified the frontier preacher with

¹ Biographies on Cartwright include Robert Bray, *Peter Cartwright: Legendary Frontier Preacher* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2005); Theodore Lee Agnew, *Peter Cartwright and his times: The first fifty years, 1785-1835* (Boston, MA: Harvard University, 1954). Cartwright is also mentioned in Gaustad and Schmidt, *Religious History*, 189, 196; Peter W. Williams, *America's Religions: From Their Origins to the Twenty-first Century, 3rd* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois, 2002), 191; Noll, *History of Christianity in the United States*, 223, 224; Amanda Porterfield, *Healing in the History of Christianity* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2005), 169; Deborah McCauley, *Appalachian Mountain Religion: A History* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois, 1995), 269; Ahlstrom, *Religious History*, 438, 443-444, 456; Kenneth Cain Kinghorn, *The Heritage of American Methodism* (Strasbourg, France: Editions du Signe, 1999), 36, 55. (Surprisingly other histories, like Holifield's *History of Theology*, do not mention Cartwright in their discussion on Methodism.) These major studies have overlooked the point of this dissertation—that an interest in the Holy Spirit was central to early nineteenth century thought.

² For a growth chart of Methodists and other Christian churches in antebellum America, see Table One on page 28. Methodist beliefs established by John and Charles Wesley were summarized into six principles of Methodism by John Fletcher (1729-1785). First, "The total fall of man in Adam, and his utter inability to recover himself, or take any one step toward his recovery, 'without the grace of God preventing [i.e. enabling] him.'" Continuing with two through six: "Christ as the only way of salvation; holiness of heart and life; full sanctification; general redemption; . . . Christ as the Saviour of *all* men, but especially of them that believe; and the moral agency of man . . . upon the principles of . . . natural and revealed religion" (Mark Noll, *America's God*, 333-334).

³ Smith, *History*, 1.3-4. The full quote reads, "I kept myself aloof from all these parties, though I attended their several meetings as often as occasion would permit. In process of time my mind became *somewhat partial to the Methodist sect*, and I felt some desire to be united with them; but so great were the confusion and strife among the different denominations, that it was impossible for a person young as I was, and so unacquainted with men and things, to come to any certain conclusion who was right and who was wrong" (italics mine).

⁴ Pearson H. Corbett, *Hyrum Smith—Patriarch* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Co., 1963), 20.

⁵ Chapter eight discusses several doctrinal differences between Cartwright and Joseph Smith. However, Smith did agree that a desire to serve God, called one to the work (albeit that desire did not give authority to baptize).

his enthusiasm for God's work and tireless endurance. This chapter examines what he wrote about the Holy Spirit and finds that his central message focuses on seeking the Spirit's witness at conversion.

Cartwright's pneumatology can be summed up in the declaration that the Spirit makes one happy: "yield to the *Spirit* . . . submit to be an humble, shouting, *happy* Christian."⁶ He argued that the workings of the Spirit extend to all humble seekers of God. The majority of his references to the Spirit fall into two categories: first, the Spirit's work in conversion, and second, a preacher's responsibility to assist in conversions through fostering the Spirit. He warned his audiences that seeking the Spirit in anything beyond these two areas could lead to satanic deception.⁷ Cartwright defined conversion as an experience in which the Spirit forgave a person's sins and filled his or her soul with joy.⁸

As a minister, he aimed to help people "get religion and be happy too";⁹ however, the reader must not miss Cartwright's pneumatology through his unsophisticated approach. When he refers to getting "happy" or "religion," he means that these people are receiving a change of heart by the Spirit. He kept religion simple—if one sought the Spirit earnestly enough, or "yield[ed] up to the Spirit of God"—one could feel its cleansing

⁶ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 207 (emphasis mine).

⁷ Ibid., 22. He "proclaimed open war against these delusions." He saw false spirits at work in the world, including "wizards, witches, and spiritual rappers" who commune with satanic "angels, spirits and the devil also" (159).

⁸ For example, Cartwright describes working at a camp meeting with a fellow preacher: "We had prayers, and the most of us got shouting happy; and one of his interesting sons, while we were all engaged in prayer, was solemnly convicted, and after praying in mighty agony for several hours, the Lord blessed him with a powerful sense of the forgiveness of his sins. For hours we sung, prayed, and shouted together. . . . I look back on them my heart grows warm, and swells with gratitude to my heavenly Father for the sanction he has given to my poor little ministry amid all the sacrifices and sufferings" (ibid., 261). Cartwright described recognizing the presence of the Spirit with "my heart grows warm and swells with gratitude" (ibid.). His description used words similar to Charles Wesley's description of his conversion at Aldersgate on May 24, 1738: "I felt my heart strangely warmed" (Frank Whaling and Albert Outler, eds. *John and Charles Wesley: Selected Prayers, Hymns* (Mahwah, NJ : Paulist Press, 1981), 20.

⁹ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 235.

power.¹⁰ Following conversion, Christians had the responsibility to live in harmony with God's commandments and the Spirit's promptings. We can appreciate Cartwright's pneumatological simplicity by looking first at his family's role in his conversion and second at his ministerial writings on the Spirit in conversion and preaching.

Biographical Sketch¹¹

Cartwright's rugged background and lack of education belie his success as one of the greatest nineteenth century Methodist circuit preachers. In reality, he began life on a low rung of the American social ladder as the illegitimate son of an illiterate gambler. His poor rustic mannerisms enabled him to relate to other underprivileged inhabitants along his path. His upbringing actually equipped him well for service as a traveling minister. At the time, Methodist preachers did not require the same rigorous academic training that the traditional Reformed ministry did. This significant difference allowed the Methodists to keep up with the growing demand for preachers in the expanding nineteenth century America. In addition, Cartwright had something special that did not necessarily come with a theological degree—natural talent and zealous enthusiasm for the work.

In the backwoods of Amherst County, Virginia, on September 1, 1785, Widow Christiana Garvin Wilcox and Peter Cartwright had a son and named him after his father. A few years later, young Peter's parents formalized their common law marriage and joined a wave of western migrants to Kentucky. Eighteen years in that frontier environment offered Peter Jr. only one year of formal schooling. Instead of book learning, his father taught him how to play cards and bought him a race horse. As a result, Peter became a successful gambler in his early teens; in his own words, "I was naturally a wild,

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ See Appendix 1 for a time line of Cartwright's life and works.

wicked boy, and delighted in horse-racing, card playing, and dancing. My father restrained me but little, though my mother often talked to me, wept over me, and prayed for me, and often drew tears from my eyes.”¹² His mother’s efforts to instill her Methodist beliefs had little effect on him until his sixteenth year.

In the summer of 1800, after returning home from a long night of dancing, fifteen-year-old Peter viewed himself with “distaste deepening into disgust.”¹³ As he sat in front of the fire, he pondered his eternal position and lamented his spiritual condition. Looking back on that night years later, he wrote: “Nothing but the power of Divine grace saved me from this wretched sin.”¹⁴ For weeks he sought forgiveness by fasting, reading the New Testament, and praying, but felt “wretched beyond expression . . . [and] found no relief.”¹⁵ Finally, after a private prayer near the family horse-lot, he “heard a voice from heaven, saying, ‘Peter look at me.’” He described “a feeling of relief flashed over me as quick as an electric shock. It gave me hopeful feelings, and some encouragement to seek mercy, but still my load of guilt remained.”¹⁶ His mother supported his religious search for peace, but he continued to feel “miserable.” His depression left him “incapable of any regular business.”¹⁷ According to Leigh Schmidt’s research of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries’ public mental health records, this debilitating condition was not uncommon at

¹² Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 7.

¹³ Bray, *Peter Cartwright*, 22. Bray deduced that Peter had “more on his conscience than he chose to reveal.”

¹⁴ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 7. He also remembered, “I felt guilty and condemned. I rose and walked the floor. My mother was in bed. It seemed to me, all of the sudden, my blood rushed to my head, my heart palpitated, and in a few minutes I turned blind; an awful impression rested on my mind that death had come and I was unprepared to die. I fell on my knees and began to ask God to have mercy on me. My mother sprang from her bed, and was soon on her knees by my side, praying for me, and exhorting me to look to Christ for mercy, and then praying for me, and then and there I promised the Lord that if he would spare me, I would seek and serve him; and I never fully broke that promise” (11).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 11.

the time. Eight percent of those in mental asylums blamed “religious excitement” as the cause of confinement.¹⁸

Young Peter continued to seek solace in secret prayer, but divine comfort did not come quickly. During one desperate attempt to pray in a nearby cave, he remembered, “a fear of the devil fell upon me . . . it really appeared to me that he was surely personally there, to seize and drag me down to hell, soul and body, and such a horror fell on me that I sprang to my feet and ran to my mother at the house.”¹⁹ He did not mention turning to God or seeking the Spirit’s aid to overcome this satanic impression. Instead, his mother’s faith and comfort sustained him for three more months as he sought divine pardon. Propelled by his mother’s Methodist belief that salvation was open to all, Cartwright continued to seek.²⁰

After several months of agony, in May of 1801 at a four-day camp meeting, Cartwright felt a “great waking up” and forgiveness.²¹ Just three miles from his home, Christians gathered at the Red River Meeting House in Logan County, Kentucky. The crowd spilled outside onto the grounds in tents and wagons. The powerful Methodist preaching of William M’Kendree and John Page reached Cartwright’s heart and allowed him to feel the Spirit’s inspiring love and the Lord’s healing power. Fifty-five years later, he carefully recorded his conversion in his *Autobiography*:

¹⁸ Schmidt, *Hearing Things*, 192. Some of the mental health records correlated illness directly to the ecstasies from revival meetings, demonic experiences, and hallucinatory provocations.

¹⁹ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 12.

²⁰ In the early development of Methodism, John Wesley (1703-1791) “emphasized what have been called the four ‘alls,’ that all people *need* to be saved, that they all *may* be saved, that they may be saved to the *uttermost* (the doctrine of perfect love), that they may *know* they are saved (the doctrine of ‘assurance,’ regarded as the privilege of the believer and based on the ‘witness of the spirit,’ Romans 8:15).” Hans J. Hillerbrand, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Protestantism* (New York, London: Routledge, 2004), s.v. “Methodism,” 3.1211. (*Italics original*).

²¹ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 13.

To this meeting I repaired, a guilty, wretched sinner. On the Saturday evening of said meeting I went, with weeping multitudes, and bowed before the stand, and earnestly prayed for mercy. In the midst of a solemn struggle of soul, an impression was made on my mind, as though a voice said to me, “Thy sins are all forgiven thee.” Divine light flashed all around me, unspeakable joy sprung up in my soul. I rose to my feet, opened my eyes, and it really seemed as if I was in heaven; the trees, the leaves, on them, and every thing seemed, and I really thought were, praising God. My mother raised the shout, my Christian friends, crowded around me and joined me in praising God; and though I have been since then, in many instances, unfaithful, yet I have never for one moment, doubted that the Lord did, then and there, forgive my sins and give me religion.²²

Cartwright’s description of laboriously searching followed by God filling him with sweet forgiveness and joy mirrors many other conversion accounts of the era.²³ The rebirth of Cartwright’s soul required his mother’s midwifery, but he attributed the mighty change to the blessings of the Lord.²⁴ He recorded hearing an inner voice, seeing a divine light, and feeling “unspeakable joy.”²⁵

Although Cartwright had spent nearly a year yearning for an internal witness of the Spirit, when a divine voice eventually triggered an inner change, Cartwright could only proclaim: “the Lord did . . . give me religion.” Why would Cartwright not attribute his new perspective on life and inner joy to the work of the Spirit as the New Testament does? In his descriptions of others’ conversions recorded later in his *Autobiography*, he includes the word “Spirit” as a key contributor. However, in describing his own conversion, Cartwright gave the glory solely and sufficiently to the Lord. His writings often interchange the Spirit, Lord, and God. Possibly the answer lies in Cartwright’s belief in

²² Ibid.

²³ Schmidt, *Hearing Things*, 41-60. Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 8-12.

²⁴ Cartwright’s biographer, Robert Bray, emphasized the importance of Peter’s mother in his conversion. “She had borne him first, then become the midwife to his soul’s rebirth. She earned her exultation. Belonging now to God, her son Peter belonged more fully to her” (Bray, *Cartwright*, 31).

²⁵ Similarly, Joseph Smith recorded his conversion included hearing a voice, seeing a light, and being filled with joy, but he also claimed more—thereby initiating his persecution. Smith claimed he saw God the Father and His Son as separate personages. His rejection of the concept of the Trinity will be explained in chapters six, seven and eight.

the Trinity, as the Lord, God, and the Spirit all act in concert.²⁶ Unlike many Reformed theologians of the era, Cartwright was a simple minister, and never systematically explained this distinction between the Spirit and the Lord. A simple explanation is probably best.

The joy of his conversion lingered. The following month in June of 1801, Peter joined the Methodist Episcopal Church. His biographer, Bray, pointed out that becoming “connected” or a “ticketed” member required six months of mandatory classes.²⁷ Cartwright’s *Autobiography* skips over this detail, but it is safe to assume he received the required education. That same summer, Cartwright attended Barton Stone’s noteworthy Cane Ridge revival that initiated the Second Great Awakening.²⁸ Cartwright’s memoirs used biblical language to intimate his observation of the working of the Spirit—but he does not name it: “I suppose since the day of Pentecost, there was hardly ever a greater revival of religion than at Cane Ridge . . . evidently a new impetus was given to the *work of God*, and many, very many, will have cause to bless God forever for this revival of religion throughout the length and breadth of our Zion.”²⁹

Sooner than expected, in May of 1802, just one year after his conversion, Cartwright was asked by local Methodist leaders to join in their evangelical work. Jesse Walker, a probationary circuit rider, signed Cartwright’s license as “an exhorter.” The assignment

²⁶ Wesley underscored the Trinity and orthodox Christology. *The Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, s.v. “Methodism.”

²⁷ Bray, *Cartwright*, 33.

²⁸ Noll, *History of Christianity*, 167. Barry Hankins, *American Evangelicals: A Contemporary History of A Mainstream Religious Movement* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), 13. Hankins quotes eyewitness estimates between 10,000 and 25,000 in attendance. Barton Stone prepared Cane Ridge and organized a camp meeting for August 6, 1801, which turned into a nine day revival of Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists. Finke and Stark dislike the use of “Second Great Awakening” as historical name because it was not used by the people at that time. Finke and Stark also do not set beginning or ending dates to the religious excitement but rather a gradual increase and decline. *Churching America*, 92-104.

²⁹ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 11 (italics mine).

required attending local camp meetings and, like his mother had done for him, providing encouragement for religious seekers. He looked for those signs of conversion (i.e. remorse, prayerfulness, and attentiveness) and then shared his conversion story to provide emotional empathy and religious encouragement. The call to exhort left Cartwright “very much surprised.” He recalled, “I had not been talked to by the preacher, nor had I formally attempted to exhort. It is true, in class and other meetings, when my soul was filled with the love of God, I would mount a bench and exhort with all the power I had; and it is also true that my mind had been deeply exercised about exhorting and preaching too.”³⁰ His *Autobiography* describes an internal drive to “exhort.”

Cartwright described his motivation to testify as “my soul was filled with the love of God”—but again did not directly identify the Spirit as the catalytic power. The New Testament relates the love of God to the Spirit: “the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us” (Romans 5:5; 2 Cor 13:14). By the time Cartwright wrote his *Autobiography*, he had been reading the Bible for fifty years and undoubtedly knew of the biblical relation between the Spirit and “the love of God.” But Cartwright’s writings only hint at Spirit-filled experiences without linking the love of God to the biblical description of the Spirit. Instead, he concentrated on the outcome of feeling God’s love.

Like many other scared youth before him, the sixteen-year-old Cartwright accepted the call as an exhorter. The hierarchical order in the Methodist Episcopal Church progressed from exhorter, to probationary circuit rider, circuit preacher, elder, deacon, presiding elder, and finally to bishop. The “Kentucky boy” quickly ascended these

³⁰ Ibid., 25.

ranks.³¹ Only a few months after his first assignment, he was asked to assist in forming a circuit. A circuit was the geographical boundary and sequence of preaching stations assigned to a specific minister to preach and shepherd.³²

By the next year, October of 1803, Cartwright became a probationary circuit rider. The position was difficult for him to accept because he desperately wanted to further his education. Nevertheless, he followed his leaders' counsel to learn in the saddle. While traversing his circuit, he learned life's lessons from challenging experiences and Bible reading.³³ Years later a newspaper apologist defended Cartwright's education: "'He did graduate,' said I, 'but not in schools or colleges. His lessons were drawn from the inspiration of the Bible, and the great Book of Nature . . . Divine Inspiration and Nature's own hand wrote his diploma with a pencil of living light, and stamped it with a seal of inextinguishable fire.'"³⁴ Similar to Cartwright, the journalist referenced "Divine Inspiration" as Cartwright's teacher without naming the Spirit. Years later Cartwright promoted his own style of hands-on education: "We must yield to the superior wisdom of Jehovah and send out his 'lay preachers' to wake up a slumbering world. . . . The illiterate Methodist preachers actually set the world on fire."³⁵ This spiritual confidence did not come for years though; initially Cartwright was just an illiterate, insecure "Kentucky boy."

³¹ Ibid., 20.

³² In 1784 Francis Asbury organized the American Methodist churches into circuits. "Pastoral circuit riders were appointed to travel the circuits on horseback. Their responsibilities included visiting each church at least once a year and reporting back to the conference, as well as preaching extemporaneously, holding camp meetings, and organizing new Methodist churches along the way." Hillerbrand, *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, 1.452.

³³ Cartwright remembered Bishop M'Kendree "selected my books and appointed me a course of reading and study, and every quarterly-meeting while he was my presiding elder he took me through a regular examination." Peter Cartwright, *Fifty Years as a Presiding Elder*, W.S. Hooper, ed. (Cincinnati, OH: Jennings and Pye, 1871), 214.

³⁴ Bray, *Cartwright*, 156-158. Cartwright's newspaper admirer is thought to be either William Henry Milburn or Chauncey Hobart.

³⁵ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 38; he concluded, "The Methodist plan is the best in the world."

In *The Democratization of American Christianity*, Nathan Hatch described this type of preacher as a “popular” theologian (in contrast to a systematic or professional theologian that we will find in Campbell and Hodge). Hatch observed that “increasingly assertive common people wanted their leaders unpretentious, their doctrines self-evident and down-to-earth, their music lively and singable, and their churches in local hands. This upsurge of democratic hope characterized many religious cultures in the early republic.”³⁶ The populace developed animosity toward authority, preferring preachers more like themselves. Cartwright fit right in as a back woods repentant sinner himself.

Cartwright’s early appointments were initially so overwhelming that he shied away from accepting them. After encouragement, though, he “thought it my duty to preach.”³⁷ He proved innately gifted and preached for seventy years—including sixty-five years as a traveling itinerate and fifty years as a presiding elder.³⁸ For his rigorous labors in opening the frontier to Methodism, he became known as “God’s breaking plow.”³⁹ In one of the most expressive passages in his *Autobiography*, he described his responsibilities as an itinerate preacher:

A Methodist preacher in those days, when he felt that God had called him to preach, instead of hunting up a college or Biblical institute, hunted up a hardy pony of a horse, and some traveling apparatus, and with his library always at hand, namely, Bible, Hymn-Book, and Discipline,⁴⁰ he started, and with a text that never wore out

³⁶ Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 9, also 10-12.

³⁷ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 28. Cartwright emphasized his “duty” to preach when he recounted his conversion and early service at the ceremony for his jubilee as a presiding Elder: “I could have made more money splitting rails than I could traveling a circuit when I started. It was not honor, there was no honor about it; it was to fulfill my own convictions of duty.” Cartwright, *Fifty Years*, 216-217. He later returned to the theme of duty: “I done nothing upon God’s earth but what was my duty to do” (220).

³⁸ Cartwright, *Fifty Years*, 19.

³⁹ Bray, *Cartwright*, 105.

⁴⁰ Initially, the eighteenth century Methodist library was carefully controlled by John Wesley. He published and distributed several books appropriate for his ministers to use and shunned all others. His published list of appropriate reading is vast and included hymnals, guides, sermons, thoughts, addresses, magazines, scriptural commentaries, missionary tracts, biographies and autobiographies of exemplary lives. Among the latter were Thomas à Kempis’ *Imitation of Christ* and William Law’s biography of David Brainerd, *A Serious Call to a Holy Life*. The exhaustive inventory of Wesley’s approved reading included 254,512 books

nor grew stale, he cried, “Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world.” In this way he went through storms of wind, hail, snow, and rain; climbed hills and mountains, traversed valleys, plunged through swamps, swam swollen streams, lay out all night, wet, weary, and hungry, held his horse by the bridle all night, or tied him to a limb, slept with his saddle blanket for a bed, his saddle or saddle-bags for a pillow, and his old big coat or blanket, if he had any, for a covering. Often he slept in dirty cabins, on earthen floors, before the fire; ate roasting ears for bread, drank butter-milk for coffee, or sage tea for imperial; took, with a hearty zest, deer or bear meat, or wild turkey, for breakfast, dinner, and supper, if he could get it. His text was always ready, “Behold the Lamb of God,” etc. This was old-fashioned Methodist preacher fare and fortune. Under such circumstances, who among us would now say, “Here I am Lord, send me?”⁴¹

Despite his deprivations, Cartwright found the strength to carry on from a feeling that “God had called him.” This internal motivation to preach sustained him until his death.

Cartwright’s other writings, which will be examined now, offer more evidence that he felt constrained by the Spirit’s communication to fulfill God’s call.⁴²

Teachings on the Holy Spirit

Cartwright’s writings are minimal. Historians estimate that he preached over 16,000 sermons, but no one recorded them. His biographers must scratch for scraps of information from newspaper articles and legislative records, but these sources do not include his pneumatological views. The seventy year legacy of Cartwright’s exhorting and

and 14,831 Arminian magazines. David Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 58-59, 235. Mark Noll saw the Methodist hymnal as the most widely distributed Methodist literature in the USA. The first American Methodist Bishop, Asbury, published forty-two editions of the hymnal before his death in 1816. *America’s God*, 341.

⁴¹ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 139.

⁴² Cartwright mentions Wesley ten times in his *Autobiography* (all in positive terms), although we do not know how knowledgeable Cartwright was of Wesleyan writings. We assume they shared beliefs as Methodists, so it’s important to look at Wesleyan statements for the church’s view of the gift of Spirit. John Wesley set the precedent for future Methodists who felt the influence of God’s Spirit in their lives by explaining that God “is in a peculiar manner the Father of those whom he regenerates by his Spirit, whom he adopts in his Son as co-heirs with him.” Later on in the same *Letter to a Roman Catholic* he adds more information on the Methodist views of the Holy Spirit: “I believe the infinite and eternal Spirit of God, equal with the Father and the Son, to be not only perfectly holy in himself, but the immediate cause of all holiness in us; enlightening our understandings, rectifying our wills and affections, renewing our natures, uniting our persons to Christ, assuring us of the adoption of sons, leading us in our actions, purifying and sanctifying our souls and bodies, to a full and eternal enjoyment of God.” The letter’s conclusion also references the Holy Ghost: “that the love of God may be shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us.” Michael Hurley, ed.; *John Wesley’s Letter to a Roman Catholic* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1968), 49, 51, 57.

preaching, debating and legislating, is recorded in his *Autobiography* and the addendum published one year before his death, *Fifty Years as a Presiding Elder*.⁴³ These two books give us everything we know about the pneumatology of one of the most gifted American itinerate ministers from the Second Great Awakening.

Fortunately, Cartwright's memoirs are not barren; his *Autobiography* describes his personal spiritual odyssey and offers vivid details of early American Methodism in its 340 pages.⁴⁴ He wrote his *Autobiography* for the younger generation to stress the necessity of being convicted and converted by the Holy Spirit.⁴⁵ The majority of the 242 paged second volume, however, was not written by Cartwright. The book includes two long articles that attack Calvinism in favor of Arminianism and letters honoring Cartwright as the longest-serving presiding Elder in the Methodist church—all written by others.⁴⁶

In regard to Cartwright's pneumatology, his *Autobiography* contains sixteen quotations where he references the "Spirit" or the "Holy Ghost."⁴⁷ That is only one in every ten-thousand words or an average of once every twenty-one pages. The ratio is far less in the second volume, where his writings reference the Spirit only twice—once at the

⁴³ Cartwright also published two other pamphlets that were written by others: "Dagon of Calvinism" and "A useful discovery, satires on Calvinism" according to Charles Wallis' introduction in the *Autobiography*. Several satirical and political pieces are also referenced in Bray's biography (123-4, 144-7, etc.).

⁴⁴ Cartwright's *Autobiography* was well received in the North, but it was despised in the South because it attacked slavery). Fifty thousand copies were printed in the first two years (1857-1859). Those numbers were competing with some of the greatest American Literature published that same decade: Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*, Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*, Henry David Thoreau's *Walden*, and Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*. The *Autobiography* stood as a historical stereotype of frontier preaching and became "a staple of Methodist publishing" into the twentieth century. Bray, *Cartwright*, 238-239.

⁴⁵ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 285. "It is a trite saying, that revolutions never go backward; . . . what a withering curse to the Church! . . . We have preached and prayed together; often been happy and shouted the high praises of God together, many of whom are my spiritual children that God has given me, but now, for the last time, we splice hands."

⁴⁶ Cartwright put his name at the end of the attack on Calvinism although it is doubtful that he was the final author because the essay is laced with Latin and Greek. The next largest section includes eighty pages of letters written by his colleagues for Cartwright's Jubilee celebration at an Illinois Methodist Conference.

⁴⁷ Cartwright referenced the "Spirit" or "Holy Ghost" in his *Autobiography* on pages: 29, 37, 49, 58-59, 71, 118, 136, 207, 215, 226, 233, 236, 240, 249, 277, 290, 294, 311.

beginning and once at the end.⁴⁸ Though many consider him the quintessential Methodist minister and Methodism is based on the Bible, Cartwright, nevertheless, did not follow the New Testament's pattern of frequently identifying the Spirit.⁴⁹

More regularly, Cartwright described the Spirit's influence in his *Autobiography* without naming it. For example, his description of the Roaring River Circuit in 1821 reads as follows: "Triumphant shouts of glory ascended by hundreds, and many sinners were seen with streaming eyes, and even exulting shouts, giving glory to Jesus Christ. The vast multitude fell almost in every direction, and I sat down under a deep sense that God was there."⁵⁰ His "deep sense" only hints of the Spirit's intervention. Similarly, at a family prayer meeting he described: "I went, took the book, read a chapter readily, sung a hymn clearly, knelt and prayed with more than my accustomed liberty, and got happy. The family wept. We talked, wept, and sung together, and I felt . . . independent of the devil."⁵¹ Often when Cartwright describes getting happy, he could have said he felt the Spirit, but he shies away. He even used biblical phrases for the Spirit without naming it: "the power of God came there as the sound of a mighty, rushing wind."⁵² Perhaps Cartwright did not

⁴⁸ Cartwright, *Fifty Years*, 45, 277. The two examples of the "Holy Ghost" from *Fifty Years as a Presiding Elder* came when Cartwright remembered the early Methodist Conferences. Four of his peers mention the Spirit in their correspondence honoring Cartwright at his Jubilee celebration September 22, 1868. First, Peter Akers wrote, "You proclaimed to weeping parents and children the great salvation, with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven, of which both prophets and angels have sung in days of old" (205-206). Next, a letter from Bishop James honoring Cartwright: "He has endued you the virtues and graces of the Holy Spirit" (241). Third, in an address from Rev. Dr. Newman of Washington D.C., he described Cartwright as "a Peter who had an arm of flesh as well as a word of power, and who, at times, believed in a dispensation of muscular Christianity as well as a dispensation of the Holy Ghost" (253). Finally, an address from Rev John Van Cleve, D.D. expressed "a hope that the time would never come when the Holy Spirit would leave their Methodist theology, or when it would be wanting in their Methodist preaching" (268).

⁴⁹ *The Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, s.v. "Methodism," 1211.

⁵⁰ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 125. He saturated his narratives about camp meetings describing God's ability to change people's hearts. Rarely, however, does he specify the Spirit as the author of the process.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 173. When Cartwright refers to feeling "happy," he feels the joy of the Spirit. As another example, he wrote: "I had not undertaken any matter of importance without first asking the blessing of God upon it" (117). The blessings of God, in Cartwright's context, often include the blessings of the Spirit.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 104. To determine what Cartwright intended as allusions of the Spirit can be subjective, so I have chosen examples where he connects his image to the Spirit or with the Bible. Because he alluded to the

feel the need to specify the Spirit more often because to him God's work was the Spirit's work. Or perhaps, he deliberately chose not to mention the word "Spirit" in order to separate himself from those "fanatical" people who claimed the gifts of the Spirit—like one of his enemies, Joseph Smith. Cartwright associated the claim of using spiritual gifts and spiritual manifestations with the "diabolical Mormons."⁵³ He denounced them regularly throughout his *Autobiography* and tried to disassociate himself from them. Perhaps he attempted to distinguish himself from the Mormons by not referring to the Spirit.

Cartwright's descriptions of the work of the Spirit are uncomplicated. He did not analyze religious questions technically or systematically. Although he mentioned baptism and sacramental meetings, he did not discuss the role of the Spirit in either of them or in overcoming original sin. Instead, he taught the unadorned message that the Spirit will bring anyone happiness: "The operations of the Spirit, its testimony, bearing witness with our spirit . . . [by] all those happy feelings professed by Christians."⁵⁴ He did not specify how the Spirit achieved regeneration or forgiveness, how to decipher between divine or counterfeit spirits, or how the Spirit interacted within the Trinity. It was straightforward for him—happiness followed the Spirit's work of cleansing. To grasp Cartwright's perception of the Holy Spirit thoroughly, we will examine each of his eighteen citations as they describe the Spirit in the Trinity, in conversion, and in preaching.

arrival of the Spirit in Acts 2:2, Cartwright, as a Bible-reading preacher, probably intended to imply the coming of the Spirit. He also speaks of a divine spiritual stimulus with phrases like: "a strong impression," "holy fire," and "power of God" (9, 19, 63, 77, 104, 117, 136, 147, 223, 255, 263, 276, 304, 305, 307).

⁵³ Ibid., 22.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 207.

The Holy Spirit in the Trinity

Only once did Cartwright's writings refer to the Spirit as part of the Trinity—in his closing remarks at a Methodist Conference: “May the blessing of the eternal Trinity rest upon you all! Amen.”⁵⁵ He never explored the relationship of the Spirit to the Father and Son or used any other theological innuendoes. He just kept his beliefs simple: “I hope to spend a blissful eternity in adoring God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, in the enjoyment of redeeming grace and dying love.”⁵⁶ This brief testimonial along with the Methodist theology based on the Trinity lays a foundation for understanding Cartwright's pneumatology.⁵⁷

The Holy Spirit in Conversion

Half of the references that Cartwright makes to the Spirit deal specifically with the process of conversion. He first references the Spirit in conjunction with his first sermon and first conversion. The eighteen-year-old youth's insecurities about his new assignment led him to seek God's strength before he preached. “I went out and prayed fervently for aid from heaven. . . . At length I asked God, if he had called me to preach, to give me aid

⁵⁵ Cartwright, *Fifty Years*, 220. Cartwright used the word “Trinity” once in his *Autobiography*, but it does not refer to God: “A preacher that was good and true, had a Trinity of devils to fight; namely, superfluous dress, whiskey, and slavery” (48). In Cartwright's second volume, *Fifty Years as a Presiding Elder*, he also mentioned a talk by Bishop Asbury in 1808 on the “Mysterious Doctrine of the Trinity” but gave no further commentary (55).

⁵⁶ Ibid., *Autobiography*, 249. Early in Cartwright's career, on Oct 7, 1808, at a Conference in Tennessee, Cartwright observed: “Bishop Asbury delivered a very deeply interesting and instructive address onto the Conference upon the ‘Mysterious Doctrine of the Trinity; the Divinity and Humanity of Jesus Christ,’ in which he advised all to attend to the language of the Scriptures upon that subject” (*Fifty Years*, 55). The word “Trinity” is not used in the Scriptures, and this exhortation by Asbury may be why Cartwright did not mention the Trinity regularly.

⁵⁷ No author, *Sermons or Homilies* (London, England: Ellerton and Henderson, reprint 1817). “The Articles of Religion” book one reads, “There is but one living and true God everlasting without body or parts, of infinite power, wisdom and goodness; the maker and preserver of all things, both visible and unvisible [*sic*]. And in unity of this Godhead there are three persons of one substance, power and eternity: the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.” 571.

that night.”⁵⁸ The meeting began, and after a hymn and prayer, he preached from Isaiah 26:4: “Trust ye in the Lord for ever: for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength.” As the evening progressed, he felt God answered his prayer: “The Lord gave light, liberty, and power; the congregation was melted into tears.”⁵⁹ The highpoint of the experience was the conversion of a “professed infidel” by the Spirit. As Cartwright describes it: “The word reached his heart by the Eternal Spirit. He was powerfully convicted, and as I believe, soundly converted to God that night.”⁶⁰ Later, Cartwright again linked the word “power” and “convicted” to the Spirit’s work of conversion: “We had a very precious season under the administration of the Lord; many were moved to tears. At the next appointment there was a large attentive audience present, who seemed affected by the Word, and we had a manifest display of Divine power; many appeared deeply convicted and some six really professed to be converted.”⁶¹ Cartwright uses the term “convicted” at this crucial step in conversion to describe a time when the Spirit reveals one’s sinful nature. The Spirit condemns the wicked and changes their hearts.

In addition to “convicted,” Cartwright regularly uses the word “happy” to describe the Spirit’s work of conversion, a term that is best illustrated in his depiction of an 1805 southern Ohio camp meeting:

There were a few scattered members of the Church around this place, who got happy and shouted aloud for joy, and joined in and exhorted sinners, and they helped me very much. Indeed, our meeting lasted all night, and the greater part of the next day. Between twenty and thirty professed religion, and joined the Church; and fully as

⁵⁸ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 29.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Cartwright, *Fifty Years*, 61. Cartwright used “convicted” to describe another conversion experience: “she was deeply convicted and knelt at the altar and prayed fervently for mercy, and after a sore conflict, she found peace in believing the Lord Jesus Christ. Her conversion was a very clear one.” *Autobiography*, 204. He repeated the ideas in his second volume: “God pours out his Spirit and convicts sinners among us” (*Fifty Years*, 335).

many more went home under strong conviction and in deep distress. Many of them afterwards obtained religion, and joined the Church.⁶²

One hundred pages later, Cartwright identifies the power behind the “strong conviction” as “the Holy Spirit had convicted each of them.”⁶³ For Cartwright, the Spirit’s power to convict and change was mainly focused on the process of repentance and forgiveness which brought happiness.⁶⁴

Cartwright interpreted the Spirit or “power of God” as the source of his audience’s crying, screaming, and falling down during camp meetings, all parts of the conversion experience. One of Cartwright’s critics described these physical manifestations as a “Methodist fit.”⁶⁵ Even though Cartwright did not like the derogatory title, his dialogue illustrates what the “Methodist fit” meant. At a revival in Wabash Kentucky, “suddenly the power of God fell on the congregation like a flash of lightening, and the people fell right and left; some screamed aloud for mercy, others fell on their knees and prayed out loud; . . . About twelve persons were converted in the good old way, and shouted aloud the praises of God.”⁶⁶ When Cartwright says “converted the good old way,” he included possibly screaming, falling, and flailing as well as the Spirit’s forgiveness.

The “Methodist fit” may also have referred to a more spastic “powerful exercise” that Cartwright first identified in connection with a revival in Cumberland. The gathering

⁶² Ibid., *Autobiography*, 42.

⁶³ Ibid. 136. Another reference to the Spirit’s work of conversion came from a Tennessee camp meeting where the Holy Spirit convicted two young sinners: “A visible power more than human rested on the congregation . . . both these young men were in the congregation, and the Holy Spirit had convicted each of them.”

⁶⁴ At another Tennessee camp meeting, Cartwright also alluded to the Spirit’s work of convicting and converting sinners, but called it “God’s power.” “The power of God fell on the people gloriously; many hardened sinners were arrested, and a great many were converted. And on Sunday the mighty power of God was felt to the utmost verge of the congregation . . . our altar was crowded with weeping penitents” (ibid., 77).

⁶⁵ Ibid., 64.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 63.

included Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists—but only the Methodists began involuntarily jerking:

A new exercise broke out among us, called the *jerks*, which was overwhelming in its effects upon the bodies and minds of the people. No matter whether they were saints or sinners, they would be taken under a warm song or sermon, and seized with a convulsive jerking all over, which they could not by any possibility avoid, and the more they resisted the more they jerked. If they would not strive against it and pray in good earnest, the jerking would usually abate. I have seen more than five hundred persons jerking at one time in my large congregations. . . . I always looked upon the jerks as a judgment sent from God, first, to bring sinners to repentance; and secondly to show professors that God could work with or without means, and that he could work over and above means, and do whatsoever seemeth him good, to the glory of his grace and the salvation of the world.⁶⁷

Cartwright recommended “fervent prayer as a remedy, and it almost universally proved an effectual antidote.”⁶⁸ He credited God’s judgment as the source of these spasms. His enemies credited the devil. For Cartwright, the Spirit’s work in conversion could involve physical manifestations as well as being convicted of one’s sins and feeling the joy of forgiveness.⁶⁹

Occasionally, Cartwright mentioned baptism in conjunction with conversion. He did not connect baptism with forgiveness, though, but consistently attributed the Spirit with forgiveness. He baptized hundreds of people—black, white, male, female, adults, and children—but he believed a watery baptism alone did not save one. He recorded a

⁶⁷ Ibid., 21. Barton Stone also recorded the “jerks” as a “religious exercise.” He wrote, “The jerks can not be so easily described. Sometimes the subject of the jerks would be affected in some one member of the body, and sometimes in the whole system. When the head alone was affected, it would be jerked backward and forward, or from side to side. . . . When the whole system was affected, I have seen the person stand in one place and jerk backward and forward in quick succession. . . . I have inquired of those thus affected. They could not account for it; but some have told me that those were among the happiest seasons of their lives.” He further describes the dancing exercise, barking exercise, laughing exercise, and singing exercise all as part of the religious fervor of revivals. Finke and Stark, *Churching America*, 95.

⁶⁸ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 21.

⁶⁹ Another example offered by Cartwright was performed as a mockery of his style of conversion. “The young man . . . fell down and cried aloud for mercy. The other two shouting at the top of their voices cried out, ‘Glory to God! another sinner is down.’ Then they fell to exhorting the young man that was down, saying, ‘Pray on, brother; Pray on; you will soon get religion.’ Presently, up jumped the young man that was down, and shouted aloud, saying, “God has blessed my soul! Hallelujah! hallelujah! Glory to God!” (*Autobiography*, 181).

Campbellite women confessing “I was baptized for the remission of sins, and you all told me that in this act of obedience to Christ I should be forgiven, and be made happy; but I know it is all deception, and false, for I know I have no religion; and I am determined to seek it with the Methodists, for if I die as I am, I must be lost for ever.”⁷⁰ Cartwright taught her that baptism by water was not enough: “[Do] not for a moment longer . . . depend on water for salvation.”⁷¹ Conversion required a spiritual baptism of fire, and Cartwright assured her that the Methodists could offer it.⁷²

In his same description of the “Campbellite heroine,” Cartwright linked the “Holy Ghost” with the ability to “get religion” and “Methodist fire.” He described her agony, followed by her joy: “She sprang to her feet, and shouted over the house like a top, and she fell directly to pulling and hauling her Campbellite friends to the Methodist altar, exhorting them to come and get religion and . . . come and try the Methodist fire, or the fire of the Holy Ghost.”⁷³ Cartwright’s connections between the Spirit and “get religion” or “be happy” speak of the fire of the Holy Ghost changing hearts and bringing happiness. In Cartwright’s vocabulary, “get happy” and “get religion” are synonymous with the Spirit’s forgiveness and joy that accompany conversion. Cartwright filled his *Autobiography* with similar examples of conversions through a perceptible confrontation with God’s Spirit, but more often than not, he did not name the Holy Spirit.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 235.

⁷¹ Ibid., 236.

⁷² Cartwright used an unmistakable reference to baptism of fire when he described a woman’s prayer during a meeting: “She prayed with words that burned, and the baptismal fire rolled all around, while the house and all the praying company were baptized from heaven . . . [and] have found peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.” In Cartwright’s description, it is God who granted peace through Jesus, but the vehicle of the Spirit was only mentioned symbolically as “baptismal fire” (*Fifty Year*, 335). Cartwright described “words that burned,” as the relationship between the Holy Spirit and the woman’s words. He saw the Spirit inspiring the woman, so that her words acted as the vehicle for the Spirit to spiritually immerse or baptize the company.

⁷³ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 236.

Over time Cartwright's converts trickled in, and he gratefully acknowledged the Holy Spirit's accompanying his missionary efforts: "We had not a very prosperous year, but we had some gracious outpourings of the Spirit of God . . . and scores were brought to a saving knowledge of the truth."⁷⁴ Cartwright described the Lord's Spirit as if it were a tangible sensation witnessing to the truth and resulting in conversions. Another example from Adams County recounted the "gracious work of religion" opening the way for a successful revival. Cartwright exhorted his listeners to "yield up to the Spirit of God, and submit to be an humble, shouting, happy Christian."⁷⁵ In his second volume he expressed a similar experience with the Spirit: "a thrill of joy ran over me."⁷⁶ The Spirit's work was very real to Cartwright. Clearly he saw the Spirit as a means of conversion and of feeling happiness.

Human responsibility in seeking the Holy Spirit. True to Methodist doctrine, as part of conversion, Cartwright felt each person should take responsibility in preparing one's heart to feel the Holy Spirit—whether that be praying, scripture reading, or repentance. "If we prayed more at home, we would be better prepared to hear the Gospel of our salvation when we attend Church."⁷⁷ Significantly, though, he never crossed the line of a "New-School minister" whom he denounced for ignoring the intervention of the Spirit in conversion: "[He] makes himself a Christian by his own act without the Spirit of God."⁷⁸ Note the key role that the Spirit must play to become a Christian in Cartwright's view. He differentiated between preparing to *receive* the work and actually *doing* the work. Humans

⁷⁴ Ibid., 59. Cartwright continued to see conversions as a divine blessing: "It pleased the Lord to pour out his Holy Spirit upon our congregation and settlement generally, and we had a glorious revival, resulting in about forty conversions and accessions to the Church" (226).

⁷⁵ Ibid., 207.

⁷⁶ Cartwright, *Fifty Years*, 65. The quote continued, "The scene was an effecting one; we all wept, and prayed, and praised God, who changes our purposes as seemeth to him good."

⁷⁷ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 305.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 215.

should prepare themselves to be in the right frame of mind to hear the whisperings of the Spirit, but it was still the Spirit that performed the work of conversion. For Cartwright, the Spirit was absolutely crucial as the agent that convicted and converted souls to Christianity. This did not mean, though, that sinners could remain passive—he taught they must prepare themselves and respond to the Spirit’s inspiration.

To emphasize that one must submit to the promptings of the Spirit, Cartwright condemned a man who refused to listen spiritually: “He denied the operations of the Spirit, its testimony, bearing witness with our spirit; that we are the children of God, and that all those happy feelings professed by Christians were nothing but excitement; and that there was no religion in it. . . . He would not yield up to the Spirit of God.”⁷⁹ For cleansing to take place, Cartwright taught that one must hear and heed the Spirit in humility and faith. He felt this strongly enough that he included an acquaintance’s death bed confession as a second witness in his *Autobiography*.

I should have now been ready to die. God’s Spirit strove with me powerfully, but I was stubborn, and resisted it. If I had yielded then, I believe God would have saved me from my sins; but now, racked with pain almost insupportable, and scorched with burning fevers, and on the very verge of a eternal world, I have no hope in the future; all is dark, dark, and gloomy.⁸⁰

For Cartwright it was imperative that humanity respond to the Spirit’s call or be damned.

As an older man, Cartwright pled with the next generation of Methodist preachers to prepare their hearts and minds in order for the Spirit to work within them. He exhorted them to cultivate the Spirit through prayer as one of the best means of preparation: “I am sorry to hear that many of the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church shamefully neglect this sacred duty of praying in their families. How shall we answer it to God? Is not

⁷⁹ Ibid., 207.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 233.

this one among many other reasons, why so many of our members feel almost entirely unprepared to enter into the work of the Lord in times of revival, when God pours out his Spirit and convicts sinners among us?”⁸¹ The crux of Cartwright’s final admonitions dealt with the lack of preparation for the Spirit’s presence in modern meetings. His experience taught him that without the Spirit’s presence—which is only present after human preparation—conversion had no power.

The Spirit and Preaching

Cartwright’s clearest declaration of the Holy Spirit in his *Autobiography* is a testimonial on the Spirit’s work in preaching. It is one of the rare times that Cartwright acknowledged the Spirit’s work in an area other than the cleansing of conversion (although he attached preaching to conversion as part of the Spirit’s harmonious work). First, he established the need for preachers to teach with the Spirit. In doing so, he used the biblical language of “unction” and “baptismal fire” to admonish his colleagues to cultivate a “holy life” in order to preach with the Spirit and thereby “win . . . souls to Christ”:

In this agency of the Holy Spirit of God I have been a firm believer for more than fifty-four years, and I do firmly believe that if the ministers of the present day had more of the unction or baptismal fire of the Holy Ghost prompting their ministerial efforts, we should succeed much better than we do, and be more successful in winning souls to Christ than we are.⁸²

He passionately called his fellow ministers to seek the Spirit more earnestly for more powerful preaching. He never analyzed the relationship between a preacher’s words and the Spirit. Instead, he simply linked the power of the Spirit to the power of the word.

⁸¹ Ibid., 305.

⁸² Ibid., 118.

Next he denounced religious schooling or “biblical institutes” for allowing book learning to supplant a dependence on the Spirit:

If those ministers, or young men that think they are called of God to minister in the word and doctrine of Jesus Christ, were to cultivate by a holy life, a better knowledge of this supreme agency of the Divine Spirit, and depend less on the learned theological knowledge of Biblical institutes, it is my opinion that they would do vastly more good than they are likely to do; and I would humbly ask, is not this the grand secret of the success of all early pioneer preachers, from John Wesley down to the present day?⁸³

Especially for preachers, Cartwright felt that impressions of the Spirit were far superior to teachings from a school room. His stance justifies his own background and might be made in partial self-defense. However, his observations probably came from interacting with educated ministers throughout his life. At least by the time he wrote his *Autobiography*, Cartwright did not feel substandard to seminary graduates in his spiritual training. He even ranks himself alongside the founder of Methodism and the other great preachers of his day in mastering this important aspect of pneumatology. His testimonial proclaims his grand secret: depend on the “Divine Spirit” while preaching rather than on a theological education.

Cartwright touched on a theme that American theologians had argued for years—an educated ministry did not assure a converted ministry.⁸⁴ He joined his voice in the long debate defending the need for a spiritual conversion. Cartwright also battled intellectualism as potentially detracting from the Spirit’s inspiration in preaching. He believed a preacher who relied on his learning diminished his reliance on the Spirit. In so doing, Cartwright again justified his own lack of education. He felt responsible as a

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ One of the strongest denunciations of unconverted ministers (or those who had not felt the Spirit) was given in 1740 by Gilbert Tennet, entitled: “The Dangers of an Unconverted Ministry.” For a general discussion see Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 181.

preacher to ignite the Holy Spirit in the hearts of his audience, not to quench it with academic bravado. Especially on the frontier, he ministered to simple folk seeking the Holy Spirit, not seekers of a theological education. Americans flocked to hear preachers like Cartwright because, as Nathan Hatch described, they were no longer satisfied with educational differences between elite ministers and ordinary followers.⁸⁵ Hatch also estimated that in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, fewer than fifty out of the thousands of recruited Methodist ministers were educated beyond common English (and most, like Cartwright, “did not have even that much”).⁸⁶ In this regard Cartwright fit the norm.

Rather than a formal education, Cartwright credited his confidence as a preacher to following the Spirit’s inspirations: “The actions prompted by those sudden impressions to perform religious duty, often succeed beyond all human calculation, and thereby inspire a confident belief in an immediate superintending agency of the Divine Spirit of God.”⁸⁷ Cartwright differentiated these spiritual impressions from other thoughts by explaining that they “inspire a confident belief” in God’s direction. When he preached, he attempted to follow those “sudden impressions” to feel the power of the Spirit.

Preaching accompanied by the Holy Spirit was a forceful experience for Cartwright. In his *Autobiography*, he tried to describe its power: “Just as I was closing up my sermon, and pressing it with all the force I could command, the power of God suddenly was

⁸⁵ Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 16. Hatch is also quick to point out that the undereducated ministers were still eager to learn all they could from the Bible. Regardless of their education, successful preachers, like Cartwright, sometimes carried their sermons into a political ring as well. Hatch used Cartwright as an example of one of many ministers who demonstrated popular democratic dissent by entering politics (193).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁸⁷ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 118.

displayed and sinners fell by the scores through all the assembly.”⁸⁸ Later he again connected the Spirit with divine power as he retold the biblical account of Christ’s apostles tarrying “at Jerusalem till they were enbued with power from on high, when under the baptismal power of the Holy Ghost, should be brought to their remembrance all things whatsoever he had commanded them.”⁸⁹ Cartwright’s own experiences in preaching confirmed the biblical message—God’s Spirit was powerful.

The aim of preaching, according to Cartwright, was to cultivate the Spirit’s joyous cleansing in the hearts of his audience. In this regard he shared the same focus with many Methodists, Baptists and others—“to convert the unconverted.”⁹⁰ In many parts of nineteenth century American society it was popular (and in some areas, like the Burned-over District, even a rage) to seek God’s forgiveness through a witness of the Spirit.⁹¹ Cartwright wanted his preaching to create a setting that affected the outward senses, which in turn would influence the inner sense to feel God’s Spirit. He hoped to bring a crowd of sinners to a state of humble repentance by realizing their need for Christ’s saving grace, which he believed was distributed through God’s Spirit.⁹²

Admittedly, Cartwright felt that the Spirit “divinely directed” *his* preaching, but he could not say that about the preaching of his fellow Methodist clergy.⁹³ Later in life he lamented, “I found that Methodism, in some places, had gone to seed, and was dying out,

⁸⁸ Ibid., 63.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 240.

⁹⁰ The means used for revivals were not always holy or pious from an orthodox perspective. A good example is Lorenzo Dow, who hired a slave to hide in a tree until clued to blow “Gabriel’s trumpet” as the signal of the arrival of the judgment day at the climax of one of his passionate sermons. Sellers, *Lorenzo Dow*, 146-147.

⁹¹ Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 139. Hatch included the Mormons in his line up of “Baptists, Methodists, Disciples, Millerites, and Mormons” who focused their preaching on conversion. I do not know to whom Hatch was referring—but this is not the case in Joseph Smith’s recorded sermons.

⁹² Hudson, *Religion in America*, 183.

⁹³ Cartwright, *Fifty Years*, 78.

and, to use our back-woods language, some of the prominent and leading members of the flock had become butting rams, or jumping ewes, or sullen oxen, or kicking mules.”⁹⁴ In particular, he worried that too many ministers did not foster the Spirit in their preaching: “O for faithful, holy preachers, and faithful, holy class-leaders! Then we shall have faithful, holy members.”⁹⁵ Unfortunately, he offended too many colleagues, which prevented him from achieving a leadership position to enable a greater influence on the rising generation of preachers.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, in his *Autobiography*, he still pled with future church leaders: “Go back to old Methodists then the old itinerant missionary will work well.”⁹⁷ For him, the good “old” way was when the “baptismal fire rolled all around” or the Holy Spirit was present.⁹⁸

Mark Noll detected the change in Methodist preaching occurring after the death of Bishop Francis Asbury in 1816. From that point forward, settled pastors began to replace itinerant preachers. Noll observed that by 1840, twice as many Methodist preachers (6,339 to 3,413) were established ministers responsible for one church rather than circuits traveling from congregation to congregation with barely a purse and script.⁹⁹ Cartwright

⁹⁴ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 274.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 307. Cartwright’s experiences at Methodist Conferences at the beginning and ending of his life illustrate his poignant interest in the Spirit working through preachers: “These early Conferences were often seasons of refreshing showers of Divine grace, and of the gracious outpouring of the Holy Ghost. Sinners were convicted and converted to the Lord Jesus” (Cartwright, *Fifty Years*, 45). Clearly Cartwright credited the Spirit for the work of conversion. He spoke from personal experience when he described the Spirit’s work as powerful.

⁹⁶ In his later life, Cartwright often offended other ministers by issuing wounding criticism and taking an adamant stance on several issues (like slavery). In Bray’s analysis he quoted a description of Cartwright that was first credited to Mrs. John Johnson, the wife of an offended preacher: he was “hated by some, feared by others, but loved by no one” (Cartwright, 69, 81).

⁹⁷ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 296.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 306.

⁹⁹ Noll, *America’s God*, 183. Grant Wacker further explains that the initial practice in the early days of the Methodist Church in America was established by Francis Asbury who traveled on horseback “nearly 300,000 miles, crossing the Appalachians more than 60 times and even penetrating into Canada.” *Religion in Nineteenth Century America*, 34-35.

felt that the nomadic experience promoted a reliance on the Spirit that was essential to a fiery baptism of the Spirit.

Cartwright's final lamentation longed for the Spirit's presence in preaching: "I am sorry to say that the Methodist Episcopal Church of late years . . . have almost let camp-meetings die out. I am certain that the most successful part of my ministry has been on camp-ground[s]. There the word of God has reached the hearts of thousands . . . I greatly desire to see a revival."¹⁰⁰ His concern was not necessarily for more tents or outdoor meetings. In his mind, revivals were the catalyst for God's Spirit to change people's hearts to repent and receive forgiveness. Cartwright asked for more Spirit-filled preaching in order for more Spirit-filled conversions as he remembered nostalgically: "Our pulpits, or at least those that occupied them, had more of the power of the Holy Ghost than we have now."¹⁰¹ He felt that the Spirit's saving grace through conviction and forgiveness was primary and all other references to the Spirit were secondary. The revivalist experience was at the heart of his view of the Spirit's work of salvation—to make one happy.

Conclusion

Beginning at age sixteen, Cartwright felt the Holy Spirit and for the next seventy years enthusiastically encouraged his congregations to "get religion" through the Spirit; but he shied away from referring expressly to the Holy Spirit. Perhaps Cartwright only sparsely mentions the Spirit in his two books because he wanted to maintain a clear distinction between himself and "frenzied fanaticism."¹⁰² Nevertheless, those limited references show his trust and reliance on the Holy Spirit and describe the Spirit inspiring him with a sense of duty and confidence. As a minister, he claimed that the Spirit of the

¹⁰⁰ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 309.

¹⁰¹ Cartwright, *Fifty Years*, 277.

¹⁰² Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 159.

Lord motivated and sustained him; and he wished his younger Methodist colleagues felt the same. He saw the Spirit's primary role as a tool for conversion and influence for good in one's life. He believed ministers had a responsibility to nurture the Spirit through their preaching. He became disappointed later in his life to find that many of his church colleagues lost that focus.

On an ecclesiastical level, the aging Cartwright became frustrated with the leadership of his beloved Methodist Episcopal Church. His underlying dissatisfaction arose because of their failure to seek the Spirit's direction. He saw many hierarchical decisions made by a popular vote rather than by the Spirit's inspiration. Repeatedly, he denounced voting in new Bishops, voting to divide the church over slavery, and voting to change the itinerant system.¹⁰³ He expressed his disappointment that the Methodist leadership made no attempt to seek the Spirit's guidance for any of these critical decisions. He was not seeking revelation or biblical-like visions to direct the church; rather, voting on important decisions denied the inspiration of God's Spirit, and he felt it led the church in the wrong direction. Another major policy change that kept the Spirit out of the church according to Cartwright was the decreasing number of camp meetings and itinerate ministers. Cartwright perceived these changes as compounding the dearth of the Spirit.¹⁰⁴ He feared that a localized paid ministry would not have to make daily sacrifices; they would become complacent, and no longer rely on the Spirit. And without the strength of the Spirit, the vitality of the church would fade away.

¹⁰³ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 241, 249-250, 255, 267, 284. Cartwright "became the most vocal speaker against the 'Plan of Separation'" or separation of the Northern and Southern churches (Bray, *Cartwright*, 188). Cartwright's stance against the "wicked" separation of a Northern and Southern church left him "opposing men with whom he had been allied in every previous conference debate" (189).

¹⁰⁴ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 297-298. It disturbed Cartwright especially to see "several changes in the vital economy of the itinerant system. . . . To localize our preachers [will] finally destroy our itinerant system; and whenever this is done, farewell to the triumphant success of the Methodist Episcopal Church."

From Cartwright's perspective, ministerial efforts should be focused on the fruits of the Spirit—conviction, conversion, and feeling happy—which he also referred to as the “baptismal fire of the Holy Ghost.”¹⁰⁵ He never mentioned other biblical pneumatological passages: the gifts of the Holy Ghost, the Holy Spirit of promise, or the Comforter. One may ask why Cartwright expressed the need for the Spirit in conversion but not in other spiritual interactions. But he does not answer that question. We are dealing with a simple preacher who did not explain himself very often.¹⁰⁶ Even though Cartwright often neglected to name the Spirit's impact on himself and his worshippers, his testimony shouts his belief in the Holy Spirit. He felt satisfied within the pneumatological bounds of conversion and preaching and had no desire to stretch his discernment of the Spirit or to receive the gifts of the Spirit. It appears that Cartwright stayed in his pneumatological comfort zone where the Spirit helped people “get religion and be happy too.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 118.

¹⁰⁶ Cartwright was not the only contemporary of Joseph Smith who held this limited notion of the Spirit. Others also limited the work of the Spirit to revivals, conversion, and salvation. For example, another nineteenth century missionary, Titus Coan, remembered “God's truth was preached simply, and sent home by the Holy Spirit. The theme was the great salvation. Many cried aloud for mercy, and the noise of the weeping at times silenced the preacher.” Bliss, *Encyclopedia of Missions*, 305.

¹⁰⁷ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 207.

Chapter 3 Alexander Campbell (1788-1866)

Alexander Campbell (1788-1866),¹ like many American Protestants (including Joseph Smith), sought to return to the primitive church of the New Testament. Although possibly to separate himself from Smith, Campbell never called himself a “restorer” and opposed the claim that he “restored the gospel.”² But he searched the Bible for details on the primitive church and applied them in his church. Campbell’s model did not tolerate any demonstrative gifts of the Spirit outside the biblical usage. In his mind, a God of reason would not encourage the spiritual chaos he saw around him during the Second Great Awakening. Driven by the rational influences of the Enlightenment and particularly the Scottish Common Sense Realism (SCSR), Campbell approached biblical

¹ Several biographers have written on Alexander Campbell, including most notably Robert Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell* (Philadelphia, PA: J. B. Lippincott, 1870). Other biographies are arranged alphabetically include: M. Eugene Boring, *Disciples and the Bible: A History of Disciples Biblical Interpretation in North America* (St. Louis, MO: Chalice Press, 1997); Michael W. Casey, Douglas A. Foster, Eds., *The Stone-Campbell Movement: An International Religious Tradition* (Knoxville, TN: The University Press, 2002); S. Morris Eames, *The Philosophy of Alexander Campbell* (Bethany, WV: Bethany College, 1966); Leroy Garrett, *Alexander Campbell and Thomas Jefferson: A Comparative Study of Two Old Virginians* (Dallas, TX: Wilkinson, 1963); Errett Gates, *The Disciples of Christ* (New York, NY: Baker and Taylor Company, 1905); Thomas W. Grafton, *Alexander Campbell: Leader of the Great Reformation of the Nineteenth Century* (St. Louis, MO: Christian Publishing, 1897); W. L. Hayden, ed., *Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve, Ohio* (Cincinnati, OH: Chase and Hall, 1875); Keith Brian Huey, *Alexander Campbell’s Church-State Separatism as a Defining and Limiting Factor in his Anti-Catholic Activity* (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University, 2000); Dale Jorgenson, *Theological and Aesthetic Roots in the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Kirksville, MO: The Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1989); Alexander McLean, *Alexander Campbell as a Preacher: A Study* (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell, 1908); Robert F. West, *Alexander Campbell and Natural Religion* (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1948); Herbert L. Willett, *Alexander Campbell: Leader of the Great Reformation of the Nineteenth Century* (Christian Publishing Co, 1897); and Eva Jean Wrather and D. Duane Cummins, *Alexander Campbell: Adventurer in Freedom: a Literary Biography* (Fort Worth, TX: TCU Press, 2005). None of these authors touch on the topic of this study, which is to examine specifically the limitations Campbell placed on the doctrine of the Spirit and then to compare and contrast his views with those of other nineteenth century theologians.

² Boring, *Disciples*, 83. In 1838 Campbell stated, “I am thankful that I never put the title, ‘Christianity Restored’ nor ‘Gospel Restored’ on anything I ever wrote.” Campbell despised Joseph Smith as a charlatan, a fraudulent “money digger,” an “arch impostor,” a diabolical “fortuneteller, a “cheat” who pretended to find the plates to get rich. Alexander Campbell in “Origin of Mormonism,” *Millennial Harbinger*, 6 (1842): 419-421. In Campbell’s exposé of *The Book of Mormon*, he denounced Smith: “I have never felt myself so fully authorized to address mortal man in the style in which Paul addressed Elymas the sorcerer as I feel towards this Atheist Smith” (*Delusions*, 15).

pneumatology from his head rather than his heart. He believed that God created humanity with a rational mind capable of receiving truths from the Bible through common sense. From his perspective, it was illogical to think that the Holy Spirit worked in sinful people. Applying this view left Campbell no room for the Spirit's intervention in conversion—belief became a logical choice. He denounced nineteenth century uncontrolled impressions (like the ones Cartwright fostered in revivals), categorizing them as satanic influences. He believed that only *after* people aligned their lives with the truths of the Bible and believed through their rational capacities could the Spirit peacefully commune with them. In this way he was not a pure rationalist but saw the Spirit working within an orderly realm to bring peace and joy to Christians.

We find a narrower, more rational scope to the workings of the Holy Spirit in Campbell's writings than we find in the other four men's writings—the most dissimilar being Joseph Smith. Interestingly, of all the theologians of the Second Great Awakening, Smith probably had more exposure in his adult life to Campbell's ideas than to any other. Yet, Smith's pneumatology does not appear to react to Campbell's.³ In 1830, at age twenty-four, Smith came in direct contact with Campbellite doctrines at an impressionable

³ We assume that Smith knew of Campbell's attacks because Smith's scribe, Oliver Cowdery, wrote a rebuttal. It was not until four years after Campbell first published his anti-Mormon track that Smith acknowledged his attacks, but it does not appear that any developmental doctrines ensued: "I have never been blessed, (if it may be called such,) with a personal acquaintance with Mr. Campbell, neither a personal interview, but the GREAT MAN, not unfrequently [*sic*] condescends to notice an individual of as obscure birth as myself. . . . I am satisfied, therefore he should continue his scurrility; indeed, I am more than gratified, because his cry of Joe Smith! Joe Smith! false prophet! false prophet! must manifest to all men the spirit he is of, and serves to open the eyes of the people" (Jesse, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 333-4). Shortly before Smith's martyrdom (or thirteen years after Campbell wrote *Delusions*), in a Sunday sermon on April 7, 1844, Smith finally addressed Campbell's claims: "Alexander Campbell, how are you going to save people with water alone? For John said his baptism was good for nothing without the baptism of Jesus Christ" (Smith, *History*, 6.316–317). Smith's *History* describes an interview on June 19, 1831, with Campbell's partner, Walter Scott, in Cincinnati. "I had an interview with the Rev. Walter Scott, one of the founders of the Campbellites, or Newlight [*sic*] church. Before the close of our interview, he manifested one of the bitterest spirits against the doctrine of the New Testament (that 'these signs shall follow them that believe,' as recorded in Mark the 16th chapter) that I ever witnessed among men" (1.188).

time in the development of his theology. Less than a year had passed since Smith organized the Church of Christ and published *The Book of Mormon*.⁴ Smith's pneumatology was still developing and he had no other writings published. Second hand influences, like the early Mormon leaders Sydney Rigdon, Parley Pratt, Newel Whitney, and John Murdock, were steeped in Campbellite doctrine and profoundly influenced Smith. Nonetheless, Smith's pneumatology shows few signs, if any, of his reactions to Campbell. Jan Shipps emphasized that Smith's restoration did not follow Campbell's pattern to replicate the Bible—rather Smith produced a “recapitulation” of those biblical events in the present tense.⁵ Campbell denounced Smith's or anyone else's attempts to reenact the Bible—especially by incorporating the gifts of the Spirit; it was too illogical.

Campbell's views will be further contrasted with Smith's in chapter eight, but first we will explore Campbell's pneumatology. By examining his upbringing, we can trace the limitations Campbell placed on the influence of the Spirit in six areas: the biblical text, the Trinity, the biblical age, conversion, sanctifying prayer, and the indwelling communion.

Biographical Sketch

Alexander Campbell was born in Ireland on September 12, 1788. Most of his childhood education was one-on-one tutelage from his father and minister, Thomas Campbell.⁶ Alexander passionately dove into his studies so that by the age of seventeen he

⁴ Similarly, Campbell's first awareness of Joseph Smith is evident from that same time in 1830. Campbell's *Millennial Harbinger* II.2, (Feb 7, 1831) first published *Delusions*, claiming that *The Book of Mormon* was not inspired, rather “Smith, its real author, as ignorant and as impudent a knave as ever wrote a book, betrays the cloven foot in basing his whole book upon a false fact, or pretended fact, which makes God a liar” (*Delusions*, 11).

⁵ Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 53-65. We discuss more on Smith's “recapitulation” of the Old and New Testament as we look at Joseph Smith's background and doctrines in chapters six and seven.

⁶ Casey, *The Stone-Campbell Movement*, 194. Alexander's father was initially “an Old Light Seceder Presbyterian, and his mother, a descendant of a French Huguenot family.” A time line of Campbell's life is found in Appendix one.

was competent enough to teach Greek, Latin, and the thought of John Locke, at the local Academy.⁷ Alexander gleaned a love of the empirical approach to reality from Locke as well as an inherent opposition to superstition, enthusiastic religions, and “fanaticism.”⁸ In 1807, at the peak of sectarian and political violence, Thomas Campbell left Ireland to prepare a place for his family in America. A year later the family followed, but their ship wrecked off the coast of Scotland, resulting in a ten month stay in Glasgow.⁹ The calamity turned into a gain for Alexander when he enrolled at the University of Glasgow to study logic, French, Latin, and advanced New Testament Greek.¹⁰ During this time he became disillusioned with Presbyterianism and affiliated with a restoration group that had broken off from the Church of Scotland.¹¹ Scottish Common Sense Realism (SCSR) took hold of his thoughts, and he looked for a more rational approach to Christianity. Independently and simultaneously in Pennsylvania, his father also broke ties with Presbyterianism and formed the “Christian Association” to promote biblical Christianity.¹²

⁷ Boring, *Disciples*, 55-56. The whole family joined in much of the religious education that included daily scripture memorization and recitation at the family’s evening devotionals. It was Alexander’s practice to arise every morning at 4:00 a.m. and commit ten verses of scripture to memory, study Greek, Latin (later he added Hebrew), for an hour each, and then continue with other studies until late in the evening. He kept a diary in shorthand or Latin.

⁸ Enlightenment thinkers tagged “fanaticism” onto most things unreasonable and illogical. Fanaticism and religious enthusiasm were seen as upsetting the social and political peace and leading to religious wars during the Enlightenment.

⁹ John A. Garraty, Mark C. Carnes, ed. *American National Biography* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 4.270.

¹⁰ Campbell’s education led him to use an academic manner in his writing, laced with Greek lexicon references. An example of Campbell’s Hebrew and Greek lexicon-style is found in the *Millennial Harbinger*: “[The Spirit of the Lord] frequently occurs in the Old Testament. It is found twenty-six times. *Pneuma hagion*, or *to Pneuma to hagion*, occurs ninety-four times in the New Testament. Ninety times they translated it *Holy Ghost*, and four times *Holy Spirit*.” Campbell, “Gift of the Holy Spirit—no.4,” *Millennial Harbinger*, vol. V (1834), 302.

¹¹ Boring, *Disciples*, 56. “The name of the group was the Haldane ‘covenanters.’”

¹² Casey, *The Stone-Campbell Movement*, 355.

By 1811, at the age of twenty-two, Alexander became a licensed minister in his father's growing movement, known as the Brush Run Church or Reformers.¹³ Initially they hoped to maintain an independent status free from creeds, but they did not want to further fractionalize Christianity. Because they shared with the local Baptists a common belief of baptism by immersion, they decided to form a loose affiliation with the Redstone Association of Baptist churches in southwestern Pennsylvania in 1813.¹⁴ Alexander Campbell's quick mind and dynamic disposition led him to recognition by others, although not always positive. He debated his rational interpretation of ancient Christianity with other leading minds.¹⁵ His arguments conflicted with Methodists and those who sought the cleansing power of the Spirit. Enlightenment philosophers influenced Campbell to interpret religious emotion or enthusiasm as signs of irrationalism. He shied away from manifestations of the Spirit and shared the Calvinistic view of the complete cessation of the charismatic gifts of the Spirit outside of the biblical era.¹⁶ To spread his opinion, on July 4, 1823, at age thirty-four, he inaugurated his first periodical, the *Christian Baptist*.

¹³ Gates, *Separation of Baptists and Disciples*, 24. Willett, *Alexander Campbell*, 94. Grafton, *Campbell*, 91-99. Alexander worked along side his father as long as the latter lived.

¹⁴ Huey, *Campbell's Church-State Separatism*, 13. A precipitating event to the Baptist union was the question of baptism for Alexander Campbell's first child in 1812. After Campbell studied the issue, he and his family and many members of his Brush Run congregation became baptized believers. Hillerbrand, *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, 2.594. The Redstone Baptist Association allowed the Campbells to function with relative independence in their creeds, although their fellow Baptist preachers disapproved of their doctrines. The Baptist membership had surged in America over the previous one hundred years. In 1876, the *North American Review* attributed their growth to insistence on a personal spiritual experience before baptism, praising the gifts of the Spirit, and an "unlearned ministry." Piper and MacCraken, *Lives of the Leaders*, 609.

¹⁵ Campbell's most famous debate was with an atheist and socialist, Robert Owen, in 1829. His debates on baptism with John Walker (1820), William Maccalla (1823), and Nathan Rice (1843) also advanced his fame. Hillerbrand, *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, 2.595.

¹⁶ Campbell disagreed with other Calvinistic doctrines, though. Outside of the realm of pneumatology, he published attacks against predestinated election and other Presbyterian doctrines. Jon Ruthven, *On the Cessation of the Charismata: The Protestant Polemic on Postbiblical Miracles* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993).

The title of his newspaper and union with the Baptists belie the fact that Campbell opposed several Baptist theological thoughts. He wanted to stand apart from all credos, to strip authority from ordination, to partake of the Lord's Supper weekly, and most vehemently, to contest Calvinistic regeneration of the Spirit.¹⁷ In 1830, after seven years of growing differences and intolerance, the Campbells' connection with the Baptists dissolved.¹⁸ The Campbells' overriding dissatisfaction grew out of their search for a more logical approach to primitive Christianity.

In the meantime, Alexander Campbell's search for the apostolic church and fascination with the original scriptural texts led him to collaborate with others on a New Testament translation in 1826.¹⁹ In conjunction with a Scottish translation of the New Testament, he published his own commentary: *The Living Oracles: The Sacred Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists of Jesus Christ, Commonly Styled the New Testament*. His title witnesses to his views on the sacred nature of the Bible and the place of revelation. Furthermore, the commentary demonstrates his lens of rational, common-sense thinking used to interpret the Bible. A more reason-filled translation seemed a perfect way to offer biblical empirical evidence to resolve any misunderstandings in Christianity. In 1830, he

¹⁷ Richardson, *Memoirs*, 1.416-425. In 1812 Campbell first articulated his life-long stance that regeneration does not precede faith. "The word of God is the means of regeneration—not a means which man uses, but which God uses" (416).

¹⁸ The breakup between Campbell and the Baptists began much earlier. At an annual Redstone Baptist Association meeting in 1827, Campbell and ten of the twenty-three churches in the Association were excluded for a lack of commitment to their creed. Hostility grew on both sides until the separation was complete in 1830. Grafton, *Campbell*, 122-126.

¹⁹ Boring, *Disciples*, 58, 97. Campbell augmented the New Testament translation of George Campbell, James MacKnight, and Philip Doddridge, by emending the Greek, adding an introduction and appendices. His work was creditable enough that he was asked to translate the book of Acts for the American Bible Union New Testament.

refocused his efforts toward a return to the ancient order of things, including a new title for his periodical: *The Millennial Harbinger*.²⁰

The Campbellites' independent status did not last long as they sought to unite Christianity. On January 1, 1832, the Campbellite "Reformers" merged with Walter Scott (1796-1861) and Barton Stone (1772-1844) to form "The Disciples of Christ."²¹ Their main objective was to join "the true followers of Christ into one communion upon the Bible."²² The coalition of restoration groups shared anti-creed, anti-sectarian, pro-unity, and a "Bible-only stance," but they did not share the same pneumatological views.²³ Initially, Campbell ignored their differences, rejoiced in his 1833 announcement of the new reformation movement, and emphasized the ideas they mutually shared and the hope of a more cohesive union in the future:

The voice of reformation has been lifted up, and the banners of the ancient constitution of Messiah's kingdom have been unfurled. The ancient standard has been dug up out of the ruins of the ages of delinquency; but of the immense multitudes who acknowledge its theoretic excellence and practical utility, how few are inspired with that holy spirit of unconditional submission to the authority of the

²⁰ Ibid., 18. The circulation of the *Christian Baptist* reached 3,000 subscribers in seven years. Campbell discontinued that publication on Jan. 1, 1830, with his disassociation with the Baptists. His new periodical emphasized a post-millennial anticipation of Christ's return with the new title, *Millennial Harbinger*. He focused it on "that political and religious order of society called *The Millennium*, which will be the consummation of that ultimate amelioration of society proposed in the Christian Scriptures." Campbell claimed that as "far as the ancient order of things . . . the religion of the New Testament, is restored" (17). By the mid 1850s the *Harbinger* had a circulation of approximately 15,000 (14,15).

²¹ Hillerbrand, *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, 2.595. Different congregations within the movement also used the names, "Christian Church," and "Church of Christ." Barton Stone became famous from his Spirit-filled revivals in Logan County, Concord, and Cane Ridge, Kentucky. The success of the latter experience is often labeled as the beginning of the Second Great Awakening in America with an estimated 20,000 people in attendance in the week-long revival. Stone began his own church in 1804, the "Christian Connection." Walter Scott was a powerful missionary in the Western Reserve. See Jorgenson, *Roots in the Stone-Campbell*, 121. Between 1826 and 1844 Stone also published his own periodical, the *Christian Messenger*, purporting the return to the primitive church. Huey, *Campbell's Church-State Separatism*, 16.

²² Richardson, *Memoirs*, 2.373.

²³ Hillerbrand, *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, 2.595. The new restoration group's unity seems operative only on some levels. The men harbored very different perspectives on the working of the Spirit. They found harmony within their different opinions by not conforming to a specific body of doctrine, and they allowed local autonomy to each congregation to teach each person's unique pneumatology.

Prime Ministers of Messiah's realm, which distinguished the soldiers of the cross in the days of uncorrupted Christianity.²⁴

For one who usually did not credit the Spirit's work, Campbell cited the Holy Spirit inspiring his colleagues to an "unconditional submission" to rally around the "ancient standard." At this point it appears Campbell was influenced by Stone's emphasis on the Spirit directing God's work. Clearly, Campbell agreed that the Spirit functioned at certain times and places, and the coalition's promotion of an "uncorrupted Christianity" was one of them.

To provide as much autonomy as possible within their partnership (and to avoid doctrinal differences), the four leaders chose not to organize a church government or code of belief. They simply agreed to follow the Bible's primitive pattern. Campbell favored each congregation's sovereignty to avoid any confining protocol. Stone's motives were different—he felt trifling over differences was not necessary because the Holy Spirit would eventually unify them:

Oh, my brethren, let us repent and do the first works, let us seek for more holiness, rather than trouble ourselves and others with schemes and plans of union. The love of God, shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost given unto us, will more effectually unite than all the wisdom of the world combined.²⁵

Right from the start, Stone relied on the Spirit's influence for conversion, and Campbell on rational common sense. Stone also fostered emotional evangelical style meetings, while Campbell denounced those same emotional outbursts as often seen in camp meetings or revivals.

²⁴ Campbell, "Preface" *The Millennial Harbinger*, 4 (Jan 1833): 3.

²⁵ Richardson, *Memoires*, 2.374. Campbell worried about a general union because he considered each "distinct congregation with their proper functionaries as the highest religious executive authority on earth."

Although the union occurred smoothly, differences erupted between Stone and Campbell's perspectives on the function of the Holy Ghost.²⁶ Two of Campbell's biographers, Richardson and Jorgenson, identified the difficulty as Campbell's denial of the "operations of the Holy Spirit," and "the gift of the Holy Spirit given to believers."²⁷ The problem did not go away. Jorgenson admitted, "The nature of the Holy Spirit's work in conversion and in the church has remained a lively question."²⁸ Campbell insisted that conversion must be a logical step before the Spirit could intervene. He could not let go of an analytical choice driving one to repent and accept Christian baptism before the Spirit's work of sanctification. On the other hand, Stone clung to the Spirit's witness—during as well as after conversion.

Another dimension that Campbell denounced and Stone promoted was the Spirit's manifestation in gifts and miracles. By 1830 Campbell's revulsion toward modern spiritual gifts had already dissolved his union with Sidney Rigdon (1793-1876), Parley Pratt (1807-1857), and Newel Whitney (1795-1850), all of whom became Mormons. Nevertheless, Campbell could not let illogical expressions ascribed to the Spirit interfere with his view of biblical Christianity—even if it caused more conflict with his new

²⁶ Campbell and Pendleton, "Reply" *Millennial Harbinger*, 5 (April, 1834), 169-170. "Much difficulty and embarrassment yet remains in the minds of many disciples on the subject of the Holy Spirit, and what is called his 'influences.' The extravagances of enthusiasm on the one hand and rationalism on the other has muddled the waters of the sanctuary, and distracted the minds of the most sincere and devote in their regard for the Living Oracles. Much has been written and much has been said by the brethren of the reformation on this subject, and, although the light has been elicited, and is still eliciting, the more thoughtful and inquisitive appear not to be altogether satisfied and quieted on this interesting theme." Campbell does not isolate the specific issues in his article.

²⁷ Richardson, *Memoires*, 2.123, 151; Jorgenson, *Roots in the Stone-Campbell*, 66.

²⁸ Jorgenson, *Roots in the Stone-Campbell*, 66. Douglas Foster pointed out that the Stone and Campbell groups differed as pre and post millennialists respectively—on their choice of names for the religious movement and on the nature of Christ and the Atonement. Hillerbrand, *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, 2.595.

partners.²⁹ During the decade of the thirties, the four men's common hope to reestablish the primitive church was pulled apart by their pneumatological differences.³⁰

In his later years, Campbell put much of his energies into developing Bethany College. It opened on his West Virginia farm in 1840 as "a Literary, Moral, and Religious School."³¹ Jorgenson summarized the backbone of Campbell's academic approach: "[He spoke] where the Bible speaks and [was] silent where the Bible [was] silent."³² However, in the case of Campbell's pneumatology, this assessment did not always hold true. The New Testament speaks frequently about the need for the Spirit's inspiration, but Campbell confined manifestations of the Spirit to biblical inspiration and a peaceful witness through sanctification and communion.

Teachings on the Holy Spirit

Campbell wrote extensively on the workings of the Spirit early in his career.³³ The opening year of his first periodical was his most prolific. Twenty percent of his articles published in 1824 focused on the Spirit. His initial surge may have been the result of his first meeting with the Spirit-seeking evangelist Barton Stone, who later became his collaborator in attempting to re-establish the primitive church. However, in a sampling of

²⁹ Richard Hughes, "Two Restoration Traditions: Mormons and Churches of Christ in the Nineteenth Century," Casey, *The Stone-Campbell Movement*, 355. The biographer Richard Hughes summarized: "steeped in Lockean empiricism and the 'Baconian' perspective of the Scottish 'Common Sense' Realists, Campbell rejected the apocalyptic outlook of Stone and embraced instead a robust post millennial optimism about the world."

³⁰ Jorgenson, *Roots in the Stone-Campbell*, 66.

³¹ In 1837, the *Millennial Harbinger* publicized Campbell's plan for his school: "Plan of a Literary, Moral, and Religious School; or the Union of Four Institutions in One—The Combination of the Family, the Primary School, the College, and the Church in One Great System of Education." Jorgenson, *Roots in the Stone-Campbell*, 158-9. Previously, Campbell passively supported his colleagues' efforts at Bacon College in Kentucky, but once his college was in place in Bethany, he focused his energies there.

³² Ibid., 165. Speaking only with the Bible meant speaking within Campbell's interpretation of the Bible.

³³ Campbell mentioned "the gift of the Holy Ghost" fifteen times between 1823-1829 in the *Christian Baptist* always as an apostolic endowment, but in the *Millennial Harbinger*, from 1830 to 1866, he mentioned "the gift of the Holy Ghost" only four times—twice as quotations from the Bible (65, 66), once in a biblical discussion (217), and once quoting an inquirer (432).

Campbell's periodicals for thirty years there is a sharp decline in references to the Spirit. Whether to avoid further conflict among his partners in the "Disciples of Christ," or to avoid the dichotomy between the prevalence of the Spirit in the primitive church and its absence in his contemporary church, or possibly to separate himself from the Mormons and others who claimed divine revelation beyond the Bible, Campbell spoke less and less on the Spirit over the next thirty years.³⁴ Table Three illustrates a sampling of Campbell's articles; 5.3 percent address the Spirit in their title in his "*Christian Baptist*," while only 1.9 percent in his later periodical, "*The Millennial Harbinger*."³⁵

Table Three: A Sampling of Campbell's articles highlighting the Spirit in the Title

In the *Christian Baptist*, 1823-1830.

1824-	9 out of 44	or	20 %
1825-	4 out of 51	or	7.8%
1826-	1 out of 59	or	1.7%
1827-	0 out of 59	or	0.0 %
1828-	2 out of 66	or	3.0%
1829-	1 out of 39	or	2.5%

TOTAL 17 out of 318 or 5.3%

³⁴ Another example of Campbell's speaking less on the Spirit outside of his editorials is found in the second edition of *The Christian System* where he removed an article on the Spirit from his first edition (published in January 1835) before publishing the second (in June 1839). He explained his change in his preface to the second edition: "Instead of the 'Dialogue on the Holy Spirit' . . . we have added a few essays on CHURCH ORDER as a part of the Christian system: thus endeavoring to give to the book all the chances of being as useful as possible to those who are desirous of a more perfect understanding of our attainments in Christian knowledge" (emphasis original). Alexander Campbell, *The Christian System: In Reference to the Union of Christians and a Restoration of Primitive Christianity as Plead in the Current Reformation*, 2nd ed. (Cincinnati, OH: Standard Publishing, 1839), 12.

³⁵ Alexander Campbell, ed., *Christian Baptist: Seven volumes in One*, (Cincinnati, OH: D. S. Burnet, 1835); Alexander Campbell, ed., *Millennial Harbinger 1830-1866* (Bethany VA: Alexander Campbell, 1830-1866). I gathered these numbers by looking at the periodicals stated in Table Three and then counted the number of articles written by Campbell in each year. Every time his titles included a reference to the "Holy Spirit," it was counted. I analyzed several articles that did not include direct references to the "Spirit," but shared a related work of the Holy Spirit (e.g., a title of "Regeneration"). However, most of these articles did not include references to the Spirit in the text either. After several attempts, I included within this sampling only articles with the word "Spirit" or "Holy Ghost" in the title. A more thorough study is needed to include all years that the *Millennial Harbinger* was published and a thorough reading of the entire article to find subjects related to the Spirit without including references in the title.

In *The Millennial Harbinger*, 1830-1866

1830-	0 out of 172	or	0.0%
1831-	11 out of 173	or	6.4%
1832-	2 out of 206	or	1.0%
1833-	3 out of 163	or	1.8%
1834-	7 out of 109	or	6.4%
1837-	4 out of 94	or	4.3%
1839-	1 out of 102	or	1.0%
1841-	4 out of 106	or	3.8%
1842-	2 out of 110	or	1.8%
1843-	3 out of 114	or	2.6%
1849-	2 out of 107	or	1.9%
1853-	3 out of 103	or	2.9%
1855-	1 out of 115	or	0.9%

TOTAL 43 out of 1,674 or 2.6%

This sampling demonstrates that Campbell's editorials on the topic of the Spirit may have decreased, but the subject never died out.

Interestingly, Campbell intensified his writings on the Spirit from 1831 and 1837.³⁶

The impetus for these writings may have come from the geographical proximity of the Mormons, who gathered in Ohio, near a large congregation of Disciples from February of 1831 through December 1837.³⁷ Throughout that time, Campbell viciously criticized Mormonism in an attempt to stop the migration of his converts—a serious problem for

³⁶ During this time he wrote, "We thought it best, for some time past, to leave this subject with 'the various essays written by different persons upon it, to the consideration and reflection of the brethren—especially the more obvious, important, and more practical aspects, were, in our judgment sketched out in reference to the long controversy with the sects on this item of their creeds. . . .' All that I now propose will be to ascertain *the meaning of the sacred dialect of the Holy Spirit*." Campbell and Pendleton, "Reply" *Millennial Harbinger*, 5 (April, 1834): 170. The data from the seven years that the Mormons lived close to a Campbellite community in Ohio suggest that Campbell's increased focus on the Spirit was made in reaction to the presence of the Mormon community.

³⁷ Smith, *History*, 1.145; 2.529; 3.1. Campbell regularly wrote against Joseph Smith's claim to revelation. For example from 1835, "No man, *not already duped*, who has the half of five grains of common sense, can read this narrative of Mormonism without being converted to the belief that *Joseph Smith* and his colleagues in the plot are a band of the most unprincipled deceivers that ever disgraced any age or nation, and that his followers are a set of superlative fanatics." Campbell, "Mormonism Unveiled," *Millennial Harbinger*, 6 (Jan 1835), 44.

Campbell when half of his Ohio congregation joined Joseph Smith.³⁸ Many Campbellite dissenters expressed their dissatisfaction with Campbell's limitations on the Spirit.³⁹ On the other hand, the Mormons claimed to receive the gift of the Holy Ghost through apostolic authority by the laying on of hands and to practice the gifts of the Spirit. Richard Hughes saw their battle as the difference between Campbell's Enlightenment rationalism and Smith's Romantic millennialism, but that explains only a small part of their diversity as we will discuss in chapter eight.⁴⁰

Throughout Campbell's extensive writings, he discussed the Spirit in six venues.⁴¹ First, he believed the Spirit inspired the biblical text. Second, Campbell defined the personage of the Spirit within the Trinity. Third, he restricted the apostolic authority and gifts of the Spirit to the biblical age.⁴² He understood the biblical examples of the gifts of the Spirit as witnesses of the prophets, of Jesus and of his apostles' divine anointing. Fourth, the Spirit came on after a logical conversion, which developed from reasoning

³⁸ Richardson, *Memoirs*, 2. 346. As Campbell describes it: "[A]bout one-half of the members of the church were soon led away into the delusion and filled with the wildest fanaticism. Mormon 'elders' and 'apostles' were speedily sent forth, who traversed Northern Ohio and gained many proselytes among the ignorant and superstitious, and some even among persons of intelligence, who had been filled with vague expectations of a speedy millennium."

³⁹ Casey, *The Stone-Campbell Movement*, 358; Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 264.

⁴⁰ Richard Hughes' chapter is titled: "Two Restoration Traditions: Mormons and Churches of Christ in the Nineteenth Century," Casey, *The Stone-Campbell Movement*, 354-359. I see the real difference between Smith and Campbell as an issue of revelation. This is discussed in chapters seven and eight of this text.

⁴¹ Campbell's most detailed writings on the Spirit are in his biblical commentary, *Sacred Writings*, and in the periodical *Millennial Harbinger* editorials from 1834 as a seven part series on "The gift of the Holy Ghost"; one in particular is given the subheading: "Earnest of the Spirit." He described the latter title, from 2 Cor 1:22; 2 Cor 5:5; Eph 1:14, "The Hebrew verb from which it is derived signifies to make sure, or to become surety. . . . The reader now perceives the intimacy between God's anointing, sealing, and giving of the earnest of the Spirit." Campbell and Pendleton, ed., "Earnest of the Spirit," *Millennial Harbinger*, 5 (June, 1834): 277-278.

⁴² *Ibid.*, "Every 'manifestation of the Spirit' was a confirmation of the mission of the Apostles, a seal of their apostleship. The spiritual gifts bestowed upon the converts by the hands of the apostles, was a seal of the apostleship of the persons who conferred them, and it was also a pledge that God had received the persons sealed as his property."

through the biblical text.⁴³ Campbell taught that a Christian's conversion came through a rational acknowledgment of biblical truths following upon repentance and obedience. Fifth, he felt the Spirit could reveal itself through sanctifying prayer and sixth, through indwelling communion. These six areas elucidate Campbell's rational approach to pneumatology.

1) The Bible was Totally Inspired by the Spirit's Revelation

Campbell treasured the Bible as the only book revealed by the Spirit and the source of all truth. In his first "Article of Faith," he emphasized this point: "I believe all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, is profitable for teaching, conviction, instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect and thoroughly accomplished for every good work."⁴⁴ He believed God did not need to reveal anything else to humanity because the Bible contained complete truth:

How can we equal in style a subject, which, when but faintly and in prospective viewed, exhausted the sublimest strains of heaven-taught prophets, and of poets, fired with God's own inspiration; whose hallowed lips tasted not the fabled springs of Pagan muses, but the fountain of living waters, springing from eternal love!"⁴⁵

Nothing could compare to the Bible, because the Spirit was its author. Furthermore, Campbell believed that the Bible held the singular claim to all divine revelation. For him, revelation came only through the Spirit to the oracles of God. In a debate on April 20, 1829, Robert Owen asked Campbell: "Are the books composing the Old and New Testaments the only books of divine authority in the world?" Campbell responded with a

⁴³ Calvin also taught that the Spirit worked on the elect through the words of scripture, but Campbell added his own twist declaring that everyone who rationally approached the biblical text could experience a rational conversion and then later those already converted could experience the Spirit from the text.

⁴⁴ Richardson, *Memoirs*, 2.19.

⁴⁵ Alexander Campbell, *The Sacred Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists of Jesus Christ: Commonly Styled the New Testament 2nd ed.* (Bethany, VA: Alexander Campbell, 1829), xxiii.

resounding “Yes!” and then added, “the two Testaments, contain . . . what is properly called a *Divine Revelation*.”⁴⁶

Campbell read the Bible as an open book because for him its revelation spoke directly to human reason. He preferred a literal interpretation and opposed the notion that one must be a scholar to understand scripture. He denounced the early Church Fathers from Alexandria who taught that “the words of scripture have a mystical, spiritual, theological, or some other than a literal meaning; and that the same rules of interpretation are not to be applied to the inspired writings, which are applied to human compositions.”⁴⁷ He called these opinions, “absurd and pernicious.”⁴⁸ In Campbell’s mind, the words of the Bible were plain enough for all rational beings to understand without an interpreter.

Campbell venerated the Bible as a perfect teaching guide due to its inspired source. Like many of his day, he believed that the words of the Bible were “infallible, because [they were] sanctioned, approved, and quoted by those under the fullest influence of the Holy Spirit.”⁴⁹ Campbell felt that the writers of the Bible, beyond being inspired, were flawless because they received the Holy Spirit’s perfect inspiration.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Alexander Campbell, *The Evidences of Christianity: A Debate Between Robert Owen, of New Lanark, Scotland and Alexander Campbell, President of Bethany, College, Virginia; Containing an Examination of the of the "Social System," and all the Systems of Scepticism [sic] of Ancient and Modern Times. Held in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio in April 1829* (Cincinnati, OH: Standard Publishers, 1829), 91-92. See also Campbell, “Mr. Campbell to Mr. Skinner,” *Millennial Harbinger*, 1.4 (April, 1837): 179. “No other witness than the Apostles and Prophets, or the Spirit of God speaking in them, can be admitted of any authority.”

⁴⁷ Campbell, *Sacred Writings*, xv.

⁴⁸ Ibid. Campbell continues, “If this notion were correct, all efforts to understand this book must be in vain, until God sends us an interpreter, who can resolve those enigmas and mystic words of theological import, and give us the plain meaning, of what the Apostles and Evangelists wrote.” He does not call for an interpreter here, as he regularly denounces anyone who claimed to be such.

⁴⁹ Campbell, “The Social System and Deism, no 2,” *Christian Baptist*, 11, (June 4, 1827): 345.

⁵⁰ In Campbell’s New Testament commentary, he referred to the authors as “sacred historians” who had “no model which they could imitate; no lesson, nor instructions in their plan. . . . Their success in this cannot be attributed to any other cause, than to the supernatural qualifications which they possessed, than to the all-creating energies of that Spirit which brought all things to their remembrance, and to that unparalleled character which is the subject of their memoirs” (*Sacred Writings*, xxix).

The Holy Spirit, promised to the apostles . . . one of two things—either to suggest things entirely new, or to bring all things to their remembrance which they had seen or heard. This was done. The writings of the apostles and the prophets are authentic histories written under the guidance of the Spirit of God; or they are immediate and direct revelation of matters inaccessible to mortal man.⁵¹

Campbell taught that the Spirit's revelation created a perfect text; therefore, both its historical and spiritual accounts were logically trustworthy.

Believing that the Spirit was a flawless author, Campbell endorsed the Bible as the most accurate record of history available:

The two Testaments . . . contain much history which can, with no propriety [*sic*], be called a Divine Revelation. . . . It was necessary that these important facts, because of their intimate connection with the people to whom Divine Revelations were made, should be recorded and divinely authenticated. Hence the Pentateuch in addition to all the revelations which it contains, presents us with a historic record of the first ages of the world divinely authenticated.⁵²

For Campbell, biblical history and revelation worked together to logically teach any believing reader from the source of ultimate authority.⁵³ He further reasoned that the biblical “oracles,” were the initial source of all thoughts on God. Upholding the “principles of reason,” he deduced that all “innate ideas” stem from the Bible. “Indeed it all comes to this—if there be no innate ideas . . . then the bible is proved, from the principles of reason, and from the history of the world, to be what it purports, a volume indited [*sic*] by the Spirit of the invisible God.”⁵⁴ Campbell held passionately to the Bible

⁵¹ Campbell, *Debate-Owen*, 92.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 352.

⁵³ In his first wave of editorials in 1824, Campbell expanded on his view, that as the unique volume of the Spirit, the Bible was the source of everything we know of God and history: “To the Spirit of God are we immediately indebted for all that is known, or knowable of God, of the invisible world, and of the ultimate destinies of man. All that ancient Pagans and modern Sceptics [*sic*] pretend to have known of these sublime topics, was either borrowed from the oracles of the Revealer of secrets or was mere uncertain conceits or conjectures of their own.” Alexander Campbell, “Essays on the Work of the Holy Spirit in the Salvation of Men,” *Christian Baptist*, 2 (Aug, 1824): 82.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

as the initial source of all truth. He felt the truth of the Bible's revelation could speak to all reasoning humans.

2) The Spirit in the Trinity

Campbell included a definition of the Trinity in his second Article of Faith: "I believe in one God as manifested in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, who are therefore one in power, nature and volition."⁵⁵ He agreed with monotheism, but opposed the word "Trinity" and some of its ideology. In 1824 he labeled the "Trinity" a "Babylonish" term—and asked his readers to do away with it.⁵⁶ With disgust he denounced the "rise to the doctrine of the trinity. And what fierce controversies have originated out of this doctrine!"⁵⁷ In his first periodical, *The Christian Baptist*, he referred to the Trinity seventeen times.⁵⁸ Worthy of note, in his next periodical, *The Millennium Harbinger*, which ran four times as long, he never used the word "Trinity."⁵⁹ He did not explain why, so we are left to speculate that the subject was not a priority for him, just as he stopped referring to the Spirit.

⁵⁵ Richardson, *Memoirs*, 2.616.

⁵⁶ Campbell, *Christian Baptist*, 2 (Aug, 1824): 159. "We shall go on to specify a sample of those Babylonish terms and phrases which must be purified from the Christian vocabulary, before the saints can understand the religion they profess, or one another as fellow disciples. . . . 'Trinity. First, second, and third person in the adorable Trinity . . . There will be found no excuse for the above species of unauthorized and Babylonish phraseology. . . . The terms Trinity, first and second person of –Eternal Son, and the eternal procession of the Spirit, are now the fixed style in speaking of God, his Son Jesus Christ, and of the Spirit in reference to their 'personal character.' Now this is not the style of the oracles of God [Bible]. It is all human and may be freely criticized as one of the numbers of the Spectator."

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 160.

⁵⁸ Campbell, *Christian Baptist*, 50, 82, 159, 160, 189, 364, 368, 378, 380, 436, 492, 577, 660, 661, 662. In the same volume, the word "godhead" is used five times as meaning a triune (or three-in-one) God (211, 234, 300, 347, 368).

⁵⁹ Four times Campbell quoted other people using the word "Trinity" in his *Millennial Harbinger*, 227, 228, 522, 526. In the same periodical, he used the word "godhead" twice (i.e. "all of them unite . . . this is the real music of the spheres, the chorus of creation!-all of them unite in proclaiming his eternal power and godhead" (570, see also 81).

By denouncing the word “Trinity,” Campbell did not denounce the idea that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, were “one God, one Lord, one Spirit.”⁶⁰ In 1835, after he condemned the “philosophical doctrine of the Trinity” as “scholastic phraseology,” he then supported the biblical doctrine: “[S]peak of God his Son, and Spirit as the apostles did . . . these THREE must occupy the attention of every reader of the holy oracles.”⁶¹

One is left to wonder where exactly Campbell stood on the details of the Trinity. He endorsed the pre-existence of Christ and opposed the Unitarian view of Christ. He understood the Holy Spirit as a separate personage: “As there is man and the spirit of man, so there is God and the Spirit of God. They are capable of a separate and distinct existence.”⁶² Yet his article of faith claimed, “I believe in one God” with different manifestations. Campbell did not acknowledge modalist tendencies, although some of his writings display modalism.⁶³ In 1843 he struggled to explain the Holy Spirit as the “ineffable relation of the deity, or godhead, [as] it stands next to the Incarnate Word . . . [as] the Advocate, the Sanctifier, and the Comforter of Christ’s body—the church.”⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Campbell, *The Christian System*, 26. Twice in this book Campbell attacks the word “Trinity” without its definition: “While we renounce the metaphysical jargon found in the creeds, on what is called the doctrine of the ‘Trinity’” on page 50, and on page 82, “Leaving out of view all the metaphysical divinity of ancient councils or modern theological schools on the philosophical doctrine of the Trinity, we may safely assert up the plainest evidence, that theses THREE must occupy the attention of every reader of the holy oracles.” Campbell is upset because “these terms originate new doctrines. Thus the term ‘Trinity’ gives rise to the doctrine of the Trinity. And what fierce controversies have originated out of this doctrine!” (160). Campbell also denied affiliation with the creeds, but his teaching on the Trinity was consistent with Nicene thought (505).

⁶¹ Ibid., 24.

⁶² Ibid., 23.

⁶³ Ibid., 26-27. “In the development of the Christian scheme, it is ‘the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit,’—one God, one Lord, one Spirit. To us Christians there is, then, but one God, even the Father, and one Lord Jesus Christ, even the Saviour; and one Spirit, even the Advocate, the Sanctifier, and the Comforter of Christ’s body—the church. . . . The divine doctrine of these holy and incomprehensible relations in the Divinity, is so inwrought and incorporated with all the parts of the sacred book . . . that it is impossible to make any real and divine proficiency in the true knowledge of God, of man, of reconciliation, of remission of sins, of eternal life; or in the piety and divine life of Christ’s religion, without a clear and distinct perception of it, as well as a firm and unshaken faith and confidence in it.”

⁶⁴ Ibid., 25. The quote continues, “But now, in the development of the Christian scheme, it is ‘the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit’—one God, one Lord, one Spirit. To us Christians there is, then, but one God, even

Initially, Campbell overlapped Christ's role with the Spirit's role but then tried to separate them: "Jesus is the head, and the Spirit is the life and animating principle of that body."

He next returned to biblical words quoting from Romans 1:19 and 8:30: "God is manifest in human flesh, and is justified and glorified by the Spirit, in accomplishing man's deliverance from ruin."⁶⁵ As one seeking to return to the primitive Christianity, Campbell preferred to use only biblical wording and never thoroughly explained his view of the Trinity.

Campbell understood the Spirit's role in the Trinity as the manifestation of power: "The spirit of God is therefore often used for his power; though it is not an impersonal power, but a living, energizing, active, personal existence. Hence, in all the works of God, the spirit of God is the active, operating agent."⁶⁶ Campbell's definition acknowledged the Spirit within the Godhead as the master force behind life, but he did not intend to offer a universal reference to the Spirit's power or manifestations of the gifts of the Spirit outside of the Bible.

3) Gifts of the Spirit Limited to the Biblical Age

The key factor to any demonstration of the Spirit, according to Campbell, was its placement in the biblical age. He interpreted the gifts of the Spirit as evidence that God approved and blessed the people in the Bible: "*Demonstrations of the Holy Spirit*' are the

the Father; and one Lord . . . Jesus is the head, and the Spirit is the life and animating principle of that body. . . . They are capable of a separate and distinct existence" (11, 23).

⁶⁵ Ibid. Campbell also noted that the Holy Spirit does God's work and in the New Testament, "it is designated as the immediate author and agent of the new creation, and of the holiness of Christians."

⁶⁶ Ibid. He continued, "Thus in the old creation, while ancient chaos yet remained . . . the Spirit of God 'moved [incubated and energized] upon the face of the waters.' 'The hand of the Lord has made me, and the Spirit of the Almighty has given me life.' The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee.' And thus was chaos subdued, man vitalized, 'the heavens garnished,' and the body of Jesus made by the Spirit of God" (brackets from the published text).

confirmatory proof of the gospel.”⁶⁷ He interpreted the miraculous intervention or “demonstrations” of the Spirit in the lives of the biblical authors and characters as proof that the Spirit had sanctioned them.⁶⁸ He supported all miracles, angelic visitations, and gifts of the Spirit from the Bible as facts. The apostles’ reception of the Spirit played such a keen role in the book of Acts that Campbell proposed a pneumatologically charged alternative title: “*The Gospel of the Holy Spirit*.”⁶⁹

Campbell was fascinated with the Spirit’s work in the Bible. Throughout his sermons, books and periodicals, he defended the Holy Spirit’s influence in the Bible. For example, in a typical editorial, he expounded scripture attributed to Paul to prove his doctrinal point: “‘Quench not the Spirit,’ ‘Despise not prophesying,’ etc. And to Timothy, in the same style, he could say, ‘Stir up the gift which is in you.’”⁷⁰ Campbell thrilled with the Spirit’s blaze in the biblical age, but he tried to extinguish any charismatic manifestations outside of the Bible. By limiting the miraculous to the past, he took out all the guess work and need for discernment—it moved the work of the Spirit into a predictable, reasonable realm.

⁶⁷ Campbell, “The Confirmation of the Testimony,” *Millennial Harbinger*, 1 (January, 4, 1830): 11. Campbell felt strongly enough on this that he later repeated, “Hence when the confirmation of the gospel is spoken of in the apostolic writings, it is resolved into the doing or works of the Holy Spirit.” *A Connected View of the Principles and Rules by which the Living Oracles may be intelligibly and certainly interpreted: of the foundation of which all Christians may form one communion: and of the capital positions sustained in the attempt to restore the original gospel and order of things containing The Principal Extras of the Millennial Harbinger, Revised and Corrected* (Bethany, VA: M’Vay and Ewing, 1835), 116.

⁶⁸ Campbell, *Christian System*, 120. “‘Demonstrations of the Holy Spirit’ are the confirmatory proofs of the gospel.” Campbell likewise reasoned, “The Spirit of God inspired all the spiritual ideas in the New Testament, and confirmed them by miracles; and he is ever present with the word that he inspired. . . . [The Holy Spirit] descended from heaven on the day of Pentecost, and has not formally ascended since. In this sense he is to animate and inspire with new life the church or temple of the Lord” (ibid., 64).

⁶⁹ Campbell, *Sacred Writings*, xxix.

⁷⁰ Campbell and Pendleton, “The Gift of the Holy Spirit—no. 7,” *Millennial Harbinger*, 5 (Nov, 1834): 567. He academically defined the text: “The word used in Timothy is *anazopurein*, blow up this fire—*quench it not*—put not out this sacred fire in yourself or in others, but rouse it to a flame.”

The gifts of the Spirit became the hallmark of authority for Campbell—with one caveat. Only in the biblical age did they act as an identifying mark of the people whom the Spirit sanctioned: “A person in the apostolic age, professing to have received the gift of the Holy Spirit, or the Holy Spirit himself, without a manifestation of it; or who was unable to display it by some unequivocal exhibition of it, would have been considered either a knave or a simpleton.”⁷¹ He affirmed that the gift of the Holy Ghost must be accompanied by demonstrations of its power; and those people in the Bible who did not recognize the gifts of the Spirit as the Spirit’s power are “knaves.” He described the demonstration of the Spirit as “a public, evident, sensible display of supernatural power, on which the faith of a person may stand as on the power of God; or such a manifestation or exhibition of the Spirit, evincing, beyond rational doubt, that he is no knave or vain pretender who says that he has received the gift of the Holy Spirit.”⁷² From his perspective, the apostolic portrayal of the gifts of the Spirit was clearly discernable to all but the most degenerate. And yet, Campbell’s *knaves*, who could not see the witness of the Spirit, were only those who lived during the Apostolic Age. In his own age, just the opposite was true—*knaves* claimed to demonstrate the gifts of the Spirit or recognized them as God’s sanctioning power.

In order for Campbell to confine the gifts of the Spirit to the biblical age, he had to redefine a few conflicting scriptures. For example, when Acts 2:17 referred to an

⁷¹ Campbell and Pendleton, “The Gift of the Holy Spirit—no.2,” *Millennial Harbinger*, 5 (May, 1834):219. Campbell further adds, “and perhaps it may be inferred that no man ever did possess the gift of the Holy Spirit, who could not, and who did not, afford a manifestation of the Spirit. For every manifestation of the Spirit, says Paul, was given to every spiritual man for the advantage of all; and unless the demonstration of the Spirit was to all, it could not be an advantage to all.”

⁷² *Ibid.*, 220.

outpouring of the Spirit in the “last days,”⁷³ Campbell interpreted it to mean the “Jewish age,” or the time period of Jesus and His apostles.⁷⁴ Basically, he claimed that what most see as the future was actually the past in order to maintain that Joel’s promises were entirely fulfilled by the saints in the primitive church and thereby no longer applicable. Campbell’s interpretation included confining all demonstrable gifts of the Spirit as described in 1 Corinthians 12 (i.e. miracles, healing, tongues, etc.) to the apostolic age and thus denying all such miraculous claims in his own time.

Ancient Apostles and Prophets. Campbell declared the biblical apostles and prophets as the sole agents appointed by God to practice the gifts of the Spirit. He believed the Spirit anointed them with authority to function in their special callings. The “Holy Spirit descended on the head of the Messiah visibly, and sat upon the head of the Apostles in the resemblances of fiery tongues. Thus were Jesus and the Apostles anointed.”⁷⁵ Campbell understood that their spiritual anointing gave them power to enact miracles, healings, and other gifts of the Spirit.⁷⁶ In his commentary on the book of Acts, he identified the presence of the gifts of the Spirit as God’s validation of the apostles; “God accompanies

⁷³ *KJV* of Acts 2:17 reads, “In the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams,” referencing the fulfillment of Joel 2:28.

⁷⁴ “Such a reception of the Spirit there certainly was; and of this ‘gift of the Holy Spirit,’ . . . these ‘spiritual gifts,’ we have already spoken as conferred upon the *firstfruits* in the *last days* of the Jewish age—in the setting up of the kingdom of the Messiah.” Campbell and Pendleton, “The Gift of the Spirit, no. 5,” *Millennial Harbinger*, 5 (Aug, 1834): 368.

⁷⁵ Campbell and Pendleton, “Earnest,” *Millennial Harbinger*, 5 (June, 1834): 279.

⁷⁶ Campbell, “Biblical Criticism #2: “The foundation of God,” *Millennial Harbinger*, 4 (Jan, 1833): 7. Campbell saw the transfer of the Spirit’s authority from Christ to the Twelve Apostles. “The foundation which God has laid for our faith is the Twelve Apostles; and this foundation stands firm because God has sealed their mission by his Holy Spirit, and by these attestations made known them that are his.”

their [the apostles'] testimony with the demonstration of the Spirit."⁷⁷ He also attributed the same gifts of the Spirit to Old Testament prophets.⁷⁸

According to Campbell (and SCSR), one can trust one's senses to reveal reality directly. The prophets' and apostles' "reality" included a unique eye-witness testimony:

Testimony is . . . the recital of experience, a narration of things heard, seen, or felt. It has, then, always the evidence of sense, or of consciousness, or of feeling, as the grounds and basis of its assurance. The original witness says, I saw, I heard, I think, I feel—not I reason, I conclude, I suppose, I conjecture, &c. Testimony, therefore, has to do with matters subject to the evidences of sense and consciousness, which afford the greatest of all certainty.⁷⁹

Campbell's honoring of the apostles' sensory-filled testimony does not apply to anyone else's sensory communication from the Spirit. He clearly limited these sensory testimonies to the apostles and prophets. He denounced hearing voices, seeing visions, and receiving revelation outside of the biblical narratives.⁸⁰ Only biblical "prophets . . . received the Spirit by measure."⁸¹ He accepted and interpreted the dead prophets, but a living people who claimed to receive new revelation were too unpredictable.

No prophets, apostles, or spiritual gifts outside of the Bible. For Campbell, the gifts of the Spirit were identified with the biblical church; no one since the death of the last apostle had the authority to demonstrate spiritual gifts. They were not restored nor needed in his modern world. Similarly, he taught that those who claimed such gifts in the modern

⁷⁷ Campbell, *Sacred Writings*, xxix.

⁷⁸ Ibid., xlix. In his preface to Galatians Campbell focused on the Spirit's role in both the old and new covenant. "The gifts which the Holy Spirit conferred by his hands, the covenant with Abraham, the law at Sinai, the promise of Canaan, are the principal topics from which the Apostle Paul argues in this letter." Campbell illustrated the Spirit as busy at work in both the Old and New Testaments but as silent for the rest of history.

⁷⁹ Campbell, *Debate on the Evidences of Christianity*, 92.

⁸⁰ Campbell, *Delusions*, 6; "Since the Millennium and the evils of sectarianism have been the subjects of much speaking and writing, impostors have been numerous....The shakers...the Barkers, Jumpers, and Mutterers of the present age."

⁸¹ Campbell and Pendleton, "Gift of the Holy Spirit—no 2," *Millennial Harbinger* (1834): 217. Campbell continued, "No one person, it appears, possessed the Holy Spirit himself without measure. The Head of the Church had this pre-eminence" (ibid., 218). When the Spirit was received "by measure," Campbell meant the whole extent of the Spirit, including the gifts of the Spirit and the gift of infallibility.

world were fanatics.⁸² Perhaps he felt that any spiritual displays outside of the biblical age diminished the special and sacred nature of scripture. From his perspective of God's order, avoiding charismatic gifts of the Spirit avoided all unpredictable expressions of the Spirit. He condemned all impulsive and irrational spiritual manifestations of the Second Great Awakening—including barking, jumping, screaming, fainting, and carrying on in an uncivilized manner.⁸³ He also denounced “living prophets” who claimed the anointing of the Holy Spirit. He asserted that since the apostolic age, “there has been no *substantive*, abstract and literal communication of the Holy Spirit to any man. . . . There has arisen no prophet, no originator of new ideas, no worker of miracles, no controller of nature's laws, no person having any manifestation of the Spirit, or showing any divine power among men.”⁸⁴ Whatever his motivating causes were, Campbell carefully remained on logically safe ground by corralling all legitimate expressions of spiritual gifts in the Bible.

Fruits of the Spirit replace Gifts of the Spirit. In the post-biblical world, Campbell believed the Spirit was manifest in the “fruits of the Spirit.” Ephesians 5:18-19 and Colossians 3:16 authorized wisdom, teaching, and admonition as the Spirit's fruits. These positive sensations of the Spirit could demonstrate their witness in a peaceful manner,

⁸² In an attack against Joseph Smith's claims to receive revelation and the gifts of the Spirit, Campbell denounced “That fanaticism is a mental distemper, more incurable than the leprosy. And, that the more glaring and shameless the absurdity, the more determined and irreclaimable its dupes.” Campbell, “Mormonism Unveiled,” *Millennial Harbinger*, 6 (Jan 1835): 44.

⁸³ The Second Great Awakening is known for diverse expressions attributed to the Spirit's intervention. The major theologian of the eighteenth century, Jonathan Edwards, sought an experiential religion, but he did not go as far as seeking for the gifts of the Spirit. Instead, Edwards promoted the “gracious spirit” like the gift of charity: “extraordinary gifts of the Spirit are inferior to Graces of the Spirit.” Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards: Sermons and Discourses 1743-1458*, vol. 25, Wilson H. Kimnach, ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 275. Nathan Hatch summarized Jonathan Edwards's attempts to curb the “enthusiasm by proclaiming that holiness and love are better proofs of conversion than are the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit.” Nathan Hatch, Harry Stout, eds., *Jonathan Edwards and the American Experience* (New York City, NY: Oxford Press, 1988), 181. Similar to Campbell, Edwards believed that revelation and miracles were evident only in the primitive church.

⁸⁴ Campbell and Pendleton, “The Gift of the Spirit—no. 5,” *Millennial Harbinger*, 5 (1834): 378.

such as praying or singing a hymn.⁸⁵ Calm, worshipful expression helped maintain an orderly approach to the influence of the Spirit. At the heart of his concerns about the gifts of the Spirit, Campbell needed the Spirit to manifest order, not chaos.⁸⁶ Campbell's interpretation also safeguarded the distinctive overt demonstrations of the Spirit in the Bible by honoring them as irreplaceable.

4) A Rational Conversion through Accepting the Bible

In Campbell's pneumatology, a conversion of one's mind to the truth must precede the witness of the Spirit.⁸⁷ He felt strongly that the Bible was sensible enough—that all believing and faithful minds could rationally see its truths. In his preface to the New Testament Commentary, Campbell admonished his audience to appreciate the Bible's power to convert the rational mind:

Reader! This is . . . designed to accomplish an object superlatively grand, transcending—in degrees inexpressible—the most magnificent scheme that created intelligence ever conceived. To convert a race of polluted, miserable, and dying mortals, into pure, happy, and glorious immortals . . . Yes! this is the benevolent and glorious design of these Testimonies. Books, written with such a design, with a design to purify, elevate, and glorify the debased and degraded children of men. And the bare hypothesis, to say nothing of the moral certainty, that they came from God, with such a design, methinks, is quite enough to woo our whole rational nature, to constrain all our moral powers, to test their high pretensions to a character so philanthropic and divine . . . fired with God's own inspiration.⁸⁸

In Campbell's flowery invitation to study the Bible, he empowered the Bible to “woo our whole rational nature” to convert mortals to believe in God. He explained the Bible's sacred origin that called for “attention and examination” which in turn would work on the

⁸⁵ Ibid., 367. Campbell interpreted the phrases: “‘Being filled with the Spirit,’ and ‘Having the word of Christ dwelling richly in the heart,’ . . . by the same injunction to sing psalms, hymns and spiritual songs, with grateful hearts to the Lord.”

⁸⁶ I did not find Campbell ever quoting 1 Cor 14:26-40 on the need for order, but it certainly fit his doctrine.

⁸⁷ Richardson, *Memoirs*, 2.19. In Campbell's sixth “Article of Faith” he emphasized: “I believe in the operation of the Holy Spirit through the Word, but not without it in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner.”

⁸⁸ Campbell, *Sacred Writings*, xxiii.

rational mind to convert them to their God.⁸⁹ Once that rational step was taken, he believed that fallen man was elevated. For Campbell, conversion was a rational, step-by-step process, not a Spirit-filled leap. He taught that the Spirit functioned only in obedient, converted Christians—not in sinners who sought a spiritual witness as their conversion.

Conversion of the Gentiles through the Spirit's adoption. As part of the Spirit's work, Campbell included "adoption" as described in the Bible (Rom 8:15; 9:4; Gal 4:5; Eph 1:5). He highlighted the Spirit's role as the adoption agent for gentiles to enter the fold of God: "The Gentiles, who believed [Paul's] message, were sealed by the same Holy Spirit which was promised by the Jewish Prophets; which was to them who did not believe, an evidence of the truth; and in them who believed, a confirmation that the Gentiles were now become the people of God."⁹⁰ Campbell understood the biblical account of the Spirit's role in adoption to act as a bridge to the modern world. The Spirit "adopted" or witnessed to believers even in his day. Campbell's crucial distinction was the timing. The Spirit witnessed only within clean vessels, so people must believe and repent before a witness of the Spirit adopted them as "people of God."

The Spirit does not Prepare one for Conversion. Unlike many revivalists and evangelists, Campbell did not agree that the Holy Spirit conditioned one to receive

⁸⁹ Ibid.; "... to prepare, furnish, and adorn them for the society of principalities and powers, for the society of their God and King, in a world of perfect bliss, most assuredly, comes with a Divine character to man. Their claims on the attention and examination of those to whom they are presented, most certainly, are paramount to all others."

⁹⁰ Ibid., xlix. Campbell quoted Adam Clarke's (1762-1832) commentary which was the most famous early nineteenth-century Methodist Bible commentary. Campbell also discussed spiritual adoption in an 1833 editorial: "Christians Jews, and Gentiles were *sealed* by the Holy Spirit; i.e. the attestations given by the Spirit to Jesus and the Apostles, were the *seal* of their divine mission." Campbell, "Biblical Criticism no. 2: The foundation of God," *The Millennial Harbinger*, 4 (Jan, 1833): 7.

Christianity. Campbell's contemporaries labeled him as a "head religion" preacher.⁹¹ But to him it made no sense for the Holy Ghost to witness truths to a sinful, unconverted soul:

Every man who supposes he was converted to God by the literal descent of the Holy Spirit, or by its naked influence upon his spirit, is as certainly deluded. . . . Nay, it is positively and repeatedly taught there that 'the world,' or unconverted men, 'cannot receive the Holy Spirit;' and *it is never promised but to them who believe.*⁹²

However, when Campbell addressed the question of whether the Holy Spirit could play any part in the conversion process, he responded by quoting scriptures: "No man can say that Jesus is Lord but by the Holy Spirit." Then he quickly followed with, "It is only after conversion that Christ proposes to put his Holy Spirit within us, to furnish us for the good fight of faith, and to anoint us as the sons and heirs of God."⁹³ Campbell must have sensed this apparent incongruity between the Bible and his beliefs. He attempted to teach that the Spirit's anointing or witness came only to those who obediently accepted the Bible—by virtue of a rational decision—but he fell short of reconciling this biblical contradiction. Nevertheless, he insisted that a rational conversion followed by repentance conditioned one for receiving the Spirit. And for Campbell, every person who had the divinely-appointed opportunity to read the Bible could experience a rational conversion or else suffer the damning consequence of negligence.⁹⁴ The Bible, not the Spirit prepared one for conversion in his eyes.

⁹¹ Eames, *Philosophy of Campbell*, 47.

⁹² Alexander Campbell, "Letter from R. B. Semple, no. III. Rebuttal." *Millennial Harbinger*, 2.5 (May 4, 1831): 197-202. This quote is preceded by Campbell's attack on Calvinism: "If salvation were proposed to mankind upon condition that they must believe that they can do nothing, and that 'the Holy Ghost' will when he pleases, and not till then, fall down upon them and make them new creatures by convincing them of sin, righteousness, and judgment, these notions could not be more frequently asserted, more zealously propounded, nor more strenuously defended by those who claim to be evangelical preachers, nor more greedily devoured by their deluded admirers—I say, *deluded*" (italics original).

⁹³ Campbell, *Christian System*, 64.

⁹⁴ Alexander Campbell, *Views of Mr. Alexander Campbell Concerning the Doctrines of Election and Reprobation, as Embodied in the circular letter addressed to the churches in connection with the Redstone Baptist Association in 1817* (Fulton, MO: T. L. Stephens, 1856), 19. Conversion was a rational choice, but Campbell believed that God expected those who had access to the Bible to believe it or be damned: "All that

Opponents accused Campbell of denying a “spiritual regeneration,” or “the direct operation of the Holy Spirit” in conversion.⁹⁵ But Campbell felt it unreasonable for the Spirit to enter into an unclean heart. He felt the truths of the gospel as taught in the Bible should spark change and belief by intellectual perception:

Some mystics in ancient times, and some of the moderns yet affirm . . . the infusion of the Holy Spirit into the hearts of disciples as the . . . [biblical] *demonstration of the Spirit* which enables men to believe. But this is as unreasonable as it is unscriptural: *unreasonable* because no such inspiration, no invisible, inaudible, or insensible operation or effect can be called a *demonstration of the Spirit* on which faith rests—none of the terms used by the Apostle can bear such an exposition. And it is *unscriptural*, for none of the converts to Christianity in the New Testament are represented as converted but by *what they saw and heard*; and the Spirit of Holiness was a gift promised to them, and to them only who believe.⁹⁶

In short, Campbell believed the Spirit worked in sanctification, not in the initial conversion. A rational belief, repentance, and obedience must pave the way for witnesses of the Spirit in Campbell’s pneumatology.⁹⁷ He further argued that the joy of conversion was impossible without obedience to biblical commandments: “If any man can make himself happy, from any supposed change of heart, before he has obeyed the gospel, he deludes himself. 'Tis only by obeying the truth that any man can be sanctified and

have the bible, then, possess it in consequence of a sovereign decree . . . and by the commandment of the Everlasting Father, it is to be preached to all nations, and to all men, where it comes, for the obedience of faith; and all are assured, that whosoever believes it shall be saved, and he that rejects it shall be damned.”

⁹⁵ Campbell, “Letter-Rebuttal,” *Millennial Harbinger*, 2 (May, 1831): 197-202. Another section quoting Bishop Semple reads, “Many excellent essays have been written by my friends against your most obnoxious doctrine of baptismal regeneration and the denial of the direct operation of the Holy Spirit. Much was said on the contrary by you and your friends, stating that you aggrandize the scriptures, that the word, the word was sufficient of itself, that the Spirit was in the word, &c. exhorting them to read the scriptures, and depend upon nothing else. The impression went abroad very extensively, that you were almost exclusively an advocate for the Bible. This I have known, or fully believed, for you was so far from being correct, that instead of it you had done as much towards weakening the authority of the Bible as you had to invalidate the doctrine of Spiritual Regeneration. No attempt having been made, within my knowledge, to correct this most deadly course, I am forward to invite attention to the subject. Here I think is a fair statement of the case” (ibid., 194).

⁹⁶ Campbell, “The Confirmation of the Testimony,” *The Millennial Harbinger*, 1 (January 4, 1830).

⁹⁷ Campbell and Pendleton, “Letter-Rebuttal,” *Millennial Harbinger*, 2.211: “Every man who supposes he was converted to God by the literal descent of the Holy Spirit, or by its naked influence upon his spirit, is as certainly deluded. . . . Unconverted men, ‘cannot receive the Holy Spirit;’ and *it is never promised but to them who believe*”(italics original).

comforted by it.”⁹⁸ Campbell’s reasonable approach called for belief and obedience before the Spirit could work.

An Orderly Approach to Conversion. Even as a young minister, Campbell taught that there was a logical order to feeling the Spirit: 1) reason, 2) belief, 3) obedience, and 4) a witness of the Spirit through the Bible. For him, it was imperative for a logical belief to precede a spiritual witness. In 1817 he explained in a circular: “All the panaceas contained in it [the Bible] are addressed to men as believers and not as unbelievers of it.”⁹⁹ The Spirit’s healing peace nurtured only pious believers when reading the Bible, not unrepentant readers. When preaching to unbelievers, Campbell found it best to simply teach “truth with its evidence, or the gospel well authenticated.”¹⁰⁰ By presenting undeniable biblical evidence, he believed that his audience could make logical conclusions that would motivate belief, conviction, repentance, obedience, and at last, the fruits of the Spirit.

When seeking “well authenticated” biblical truths, Campbell warned his fellow preachers and readers to carefully incorporate all of the biblical texts—not isolate sections—and to keep doctrines in their context.¹⁰¹ He blamed those who altered scripture as causing disunity within Christianity: “If I am not greatly mistaken . . . the transposition of, and mingling the terms of the Holy Spirit with those of human contrivance, is the only cause why all who love the same Saviour are disunited.”¹⁰² If Christian belief is to be

⁹⁸ Ibid. Campbell’s quote continued, “The story told by some of their happiness before obedience, is to me as wild and incredible as the story of the Phenix [*sic*] clapping its wings over dried sticks until it sets them on fire.”

⁹⁹ Campbell, *Election*, 19.

¹⁰⁰ Campbell, “Queries Answered: Open Communion,” *Christian Baptist*, 6 (Aug, 1828): 529.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. Campbell taught the Holy Spirit was not found when “we take those terms out of their scriptural connexions [*sic*], and either transpose them in place, or confound them with terms not in the book” (312)

¹⁰² Ibid., 312.

unified, the scriptures must be understood in their pure primitive form. Then, and only then, could the scriptures condition one for conversion.

Campbell distinguished *comprehending* the scriptures from benefitting from them. He felt that one can “profit from the scriptures” only after one has reasoned them, been rationally converted, and lives a pious life; then the Spirit could teach the believing reader, and the Bible could become spiritually rewarding.¹⁰³ “No man can profit from the scriptures, but as he is taught by the Spirit which indicted them.”¹⁰⁴ Campbell did not offer details on how to recognize the Spirit when studying the Bible; instead, he emphasized that the Spirit’s inspiration was needed to effectually study the Bible: “When the Holy Spirit accompanies this word, then, and then only, is it effectual.”¹⁰⁵ For Campbell, the Spirit’s influence in post-biblical generations was a powerful source if, and only if, a rationally believing, obedient disciple sought it in an orderly manner through the Bible study, prayer, or communion.

5) The Spirit’s Sanctification

Sanctification and Prayer. Campbell was not a pure rationalist; he believed in sanctification by the Spirit. For him, sanctification was “a progressive work in the soul, a work by which our whole moral being is conformed more and more to Christ.”¹⁰⁶ One way Campbell believed one could foster the Spirit’s sanctification was through sanctifying prayers which blessed the lives of obedient and converted Christians in the

¹⁰³ Campbell, *Election*, 18. He saw “the Spirit as the source of salvation,” and the “gift of the Spirit is as sovereign as the sending of Christ into the world. So, then, if there be no revelation, there are no means of salvation. From this it appears obvious ‘that none but those born from above, can use the means of salvation, and such only are exhorted to work out their own salvation with fear and trembling.’”

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 19.

¹⁰⁶ Joseph King, “Sanctification,” *Millennial Harbinger*, 37 (Aug. 1866): 420. This quote is published by Campbell, but originally given by Joseph King and continues, “a work that is perfected only through time, and by the diligent use of all divinely appointed means.”

post-biblical world.¹⁰⁷ Campbell taught his readers that sanctification was a process that required sincere prayer. In 1834 he discussed the need for human effort along with the Spirit's work of sanctification or holiness: "God has chosen men to salvation through (or by) holiness of spirit; not through the holiness of his Spirit, but through the holiness of their spirit."¹⁰⁸ Initially he highlighted human accountability as part of the work of salvation. But by 1866, his pneumatology had developed to the point where he chose to emphasize the Holy Spirit's work; "God gives the **Holy Spirit** to them who **ask** him; and without this gift no one could be saved or ultimately triumph over all opposition."¹⁰⁹ This is a strong statement in favor of the Spirit blessing seekers, but Campbell did not elaborate on it. Instead, his next phrase returned to human accountability and admonished his readers to pray always and fervently:

Hence, the necessity of 'supplications, deprecations, intercessions and thanksgivings.' Of **praying always**, with all **prayer**, and **supplication** in the **Holy Spirit**, and watching thereunto with all perseverance, and of making **supplication** for all saints, our fellow-soldiers in this good warfare.¹¹⁰

Campbell's call to "pray always" included supplicating God for the Spirit's sanctification. His context suggests that he promoted sincere prayers of gratitude and supplication in behalf of "our fellow-soldiers" as the means for receiving the Spirit and thereby salvation.

Campbell believed that through sincere prayer, one assisted the Spirit's sanctification. He knew full well that sanctification came from the Spirit—one could

¹⁰⁷ Campbell and Pendleton, "Gift of the Holy Spirit—no.7," *Millennial Harbinger*, 5 (Nov. 1834): 570: "A sanctified unbeliever is inconceivable; and, as 'without holiness [or sanctification of spirit] no man can see the Lord;' so, without faith, there can be no holiness, and no action acceptable to God."

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Campbell and Pendleton "Letter from the Senior Editor," *Millennial Harbinger*, 7 (Mar. 1858): 216 (bold emphasis original). Campbell again emphasized the saving nature of the Spirit; the Holy Spirit "works in us, and by us, and for us, all that is needful to our present, spiritual, and eternal salvation." Campbell, *Christian System*, 70.

¹¹⁰ Campbell, *Christian System*, 70 (emphasis original).

not bring about one's own sanctification. That did not negate the fact that Christians could cultivate the Spirit's sanctification through prayer. Campbell surmised that no one could be saved without first personal purification followed by the Spirit's sanctification. He taught that prayer fostered both steps, and the further Christians developed in the process of sanctification, the more they enjoyed the "renewing of the Holy Spirit."¹¹¹

To avoid the flood gates of modern claims to spiritual experiences and personal revelation in the Second Great Awakening, Campbell cautiously reined in prayer to exclude verbal answers or signs. In 1831 he identified appropriate communication with God and warned his audience that if one prayed "to find signs and omens [one] will soon find enough of them. He that expects visits from angels will find them as abundant as he who in the age of witchcraft found a witch in every unseemly old woman."¹¹² Campbell thought that seeking visible signs was a dangerously unsuitable purpose for prayer. In his sixteen paged article *Delusions*, he indicated another restraint on prayers.¹¹³ He distrusted those who heard God's voice or the Spirit in answer to their prayers: "I would ask them how they knew that it was God's voice which they heard—but they would tell me to ask God in faith. THAT IS, I MUST BELIEVE IT FIRST,

¹¹¹ One of the most accepting editorials Campbell writes on spiritual manifestations is his article "*Earnest of the Spirit*." He addresses the work of the Spirit in sanctification from the scriptural concepts of adoption, becoming sons of God, sealing, anointing of the Spirit. *Millennial Harbinger*, 5 (June, 1834): 277-280.

¹¹² Campbell, "Sydney Rigdon," *Millennial Harbinger*, 2 (Feb, 1831): 101. He saw Sydney Rigdon (and others) falling "into a snare of the Devil by joining the Mormonites" (100).

¹¹³ Allen and Leonard, *Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 80. "Others joined the [anti-Mormon] chorus, but none so intensively as the Campbellites. The *Millennial Harbinger*, issued as the voice of this movement, denounced the Prophet as an imposter. This, of course, is understandable, for so many Campbellites were being converted to Mormonism that it threatened that movement's stronghold in Ohio. Alexander Campbell's sixteen-page *Delusions* directly challenged the Book of Mormon as scripture. It became the first of a steady stream of anti-Mormon books and pamphlets issued from the Campbellite press."

AND THEN ASK GOD IF IT BE TRUE!”¹¹⁴ This apparent contradiction was utterly ridiculous to him. Rather than hearing a voice, one should feel peace and comfort which witnessed salvation to the faithful.¹¹⁵ Campbell was a praying man, but he believed that God communicated within the realm of order.¹¹⁶ He authorized only regulated responses to prayer to avoid the chaotic nature of some spiritual responses.

Sanctification Greater than Conversion. Rather than emphasizing the Spirit’s work in conversion, Campbell felt the Spirit’s great work came “in sanctification.”¹¹⁷ Self-consecration brought divine sanctification.¹¹⁸ Campbell believed all Christians had the “duty” to seek sanctification or holiness and thereby become “temples of the Holy Spirit”:

It is the duty and the work of Christians, “to perfect holiness in the fear of the Lord.” . . . The Holy Spirit is, then, the author of our holiness; and in the struggle after victory over sin and temptation, ‘it helps our infirmities,’ and comforts us by seasonably bringing to our remembrance the promises of Christ. . . . Christians are, therefore, clearly and unequivocally temples of the Holy Spirit; and they are quickened, animated, encouraged, and sanctified by the power and influence of the Spirit of God, working in them through the truth.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ Campbell, *Delusions*, 15 [emphasis original]. Interestingly Campbell’s warnings were both given shortly after losing several followers to the visionary Mormons, who believed in several forms of personal inspiration.

¹¹⁵ Campbell and Pendleton, “Letter-Rebuttal,” *Millennial Harbinger*, 2 (1831): 211; “In the rage [of] sectarian proselytism, ‘the Holy Ghost’ is an admirable contrivance. Every qualm of conscience, every new motion of the heart, every strange feeling or thrill—all doubts, fears, despondencies . . . are the work of this Holy Ghost. The Holy Spirit is equivalent to the Spirit of holiness and its fruits are all goodness, gentleness, purity, peace, and joy, &c. But not so the fruits of this evangelical Holy Ghost.”

¹¹⁶ Campbell’s family held private devotionals that included prayer. His biographer Jorgenson claimed that he cultivated his “public prayer as an art” and made numerous references to prayer in the *Millennial Harbinger*. Jorgenson, *Roots in the Stone-Campbell*, 239.

¹¹⁷ Alexander Campbell, *Christian Baptism with its Antecedents and Consequents* (London: Arthur Hall Virtue and Co, 1853), 285-286. In book five, “Consequents of Baptism,” Campbell addresses sanctification as the end result of conversion: “Sanctification is the act of separating a person from a common to a special and spiritual use. . . . In the following chapter on sanctification, we have dilated . . . the whole subject of spiritual influence, in illumination and conversion, as terminating in sanctification. . . . The Holy Spirit . . . is the personal agent and author.” Campbell never states that conversion starts with the Spirit’s work as this might sound, but in the full context of his writings, he consistently preaches that the order of the Spirit’s illumination follows a rational belief and repentance.

¹¹⁸ Campbell, *Christian Baptism with its Antecedents and Consequents*, 286.

¹¹⁹ Campbell, *Christian System*, 66.

Again, Campbell limited the timing of the Spirit's work until after one overcame "sin and temptation." Then, in turn, the Spirit's sanctification comforted, "animated, encouraged, and sanctified." He accredited sincere prayer as fostering this glorious sanctification of the Spirit.

Sanctification and the Bible. Sanctification came after "believing the truth," which Campbell narrowed to biblical truths:¹²⁰ "In conversion and sanctification, the Holy Spirit operates only through the Word of Truth."¹²¹ In 1827, the preface to his New Testament commentary clarified his position:

He who sincerely desires to understand these narratives, will not only most unfeignedly [*sic*] present his supplications and prayers to him who gives his Holy Spirit to them that ask him; but he will exercise those faculties of understanding which God has given him, and to which he has adapted all his communications, since man became a transgressor.¹²²

His phrase—the "faculties of understanding"—refers to God bestowing the gift of reason on his creatures. Campbell understood that God "adapted" His communication with fallen man to human reason. Therefore, when reading the Bible, Christians must exert both reason and prayer to receive sanctification. In other words, Campbell felt that only with the Spirit could a reader appreciate the Bible at its fullest.

Campbell understood the biblical passages on the Spirit's sanctification as the bridge between the primitive and modern churches. When he discussed praying "in the Spirit" from Ephesians 6:18 ("Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit"), Campbell struggled to harmonize the Spirit-filled-prayers of the Apostolic church with modern efforts:

¹²⁰ Campbell, *Christian Baptism*, 304. "I shall conclude this little summary . . . 'Sanctify them through the Truth, O Father, for thy Word is the truth.'"

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 291.

¹²² Campbell, *Sacred Writings*, xxii.

If such petitions were necessary in the age of spiritual gifts, they are no less so in the present time; and that the Spirit of God does in some way by faith work in men both to will and to do, and that he does and may do for us above all that we ask or think, is not to be questioned, if Paul in this passage is to be understood according to what we call common sense.¹²³

Campbell's "common sense" brought him to harmonize the primitive and modern church's use of the Spirit through the doctrine of sanctification. He explained, "The Spirit of God does influence believers, or work in their hearts, to think, will, and do, according to the good pleasure of God . . . a proposition that no person, who has paid an ordinary attention to the writings of the Apostles and Prophets, can reasonably deny."¹²⁴ He resolved his struggle between biblical and contemporary manifestations of the Spirit through a sensible and biblical definition of "sanctification of the Spirit" (2 Thes 2:13; 1 Pet 1:2).¹²⁵

6) The Spirit of Communion

Following a rational conversion and sanctification of the Spirit, the final step in Campbell's pneumatology—and the noblest experience of all—was the "communion of the Holy Ghost." He identified a glorious union of fellowship when the Spirit communes with believers' hearts.¹²⁶ He turned to 2 Corinthians 13:14 and Philippians 2:1 where the biblical term *koinonia* or communion is defined as "fellowship, joint participation."¹²⁷ In

¹²³ Campbell and Pendleton, "The Gift of the Holy Spirit—no. 7," *Millennial Harbinger*, 5 (Nov, 1834): 567.

¹²⁴ Campbell and Pendleton, "The Gift of the Holy Spirit—no. 6" *Millennial Harbinger*, 5 (Oct, 1834): 508.

¹²⁵ Ibid., "The Gift of the Holy Spirit—no. 7," 570, Sanctification of the Spirit is taken from II Thess. ii. 13; I. Pet. I. 2. "The original phrase is *hagiasmos pneumatos* . . . appears to refer to the sanctification of the spirit of believers. It is literally rendered 'sanctification [or holiness] of spirit.' There is no article in the original and no epithet that suggests the Holy Spirit in either passage."

¹²⁶ Ibid., 569 "The best definition of the word *communion* which I can give, is, *union in that which is common*. Whenever there is union in common there is communion. . . . The Spirit of God is frequently denominated in those days, '*the Sanctifier*.' Let it be granted that it is the Spirit that sanctifies or separates men to God. Still it must be argued from the Record that he sanctifies them only through the truth or gospel believed" (ibid., 569-570).

¹²⁷ Ibid., 568. "We have this word twenty times from the day of Pentecost to the close of the Epistles. . . . We have the communion of the Father, the communion of the Son, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, or the fellowship of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit; for it is the same term uniformly in the passages quoted.

his encyclopedia-styled *Christian System*, he expanded on the role of the Spirit in communion: “‘Jehovah lift up his countenance upon thee and give thee peace’ corresponds to ‘the communion of the Spirit.’”¹²⁸ Campbell identified God’s personal attention with the Spirit’s communion.

This blessed union with the Spirit was not limited to the apostolic age; Campbell felt it was still reasonable, honorable, and promised in the Bible:

There is also as much reason, and scripture, and honor in being immersed into the Holy Spirit, as into the name of the Lord Jesus. Should any one think that the communion of the Holy Spirit has ceased, he may as well imagine that the love of God has ceased and that the favor of Jesus Christ is extinct. If he can not comprehend the one, he can not comprehend the other. But as we are immersed into the name of the Holy Spirit, we must look for and constantly expect the communion of that Spirit, as well as the love of God and the favor of Jesus Christ our Lord.¹²⁹

Even though Campbell shied away from demonstrable gifts of the Spirit, he did not shy away from encouraging his converts to feel God’s love through communion of the Spirit. Within the bounds already established, he reasoned that modern disciples should seek for and expect this unifying gift of the Spirit.

Campbell clung to the biblical promise that the Spirit of communion is available to all “members of the body of Christ” or disciples. (In this respect, he denied the Calvinistic doctrine of election.) After quoting the Bible’s open invitation for all pure in heart to receive the Spirit’s communion (“the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all” 2 Cor 13:14), he taught that modern saints could find this same blessing by applying the scriptural words:

The communion of saints; of the blood of Christ; of the body of Christ, denote their joint participation of the influence, presence, and comforts of the good Spirit of God.”

¹²⁸ Campbell, *Christian System*, 25. It is unclear whether Campbell identified the Jehovah of the Old Testament as the Spirit of the New Testament.

¹²⁹ Campbell and Pendleton, “The Gift of the Holy Spirit—no. 7,” *Millennial Harbinger*, 5 (Nov, 1834): 569.

There is suggested in this phrase a participation of the Holy Spirit *common* to all the members of the body of Christ. It is not some gift or special influence of the Spirit, imparted only to a few; but that fellowship of the Spirit which, under Christ, is common to the many—to all the family of God—of which the Apostle spoke.¹³⁰

Campbell taught that all righteous converts to the Bible who felt the Spirit's sanctification through prayer, at the pinnacle of worship, could commune with the Holy Spirit.

Conclusion

As a figure of Enlightenment thinking, Alexander Campbell maintained a rational vision of the Bible and sought to uncover the primitive church through reason and logic. He envisioned unifying Christianity by appealing to the intellect. Even in pneumatology, he hoped to merge the diverse manifestations of the Spirit into a harmonious, orderly alliance through communion with the Spirit. In contrast to the emotionally-charged revivals of the era, he felt the most reasonable workings of the Holy Spirit came through the Bible, prayer, sanctification, and communion. In his mind, modern Christianity did not share the ancient church's endowment of the charismatic gifts of the Spirit. Only during the age of the Apostles—which he referred to as the age of the Holy Spirit—were all of the gifts of the Spirit evident.

Campbell completely trusted the Holy Spirit's work within the Bible, but he did not trust visible or verbal influences of the Spirit outside of the holy book. Since the apostolic day, only the fruits of the Spirit extended to believers who found inspiration within the sanctifying prayer and the Spirit communion. He used biblical examples of the miraculous gifts of the Spirit as witnesses of God's power to the rational mind. When Campbell wrote about conversion, it was always tied to reasonable thought. He was an evidentiary theologian—focused on evidences from the Bible to convict and convert one to the truth.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

Campbell argued that all faithful, repentant Christians could rationally accept these biblical truths, be converted, and finally, through the process of sanctification, enjoy the peace of the Spirit's communion.

Chapter 4

Charles Hodge (1797-1878)

Charles Hodge is arguably the greatest nineteenth-century conservative Presbyterian theologian.¹ On a spectrum of early nineteenth-century Christian pneumatology, he lies at the opposite extreme of Joseph Smith and far removed from Charles Finney and Peter Cartwright. Their fundamental differences centered on who held responsibility for the Spirit's intervention—God or man. Hodge taught that man should passively wait for God to bless His elect spiritually, while the other three men believed that humanity had the ability to seek the Spirit actively. The implications of this discrepancy affected multiple layers of doctrines. Hodge and Campbell overlapped on a few pneumatological points (like emphasizing a lack of apostolic authority; therefore, no one received new revelations and the charismatic gifts of the Spirit); nevertheless, these two men differed dramatically in other areas, especially when it came to Christian creeds—Campbell attacked them while Hodge defended them.

In this study, Hodge represents the Old School reformed traditional thought of Calvinism, the religion of New England's founders, including Joseph Smith's paternal ancestors, mother, and maternal grandmother. For fifty-six years Hodge propagated orthodox Calvinism from Princeton—the “citadel of Reformed theology.”² His influence

¹ The first biography on Charles Hodge was written by his son, Archibald Alexander Hodge: *The Life of Charles Hodge* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1880); more recent efforts include Joseph Triebwasser, *Charles Hodge: An Intellectual Biography* (Boston, MA: Harvard University, 1981); Peter Hicks, *The Philosophy of Charles Hodge: A 19th Century Evangelical Approach to Reason, Knowledge and Truth* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1997); John W. Steward and James H. Moorhead, *Charles Hodge Revisited: A Critical Appraisal of his Life and Work* (Grand Rapids, MI: W. B. Eerdmans, 2002).

² Glenn Hewitt, *Regeneration and Morality*, 53. Holifield emphasized the profound influence Hodge played in nineteenth century theology. He reported an 1879 survey of American colleges and universities that showed “students often learned more the theology of . . . Charles Hodge than about Plato and Kant. The older theologies proved even more tenacious in churches and seminaries . . . Old School Presbyterian theology, only slightly revised, retained a hold at Princeton Seminary until the early 1920s and . . . a

extended beyond his students through his extensive writings. His textbooks dominated Presbyterian theological education until the 1930s. His writings honor the Spirit and its diverse influences, although few biographers have looked at his pneumatology.³ Hodge believed the Spirit was a personage in the Trinity who intervened in the lives of the elect without regard to human effort. He taught that the Spirit blessed those chosen few through regeneration and sanctification. We best understand Hodge's pneumatological loyalty to the traditional creeds by first appreciating his upbringing and then studying his writings on the Spirit.

Biographical Sketch

Dr. Hugh Hodge and March Blanchard of Philadelphia welcomed their fifth child, Charles, on December 27, 1797. But Charles never remembered his father, he died when Charles was only six months old, leaving the family with a small endowment, which vanished quickly.⁴ In 1812, to further her two remaining sons' education, the widow followed their Philadelphia minister, Ashbel Green, to his new position as president of the College of New Jersey (later renamed, Princeton University). Charles entered the college that same year at the age of fourteen. From that point on, except for two sabbaticals, Hodge was affiliated with Princeton. He developed a filial loyalty to Princeton. Reverend Green directed him in classes (on the *Westminster Catechism*, piety, physical science, philosophy, and common sense realism), which had a lasting effect on his lifetime adherence to the *Westminster Confession*.

traditional Calvinist theology continued to prevail even after that in many other Reformed seminaries, colleges, and churches, especially in the South and Midwest" (Holifield, *Theology in America*, 508).

³ Glenn Hewitt studied the Spirit's work in regeneration from Hodge's perspective in *Regeneration and Morality*.

⁴ Garraty and Carnes, *American National Biography*, 10:907-909; Robert Benedetto, Darrel Guder, Donald K. McKim, *Historical Dictionary of Reformed Churches* (Lanham, MD, and London: Scarecrow Press, 1999), 133-134. See Appendix 1 for chronology of Hodge's life and major works. The Hugh Hodge endowment was lost in part to the aggressive tax changes enacted by President Thomas Jefferson.

During Hodge's third winter at college, he became caught up in a large-scale revival and joined the Presbyterian Church on January 13, 1815. A year after his graduation in September 1815, he entered the Princeton Seminary. There, the impressionable youth found a new mentor and father figure, Archibald Alexander (1772-1851) and adopted his teacher's devotion to the Reformed tradition.⁵ Hodge intensified his study of piety and common sense reasoning, and began studying Greek, biblical exegesis, and seventeenth-century Calvinist scholastic theology. Upon his graduation in 1819, he received an invitation to return and teach biblical languages. Before accepting the post, he studied Hebrew privately in Philadelphia for a year and was licensed to preach by the Presbyterian Church in October 1819.⁶

For the next fifty-six years, Hodge acted as an instructor at Princeton. He taught oriental and biblical literature for twenty years and then exegetical and didactic theology from 1840 to 1878. Throughout his tenure, three-thousand seminarians came under his tutelage. Early in his career, from 1826 to 1828, Hodge took a sabbatical to study theology in Paris, Halle, and Berlin. Studying abroad distinguished him as one of the few American theologians with a graduate-level European education. It also set him apart from the other four theologians in this study as a representative of the educated elite. He knew of the

⁵ Initially, Hodge wanted to go directly from his undergraduate studies into the seminary, but his mother counseled him to take a year off. During that year on July 27, 1816, he wrote her and explained his feelings about entering the seminary, "I feel, my dear mother, fully sensible that the present is one of the most important periods of my life, viewing it as one in which the choice of a profession is to be made. . . . I feel that it is the only one in which I could be happy, believing it to be the path of my duty" (A. A. Hodge, *Life*, 41). He continued to explain that he was eager to get back to his studies, even though he felt it would be a life-long pursuit. "A year has passed, and I feel anxious to be engaged in serious study, fearing that if kept back for another year, the time will be even worse than lost. . . . The acquisition of this kind of knowledge must be the gradual and secondary work of the whole life, rather than the main object of any particular period" (ibid., 42).

⁶ Garraty and Carnes, *American National Biography*, 10.907. The attachment between Hodge and Archibald Alexander was so great that Hodge named his first son after him. Hodge's two sabbaticals included 1819-1820 to study Hebrew and tour New England, and from 1826-1828 to tour Europe and study French, Arabic, Syriac, and German. During his two tours he interacted with several leading minds of the age: Nathaniel Taylor of Yale, Moses Stuart of Andover, and Friedrich Schleiermacher of Berlin. A. A. Hodge, *Life*, 128.

liberal developments in German critical scholarship and the arguments between different doctrinal perspectives. But through all of his studies, he was not dissuaded from his Old School Presbyterianism. In fact, he held more tenaciously to his youthful traditions as time went on.

Two years after he began teaching, in June of 1822, Hodge married Sarah Bache. He was known as a devoted husband and father to his eight children who survived infancy. After twenty-seven years of marriage Sarah died, and in 1852 Hodge married Widow Mary Hunter. Family life was very important to him, and he incorporated an expanding circle of loved ones. In addition to their own children, the Hodge household included several extended relatives and charity cases. His grandson remembered him as “sunny, genial, kindly and tolerant . . . He stands in my memory as the ideal of a perfect saint and gentleman.”⁷

Second to his devotion to his family and teaching, Hodge loved to write. In 1822, a month before he was first married, Hodge published the first edition of the *Princeton Review* to defend confessional Presbyterianism. A remarkably prolific writer, he generated 142 essays as well as many books. He wrote his magnum opus from 1870 to 1873, a three volume work entitled *Systematic Theology*. This tome epitomized his concept of a theologian’s responsibility to arrange biblical facts systematically. More than anything else, the text established him as the “architect” of nineteenth-century American Reformed theology.⁸ His writings commented on nearly every significant Protestant issue from the perspective of traditional Princeton theology. Boldly, he defended the *Westminster Confession* and attacked Unitarianism, Arminianism, Catholicism, revivalism, and other

⁷ Quoted in Garraty and Carnes, *American National Biography*, 10.908.

⁸ Holifield, *Theology in America*, 379.

movements and traditions. He emphasized pneumatology in volume one, with ten pages on the Holy Spirit and several other references to the Spirit scattered throughout the three volumes.

Teachings on the Holy Spirit

Charles Hodge's arguments on behalf of Reformed pneumatology fall basically within five categories: the doctrines of scripture, Trinity, election, regeneration, and sanctification.

1. Scripture

The Spirit played an important role in Hodge's definition of *sola scriptura*—the Bible alone.⁹ In conformity with the *Westminster Confession*, Hodge believed that the Bible was the word of God because it was given by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. In an editorial entitled “Protestant Rule of Faith,” Hodge quoted sections of the *Westminster Confession* verbatim to defend the Spirit's role in scripture and then added his commentary: “all things necessary for [God's] own glory, man's salvation, faith, and life is . . . expressly set down in Scripture . . . Nothing at any time is to be added whether by new revelations of the Spirit or traditions of men.”¹⁰ For Hodge, the canon was

⁹ The *Westminster Confession* defends the origins of the Bible as the Spirit's work. Its premier place in the document is seen in the fact that the first chapter is dedicated to “The Holy Scripture,” followed by a chapter on “God and of the Holy Trinity.” Portions of the first chapter affirm the Spirit's key position in bringing to pass the Bible including, 1.1b, 4, 5b: “It pleased the Lord, at sundry times, and in divers manners, to reveal himself, and to declare that [*sic*] his will unto his Church; and afterwards for the better preserving and propagating of the truth, and for the more sure establishment and comfort of the Church against the corruption of the flesh, and the malice of Satan and of the world, to commit the same wholly unto writing; which maketh the Holy Scripture to be most necessary. . . . The authority of the Holy Scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the testimony of any man or church, but wholly upon God (who is truth itself), the author thereof; and therefore it is to be received, because it is the Word of God. . . . Our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the Word in our hearts.”

¹⁰ *Westminster Confession*, 1.6b. Just as the *Westminster Confession* opens with the premiere placement of a discussion on the Bible, Hodge began his editorial with the same emphasis. Then after Hodge quoted the Confession—as if it were his own words—he elaborated on the doctrine of the Spirit: “The Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the Word of God, written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and are

permanently closed. He also elaborated on the immutability of the canon: “The Bible contains all the extant revelations of God, which He designed to be the rule of faith and practice for his Church; so that nothing can rightfully be imposed on the consciences of men as truth or duty which is not taught directly or by necessary implication in the Holy Scriptures.”¹¹ Hodge believed that the Spirit certified all it had to say to the church within the pages of the Bible; there was no need for new doctrine or new revelations. The voice of scripture was the voice of God and, therefore, the most important voice on earth.

Prophets and Apostles. According to Hodge, when the Spirit worked within Old and New Testament prophets and apostles, it accomplished two things: it made them “organs of God,”¹² and their writings “infallible.”¹³ He felt biblical authors must be infallible in order to prove the text’s reliability. He liked the imagery of an “organ of the Spirit of God” to describe the prophets, as it implied their connection to the Spirit’s revelation.¹⁴ This encasing of divine authority assured that the prophet-writers spoke for God in every

therefore infallible, and of divine authority in all things pertaining to faith and practice, and consequently free from all error whether of doctrine, fact, or precept. They were the organs of God, because they were the organs of the Spirit. The Spirit, therefore, must be God” (Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1.152).

¹¹ Ibid., 1.182.

¹² Ibid., 180. Hodge felt authorship of the Bible “can be historically proved that those books were written by the men whose names they bear; and it can also be proved that those men were the duly authenticated organs of the Holy Ghost” (ibid., 1.129).

¹³ Ibid., 1.163. The full quote demonstrates Hodge’s insistence that the entire Bible is divinely inspired: “All the books of scripture are equally inspired. All alike are infallible in what they teach. And secondly, that inspiration extends to all the contents of these several books . . . the Spirit of God pervades the whole Scripture” (also 1.138-140). Even more powerfully, Hodge validated the inspiration of the Old Testament against contemporary practice to single out the New Testament: “The sacred writers divide the Scriptures into the ‘law and the prophets.’ As the law was written by Moses, and as Moses was the greatest of the prophets, it follows that all the Old Testament was written by prophets. If, therefore, we can determine the Scriptural idea of a prophet, we shall thereby determine the character of their writings and the authority due to them. *A prophet, then, in the Scriptural sense of the term, is a spokesman, one who speaks for another, in his name, and by his authority.* . . . This proof bears specially; it is true, only on the writings of the Old Testament. But no Christian puts the inspiration of the Old Testament above that of the New” (1.158, 160; italics original).

¹⁴ Ibid., 1.160.

word.¹⁵ Of the Old Testament writers he said, “The prophets were the messengers of God; they uttered his words, delivered his commands, pronounced his threatening, and announced his promises, because they spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.”¹⁶

Hodge gave an even higher claim of authority to the New Testament apostles because they functioned in the dispensation of the Spirit.¹⁷ “If the Scriptures of the old economy were given by inspiration of God, much more were those writings which were penned under the dispensation of the Spirit.”¹⁸ When Jesus endowed his apostles with the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, Hodge explained, their sudden new power was “altogether supernatural.”¹⁹ He understood, in accordance with the *Westminster*

¹⁵ The authority of the Spirit also gave apostles the power to give the gift of the Holy Ghost through the laying on of hands according to Hodge: “The right and power to ordain belong exclusively to prelates, for they alone possess the apostolical prerogative of communicating the Holy Spirit by the imposition of hands” (Ibid., 3.494). This was significant to Hodge because he fought modern ministers who claimed the right to similarly bestow the Holy Spirit. In *Systematic Theology*, 2.665, Hodge mentions that the Catholics connect the laying on of hands with the Spirit: “On this subject Romanists hold that Christ gave the Holy Spirit to the Apostles. They transmitted the gift to their successors the bishops. Bishops in the laying on of hands in ordination communicate the grace of orders to the priests. In virtue of this grace the priests have supernatural power to render the sacraments the channels of grace to those who submit to their ministrations. Those, therefore, who are in the Romish Church, and those only, are, through the sacraments, made partakers of the Holy Spirit. All others, whether adults or infants, perish because they are not partakers of those ordinances through which alone the saving influences of the Spirit are communicated.”

¹⁶ Ibid., 1.527. In the same section on the Holy Spirit, Hodge asserted that “the Spirit is the revealer of all divine truth. The doctrines of the Bible are called the things of the Spirit. With regard to the writers of the Old Testament, it is said they spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost” (ibid., 1.531). Hodge identified truth as words divinely blessed by the Holy Spirit.

¹⁷ In 1855 Hodge gave an address entitled, “What is Presbyterianism?” He contended: “What then were the apostles? . . . Men immediately commissioned by Christ to make a full and authoritative revelation of his religion. . . . To qualify them for this work, they received . . . the gift of the Holy Ghost, in such a manner to render them infallible in the communication of truth.” A. A. Hodge, *A Commentary on the Confessions of Faith—with an appendix by Charles Hodge* (London and New York: T. Nelson and Sons, 1870), 412. Again in 1857, Hodge affirmed the divine call and role of apostles in an article entitled, “Ground of Faith in The Scriptures.” “The books composing the New Testament, were written by the apostles of Christ; that to these men their divine master expressly promised the gift of inspiration; that they uniformly claimed that gift, saying, He that is of God heareth us, and he that is not of God, heareth not us; that this claim was authenticated by God himself bearing them witness with signs, and wonders, and divers miracles and gifts of the Holy Ghost.” Hodge, *Essays and Review: Selected from the Princeton Review* (New York City, NY: Carter and Brothers, 1857), 193.

¹⁸ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1.160.

¹⁹ Ibid. “The inspiration of the Apostles is proved, (1.) From the fact that Christ promised them the Holy Spirit, who should bring all things to their remembrance, and render them infallible in teaching. It is not you, He said, that speak, but the Spirit of my Father speaketh in you. He that heareth you heareth me. He forbade

Confession, that “it was not the prophet’s own interpretation of the mind and will of God,” but rather that “the writers spoke as the organ of the Holy Ghost.”²⁰ On this point of doctrine, Hodge was joined by most American Christians who also trusted the biblical prophets and apostles as God’s spokesmen.

Hodge saw the process of writing scripture as the result of the “living” inspiration of Holy men. “Holy men spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. It was men, not machines; not unconscious instruments, but living, thinking, willing minds, whom the Spirit used as his organs.”²¹ Hodge maintained that each writer used his own language and phrases in a “natural” way as he was moved by the Spirit and then described the process with a metaphor of the wind blowing a boat forward: “Holy men spake as they were moved (φερόμενοί, *borne along* as a ship by the wind) by the Holy Ghost.”²² The biblical authors were powered entirely by the wind of the Spirit. In this way, the Spirit and author were infused in a cooperative relationship as the Spirit expressed his message and the prophets received divine companionship. With the Spirit dictating, the writing of the Bible was harmonized so that each book spoke God’s “words” with the same truth and stamp of

them to enter upon their office as teachers until they were endued with power from on high.” (2.) This promise was fulfilled on the day of Pentecost, when the Spirit descended upon the Apostles as a mighty rushing wind, and they were filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak as the Spirit gave them utterance. From this moment they were new men, with new views, with new spirit, and with new power and authority. The change was sudden. It was not a development. It was something altogether supernatural” (ibid.). Hodge further developed his thoughts on the “supernatural” nature of the Spirit’s work when discussing inspiration: “Inspiration is the supernatural influence. It is thus distinguished, on the one hand, from the providential agency of God, which is everywhere and always in operation; and on the other hand, from the gracious operations of the Spirit on the hearts of his people . . . Those which are produced by his immediate efficiency without the intervention [is] . . . supernatural. Inspiration belongs to the latter class. It is not a natural effect due to the inward state of its subject, or to the influence of external circumstances” (1.154).

²⁰ Ibid., 1.159. In the section entitled, “The Protestant Rule of Faith,” Hodge again affirms, “The people of God are bound by nothing but the Word of God” (1.183).

²¹ Ibid., 1.157.

²² Ibid., 1.159. Hodge described the process of writing scripture: “The inspired penmen wrote out of the fullness of their own thoughts and feelings, and employed the language and modes of expression which to them were the most natural and appropriate. Nevertheless, and none the less, they spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and their words were his words.” The image of the spirit and wind is appropriate on several levels, including linguistically where the original Greek words are interchangeable.

authority.²³ This doctrine was especially important to Hodge because it established the Bible as flawless, as the *Westminster Confession* claimed.²⁴

Inspiration and Revelation. The Spirit exercised jurisdiction over the entire project of writing scripture. The Spirit's inspiration guaranteed reliability in three ways as stated by Hodge: infallibility, completeness, and understandability.²⁵ These three dimensions covered all the bases for Hodge to trust the Bible implicitly and solely. He emphasized that the "sacred writers were . . . fully inspired"—not partially inspired. Hodge referred to this concept as "plenary inspiration"—which completely controlled "those who make the truth known to others."²⁶ The Holy Spirit influenced the writer and the reader of the scriptures. Hodge labeled revelation as "the act of communicating divine knowledge by the Spirit to the mind."²⁷ In concurrence with the *Westminster Confession*, Hodge taught that the Spirit's inspiration and revelation became the means by which the scriptures were infallible, understandable, and inclusive of all truth.²⁸

²³ In Hodge's commentary on *1 Corinthians* he wrote: "The writers of the Scriptures were controlled by the Spirit of God in the choice of the words which they employed in communicating divine truth." Charles Hodge with Alistair McGrath, J.I. Packer, eds. *1 Corinthians* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, reprint, 1995), 56.

²⁴ *Westminster Confession*, 1.5b. Scriptural "infallible truth and divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the Word in our hearts."

²⁵ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1.152; "(1.) The Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the Word of God, written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and are therefore infallible, and of divine authority in all things pertaining to faith and practice, and consequently free from all error whether of doctrine, fact, or precept. (2.) That they contain all the extant supernatural as of God designed to be a rule of faith and practice to his Church. (3.) That they are sufficiently perspicuous to be understood by the people, in the use of ordinary means and by the aid of the Holy Spirit, in all things necessary by faith or practice without the need of an infallible interpreter." Hodge continued to give examples of biblical authors who testified that the Spirit had inspired their fellow writers, thereby making them all infallible from Hodge's view. "Apostles constantly refer to the Scriptures, showing beyond doubt that they believed and taught, that what sacred writers said the Holy Ghost said" (1.160).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.165, 162.

²⁷ *Ibid.* Hodge further differentiated between the earliest accessible Greek and Hebrew texts, the *apocrypha*, and later manuscripts that he blamed for the errors.

²⁸ *Westminster Confession* 9.2 reads, "By him the prophets were moved to speak the Word of God, and all the writers of the Holy Scriptures inspired to record infallibly the mind and will of God."

Hodge mentioned revelation and inspiration solely in conjunction with biblical authors, yet sometimes acknowledged the Protestant Reformers as “trumpets of revelation.”²⁹ In a discussion in “The Protestant Rule of Faith,” Hodge meticulously differentiated revelation and inspiration by their subject, object, and effect. The *subjects* of *inspiration* and *revelation* were the authors of scripture.³⁰ The *object* of revelation was simply “the communication of knowledge,” and the *object* of inspiration “to secure infallibility in teaching.”³¹ By covering both revelation’s spiritual knowledge and inspiration’s infallibility in the context of biblical authors, Hodge defended the inerrancy of the Bible. Likewise, in the same article he explained how revelation and inspiration differed in their *effect*: “The effect of revelation was to render its recipient wiser. The effect of inspiration was to preserve him from error in teaching.”³² This dissection of details was common for Hodge as he meticulously interpreted scriptural subjects to maintain the Reformed tradition of biblical authority against the enemies.³³

²⁹ Hodge addressed the exception of the Reformers at the anniversary meeting of the Presbyterian historical society in Philadelphia, Tuesday evening, May 1, 1855. “The public assertion of this right of the people, at the time of the Reformation, roused all of Europe. It was an apocalyptic trumpet—that is, a trumpet of revelation” (A. A. Hodge, *Commentary on the Confessions*, 401). Every other reference by Hodge to revelation and inspiration are tied to the apostles.

³⁰ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1.154. Hodge continued to refer to the recipients of inspiration as the apostles or “certain select men, which rendered them the organs of God for the infallible communications of his [God’s] mind and will.” Consistently Hodge elsewhere taught, “It followed necessarily from the actual possession by the apostles of these gifts of revelation and inspiration, which rendered them infallible” (A. A. Hodge, *Commentary on the Confessions*, 413).

³¹ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1.154-155. In the same chapter, “The Protestant Rule of Faith,” Hodge later defended “the Apostles claim to be the infallible organs of God in all their teachings . . . They speak as messengers, as witnesses, as organs. They declare that what they said God said, and, therefore, on his authority it was to be received and obeyed” (1.161).

³² *Ibid.*, 1.155.

³³ Hodge’s scrupulous interpretations defend the *Westminster Confession*, 1.5c, 8, which reads, The Bible has “our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and divine authority. . . . The Old Testament in Hebrew . . . and the New Testament in Greek . . . being immediately inspired by God, and by his singular care, and providence kept pure in all ages, are therefore authentical [*sic*]; so as in all controversies of religion the Church is finally to appeal unto them.” Then in an almost parenthetical aside, the confession text excuses translation errors of ignorant scribes.

In Hodge's view, only biblical apostles and prophets received the Spirit of revelation and inspiration; the general spiritual influence that came to "all true believers" he termed "spiritual illumination."³⁴ Certainly, he believed readers of the Bible must be illuminated "under the guidance of the Holy Spirit," as the *Westminster Confession* directed.³⁵ The Spirit enlightened Christians to receive correct interpretations especially when the Bible contained difficult passages or multiple doctrines. The Spirit's guidance within the Bible became the key to achieve Christian unity from Hodge's perspective: "If the Scriptures be a plain book, and the Spirit performs the functions of a teacher to all the children of God, it follows inevitably that they must agree in all essential matters in their interpretation of the Bible."³⁶

Hodge saw the Spirit in control of both the writing and reading of the Bible. The Spirit blessed the elect with an "understanding" and testimony to assure them that every word "a prophet said, was not human, but divine."³⁷ Again Hodge's position confirmed the *Westminster Confession*.³⁸ Thanks to the Spirit's proclamation of truth, Hodge believed the Bible provided readers with a sure defense against false doctrines of rationalism, ritualism, and mysticism.³⁹

³⁴ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1.154.

³⁵ Ibid., 1.106; see also 1.239. The *Westminster Confession* 1.6b reads, "Nevertheless we acknowledge the inward illumination of the Spirit of God to be necessary for the saving understanding of such things as are revealed in the Word."

³⁶ Ibid., 1.183. "It is not denied that the Scriptures contain many things hard to be understood; that they require diligent study; that all men need the guidance of the Holy Spirit in order to right knowledge and true faith. But it is maintained that in all things necessary to salvation they are sufficiently plain to be understood even by the unlearned" (1.183-184).

³⁷ Ibid., 1.159.

³⁸ *Westminster Confession* 1.2b, 9-10. "All which are given by inspiration of God, to be the rule of faith and life. . . . The infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture, is the Scripture itself; and therefore when there is a question about the true and full sense of any scripture (which is not manifold, but one), it may be searched and known by other places that speak more clearly. The Supreme Judge . . . can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture."

³⁹ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1.67-68. The scope of this paper is not grand enough to develop Hodge's thoughts on these points in detail, although the areas that overlap with pneumatology should be addressed. In

2. The Spirit in the Trinity

True to traditional Reformed theology, Hodge discussed the Spirit in relation to the Trinity, “the fundamental truth of our religion.”⁴⁰ Everything he wrote on the Spirit was based on that concept. In an editorial entitled “The Holy Ghost,” he described his view of the Trinity in detail. His text is based on the *Westminster Confession* (as demonstrated by putting the shared words in bold italics).⁴¹

The relation of the Spirit to the other persons of the *Trinity* has been stated before. (1.) He is the *same* in *substance and equal in power and glory*. (2.) He is subordinate *to the Father and Son*, as to his mode of subsistence and operation, as He is said to be of *the Father and of the Son*; He is sent by them, and they operate through Him. (3.) He bears the same relation to the Father as to the Son; as He is said to be of the one as well as of the other, and He is given by the Son as well as by the Father. (4.) His eternal relation to the other persons of the *Trinity* is indicated by the word Spirit, and by its being said that he is out of God, i.e., God is the source whence the Spirit is said to *proceed*.⁴²

short, mysticism is also referred to as “fanaticism” by Hodge (1.42, 80). Later in the same volume Hodge denounces mysticism as the work of evil spirits. Hodge taught, “Christians were not to believe every spirit. They were to try the spirits whether they were of God. And the test or criterion of trial was the external, authenticated revelation of God, as spiritually discerned and demonstrated by the inward operations of the Spirit. . . . A fourth objection to the Mystical doctrine is that there is no criterion by which a man can test these inward impulses or revelations, and determine which are from the Spirit of God, and which are from his own heart or from Satan, who often appears and acts as an angel of light. . . . How is that man who receives a false revelation to know that is not from God? Many men honestly believe themselves to be inspired, who are under the influence of some evil spirit” (1.99-100, 102).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.528. Earlier in the section on “The relationship of the Spirit to the other Persons in the Trinity,” Hodge called on the earliest creeds to support his view: “As the councils of Nice and Constantinople were fully justified by Scripture in teaching the eternal Sonship of Christ, so what they taught of the relation of the Spirit to the Father and the Son, has an adequate Scriptural foundation. . . . (1.) That it is incomprehensible, and therefore inexplicable. (2.) That it is eternal. (3.) That it is equally from the Father and the Son. . . . (4.) That this procession concerns the personality and operations of the Spirit, and not his essence. . . . The word Spirit as the designation of the Third Person is also relative. . . . The revealed fact is that the Spirit is of the Father, and the Church in calling the relation, thus indicated, a procession, does not attempt to explain it. (3.) In John xv. 26, where the Spirit is promised by Christ, He is said to proceed from the Father” (1.477).

⁴¹ *Westminster Confession* 9.1; “The Holy Spirit, the third Person in the Trinity, proceeding from the Father and the Son, of the same substance and equal in power and glory, is together with the Father and the Son to be believed in, loved, obeyed, and worshipped throughout all ages.”

⁴² Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1.528-9. The *Westminster Confession* 2.3 states: “In the unity of the Godhead there be three Persons of one substance, power, and eternity: God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. The Father is of none, neither begotten nor proceeding; the Son is eternally begotten of the Father, the Holy Ghost eternally proceeding from the Father and the Son.” And again in chapter nine section one: “The Holy Spirit, the third Person in the Trinity, proceeding from the Father and the Son, of the same substance and equal in power and glory, is, together with the Father and the Son.”

In addition to demonstrating Hodge's adherence to his Confession, this quote also characterized his methodical mind. Hodge elaborated on the Westminster definition of the Spirit's origination from the Father and Son. Even when he deviated from Westminster's wording, he still expressed similar thoughts to defend and bolster the Confession's position at this time of changing doctrines and denominational struggles.

Hodge felt it crucial to defend the traditional views of the Trinity during this period of assault by the Unitarians at Harvard (and other perceived "heretics").⁴³ He perpetuated the Old School Presbyterian tenets that taught, "Religious worship is to be given to God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and to him alone."⁴⁴ Often Reformed theologians spoke more of God than the Trinity, but Hodge intentionally bolstered the Trinity in reaction to the Unitarians. He accomplished this in part by including a substantial predication in worship: "In worshiping Christ, we worship the Father and the Spirit."⁴⁵ Thus, in Hodge's mind the Spirit was always included when he referred to worshipping the Father or the Son. Where the Bible was silent in respect of the Trinity, Hodge cited early Christian

⁴³ Unitarianism had control of Harvard by 1805 and remained a powerful influence among literary and political Americans for much of the nineteenth century. One of the strongest Unitarian voices against the Trinity was William Channing (1780-1842). A great deal of the work from the theological seminaries at Andover, Princeton, and Yale was aimed directly at that theological battlefield. Other attacks on the Trinity came from Deists, including Thomas Jefferson and Ethan Allen. Benedetto, *Historical Dictionary*, 9.134. Hillerbrand, *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, 4:1926-29. Jeffery Wilcox, "A More Thorough Trinitarian: Reconsidering Moses Stuart's Role in the Trinitarian Debate in New England 1819-1850 (Ph.D. diss., Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University, 2007).

⁴⁴ *Westminster Confession*, 23.2.

⁴⁵ Hodge focused on the interaction between the unique roles of the Trinity from Christ's perspective: "He does not fail to recognize and appreciate his relation to the Father, who loved the world and gave his Son for its redemption; nor does he fail to recognize his relation to the Holy Spirit, on whom he is absolutely dependent, and whose gracious office it is to apply to men the redemption purchased by Christ. In worshiping Christ, we worship the Father and the Spirit; for these three are one — one only living and true God, the same in substance and equal in power and glory"(Charles Hodge, "Christianity without Christ," *The Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review* 18. 5 (April 1876): 353. Likewise Hodge discussed the substantial predication of the Trinity, "[in] the Scriptures themselves the same work is often ascribed to God and to the Spirit of God, which led some at times to assume that these terms expressed one and the same thing" (*Systematic Theology*, 1.533).

creeds as authority for his doctrines.⁴⁶ Whenever possible, though, he offered biblical backing to support the doctrine of the Trinity as the “mysterious constitution of the Godhead.”⁴⁷ Although in his *Systematic Theology*, Hodge almost apologizes, “when we consider the incomprehensible nature of the Godhead, the mysterious character of the doctrine of the Trinity, the exceeding complexity and difficulty of the problem,” we must refer to “the church creeds on the subject.”⁴⁸ He felt that the Bible was not as clear as the creeds on defining the Trinity.

Hodge used the Bible as his standard of truth to validate his doctrines. His loyalty to the Bible was in keeping with the *Westminster Confession* that called on the Bible to act as

⁴⁶ Ibid., 1.457 is an example of Hodge’s verbal endorsements of the creeds: “‘And we believe in the Holy Ghost.’ *Council of Constantinople. The so-called Athanasian Creed.* The most obvious deficiency in the Nicene Creed is the omission of any definite statement concerning the Holy Spirit. . . . Athanasius, however, and other expounders and defenders of the Nicene Creed, insisted that the Spirit is consubstantial with the Father and the Son . . . In the modification of the Nicene Creed (AD 381), as issued by the Council, the following words were added to the clause, ‘We believe in the Holy Ghost,’ namely: Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spoke by the prophets.’ Some of the Greek and the great body of Latin fathers held that the Spirit proceeded from the Son as well as from the Father, and by the Synod of Toledo, A.D. 589, the words *filioque* were added to the creed.’ This addition was one of the causes which led to the separation of the Eastern and Western Churches.” He knew the creeds and gave his allegiance to the *Westminster Confession*.

⁴⁷ Charles Hodge, “Christianity without Christ,” *The Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review* 18, no 5 (April 1876): 352-362. The full quote clearly shows Hodge defending his faith with scripture: “Christ says, I am in the Father and the Father in me. I and the Father are one. He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father; and therefore, he that worships the Son, worships the Father. Hence, it is written, ‘Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father,’ but, ‘Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God.’ ‘He that hath the Son hath life; he that hath not the Son of God, hath not life.’ It is to be remembered, however, that in the mysterious constitution of the Godhead, the second person of the Trinity is the Logos, the Word, and the Revealer. It is through him that God is known.”

⁴⁸ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1.478. Hodge devoted a full chapter on the Trinity in his *Systematic Theology*. His seven-point outline demonstrates his exhaustive discussion: 1. Preliminary Remarks; 2. Biblical Form of the Doctrine (What that For is—Scriptural Proof—Progressive. Character of Divine Revelation—Formula of Baptism—Apostolic Benediction); 3. The Transition Period (Necessity for more Definite Statement of the Doctrine—conflict with Error-Gnostics-Platonizers-Origen’s Doctrine-Sabellianism-Arianism); 4. The Church Doctrine as presented by the Council of Nice (Objects for which that Council was convened-Difference of Opinion among the Members of the Council-Semi-Arians-Orthodox-Council of Constantinople-The Athanasian Creed); 5. Points decided by the Councils of Nice and Constantinople (as against Sabellianism-Arians and Semi-Arians-Mutual Relations of the Persons of the Trinity); 6. Examination of the Nicene Doctrine (Subordination-Eternal Generation-Eternal Sonship, Objections urged against the Doctrine of Eternal Sonship, Relation to the Spirit to the other Persons of the Trinity); 7. Philosophical Forms of the Doctrine of the Trinity. Hodge focuses on the Trinity for a chapter in the same volume 1.442-482; as well as pages 84, 92, 106.

the “Supreme Judge, by which all controversies of religion are to be determined.”⁴⁹ Hodge often began his arguments, “The Scriptures clearly teach,” but continued with an interpretation that supported the *Westminster Confession*.⁵⁰ His claim to quote scripture was more of a verbal habit than practical application, as he rarely cited chapter and verse—especially in discussions of the Trinity. In reality, when he spoke about the Trinity, it was within the context of the creeds; notwithstanding, he preferred to cite scripture as his authority. He never professed that the creeds became scripture, but he treated them as such. For example in his *Systematic Theology* he claimed, “The Bible teaches that the Son and Spirit are in the Holy Trinity subordinate to the Father, as to their mode of subsistence and operation, although the same in substance, and equal in power and glory.”⁵¹ Even though the “Trinity” stems from creedal interpretation, Hodge claimed it had biblical origins in order to use the Bible as the arbitrator between all traditions.

Hodge frequently argued that the Spirit was a distinct personage.⁵² He contended from sweeping references to the Bible, but again, his words originated from the creeds.⁵³

⁴⁹ The *Westminster Confession* 1.10 continues, “. . . and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men, and private spirits, are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture” (ibid.; no biblical references are included by Hodge).

⁵⁰ For examples of this and similar phrases see Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1.38, 98, 153, 160, 523, 533; 2.244, 270, 382, 456, 639, 665, etc.

⁵¹ Ibid., 3.216. The quote continues to reinforce the traditional concept of the Trinity: “Hence it is that the same work is often attributed to the Father, to the Son, and to the Spirit; and as the Father and Son operate through the Spirit, the effects due to the agency of God are referred specially to the Holy Ghost . . . rites, ceremonies, sacraments, truth, and moral suasion, cannot bring the soul back to God, that it is said to be transformed, by the renewing of the mind, through the power of the Spirit, into the image of God.”

⁵² Ibid., 1.522. “Before considering the direct proof of the Church doctrine that the Holy Spirit is a person, it may be well to remark, that the terms ‘The Spirit,’ ‘The Spirit of God,’ ‘The Holy Spirit,’ and when God speaks, ‘My Spirit,’ or, when God is spoken of ‘His Spirit,’ occur in all parts of Scripture from Genesis to Revelation; These and equivalent terms are evidently to be understood in the same sense throughout the Scriptures. If the Spirit of God which moved on the face of the waters, which strove with the antediluvians, which came upon Moses, which gave skill to artisans, and which inspired the prophets, is the power of God; then the Spirit which came upon the Apostles, which Christ promised to send as a comforter and advocate, and to which the instruction, sanctification, and guidance of the people of God are referred, must also be the power of God. But if the Spirit is clearly revealed to be a person in the later parts of Scripture, it is plain that the earlier portions must be understood in the same way.” (See also I. 523-524 where Hodge outlines his evidence of the Holy Spirit’s Personality).

“The Scriptures clearly teach that he is a person. Personality includes intelligence, will, and individual subsistence. If, therefore, it can be proved that all these are attributed to the Spirit, it is thereby proved that He is a person.”⁵⁴ Logical proof was important to Hodge as a writer, and he used it to bolster his Reformed concepts. By validating the Spirit as a person, Hodge harmonized the Bible and creedal language, without offending the doctrine of the Trinity.

The Trinitarian blend of three in one was intrinsic to Hodge’s thought, even when he used the word “Godhead” from the Bible. For example, “The Scriptures reveal the Father, Son, and Spirit as distinct persons in the Godhead, because they use the personal pronouns in reference to each other.”⁵⁵ Hodge elaborated on the “distinct” nature of the Spirit but then returned to the safer ground of the Trinity, “which bring the doctrine of the Trinity into constant remembrance.”⁵⁶ He carefully brought the discussion back to his Reformed tradition of the Trinity, making his position clear even when his logic was not. To further substantiate his position, Hodge next discussed the “relation of the Spirit to the Father and

⁵³ The Bible does not refer to the Spirit with the word, “person.” Although the *Westminster Confession* does twice. In 9.1 “The Holy Spirit, the third Person in the Trinity,” and 2.3 “The unity of the Godhead there be three Persons of one substance, power, and eternity.”

⁵⁴ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1.523-4. Two other examples exemplify Hodge’s pattern of defining the Spirit as a “distinct person.” First, in a section on the Spirit’s work in baptism from his *Systematic Theology*, Hodge confirmed the Spirit was a “distinct person.” He wrote, “We believe one Holy Ghost. This faith we profess in baptism. We are baptized not only in the name of the Father and of the Son, but also of the Holy Ghost. The very association of the Spirit in such a connection, with the Father and the Son, as they are admitted to be distinct persons, proves that the Spirit also is a person” (1.524). Second, he returned to this question of the Trinity, “The only possible question is whether He is a distinct person from the Father. But of this there can be no reasonable doubt, as He is said to be the Spirit of God and the Spirit which is of God. . . . He proceeds from the Father; and as He is promised, sent, and given by the Father. So that to confound the Holy Spirit with God would be to render the scriptures unintelligible. . . . The Spirit appears as a personal agent from one end of the Scriptures to the other, so that his personality is beyond dispute” (1.526).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.382. In addition to quoting the Bible, Hodge quotes a creed: “In the apostolic benediction, the grace of Christ, the love of the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, are solemnly invoked.” Without naming the *Westminster Confession* he references 2.1: “There is but one only living and true God, who is infinite in being and perfection, a most pure spirit, invisible, without body parts, or passions.” The biblical word “Godhead,” is mentioned later in the *Westminster Confession* 2.3: “In the unity of the Godhead there be three Persons of one substance, power, and eternity.”

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.528.

to the Son” in the Trinity.⁵⁷ He claimed biblical authority when endorsing the Trinity, but in reality, his endorsement of the Trinity stemmed from his loyalty to the Reformed tradition.

Hodge defined the unique nature of the third member of the Trinity as the “executive of the Godhead.”⁵⁸ By *executive* he meant that “whatever God does, He does by the Spirit.” For Hodge, the Spirit’s executive role in the Trinity was to “ascertain fixed doctrine.”⁵⁹ God’s initial work was creating—past, present, and future—making the Spirit “the immediate source of all life.”⁶⁰ Hodge understood that the “Spirit,” as the source of life, was God’s “breath or power” and “nature and operations.”⁶¹ He explained the Spirit as God’s power through the “efficiency of God” and reflective of the divine nature because the Spirit “is absolutely holy . . . and the cause of holiness in all creatures.”⁶² Hodge’s classification of the Spirit as “executive of the Godhead” also facilitated other roles for the Spirit, including the “Spirit of Truth, the Spirit of Wisdom, of Peace, of Love, and of Glory.”⁶³ The Spirit also functioned as “our teacher, sanctifier, comforter, and

⁵⁷ Ibid., 1.477.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 1.529.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 1.114. The quote is actually plural: “There are certain fixed doctrines among Christians . . . which are no longer open questions. The doctrines of the Trinity, of the divinity and incarnation of the eternal Son of GOD; of the personality and divinity of the Holy Spirit; of the apostasy and sinfulness of the human race; the doctrines of the expiation of sin through the death of Christ and of salvation through his merits; of regeneration and sanctification by the Holy Ghost; of the forgiveness of sins.”

⁶⁰ Ibid., 1.529. “The Spirit is also represented as the source of all intellectual life. . . the Spirit is the revealer of all divine truth. The doctrines of the Bible are called the things of the Spirit . . . Holy Ghost is the immediate author of all truth, of all holiness, of all consolation, of all authority” (Ibid., 1.530).

⁶¹ Ibid., 1.522; “The Third Person is called Spirit as his breath or power. He is also predominantly called the Holy Spirit, to indicate both his nature and operations. He is absolutely holy in his own nature, and the cause of holiness in all creatures.”

⁶² Ibid. “The Third Person of the Trinity is called ‘The Spirit’ by way of eminence, probably, for two reasons. First, because He is the power or efficiency of God, i.e., the person through whom the efficiency of God is directly exercised; and secondly, to express his relation to the other persons of the Trinity. As Father and Son are terms expressive of relation, it is natural to infer that the word Spirit is to be understood in the same way. The Son is called the Word, as the revealer or image of God, and the Third Person is called Spirit.”

⁶³ Ibid.

guide.”⁶⁴ This influence stretched to governing “every believer who is led by the Spirit, and the whole Church.”⁶⁵ For Hodge, the limiting factor became who the Spirit blessed with a belief.

3. Election

Hodge summed up exactly who was included in the sphere of the Spirit’s influence with his doctrine of election. He endorsed the *Westminster Confession* writings on election, which taught that God chooses to save only certain mortals.⁶⁶ In spite of the growing nineteenth-century democratic theories that confronted him, he defended God’s predestination to election or damnation as the “secret purpose of God.”⁶⁷ Election supported God’s omnipotence by asserting that mortals “are absolutely dependent on a divine Person, who gives or withholds his influence as he will.”⁶⁸ This is one of the major differences that separated Hodge from Joseph Smith, Cartwright, and Finney. Rather than stand on American values of self initiation and egalitarianism, Hodge reached back to his Calvinistic roots and taught that God controlled election, and “all spiritual blessings are the fruits of election.”⁶⁹ For him, the answer to the question, “Who are those elected to receive the Spirit?” was the same as “For Whom did Christ die?” His response described the Lord’s special love for his chosen people in the scriptures and then summarized, “The peculiar love of God for his own people, to his Church, to the elect, is the source of the

⁶⁴ Ibid., 1.524.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 1.525.

⁶⁶ The *Westminster Confession* 3.6 reads, “As God hath appointed the elect unto glory, so hath he, by the eternal and most free purpose of his will, fore-ordained all the means thereunto.” Again in 12.1 and 3: “All those whom God hath predestinated unto life, and those only, he is pleased, in his appointed and accepted time, effectually to call, by his Word and Spirit, out of that state of sin and death . . . this effectual call is of God’s free and special grace alone, not from anything at all foreseen in man, who is altogether passive therein, until being quickened and renewed by the Holy Spirit.”

⁶⁷ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 3.104.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 3.475. Hodge asserted that God sent the Holy Spirit “to whom He willed, to renew their hearts, to satisfy and comfort them, and to qualify them for his service and kingdom” (2.362).

⁶⁹ Ibid., 2.347.

gift of Christ, of the mission of the Holy Spirit, and of all other saving blessings.”⁷⁰ The Spirit held a vital role in Hodge’s writings on election. Not only was the Spirit *given* to the elect, but Hodge explained that the “mission of the Holy Spirit” was to *implement* election. He believed the Spirit changed the chosen from their fallen state to a state of election.⁷¹

The Reformed doctrine gives God complete control of election and purports that mortals do not participate in the process, nor do they know if they are among the elect—until the Spirit blesses them.⁷² Similarly, Hodge explained that “the election of any particular person is not revealed, and, therefore, is not an object of faith. It is a thing to be proved, or made sure, as the Apostle Peter says, by the fruits of the Spirit.”⁷³ Not until a person demonstrates the “fruit of the Spirit” is he or she known as one of God’s elect.⁷⁴ According to the *Westminster Confession*, one of the first fruits of the Spirit given to the elect was “to make them willing and able to believe.”⁷⁵ Hodge upheld that the elect received this “gift of the Spirit to bring them to faith and repentance” as a gift from God,

⁷⁰ Ibid., 2.561. Hodge’s chapter heading for this section is “For whom did Christ Die?”

⁷¹ Hodge’s defense of election is not always clear. A statement in his *Systematic Theology* appears to teach that “all men” are saved through Christ’s pardon and Spirit if they “improve the grace” they receive. This open door for Christ’s salvation seems to contradict the notion that only the elect are saved regardless of what they do: “The work of Christ was designed to secure the pardon of original sin and the gift of the Holy Spirit for *all men*, Jews or Gentiles, and those are *saved* who duly *improve* the grace they severally receive” (2.543, emphasis mine).

⁷² *Westminster Confession* 3.6b reads, “Wherefore they who are elected being fallen in Adam are redeemed by Christ, are effectually called unto faith in Christ by his Spirit working in due season; are justified, adopted, sanctified, and kept by his power through faith unto salvation. Neither are any other redeemed by Christ, effectually called, justified, adopted sanctified, and saved, but the elect only.”

⁷³ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 3.104.

⁷⁴ Charles Hodge, *The Way of Life* (Philadelphia, PA: The American Sunday-School Union, 1869), 200, 268. Hodge described the communication of the Holy Spirit as “those lovely fruits of holiness which never fail to mark his presence . . . love, gentleness, goodness, and all other graces, are the fruits of the Spirit” (326). Galatians 5:22 expresses the fruit of the Spirit as: “love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith.” Hodge’s *Systematic Theology* dedicated a chapter to “The Covenant of Grace,” wherein he stated: “Hence, all the fruits of the Spirit in believers are called graces, or unmerited gifts of God” (2.357).

⁷⁵ *Westminster Confession* 7.3 “. . . promising to give unto all those that are ordained unto life, his Holy Spirit, to make them willing and able to believe.” A similar promise is given again in 9.3: “The Holy Spirit, whom the Father is ever willing to give to all who ask him . . . and persuades and enables them to embrace Jesus Christ by faith.”

not a choice by humanity.⁷⁶ In his article “Election is to Holiness,” Hodge defended this Calvinistic tradition from increasing attacks by declaring it was “utterly incomprehensible” to think that fallen man plays a role in the development of his “faith and repentance” without first being elected by God.⁷⁷ Only God’s elect or “sheep” were given the Holy Spirit which blessed them to believe.⁷⁸

The doctrine of election was offensive to some egalitarian-minded preachers of the Second Great Awakening who encouraged their fellow Americans to exert their own desire and effort to “get religion . . . or the fire of the Holy Ghost.”⁷⁹ Contending against Hodge, the Unitarians at Harvard and Universalists in various parts of New England preached against election in favor of Christ’s universal salvation for all.⁸⁰ For the Universalists, the doctrine of election became universal—all would be saved. Others saw the Calvinist doctrine of election conflicting with the doctrine of agency.⁸¹ Spurred by these liberal theologians, Hodge undauntedly defended election by incorporating the role of free agency into his definition of election: “[Election] does not supersede their own

⁷⁶ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 2.561. The quote reads, “. . . the express declaration that it was the incomprehensible and peculiar love of God for his own people, which induced Him to send his Son for their redemption, that Christ came into the world for that specific object; that He died for his sheep; that He gave Himself for his Church; and that the salvation of all for whom He thus offered Himself is rendered certain by the gift of the Spirit to bring them to faith and repentance, are intermingled with declarations of good-will to all mankind, with offers of salvation to every one who will believe in the Son of God, and denunciations of wrath against those who reject these overtures of mercy.”

⁷⁷ Ibid., 2.342. “It is utterly incompatible with this fact that the foresight of faith and repentance should be the ground of election.”

⁷⁸ Ibid., 2.261. Hodge taught that the elect are those whom “God has promised to give his Spirit in order that they may believe” (2.363).

⁷⁹ Peter Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 264. “. . . come and get religion, and not for a moment longer to depend on water for salvation, but come and try the Methodist fire, or the fire of the Holy Ghost.”

⁸⁰ Universalism took off in America in the late eighteenth century. The early leaders were Dr. George DeBenneville (1703-1790), John Murray (1741-1815), and Hosea Ballou (1771-1852). Hillerbrand, *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, 4.1929.

⁸¹ Smith, *History* 4.261, 266. In 1841 Brigham Young wrote an editorial on the need for human agency to receive and seek Christ’s saving grace. He described the elect as those who live worthy of the Lord’s blessings: “God knowing beforehand that he would do this of his own free will and choice, or acting upon that agency which God has delegated to all men . . . This is the election that we believe in . . . in the words of the beloved Peter and Paul, we would exhort you to ‘work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of His good pleasure’ (Phil. 2:12, 13).”

agency,” but rather it came into play after God’s choice.⁸² He believed elect mortals used their agency to diligently apply “all rational and scriptural means, on our part, to grow in grace and in the knowledge of God.”⁸³ By Hodge placing the Spirit’s influence after election, the role of human desire and agency could bolster the influence of the Spirit.⁸⁴

Regardless of this deep-rooted division within Protestantism, and in spite of the fact that the liberal viewpoint was held by the majority of Americans by the late nineteenth-century, Hodge continued to guard the traditional Reformed theology by asserting the doctrine of election. The rift between those who ascribed human agency with the power to seek the Spirit versus those who believe the Spirit worked solely through election was great enough to split the Presbyterian Church into the “Old” and “New” School in 1837.⁸⁵ It is not surprising that Hodge wrote a book, *“The Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States”* (1840) to protect the old way shortly after this division of Presbyterianism. As the opposition grew, his loyalty to the Old School deepened.

⁸² Hodge, *The Way of Life*, 334. “The doctrine that the Holy Spirit works in the people of God both to will and to do according to his own good pleasure, is not inconsistent with the diligent use of all rational and scriptural means, on our part, to grow in grace and in the knowledge of God. For though the mode of the Spirit’s influence is inscrutable, it is described as an enlightening, teaching, persuading process, all which terms suppose a rational subject rationally affected. The indwelling of the Spirit, therefore, in the people of God, does not supersede their own agency” (333).

⁸³ Ibid. Hodge included himself among the elect with the pronoun “our” not “their.”

⁸⁴ Ibid., 341; “This divine life can neither be obtained nor continued by any mere efforts of reason or conscience or by any superstitious observances, but flows from our union with Christ, who causes his Holy Spirit to dwell in all his members. In order to promote this divine life, it is our business to avoid everything which has a tendency to grieve the Spirit of all grace, and to do everything by which his sacred influence on the heart may be cherished.”

⁸⁵ The rift in Presbyterianism began much earlier. According to Gaustad and Schmidt: “The revivalism of the 1740s may have ‘awakened’ many New Englanders to a more earnest and committed spiritual life, but it also divided their churches in to two ‘armies’ (as Jonathan Edwards said), the New Lights, who favored the revivals, and the Old Lights, who opposed them” (*Religious History of America*, 61). By the Second Great Awakening, the theological undergirding of revivalism debated whether or not fallen man could act on his own to develop faith. Some influence from Scottish Common Sense Realism, the Enlightenment, and revivals deemphasized predestination, and finally in 1837 a complete separation occurred when the “New School” Presbyterians embraced revival methods and Arminian doctrine. Hillerbrand, *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, 3.1544.

Hodge always claimed scriptural backing as proof of the traditional Reformed theology of election (whether he offered a direct reference or not). When a Pauline text suggested a different interpretation, Hodge went to great pains to redefine the scriptures within his preconceived mold. For example, when quoting Romans 8:32, “God gave up his own Son for us all,” he escaped the troublesome “all,” by concentrating on the pronoun “us” and thereby forced his fixed notion into the text. “The us refers to the class of persons of which the whole chapter treats, namely, of those to whom there is no condemnation, who are led by the Spirit, for whom Christ intercedes.”⁸⁶ When Christ called the apostles to continue the ministry after His ascension, Hodge emphasized that they were elected—although not directly a biblical doctrine—“Men called and qualified by the Spirit, were to be selected and set apart to this work by divine command.”⁸⁷ He saw his doctrine of election “predominant in the Scriptures” and insisted all scripture be interpreted from the perspective of election.⁸⁸

Hodge backed off from his strict stance of the Spirit influencing only the elect when it came to the “spirit of truth.” His description of the Spirit’s work is similar to that of a conscience: “The Bible therefore teaches that the Holy Spirit as the Spirit of truth, of holiness, and of life in all its forms, is present with every human mind, enforcing truth, restraining from evil, exciting to good, and imparting wisdom or strength, when, where, and in what measure seemeth to Him good.”⁸⁹ He saw no incongruity of thought between the doctrine of election and a Spirit-directed, universal conscience. However, when he

⁸⁶ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 2.560.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 1.100.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 2.550. “With this representation every other statement of the Scriptures must be consistent” (2.551).

⁸⁹ Ibid., 2.674. Again, Hodge attributed the doctrine to the Bible: “The fact that the Spirit of God does operate on the minds of all men, to a greater or less degree, is clearly taught in Scripture” (2.669, also 2.672).

wrote that the “Holy Spirit is present with every human mind,” he added that the Spirit’s intervention was “with more or less power, whatever of moral or religious truth the mind may have before it.”⁹⁰ Hodge had no choice but to concede on this matter—clearly knowing right from wrong was wide spread among all accountable peoples of the earth—common sense dictated it. Nevertheless, he still did not find equality in the Spirit’s work in the conscience, but described a sliding scale of spiritual functioning “to a greater or less degree.”⁹¹ To authorize these thoughts he claimed scriptural backing (albeit without offering a chapter or verse) and quoted the *Westminster Confession* instead:

A Christian's conscience, "guided by the word, and enlightened by the Spirit of God," is his rule of conduct. Conscience thus guided and enlightened, may enjoin or forbid much for which no explicit directions can be found in the Scriptures. No man denies all this; but a man's conscience is a guide for himself, and not for other people. If we hold fast the fundamental principle of our Protestant faith and freedom, “that the Scriptures are the only infallible rule of faith and practice,” we must be able to plead express divine authority.⁹²

Hodge’s use of “a Christian’s conscience” does not disregard his other statements that “all men” receive a Spirit-operated conscience because in his mind the Christian elect were “guided and enlightened” by the Spirit to a higher degree than the non-elect: “The evidence therefore from Scripture, and from experience, is clear that the Holy Spirit is present with every human mind, and enforces, with more or less power, whatever of moral

⁹⁰ Ibid., 2.670.

⁹¹ Ibid., 2.675.

⁹² Ibid., 3.334. In his second volume Hodge also discussed the problem of the Spirit working exclusively in the elect and generally in the conscience: “There is something in the nature of these experiences, and of the way in which they come and go, which proves that they are due to the operation of the Spirit of God. As the voice of conscience has in it an authority which it does not derive from ourselves, so these experiences have in them a character which reveals the source whence they come. They are the effects of that still small voice, which sounds in every human ear, saying, This is the way; walk ye in it. This is much more obvious at one time than at others. There are seasons in every man’s life, when he is almost overwhelmed with the power of these convictions. He may endeavour [sic] to suppress them by an effort of the will, by arguments to prove them to be unreasonable, and by diverting his mind by business or amusement, without success. God reveals Himself as distinctly in the workings of our inward nature as He does in the outward world” (2.669).

or religious truth the mind may have before it.”⁹³ Significantly, even in this difficult issue, he clung to his Protestant statement of beliefs and biblical authority by stipulating that the Spirit offered “more or less power,” again differentiating the elect.

4. Regeneration

According to Hodge, one of the greatest works of the Spirit was renewing the degenerate souls of the elect.⁹⁴ In his characteristic style, Hodge interpreted the Bible from his Presbyterian perspective to affirm that fallen man required divine renewal or regeneration:⁹⁵ “There is scarcely a single doctrine of the Scriptures either more clearly taught or more abundantly confirmed by the common consciousness of men, whether saints or sinners, than the doctrine that fallen man is destitute of all ability to convert himself or to perform any holy act until renewed by the almighty power of the Spirit of God.”⁹⁶ The “destitute” nature of fallen man required divine redemption and, according to

⁹³ Ibid., 2.670.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 2.663-664 reads, “The Scriptures therefore always recognize the Holy Spirit as the immediate author of regeneration, of repentance, of faith, and of all holy exercises. He dwells in believers, controlling their inward and outward life. He enlightens, leads, sanctifies, strengthens, and comforts.” At the conclusion of the argument, Hodge reaffirms, “the efficacious operation of the Spirit to which the Scriptures ascribe [is] the regeneration of the soul.”

⁹⁵ The *Westminster Confession*, 11.3: “Man, by his Fall into a state of sin, hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation; so as a natural man, being altogether averse from that good, and dead in sin, is not able by his own strength, to convert himself, or to prepare himself thereunto.” Likewise, section six is entirely dedicated to the “Fall of Man”; it reads, “Our first parents, being seduced by the subtlety and temptation of Satan, sinned in eating the forbidden fruit . . . by this sin they fell from their original righteousness and communion with God, and so became dead in sin, wholly defined in all the faculties and parts of soul and body. They being the root of all mankind, the guilt of this sin was imputed, and the same death in sin and corrupted nature conveyed to all their posterity, descending from them by ordinary generation. From this original corruption, whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil, do proceed all actual transgressions. This corruption of nature during this life, doth remain in those that are regenerated” (6.1-5). Hodge’s biographer, Hewitt, explained the origins of Hodge’s dependence on regeneration; “Both Luther and Calvin were concerned to show that regeneration, and the movement of faith toward receiving it, were initiated by God and occurred entirely through grace. Repentance and conversion were conceived by them as a lifelong endeavor that involved the turning of the entire life to God” (Hewitt, *Regeneration and Morality*, 5-6).

⁹⁶ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 2.273.

the Reformed tradition, the Spirit performed that act of regeneration.⁹⁷ Hodge believed that the Spirit carried out God's work in creation and likewise carried out regeneration of elected souls: "The works of the Spirit are the works of God. He fashioned the world (Gen. 1:2.). He regenerates the soul."⁹⁸

Christ's atonement is not separated from Hodge's view of the Spirit's work in regeneration. In an editorial, "Christianity without Christ," Hodge again united the work of Christ and the Spirit to transform fallen souls: "The kindness and love of God our Saviour . . . saved us, by the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed on us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour."⁹⁹ Hodge interpreted Jesus' gift of the Holy Spirit as the source of Christian renewal.

Although Hodge's teachings on God's initiation of regeneration were consistent with his Calvinistic roots, his ideas clashed with those of more liberal theologians like Charles Finney.¹⁰⁰ Unlike the thoughts of Cartwright, Campbell, Finney, and Smith, Hodge's definition left no room for human initiative.¹⁰¹ In the mid-nineteenth-century, more and more religious thought focused on the agency of man in seeking salvation. But

⁹⁷ *Westminster Confession* 9.3 states, "The Holy Spirit, whom the Father is ever willing to give to all who ask him is the only efficient agent in the application of redemption. He regenerates men by his grace, convicts them of sin, moves them to repentance, and persuades and enables them to embrace Jesus Christ by faith." Hodge affirmed this position: "It is the special office of the Spirit to convince the world of sin; to reveal Christ, to regenerate the soul" (Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1.532).

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.528.

⁹⁹ Charles Hodge, "Christianity without Christ," *Princeton Review* 18, no. 5 (April 1876), 356. Hodge's words overlap with the *KJV* of Titus 3:5 "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost." (The only other time "regeneration" is used in the *KJV* Bible is in Matt 19:28. These two verses motivated pages of commentary by Hodge.)

¹⁰⁰ Hillerbrand, *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, 1.337 defines Calvinist theology: "One of Calvinism's central convictions is that God is the initiator of all things and that humans respond. . . . Humans receive the gift of faith through the Holy Spirit and respond in gratitude, trust, and love to God's gracious initiative. Thus, election or predestination means that salvation occurs purely by God's grace."

¹⁰¹ Hodge agreed with the *Westminster Confession* 12.2: "This effectual call is of God's free and special grace alone, not from anything at all foreseen in man, who is all together passive therein, until being quickened and renewed by the Holy Spirit, he is thereby enabled to answer this call, and to embrace the grace offered and conveyed in it."

Hodge fought to protect his Old School perspective. Hodge agreed exclusively with the *Westminster Confession* which held that “all those that are ordained unto life” are chosen by the Holy Spirit to “make them willing and able to believe.”¹⁰² In keeping with Hodge’s traditional character, he never stepped over the line that many nineteenth-century preachers overstepped when they suggested a man’s desires or rational thought began his conversion. Promoting free agency for him was not an invitation to enthusiastic revivals, but a response to the Spirit’s offer of “true holiness.”¹⁰³ He accredited the initial change of heart in regeneration to God.

According to Hodge, the outcome of regeneration was “a New Birth.”¹⁰⁴ Using the same words from the *Westminster Confession*, Hodge described each regenerated person as receiving “a new heart.”¹⁰⁵ After the Spirit’s infusion into a regenerated soul, “the ‘things of the Spirit’ become the chief objects of desire and pursuit, and all the energies of the new-born soul are directed towards the spiritual, as distinguished from the seen and

¹⁰² Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 2.358. The sole responsibility of humanity according to Hodge was to believe and obey what was taught: “Men were required to believe and obey what was communicated to them, and not what the Spirit revealed to each individual. It was the outward and not the inward word to which they were to attend. . . . They were to listen to the outward Word; to believe what they heard, and were to pray for the Holy Spirit to enable them to understand, receive, and obey what was the externally made known to them” (ibid., 1.100-101). In this sense the prayer of the believer motivated one to obey.

¹⁰³ Stephens, *Holy Spirit*, 94.

¹⁰⁴ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 3.603. “Regeneration is no slight matter. It is a new birth; a new creation; a resurrection from spiritual death to spiritual life. It is a change, wrought by the exceeding greatness of God’s power, analogous to that which was wrought in Christ, when He was raised from the dead, and exalted.”

¹⁰⁵ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 2.704; “All those passages in which God promises to give a new heart, are proofs that regeneration is a supernatural work of the Holy Spirit; not a moral suasion, but a creating and imparting a principle of a new form of life.” Correspondingly, the *Westminster Confession* affirms that elected souls can be regenerated: “They who are effectually called and regenerated, having a new heart, and a new spirit created in them, are further sanctified” (15.1, 3). Hodge repeated a derivation of this in his *Systematic Theology*: “The Scriptures teach that it is thus in regeneration. The soul enters upon a new state. It is introduced into a new world. A whole class of objects before unknown or unappreciated are revealed to it, and exercise upon it their appropriate influence. The ‘things of the Spirit’ become the chief objects of desire and pursuit, and all the energies of the new-born soul are directed towards the spiritual, as distinguished from the seen and temporal” (3.35).

temporal.”¹⁰⁶ This spiritual change was important to Hodge because his tradition taught that elected regenerated souls could not fall—they retained their regeneration as part of being unconditionally elected.¹⁰⁷ He saw the next step in the process as the “higher life,” which allowed the elect to partake of Christ’s “divine nature” and “divine love.”¹⁰⁸ Hodge’s doctrine on the cleansing of regeneration is yet another reiteration of the *Westminster Confession*.¹⁰⁹

For Hodge, regeneration of the elect was also “synonymous with conversion.” Conversion was hotly debated during the Second Great Awakening, so Hodge carefully clarified what it entailed: “In our day, in ordinary theological language, it means that supernatural change effected by the Spirit of God by which a soul is made spiritually alive.”¹¹⁰ The Spirit completely controlled this “supernatural change” that allowed one to believe or to become “spiritually alive.” Hodge insisted that the Spirit had complete control of conversion: “Nothing intervenes between the volition of the Spirit and the regeneration of the soul.”¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 3.35. Hodge’s full quote reads, “It is a New Birth. The same doctrine on the subject is taught in other words when regeneration is declared to be a new birth. . . . The Scriptures teach that it is thus in regeneration. The soul enters upon a new state. It is introduced into a new world. A whole class of objects before unknown or unappreciated are revealed to it, and exercise upon it their appropriate influence. The ‘things of the Spirit.’ become the chief objects of desire and pursuit, and all the energies of the new-born soul are directed towards the spiritual, as distinguished from the seen and temporal.” In volume two of the same work, Hodge explained, “Regeneration itself, the infusion of a new life into the soul, is the immediate work of the Spirit. There is here no place for the use of means any more than in the act of creation or in working a miracle (2.685).

¹⁰⁷ Hillerbrand, *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, 1.337.

¹⁰⁸ Charles Hodge, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, revised ed. (Edinburgh, Scotland: Andrew Elliot, 1864), 265. “By regeneration, the new birth, they are born into a higher life; are made partakers, as the apostle Peter says, of the divine nature; and are thus, through and in Christ, the source of their new life, the objects of the divine love, and the heirs of his kingdom.”

¹⁰⁹ *Westminster Confession*, 15.1, 3 (quoted above).

¹¹⁰ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 3.591.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 2.684. In his first volume of *Systematic Theology* Hodge even more emphatically denounced the liberal doctrine of mortal intervention in conversion that Cartwright and Finney preached: “In no case do we find the Apostles calling upon the people, whether Jews or Gentiles, to look within themselves, to listen to the inner Word. They were to listen to the outward Word; to believe what they heard, and were to pray for

The time for action from Hodge's perspective followed regeneration. Hodge's emphasis here, according to Bruce Stephens, separated him from those in American Protestantism who inversely emphasized the role of human agency even prior to regeneration. Stephens saw Hodge promoting proper action "by right principles which are engendered in the soul by the Spirit alone."¹¹² After the Spirit had changed the heart of the elect, then Hodge believed that humanity was no longer passive and had the power to trust. The important issue here was the timing of the Spirit's regeneration. Exactly opposite to Cartwright's belief, Hodge's contention was that the Spirit acts first as "the author of our faith and repentance by inducing us to act, but no man regenerates himself." In the same breath Hodge affirmed that the Spirit initiates the response; however, he admitted that the human soul is in some degree active: "The soul, although essentially active, is still capable of being acted upon."¹¹³ Finally, after Hodge ensured that his audience understood the proper order of conversion, he described a regenerated human as one who "repents, believes, hopes and fears."¹¹⁴ Almost as if Hodge were stepping too close to a cliff—after briefly identifying these areas of human involvement—he quickly reminded his reader, "but it is the Holy Spirit that regenerates," and backed away from

the Holy Spirit to enable them to understand, receive, and obey what was thus externally made known to them. (ibid. 1.100-101). Hodge tries to avoid subjectivism.

¹¹² Stephens, *Holy Spirit*, 97.

¹¹³ Charles Hodge, "Regeneration, and the Manner of its Occurrence," *Princeton Review*, 2 (1830), 295. The reference to "repentance" as an act of the Spirit was again alluded to by Hodge in *Systematic Theology*: "The Spirit is frequently said to be poured out on men; but men are never said to be dipped or immersed into the Holy Spirit. Such an idea is altogether incongruous. When, therefore, it is said that men are baptized by the Holy Spirit, as is so often done, the reference must be to effusion, or affusion [*sic*] of the Spirit by which the soul is cleansed from sin. . . . As to baptize 'βαπτίζω, cannot mean to immerse in water, so neither can baptising [*sic*] . . . mean immersing in the Spirit" (3:532).

¹¹⁴ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 2.358. "In the Confession of Faith 1 it is said, 'Man, by his fall, having made himself incapable of life by that covenant [by the covenant of works], the Lord was pleased to make a second, commonly called the covenant of grace; wherein He freely offereth unto sinners life and salvation by Jesus Christ, requiring of them faith in Him, that they may be saved, and promising to give unto all those that are ordained unto life, his Holy Spirit, to make them willing and able to believe.'"

discussing any other human involvement.¹¹⁵ Stephens saw Hodge fighting “to protect the centrality of the Spirit’s role” against more liberal theologies on all sides.¹¹⁶ Hodge stressed the Spirit’s role in regeneration in three areas: 1) in a spontaneous supernatural act of God, 2) in conversion to a new birth, and 3) in the *immediacy* of the Spirit’s work.¹¹⁷ For Hodge, the Spirit completely and immediately changed the whole elected soul to a spiritual life filled with holy acts motivated by the Spirit’s sanctification.

5. Sanctification or Indwelling

Hodge believed that after the Spirit regenerated the elect, it sanctified those same chosen ones.¹¹⁸ The union or “indwelling of the Holy Spirit” was explained by Hodge as the way believers became “vitally united to Christ.”¹¹⁹ In his fashion, he supported sanctification by citing biblical references like the following: “(Rom. 8.14) Believers are sanctified by the Spirit; (1 Cor. 6.11) they are led by the Spirit; they live in the Spirit; (Gal. 5.25) they are strengthened by the Spirit; (Eph. 3.16) they are filled with the Spirit.”¹²⁰ Hodge’s descriptions are also filled with imperatives: “This doctrine of the

¹¹⁵ Ibid. Later in the same volume Hodge continued, “There is here no place for the use of means any more than in the act of creation or in working a miracle” (2.684-5). By “means” Hodge implied any sacramental means or without the necessity of external mediation.

¹¹⁶ Stephens, *Holy Spirit*, 97.

¹¹⁷ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 2.684-5; “Regeneration itself, the infusion of a new life into the soul, is the immediate work of the Spirit.” All acts of the Spirit were immediate according to Hodge: “Thus the Holy Ghost is the immediate author of all truth, of all holiness, of all consolation, of all authority, and of all efficiency in the children of God individually, and in the Church collectively” (1.531).

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 3.216. “Sanctification is referred to the Holy Spirit, as his peculiar work in the economy of redemption.”

¹¹⁹ Hodge described indwelling often in his *Systematic Theology*, for example: “The indwelling of the Spirit renders the believer glorious” (3.219); “Another consequence of the union with Christ effected by faith, is the indwelling of the Spirit” (3.227); “The object of the inward teaching of the Spirit is to enable us to discern the truth and excellence of truth and excellence of what is already abjectly revealed in the Bible” (1.68).

¹²⁰ Hodge, *The Way of Life*, 329. Originally the scripture references were as footnotes after each phrase. In his chapter, “Holy Living,” Hodge continued to describe the blessings of sanctification by the Spirit: “(Luke 3:16) they are born of the Spirit; (John 3:5) they are called spiritual, because the Spirit of God dwells in them; (1 Cor 3:16) whereas, the unregenerate are called natural, or sensual, ‘having not the Spirit.’ (Rom 8:14) Believers are sanctified by the Spirit; (1 Cor 6:11) they are led by the Spirit; they live in the Spirit; (Gal 5:25) they are strengthened by the Spirit; (Eph 3:16) they are filled with the Spirit. (Eph 5:18) By the

indwelling of the Holy Spirit is so wrought into the texture of the gospel as to be absolutely essential to it.”¹²¹ For Hodge, the indwelling of the Spirit was the pinnacle of Christian life. It was this blessed state of “the indwelling of the Spirit of God” that uplifted “those in whom he dwells, into the state of sons of God.”¹²² One reason why Hodge preached fervently on the subject was because it confirmed the Westminster doctrine, which taught that “the indwelling of the Holy Spirit . . . vitally united” the elect with Christ.¹²³

Each of the other four religious leaders in this study spoke of the Spirit’s sanctification. Hodge’s definition of sanctification reflected his Calvinist stress on grace alone: “the work of sanctification is a work of grace, *i.e.*, a work carried on by the unmerited, supernatural power of the Holy Spirit.”¹²⁴ The Spirit enabled believers to

Spirit they mortify sin; (Rom 8:13) through the Spirit they wait for the hope of righteousness; (Gal 5:5) they have access to God by the Spirit; (Eph 2:18) they pray and sing in the Spirit. (John 4:24; Jude 20) The Spirit is to them a source of knowledge (Eph 1:17); of joy (1 Thes 1:6); of love, long-suffering, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance (Gal 5:22). *This doctrine of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit is so wrought into the texture of the gospel as to be absolutely essential to it.* It ceases to be the gospel if we abstract from it the great truth, that the Spirit of God, as the purchase and gift of Christ, is ever present with his people, guiding their inward exercises and outward conduct, and bringing them at last, without spot or blemish, to the purity and blessedness of heaven” (ibid., emphasis original).

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Hewitt, *Regeneration and Morality*, 274.

¹²³ *Westminster Confession*, 9.4; also in chapter 15.1, the elect “are further sanctified, really and personally, through the virtue of Christ’s death and resurrection, by his Word and Spirit dwelling in them; the dominion of the whole body of sin is destroyed.”

¹²⁴ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 2.343. Hodge defined the Spirit’s sanctification: “The indwelling of the Holy Spirit thus secured by union with Christ becomes the source of a new spiritual life, which constantly increases in power until everything uncongenial with it is expelled, and the soul is perfectly transformed into the image of Christ. It is the office of the Spirit to enlighten the mind . . . that we may know the things freely given to us of God. . . These things, which the natural man cannot know, the Spirit enables the believer ‘to discern,’ *i.e.*, to apprehend in their truth and excellence; and thus to experience their power. The Spirit, we are taught, especially opens the eyes to see the glory of Christ, to see that He is God manifest in the flesh; to discern not only his divine perfections, but his love to us, and his suitableness in all respects as our Saviour, so that those who have not seen Him, yet believing on Him, rejoice in Him with joy unspeakable and full of glory. This apprehension of Christ is transforming; the soul is thereby changed into his image, from glory to glory by the Spirit of the Lord. . . . All the great doctrines of the Bible concerning God, Christ, and things spiritual and eternal, are so revealed by this inward teaching of the Spirit, as to be not only rightly discerned, but to exert, in a measure, their proper influence on the heart and life. ‘Sanctify them through thy truth,’ is answered in the experience of his people” (3.229-230). John Calvin accepted Martin Luther’s idea of “imputed righteousness” from the Spirit, but made sanctification the goal of Christian life. The *Encyclopedia*

constantly increase their holiness by cleansing the inner vessel, enlightening the mind, and then gaining greater discernment. Up to this point, the Spirit's work controlled humanity's efforts; but in a limited sense, Hodge understood sanctification as a joint process where both the Spirit and human were "active and cooperating in the process."¹²⁵ Nevertheless, this cooperative state does not diminish the supernatural role of the Spirit in Reformed doctrine. On this point, Hodge opposed Catholics and Methodists who accepted more human cooperation in sanctification. Each denomination also stood in a different place on a sliding scale in the process of holiness. Hodge was not swayed by popular theologies, but remained loyal to the Westminster definition of sanctification where the Spirit offered "continual supply [of] strength" to overcome the lusts of the flesh. This allowed saints to "grow in grace, perfecting holiness in the fear of God" until they were ultimately perfected in the next life.¹²⁶ Hodge described cooperation in sanctification as believers learning "submission, confidence, self-denial, patience, and meekness, as well as faith, hope, and love," along with the personal agency to apply these virtues to life.¹²⁷ Ultimately, though,

of Protestantism explains, "In the Calvinist tradition, therefore, a believer's quest for holiness posed no threat to justification by faith. The believer's holiness, although always a gift of grace and incomplete before death, was not entirely alien. Calvinism allowed for genuine moral transformation as Christians were sanctified" (Hillerbrand, 4.1652).

¹²⁵ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 3.215. The Spirit and soul work together "in conversion, repentance, faith, and growth in grace, all its powers are called into exercise. As, however, the effects produced transcend the efficiency of our fallen nature, and are due to the agency of the Spirit, sanctification does not cease to be supernatural, or a work of grace, because the soul is active and cooperating in the process."

¹²⁶ *Westminster Confession*, 15.1-3 states: "1) They who are effectually called and regenerated, having a new heart and a new spirit created in them, are further sanctified, really and personally, through the virtue of Christ's death and resurrection, by his Word and Spirit dwelling in them; the dominion of the whole body of sin is destroyed, and the several lusts thereof are more and more weakened and mortified, and they are more and more quickened and strengthened, in all saving graces, to the practice of true holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord. 2) This sanctification is throughout in the whole man, yet imperfect in this life: there abideth still some remnants of corruption in every part, whence ariseth a continual and irreconcilable war, the flesh lusting against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh. 3) In which war, although the remaining corruption for a time may much prevail, yet, through the continual supply of strength from the sanctifying Spirit of Christ, the regenerate part doth overcome: and so the saints grow in grace, perfecting holiness in the fear of God."

¹²⁷ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 3.230.

the glorious results of sanctification were possible because the Spirit's indwelling led the elect "to strive after complete conformity to the image of God."¹²⁸

Hodge spoke of sanctification more than other works of the Spirit and particularly emphasized sanctification in prayer, faith, fruits of the Spirit, transforming the body into a temple, and in unifying Christianity. Each of these five facets was important enough to Hodge to include here.

1) Prayer. Hodge believed that prayer promoted sanctification. In keeping with the *Westminster Confession*, he taught that the Holy Spirit gave "the spirit of . . . prayer" to all saints "who ask Him."¹²⁹ Hodge interpreted sincere prayer as an "appointed means of obtaining the Holy Ghost."¹³⁰ In obtaining the Spirit, Hodge included "the renewing power of the Holy Ghost" to sanctify and to give witness to the truth.¹³¹ He believed the Lord promised the elect encouragement to seek the sanctifying power of the Spirit's

¹²⁸ Ibid., 3.248. The entire quote reads, "Battling with the problems of complete and continual INDWELLING *Galatians*, v. 16-26, is addressed to Christians generally. It recognizes the fact that they are imperfectly sanctified; that in them the renewed principle, the Spirit as the source of spiritual life, is in conflict with the flesh, the remains of their corrupt nature. It exhorts them to mortify the flesh (not the body, but their corrupt nature), and to strive constantly to walk under the controlling influence of the Spirit. The characteristic difference between the unrenewed and the renewed is not that the former are entirely sinful, and the latter perfectly holy; but that the former are wholly under the control of their fallen nature, while the latter have the Spirit of God dwelling in them, which leads them to crucify the flesh, and to strive after complete conformity to the image of God" (emphasis original).

¹²⁹ *Westminster Confession*, 9.3, asserts that the Spirit "unites all believers to Christ, dwells in them as their Comforter and Sanctifier, gives to them the spirit of Adoption and Prayer, and performs all those gracious offices by which they are sanctified and sealed unto the day of redemption."

¹³⁰ Hodge, *The Way of Life*, 333. "Prayer is not a mere instinct of a dependent nature, seeking help from the Author of its being; nor is it to be viewed simply as a natural expression of faith and desire, or as a mode of communion with the Father of our spirits; but it is also to be regarded as the appointed means of obtaining the Holy Ghost."

¹³¹ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 2.337. The full quotation expands on the role of the Spirit in a sanctified spiritual life: "Every living member of that Church recognizes this truth in their prayers for the renewing power of the Holy Ghost. In the most ancient and universally recognized creeds of the Church the Spirit is designated as τὸ ζῶον, *the life-giving*; the author of all spiritual life. The sovereignty involved in this regenerating influence of the Holy Spirit is necessarily implied in the nature of the power exerted. It is declared to be the mighty power of God."

indwelling.¹³² In this regard, prayer was one of the ways that Hodge saw the Spirit and man working in harmony. He encouraged his readers to seek actively “the inward teaching of the Spirit” through prayer.¹³³ Notwithstanding the elects’ effort, the Spirit still took the lead to render prayer an “effectual means of promoting the sanctification of his people and of securing their ultimate salvation,”¹³⁴ a significant point of consistency.

2) *Faith*. Hodge identified the Spirit as “enabling” one to receive faith, but after that initial change of heart, he insisted that each believer must “exercise” that gift of faith to strengthen it.¹³⁵ Standing on a firm Presbyterian biblical foundation, he affirmed that once the Spirit gave believers a portion of faith, they could use their own agency to “live by faith.”¹³⁶ In his *Systematic Theology*, Hodge earnestly describes the importance of each individual developing faith: “It is by faith that we receive the indwelling of the Spirit. Christ dwells in our hearts by faith. Faith is also the indispensable condition . . . of this indwelling of the Spirit.”¹³⁷ Fostering faith became another means to receive the Spirit’s indwelling.

¹³² Ibid., 1.525; “We pray to the Spirit for the communication of Himself to us, that He may, according to the promise of our Lord, dwell in us.”

¹³³ Ibid., 1.68.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 3.231. The quote continues “The Spirit renders the ordinances of God, the word, sacraments, and prayer,” as “effectual means of promoting the sanctification.”

¹³⁵ Ibid., 1.66, 532. The Spirit works “to lead men to the exercise of faith and repentance; to dwell in those whom He thus renews, as a principle of a new and divine life” (1.532). Similarly, the *Westminster Confession* 9.3 reads, “The Holy Spirit . . . enables them to embrace Jesus Christ by faith.”

¹³⁶ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 3.108. “The indwelling of the Spirit is the source of all spiritual life . . . the gift of the Spirit must precede the exercise of faith. It is nevertheless true that faith is the condition of the indwelling of the Spirit, and consequently of spiritual life. Life must precede breathing, and yet breathing is the necessary condition of living. Faith is not only the condition of the Spirit’s dwelling in us as the source of spiritual life, but we live by faith . . . Faith does not, indeed, give them their power, but it is the condition on which the Spirit of God renders them efficacious” (3. 109). *Westminster Confession*, 14.3 reads, “this faith is different in degrees, weak or strong; may be often and many ways assailed and weakened, but gets the victory; growing up in many to the attainment of a full assurance through Christ, who is both the author and finisher of our faith.”

¹³⁷ Ibid., 3.108.

To exercise one's faith, Hodge explained, the believer must study the scriptures and receive a "demonstration of the Spirit."¹³⁸ True to the *Westminster Confession*, Hodge placed Bible study as the means of all spiritual attainments, including "saving faith."¹³⁹ The Bible taught that faith "is the bond of our union with Christ. It not only gives us the right to plead his merits for our justification, but it makes us partakers of his Holy Spirit."¹⁴⁰ Hodge cherished this biblical promise. For him, each regenerated human could invoke the Spirit through one's own scripture study and pleadings. The outcome was an increased "faith founded on the demonstration of the Spirit," which was "abiding," and "purifying."¹⁴¹

When believers developed faith to the point of receiving a witness of the Spirit, Hodge believed they had "true faith, or the infallible assurance of the truths revealed," which were "due in like manner to the 'demonstration of the Spirit' (1 Cor. ii. 4)."¹⁴² It was at this point that Hodge identified the believer's faith as saving faith: "Saving faith does not rest on the testimony of the Church . . . but on the inward testimony of the Spirit"¹⁴³ Saving faith came from the Spirit's inner-witness which provided, in Hodge's

¹³⁸ In Hodge's commentary on *1 Corinthians*, he defined the "demonstration of the Spirit's power" to mean, "That exercise of divine power, therefore, to which he refers as the ground of faith, is the powerful operation of the Spirit, bearing witness with and by the truth in our hearts." (50)

¹³⁹ Hodge, *Essays and Reviews*, 192. Hodge emphasized that the elect can exercise faith as he wrote, "The Bible, it may be remarked, in the first place, that it is of itself perfectly adequate as the foundation of a rational and saving faith . . . who by their faith were made new creatures in Christ Jesus."

¹⁴⁰ Hodge, *The Way of Life*, 331; "Christ has promised, that all, who come to him shall receive the water of life, by which the apostle tells us is meant the Holy Spirit."

¹⁴¹ Hodge, *1 Corinthians*, 50. The full quote reads, "faith founded on the demonstration of the Spirit is abiding, works by love, and purifies the heart."

¹⁴² Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1.99.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* Hodge later explained this distinction in his third volume: "The inward testimony of the Spirit, which is of such a nature and of such power as to produce a perfect revolution in the soul, compared in Scripture to that effected [sic] by opening the eyes of the blind to the reality, the wonders, and glories of creation. There is, therefore, all the difference between a faith resting on this inward testimony of the Spirit, and mere speculative faith, that there is between the conviction a blind man has of the beauties of nature, before and after the opening of his eyes" (3.73).

words, an assurance that “needs no other.”¹⁴⁴ Even though Hodge developed his own ideas on “saving faith,” he never contradicted his Presbyterian directives in the *Westminster Confession* on this or other facets of the Spirit.¹⁴⁵

3) *Fruits of the Spirit*. As with prayer and faith, Hodge identified the fruits of the Spirit as the effects of God’s grace and a “consequence” of sanctification.¹⁴⁶ *Systematic Theology* clarified, “Sanctification is referred to as the Holy Spirit, as his peculiar work in the economy of redemption. Hence He is called the Spirit of all grace; the Spirit of joy, of peace, of love, of faith, and of adoption. All Christian graces are set forth as fruits of the Spirit.”¹⁴⁷ Earlier Hodge explained “all the fruits of the Spirit in believers are called graces, or unmerited gifts of God.”¹⁴⁸ From the vast list of biblical fruits of the Spirit, Hodge chose to speak in a modern context of only “repentance, faith, or holiness of heart and life.” He spoke of the more demonstrative gifts like tongues and healings only in relation to the prophets and apostles.¹⁴⁹ Cessation of the charismatic gifts was typical in Reformed theology. All the same, several other fruits of the Spirit spill forth when the Spirit’s indwelling produces “holiness of heart and life.”¹⁵⁰ Significantly, Hodge did not

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 1.99.

¹⁴⁵ *Westminster Confession*, 14.2 interpreted “the principal acts of saving faith [as], accepting, receiving, and resting upon Christ alone for justification, sanctification, and eternal life, by virtue of the covenant of grace.”

¹⁴⁶ Hodge, *The Way of Life*, 151. “All the inward excellence of the Christian and the fruits of the Spirit are the consequences, and not the causes of his reconciliation and acceptance with God. They are the robe of beauty, the white garment, with which Christ arrays those who come to him poor, and blind, and naked.”

¹⁴⁷ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 3.216.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 2.654.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 3.125; “These effects of grace, or fruits of the Spirit are above the sphere of the natural; they belong to the supernatural. The mere power of truth, argument, motive, persuasion, or eloquence cannot produce repentance, faith, or holiness of heart and life. Nor can these effects be produced by the power of the will, or by all the resources of man, however protracted or skilful in their application. They are the gifts of God.” Hodge limited the gift of tongues to apostles in *Systematic Theology* 1.138, 140, 162, 418; the gift of healing to the New Testament 1.503, 507, 617, 618, 625; and the gift of prophecy: “It is true that during the apostolic age there were occasional communications made to a class of persons called prophets. But this ‘gift of prophecy,’ that is the gift of speaking under inspiration of the Spirit, was analogous with the gift of miracles. The one has as obviously ceased as the other” (1.98).

¹⁵⁰ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 3.216; “We are said to be born of the Spirit, and by Him to be enlightened, taught, led, and cleansed. We are said to be in the Spirit, to live, to walk, and to rejoice in the Spirit. The

emphasize the fruits as much as he did their Giver. For him the fruits of the Spirit were the effects of grace and as such were gifts from God. In keeping with the *Westminster Confession*, Hodge claimed that nothing—including the fruits of the spirit—came as reward for “obedience to the law”; rather all were unmerited God-given gifts to the sanctified.¹⁵¹

4) *Transforming the Body into a Temple of the Holy Ghost*. Sanctification affected the body in many ways, but one aspect that Hodge emphasized was the concept of the body becoming “the temple of the Holy Ghost.”¹⁵² He believed that the Spirit’s work of sanctification made the body holy. In that process one became “consecrated to the service, and hallowed by the presence of God.”¹⁵³ The temple was a consecrated place, so Hodge connected that sacredness to our bodies by stressing that purity must be maintained: “We must remember that to defile the soul with sin, or the body by intemperance or impurity is sacrilege, because we are the members of Christ, and our bodies the temples of the Holy Ghost.”¹⁵⁴ Hodge further applied Old Testament imagery to the sanctifying effects of the Spirit. He connected the innermost recess of the Israelite Tabernacle where “the *Shekinah*, or glory of God,” was manifest with the “constantly present” indwelling Spirit, forever blessing the church.¹⁵⁵ He expanded the symbolism from the sanctified body as a temple to the broader scope of the church membership. Both images fill his writings:

Spirit dwells in the people of God, and is the abiding source of all the actings [*sic*] of that spiritual life which He implants in the soul.”

¹⁵¹ *Westminster Confession*, 16.2. In *The Way of Life*, Hodge said: “It is, then, the plain doctrine of the word of God, that our justification is not founded upon our own obedience to the law” (151).

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 301. The entire quote reads, “The body is the subject of sanctification in various ways. It is the temple of the Holy Ghost” (300-301). Hodge similarly explained in *1 Corinthians*: “A temple is a house in which God dwells; and therefore, it is added, and *that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you*” (70).

¹⁵³ Hodge, *The Way of Life*, 301.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 332. Hodge repeated these thoughts in his commentary on *1 Corinthians*: “The body is a temple in which the Spirit dwells, but it ceases to be such if profaned by licentiousness” (106, also 109, 110).

¹⁵⁵ Hodge, *1 Corinthians*, 70; “As in the Jewish temple, in its inmost recess, the *Shekinah*, or glory of God, was constantly present, and conferred on the building its awe-inspiring power, and rendered any profanation of it a direct offense to God; so does the Holy Spirit dwell in the church.”

“[the] indwelling of the Spirit constitutes each believer, every separate church, and the Church collectively [as] the temple of God”¹⁵⁶

5) *Unity through Sanctification*. The Spirit played a marvelous role in unifying Christianity in Hodge’s mind. Even though he saw denominations multiply and churches splinter during his long life, he nevertheless upheld the hope that the indwelling of the Spirit could unify all chosen people. He shared his ideas on unity in an essay entitled “The Holy Ghost”: “By this indwelling of the Spirit, believers are united to Christ, and to one another, so that they form one body. This is the foundation of the communion of saints, making them one in faith.”¹⁵⁷ Hodge envisioned all Christian denominations gathering together “into one Spirit,” without addressing the denominational differences of his day.¹⁵⁸ Sanctification of the Spirit became Hodge’s essential component to fuse the “communion of saints.” In this respect Hodge followed the pattern established by the *Westminster Confession* that through baptism all were incorporated “into the visible Church.”¹⁵⁹

Even though Hodge was passionate about defending the doctrines of the Reformed tradition, he did not single out his own denomination as the banner around which Christians should gather. He spoke to that matter by relying on the perfect work of the Spirit to amalgamate “those who are washed, and sanctified, and justified in the name of

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1.532. In another article he again quoted Paul, by describing the unity of “Christ’s body” as the goal for the church, connecting all who enjoyed the indwelling of the Spirit. Hodge justified the unity of his faith by claiming it “is one because it is pervaded by one Spirit. We are all baptized into one Spirit, so as to become says the apostle, one body. This indwelling of the Spirit thus unites all members of Christ’s body.” A. A. Hodge, *Commentary on the Confession*, 415.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ *Westminster Confession*, 30.1; “Baptism is a sacrament of the New Testament, ordained by Jesus Christ, not only for the solemn admission of the party baptized into the visible Church, but also to be unto him a sign and seal of the covenant of grace, of his ingrafting [*sic*] into Christ.” Even though Hodge spent a great deal of energy delineating the differences between different Christian faiths throughout his life—he denounces Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Arminianism for their unscriptural falsehoods—none of that separation is seen in any of his discussions of the unity of the church through sanctification.

the Lord Jesus and by the Spirit of our God.”¹⁶⁰ The unity Hodge envisioned was an invisible unity in the Spirit, not a visible denominational unity.

To foster that harmony, he preferred the simplicity of the biblical name “church” and the unity that such a title represented, rather than referencing his own Presbyterian denomination: “All true believers, in whom the Spirit of God dwells, are members of that Church which is the body of Christ, no matter with what ecclesiastical organization they may be connected.”¹⁶¹ Regardless of denominational differences, Hodge saw the Spirit’s sanctification as the solution for unifying the Christian Church. Hodge’s version of unification by no means suggests that Hodge agreed with the teachings of other denominations—one still had to receive regeneration and sanctification in the orthodox manner. But once the Spirit began its perfect work of sanctification, Hodge pushed aside all theological clashes and advocated changing denominational independence into Christian dependence on the Spirit’s indwelling to unify Christianity.¹⁶² The hope of unity arose from Hodge’s understanding of the sanctification of the Spirit.

¹⁶⁰ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 137. Hodge’s argument continued, “The question is, whether when to the men thus designated and described, Christ promised to be with them to the end of the world to give them his Spirit, to guide them unto the knowledge of the truth, to keep them through the power of the Spirit, so that the gates of hell should not prevail against them?” Hodge answered resoundingly, yes!

¹⁶¹ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1.134. Similarly on May 1, 1855, he delivered another address, “*What is Presbyterianism*,” before the Presbyterian historical society at their anniversary meeting in Philadelphia: “All church power arises from the indwelling of the Spirit; therefore, those in whom the Spirit dwells are the seat of Church power. But the Spirit dwells in the whole church, and therefore the whole church is the seat of power. . . the Spirit dwells in the whole body of Christ, that he guides all his people into the knowledge of the truth; that every believer is taught of God, and has the witness in himself, and has no need that any should teach him, but the anointing which abideth in him teacheth him all things . . . So Christ, by his Spirit, dwells in his church, and all power belongs to the church, through the indwelling Spirit who gives to each member his function and office.” Hodge, *What is Presbyterianism* (Philadelphia, PA: Presbyterian Board, 1855), 24, 42.

¹⁶² Whenever Hodge discussed the indwelling of the Spirit, he emphasized the potential accord that should prevail. Hypothetically he argued that “if the church is . . . pervaded by the same Spirit, it is impossible that one part should be independent of all the rest.” A. A. Hodge, *Commentary on the Confession*, 413.

Conclusion

Charles Hodge championed the Calvinistic faith as he tenaciously clung to the *Westminster Confession* in almost every disputed position in antebellum theology, including pneumatology.¹⁶³ He described himself as “duty bound.”¹⁶⁴ The reason for his loyalty lay in his roots. Without a father, he clung to his mentors and father figures: Green and Alexander. Their defense of the Confession became Hodge’s defense. At a time in America when pneumatological beliefs of the Trinity, election, regeneration, biblical revelation, and sanctification were under attack, Hodge shielded his traditional beliefs with paternal protection. The more the old doctrines were assaulted, the more he wrote in their defense.

In addition to the grounding offered by his advisers and teachers, Hodge defended the workings of the Spirit from his own personal experience. He revered the Spirit in all ages and found the “doctrine of the Holy Ghost absolutely fundamental to the gospel.”¹⁶⁵ He believed the “greatest calamity that can befall an individual, a church, or a people, is that God should take his Holy Spirit from them.”¹⁶⁶ The ultimate goal in spiritual matters, for Hodge, was the indwelling of the Spirit imparting a “spiritual life” which “transformed” mortals “into the image of Christ.”¹⁶⁷ This internal transformation by the Spirit revealed “the glory of Christ and his infinite love.”¹⁶⁸ In order to receive this

¹⁶³ Holifield, *Theology in America*, 381, points out that at the 1858 General Assembly Hodge expressed his opinion that every theologian should “accept the confession’s ‘system of doctrines,’ which he believed to be ‘easily ascertainable,’” but not as the inflexible rule for interpreting scripture. In the area of pneumatology, though, Hodge held firmly to the dogma of the *Westminster Confession*.

¹⁶⁴ A. A. Hodge, *Life*, 42; “Believing it to be the path of my duty.”

¹⁶⁵ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1.523. Hodge continued to reinforce the importance of the Spirit: “The work of the Spirit in applying the redemption of Christ is represented to be as essential as that redemption itself.”

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.674.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 3.299.

¹⁶⁸ Hodge, “Christianity without Christ,” *Princeton Review*, 18.5 (April, 1876): 361.

transporting gift, he felt it “indispensable” to “know what the Bible teaches concerning the Holy Ghost, both as to his nature and office.”¹⁶⁹ He zealously encouraged elect believers to solicit the Spirit through prayer and reading the scriptures in order to experience the indwelling and sanctification of the Spirit.

At a time in America when social piety and social ills received great attention, Hodge chose to focus on the doctrines and theological undergirding of the Reformed tradition. The wave of American pragmatism was growing with Sunday schools, Bible societies, and missionary movements reforming the nation, but during all this, Hodge remained an anchor against floating too far away from the Confessions of his fathers. He disputed many nineteenth-century claims of the Spirit’s influence and warned against unchecked religious experiences as not conforming to traditional boundaries. Revivals and the like defied Hodge’s biblical empiricism and in his thoughts, produced an “unscriptural form of religion.”¹⁷⁰ From his theological fortress at Princeton, he reinforced and redrafted the theological structures of the Reformed tradition with his pen and voice.

¹⁶⁹ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1.523.

¹⁷⁰ Hodge, *Essays and Reviews*, 321.

Chapter 5

Charles Grandison Finney (1792-1875)

History honors Charles Finney as a theologian, educator, and the greatest revival preacher in the Second Great Awakening.¹ Bruce Stephens saw Finney as playing “a larger than life role in the shaping of evangelical Protestantism in nineteenth century America.”² We chose him for his proximity to Joseph Smith geographically in upstate New York and Ohio and culturally as a visionary and “popular” preacher.³ Both Finney and Smith moved to the Burned-over-District in their youth and became passionately interested in Christianity there. With the westward expansion, both settled within sixty miles of each other in Ohio. Both recorded a theophany experience. Both felt the Spirit directed their work. Both had large spheres of influence.⁴ And to some degree, both removed themselves from conventional denominations—Smith more so than Finney. Unlike Smith though, Finney believed in the Trinity and a closed canon; his enemies, moreover, did not resort to murder in order to silence him.⁵

¹ Biographies written on Charles Finney include Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, *Charles G. Finney and the Spirit of American Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996); David B. Chesebrough, *Charles G. Finney: Revivalist Rhetoric* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002); Lewis Drummond, *A Fresh Look at the Life and Ministry of Charles G. Finney* (Minneapolis, MN: Bethany House, 1985); David L. Weddle, *The Law as Gospel: Revival and Reform in the Theology of Charles G. Finney* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1985); Aaron Merritt Hills, *Life of Charles G. Finney* (Cincinnati, OH: Office of “God’s Revivalist,” 1902). He is also spoken of regularly in general American religious histories: Ahlstrom, *A Religious History*; Cross, *The Burned-over District*; Holifield, *Theology in America*; Hewitt, *Regeneration and Morality*; Stephens, *Holy Spirit*.

² Stephens, *Holy Spirit*, 45.

³ Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 9 (also 10-12). A “popular” preacher was different from a theologian or systematic minister. Later in his life Finney attempted to systematize his theology as well, but initially he was untrained in the creeds of Protestantism.

⁴ Noll, *America’s God*, 183-184; by 1835 Finney was one of the best known men in the nation.

⁵ There are no references to the Trinity or the Godhead in Finney’s *Autobiography*, or *Lectures on Revivals*. In his *Systematic Theology*, Finney refers to the Godhead once and to the Trinity three times (390, 419, 423), but none of those references includes a systematic definition. His first reference reads, “So little was known or knowable on the subject of the Trinity of God without revelation that natural theology could perhaps in its best estate have taught nothing farther than that if it was possible, some governmental expedient would be restored to and was in contemplation, for the ultimate restoration of the sinning race” (390). In the second he

On a pneumatological spectrum Finney stood closer to Cartwright and Smith because they each embraced seeking the Spirit in conversion and afterward as a guide in consecrating one's life to God. Like Smith and Campbell, Finney believed that his human initiation in seeking the Spirit did not deny the grace and gift of God.⁶ None of them felt they were minimizing God's omnipotence by encouraging humans to act and not wait to be acted upon. Rather, Finney saw God as actively encouraging and promising the Spirit and so he did the same.⁷

On the other end of the pneumatology spectrum, Finney is far removed from Hodge who denied human responsibility in instigating the Spirit's intervention. In reaction against ideas like Hodge expanded, Finney emphasized the human role in seeking, preparing, and calling upon Christ's promises to send His Spirit's witness.⁸ While Campbell saw rational thinking as the initial step to belief, Finney sought the Spirit from the start of conversion to sanctification. Finney understood the Bible to teach that all humans had the innate power to change their hearts and minds, to ask and receive the Holy

denounced others who "set aside the doctrine of the Trinity" (419). The third falls in a list of attributes of the atonement: "It has developed and fully revealed the doctrine of the Trinity" (423).

⁶ Finney described the human need for the Holy Spirit and God: "We need the light of the Holy Spirit to teach us the character of God, the nature of His government, the purity of His law, the necessity and fact of atonement—to teach us our need of Christ in all His offices and relations, governmental, spiritual, and mixed. We need the revelation of Christ to our souls, in such power as to induce in us that appropriating faith, without which Christ is not, and cannot be, our salvation." Charles Grandison Finney, *Systematic Theology* (Minneapolis, MN: Bethany House, reprint 1994), 413. Originally titled: *Lectures on Systematic Theology*, in three volumes, 1846, 1847.

⁷ Finney, *Autobiography*, 138. "I am not quite sure that I have laid as much stress as I intended upon the manifest agency of the Holy Spirit, in those revivals. I wish it to be distinctly understood, in all that I shall say, in my narrative of the revivals that I have witnessed, that I always in my own mind, and practically, laid the utmost stress upon this fact, underlying, directing, and giving efficiency to the means, without which nothing would be accomplished."

⁸ For example, Finney praised a minister who "went to work to convert sinners so earnestly, just as if he could do it all himself; but that was the very way he should do. He ought to reason with sinners and plead with them, as faithfully and as fully as if he did not expect any interposition of the Spirit of God. But whenever a man does this successfully, it shows that, after all, he knows he must depend for success upon the Spirit of God alone." Charles Grandison Finney, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, rev ed. (1835, reprint 1868, Oberlin, OH: EJ Goodrich,), 175-176. Earlier Finney preached: "Do not tempt God by 'waiting' for His Spirit, while using no means to procure His presence" (116).

Spirit throughout life.⁹ Unlike Hodge's more traditional theocentric orientation, Finney begins with man's effort. Interestingly, even though the starting point is different for these three theologians, they all shared the same end goal—sanctification. Finney accused some traditions as spiritually paralyzing humanity into waiting for the Spirit's intervention rather than proactively acting on God's promises.¹⁰ He denounced the doctrines of total depravity and predisposed election as hindering Christians from actively searching for and receiving God's blessings in their lives.¹¹ By so doing, he directly censured strict Calvinists like Charles Hodge. Verbal assaults flew back and forth between Hodge and Finney on their opposite views of the Spirit's work in regeneration and conversion.¹²

This chapter will demonstrate that Finney interpreted God's promises of the baptism of the Holy Spirit as available to all repentant seeking Christians without the need to wait on the Lord's induction. Finney called upon Christians to take the initiative in consecrating their lives to God; such initiative would then facilitate the Spirit's blessings. In chapter eight I will compare Finney's position with other nineteenth-century

⁹ Finney discussed the scriptural promises of the Spirit and taught that it was a moral duty for humans to seek those spiritual promises in *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*: "This blessing is particularly named in the [scriptural] promise, and here we have evidence, and we are bound to believe, whether we have any Divine influence or not: just as sinners are bound to repent whether the Spirit strives with them or not, their obligation resting not upon the Spirit's influences, but upon the powers of moral agency which they possess; upon their ability to do their duty. And while it is true that not one of them ever will repent without the influences of the Spirit, still they have power to do so, and are under obligation to do so whether the Spirit strives with them or not. So with the Christian. He is bound to believe where he has evidence. And although he never does believe, even where he has an express promise, without the Spirit of God, yet his obligation to do so rests upon his ability, and not upon the Divine influence" (95).

¹⁰ Holifield, *Theology*, 362: "More than one interpreter of Finney has contended that his theology was 'no offshoot of New England' but 'an independent development from its own root.'"

¹¹ Finney, *Autobiography*, 152: "The doctrine upon which I insisted, that the command to obey God implied the power to do so, created in some places considerable opposition at first. Denying also, as I did, that moral depravity is physical, or the depravity of the nature, and maintaining, as I did, that it is altogether voluntary, and therefore that the Spirit's influences are those of teaching, persuading, convicting, and, of course, a moral influence . . . that the Spirit's influences are moral, as opposed to physical."

¹² Hodge warned against several different schools of thought (i.e. Nathaneal Emmons, John Nevin, and Nathaniel Taylor) but "draws the strongest criticism" for Finney. Stephens finds their disagreement stemming from the fact that for Finney regeneration was a change of purpose, which Hodge found "unbiblical" and "mere[ly] philosophical theories" rather than biblical facts. Stephens, *Holy Spirit*, 92-93.

pneumatologists treated in the dissertation. This chapter begins with a brief biographical sketch illustrating Finney's experiences in order to better understand his beliefs. The remainder of the chapter touches on his four-step pneumatology. Finney emphasized the importance of man's effort before engaging the Spirit's influence. For Finney, the Spirit was manifested in 1) the spirit of prayer, 2) revivals, 3) conversion and progressing, and 4) sanctification. The order is significant because it demonstrates Finney's shift to the human as the initiator of spiritual blessings.

Biographical Sketch¹³

Charles Finney did not live long in his birth village of Warren, Connecticut, but moved to upstate New York with his family at age two—first to Oneida and later to Jefferson County. In his childhood and youth he acknowledged little interest in or exposure to religion (which was unusual for residents in the Burned-over District). He left home in 1814 to teach in New Jersey and bolstered his education in a common school. Four years later his parents persuaded him to return home to pursue a law degree at Adams, a local college. His law professors regularly cited biblical passages, which sparked his curiosity and eventually led him to attend the local Presbyterian Church.¹⁴ He

¹³ For Finney's chronological outline see appendix 1.

¹⁴ Finney, *Autobiography*, 22. "In studying elementary law, I found the old authors frequently quoting the Scriptures, and referring especially to the Mosaic Institutes, as authority for many of the great principles of common law. This excited my curiosity so much that I went and purchased a Bible, the first I had ever owned; and whenever I found a reference by the law authors to the bible, I turned to the passage and consulted it in its connection. This soon led to my taking a new interest in the Bible, and I read and meditated on it much more than I had ever done before in my life. However, much of it I did not understand" (22-23). Furthermore, Finney "had a great many interesting conversations [with Mr. Gale, his minister]; but seemed rather to stimulate my own mind to inquiry, than to satisfy me in respect to the truth. But as I read my Bible and attended the prayer meetings, heard Mr. Gale preach, and conversed with him, with the elders of the church, and with others from time to time, I became very restless. A little consideration convinced me that I was by no means in a state of mind to go to heaven if I should die. It seemed to me that there must be something in religion that was of infinite importance; and it was soon settled with me, that if the soul was immortal I needed a great change in my inward state to be prepared for happiness in heaven" (23). Finally, Finney confronted the issue: "I was brought face to face with the question whether I would accept Christ as presented in the Gospel, or pursue a worldly course of life. At this period, my mind, as I have since known,

stepped in as the church choir director and for the first time in his life, began to attend church regularly. For the next three years, in conjunction with his studies in law, he studied the Bible.¹⁵

On October 10, 1821, at age twenty-nine, he experienced a remarkable conversion in a nearby wood that filled him with peace and the love of God throughout the day.¹⁶ He felt the Spirit stressing a scripture, “When you search for me with all your heart.”¹⁷ At

was so much impressed by the Holy Spirit, that I could not long leave this question unsettled; nor could I long hesitate between the two courses of life presented to me” (25). He continues for paragraphs describing his inner turmoil and process of searching when finally after a sleepless night “something seemed to confront me with questions like these: Indeed, it seemed as if the inquiry was with myself, as if an inward voice said to me, ‘What are you waiting for? Did you not promise to give your heart to God? And what are you trying to do? Are you endeavoring to work out a righteousness of your own?’ (27) . . . Just at this point the whole question of Gospel salvation opened to my mind in a manner most marvelous to me at the time. I think I then saw, as clearly as I ever have in my life, the reality and fullness of the atonement of Christ. I saw that His work was a finished work; and that instead of having or needing, any rightness of my own to recommend me to God, I had to submit myself to the righteousness of God through Christ. Gospel salvation seemed to me to be an offer of something to be accepted; and that it was full and complete; and that all that was necessary on my part, was to get my own consent to give up my sins, and accept Christ. Salvation, it seemed to me, instead of being a thing to be wrought out, by my own works, was a thing to be found entirely in the Lord Jesus Christ, who presented Himself before me as my God and my Savior. Without being distinctly aware of it, I had stopped in the street right where the inward voice seemed to arrest me. How long I remained in that position I cannot say. But after this distinct revelation had stood for some little time before my mind, the question seemed to be put, ‘Will you accept it now, today?’ I replied ‘Yes; I will accept it today, or I will die in the attempt’” (28).

¹⁵ Similar to Joseph Smith, Finney described a passage in the Bible leading him to pray which resulted in an outpouring of the Spirit: “Just at that point this passage of Scripture seemed to drop into my mind with a flood of light ‘Then shall ye go and pray unto me, and I will hearken unto you. Then shall ye seek me and find me, when ye shall search for me with all your heart.’ I instantly seized hold of this with my heart” (ibid., 29). Without quoting an exact phrase from the *KJV*, Finney’s passage is similar to Jer 29:13, “And ye shall seek me, and find [me], when ye shall search for me with all your heart;” and Deut 4:29, “But if from thence thou shalt seek the LORD thy God, thou shalt find [him], if thou seek him with all thy heart and with all thy soul.”

¹⁶ Cross quotes Adams’ minister Gale as saying that the unconverted Finney was “one man who stood in the way of the conversion of many” (*Burned-over District*, 152).

¹⁷ Finney recounted his thoughts during his prayer in the woods in his *Autobiography*: “I had *intellectually* believed in the Bible before, but never had the truth been in my mind that faith was a *voluntary trust* instead of an *intellectual state*. I was as conscious as I was of my existence of *trusting*, at that moment, in God’s veracity. Somehow I knew that that was a passage of Scripture, though I do not think I had ever read it. I knew that it was God’s Word, and God’s voice, that spoke to me. I cried to Him, ‘Lord, I take Thee at Thy Word. Now Thou *knowest* that I *do* search for thee with all my heart, and that I have come here to pray to Thee, and Thou has promised to hear me.’ That seemed to settle the question of the fact that I could *then, that day*, perform my vow. The Spirit seemed to lay stress upon that idea in the text, ‘When you search for me with all your heart.’ . . . He then gave me many other promises both from the Old and the New Testament . . . They did not seem so much to fall into my intellect as into my heart, to be put within the grasp of the voluntary powers of my mind; and I seized hold of them, appropriated them, and fastened upon

nightfall he returned to his empty law office, pouring his “whole soul out to God.” At that point, his memoirs describe him seeing the Savior:

There was no fire, and no light, in the room; nevertheless it appeared to me as if it were perfectly light. As I went in and shut the door after me, it seemed as if I met the Lord Jesus Christ face to face. It did not occur to me then, nor did it for some time afterward, that was wholly a mental state. On the contrary it seemed to me that I saw Him as I would see any other man. He said nothing, but looked at me in such a manner as to break me right down at his feet. I have always since regarded this as a most remarkable state of mind; for it seemed to me a reality, that He stood before me, and I fell down at his feet and poured out my soul to Him. I wept aloud like a child, and made such confessions as I could with my choked utterance. It seemed to me that I bathed His feet with my tears; and yet I had no distinct impression that I touched Him, that I recollect.¹⁸

Immediately following this glorious encounter, Finney described receiving “a mighty baptism of the Holy Ghost”:

The Holy Spirit descended upon me in a manner that seemed to go through me, body and soul. I could feel the impression, like a wave of electricity, going through and through me. Indeed it seemed to come in waves and waves of liquid love, for I could not express it in any other way. It seemed like the very breath of God. I can recollect distinctly that it seemed to fan me, like immense wings. No words can express the wonderful love that was shed abroad in my heart. I wept aloud with joy and love.¹⁹

This life-changing event left Finney converted and committed to “preach the Gospel.”²⁰

them with the grasp of a drowning man. I continued thus to pray, and to receive and appropriate promises for a long time, I know not how long” (30, italics original).

¹⁸ Ibid., 32-33.

¹⁹ Ibid., 33. Finney described the continuing effects of his baptism by the Holy Ghost: “When I awoke in the morning the sun had risen, and was pouring a clear light into my room. Words cannot express the impression that this sunlight made upon me. Instantly the baptism that I had received the night before, returned upon me in the same manner. I arose upon my knees in the bed and wept aloud with joy, and remained for some time too much overwhelmed with the baptism of the Spirit to do anything but pour out my soul to God. It seemed as if this morning’s baptism was accompanied with a gentle reproof, and the Spirit seemed to say to me, ‘Will you doubt?’ ‘Will you doubt?’ I cried, ‘No! I will not doubt; I cannot doubt.’ He then cleared the subject up so much to my mind that it was in fact impossible for me to doubt that the Spirit of God had taken possession of my soul” (35).

²⁰ Ibid., 38. “When I was first convicted, the thought had occurred to my mind that if I was ever converted I should be obliged to leave my profession, of which I was very fond, and go to preaching the Gospel. This at first stumbled me. I thought I had taken too much pains, and spent too much time and study in my profession to think now of becoming a Christian, if by doing so I should be obliged to preach the Gospel. However, I at last came to the conclusion that I must submit that question to God; that I had never commenced the study of law from any regard to God, and that I had no right to make any conditions with him; and I therefore had laid aside the thought of becoming a minister, until it was sprung in my mind, as I have related, on my way from my place of prayer in the woods. But now after receiving these baptisms of the Spirit I was quite

At that juncture Finney felt compelled to abandon his law career and return to Adams College to study theology for a short period under his pastor George Gale, a strict Calvinist from Princeton.²¹ He disagreed with his pastor's catechism and never internalized the doctrines from the *Westminster Confession*. Most of Finney's theology came from his own reflections on the Bible and personal experiences.²² Nonetheless, his zeal led to his receiving a license to preach in 1823, and he was ordained a Presbyterian minister in March 1824.²³ Incongruously, he did not agree with the Presbyterian doctrines

willing to preach the Gospel. Nay, I found that I was unwilling to do anything else. I had no longer any desire to practice law. Everything in that direction was shut up, and had no longer any attractions for me at all. I had no disposition to make money. I had no hungering and thirsting after worldly pleasures and amusements in any direction. My whole mind was taken up with Jesus and his salvation; and the world seemed to me of very little consequence."

²¹ Ibid., 151-152: "At Adams, for the first time, I sat stately [sic] for a length of time, under an educated ministry. . . . [Gale's] preaching was of the old school type; that is, it was thoroughly Calvinistic; and whenever he came out with the doctrines, which he seldom did, he would preach what has been called hyper-Calvinism. He was, of course, regarded as highly orthodox; but I was not able to gain very much instruction from his preaching. . . . I must say that I was rather perplexed than edified by his preaching" (13, 14). Initially, Mr. Gale felt "that God would not bless my labors, because I would not preach what he regarded as the truths of the Gospel. But when he found that the Spirit of God did accompany my labors, it led him to the conclusion that he was wrong" and left his Old School theology.

²² Ibid., 62; Finney described his efforts to understand God's will and interpretation of the Bible: "I would go to my room and spend a long time on my knees over my Bible. Indeed I read my Bible on my knees a great deal during those days of conflict, beseeching the Lord to teach me his own mind on those points. I had nowhere to go but directly to the Bible, and to the philosophy or workings of my own mind, as revealed in consciousness." Finney had a practical approach to theology and sought doctrines that worked. Like the Scottish Common Sense Realists, he felt the Bible should supply theological conclusions: "I insisted that our reason was given us for the very purpose of enabling us to justify the ways of God" (67).

²³ Ibid., 55, 60. "In the Spring of this year, 1822, I put myself under the care of the Presbytery as a candidate for the Gospel ministry. Some of the ministers urged me to go to Princeton to study theology, but I declined. When they asked me why I would not go to Princeton, I told them that my pecuniary circumstances forbade it. This was true; but they said they would see that my expenses were paid. Still I refused to go; and when urged to give them my reasons, I plainly told them that I would not put myself under such an influence as they had been under; that I was confident they had been wrongly educated, and they were not ministers that met my ideal of what a minister of Christ should be. I told them this reluctantly, but I could not honestly withhold it" (55). Two years later, in March of 1824, Finney explained his examination by the presbytery in these words: "I expected a severe struggle with them in my examination; but I found them a good deal softened. The manifest blessing that had attended my conversations, and my teaching in prayer and conference meetings, and in these lectures of which I have spoken rendered them, I think, more cautious than they would otherwise have been in getting into any controversy with me. In the course of my examination they avoided asking any such questions as would naturally bring my views into collision with theirs" (60). *The Encyclopedia of Protestantism* recorded that Finney became licensed to preach by the Presbytery of St. Lawrence in 1823. Hillerbrand, 2.754.

of election, the depravity of man, a limited atonement, and irresistible Grace.²⁴ Instead, he saw selfishness as the root of evil and obedience as the source of righteousness.²⁵

Finney began his persuasive preaching in the Burned-over District of central and western New York.²⁶ Akin to Joseph Smith's early experience, Finney's early ministry included multiple light filled visions. One time, as he recorded in his *Autobiography*, when he came up to the meeting house in Adams for a prayer meeting: "All at once the glory of God shone upon and round about me, in a manner most marvelous."²⁷ He described the intensity of the light as "the brightness of the sun in every direction," and felt as if he "saw the glory of God; and that I could not endure to think of the manner in which he was treated by men."²⁸ Tears filled his eyes, and he felt "all nature praised and

²⁴ Finney, *Autobiography*, 65. Finney then denounced the "theological fiction of imputation" of Adam's sin onto mankind (65, 125). He opposed the doctrines of the depravity of man, predestination (also 60, 149), Christ's suffering only for the elect (65-66; see also 52-53, 58, 60, 110, 125-6), no obedience required (66), the necessity for all to pray or repent to receive forgiveness because "the whole grace of our salvation is found in the obedience and sufferings of Christ" (66). As Finney studied under Mr. Gale's Old School Presbyterian theology, he examined his library and "found almost nothing proved to my satisfaction. I'm sure it was not because I was opposed to the truth, but I was dissatisfied because the positions of these theological authors were unsound and not satisfactorily sustained. They often seemed to me to state one thing and prove another, and frequently fell short of logically proving anything" (61-62). He boldly divorced himself from the Presbyterian confession of faith: "Whenever I found that any class of persons were hidden behind these dogmas, I did not hesitate to demolish them, to the best of my ability" (67, also 289-290). On a broader scale, Hewitt interpreted Finney as rejecting "the five orthodox canons of Reformed theology as stated at the Synod of Dort [1618-1619]." *Regeneration and Morality*, 34.

²⁵ Finney, *Systematic Theology*, 2.378: "We have seen that holiness consists . . . strictly, only to the will or heart, and consists in obedience of will to the law of God, as it lies revealed in the intellect . . . We have seen that this obedience is not rendered independent of the grace of God, but is induced by the indwelling spirit of Christ received by faith, and reigning in the heart."

²⁶ Finney, *Autobiography*, 69; Finney described his early efforts at preaching, "Having had no regular training for the ministry I did not expect or desire to labor in large towns or cities, or minister to cultivated congregations. I intended to go into the new settlements and preach in schoolhouses, and barns, and groves, as best I could. Accordingly, soon after being licensed to preach, for the sake of being introduced to the region where I proposed to labor, I took a commission, for six months, from a female missionary society located in Oneida County. I went into the northern part of Jefferson County, and began my labors." After a few months he described his experience: "I found that region of country what, in the western phrase, would be called, 'a burnt district.' There had been a few years previously, a wild excitement passing through that region, which they called a revival of religion, but which turned out to be spurious. . . . I found that it had left among Christian people some practices that were offensive, and calculated rather to excite ridicule than any serious conviction of the truth of religion" (83).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 45.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 45-46.

worshipped God except man.”²⁹ He likened his vision to that of Paul on the road to Damascus because Finney’s accompanying minister saw nothing. As the vision passed, it left his “mind calm.”³⁰ Other visions came to his “young Christian” mind that ended with the impression: “Go, see that thou tell no man.” He often prayed “without ceasing” and spent days fasting as his conviction and direction deepened.³¹ At the end of such experiences, he stated that his “mind became filled with the greatest peace and joy.”³²

While in Oneida County in October 1824, Finney married a childhood friend, Lydia Root Andrews.³³ Four of their six children lived beyond childhood, but Lydia died before she was able to raise them to maturity. Within a year of her death, Finney married the widow Elizabeth Atkinson on November 13, 1848, who brought her daughter into the family and bore another. Fifteen years later, Elizabeth died, and Finney married his third wife, Rebecca Allen Rayl, a widow and assistant principal at Oberlin College, female department. He was seventy-eight, and she was forty-one at the time. Family life did not slow him down but spurred him on in most instances.

²⁹ Ibid., 45.

³⁰ Ibid., 46. Repeatedly, in the same volume Finney likened himself to Paul being taught by the Spirit: “I have often thought that I could say with perfect truth, as Paul said, that I was not taught the Gospel by man, but by the Spirit of Christ himself. And I was taught it by the Spirit of the Lord in a manner so clear and forcible, that no argument of my ministerial brethren, with which I was plied so often and so long, had the least weight with me” (91). A year later after a pleading prayer in Antwerp, New York, Finney felt his pleadings were answered as Paul’s were: “Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace; for I am with thee, and no man shall set on thee to hurt thee. For I have much people in this city.” Years later at a prayer meeting he recalled, “this time I could say with Paul, that my Spirit was stirred within me” (143). This affinity to the apostle to the Gentiles supported Finney’s call to serve.

³¹ Ibid., 50; Finney explained that sometimes his prayers did not include words: “I felt almost as if I should stagger under the burden that was on my mind; and I struggled, and groaned, and agonized, but could not frame to present the case before God in words, but only in groans and tears” (49). Also answers to prayers came to him as “if he [God] had spoken with an audible voice, it would not have been more distinctly understood than was this word spoken within my soul.”

³² Ibid. Other prayers left Finney “pained . . . beyond expression. I did not know what to make of it,” because he felt stopped by the Spirit: “It seemed as if the Lord said to me, ‘Speak no more to me of that matter.’ He later realized that men had the power to impede the blessings of Spirit by their own choices and actions: “I could see that his convictions were all gone, and that the Spirit of God had left him” (51).

³³ Ibid., 348.

From the late 1820s to the early 1830s, Finney's evangelism spread to the major cities of Philadelphia, Wilmington, Providence, Boston, and New York City. His greatest revival, however, was in Rochester, New York, between September 1830 and June 1831.³⁴ Interestingly, this revival took place only twenty-five miles from where Joseph Smith lived and published *The Book of Mormon* in March of 1830. Both men were extremely popular in this region of upstate New York, so we assume they probably knew of each other, but it appears their paths did not cross. Finney ignored Smith and the Mormons for the most part, and Smith never mentioned Finney.³⁵

Even though revivals had been popular for decades, Finney's work in revivalism and his new emphasis earned him the title: "father of modern revivalism."³⁶ He expanded revivals into a science by blending his legal and theological training in his preaching. His preaching style and his "new measures" included mixed gatherings where women prayed and where specific members of the congregation were called upon by name to repent.³⁷ He extended the traditional Sunday sermon to several sermons over consecutive nights (or even weeks) in the same community. Finney also instigated an "anxious seat" positioned at the front of the gathering for specially-invited seekers to sit at the front of the meeting

³⁴ Holifield pointed out that an earlier revival in Rochester, New York in 1825, "spread his name through the country" (*Theology in America*, 361). Presumably the earlier revival set the stage for the success of the latter.

³⁵ Finney's *Lectures on Theology*, chapter one, reads, "Mormonism is ridiculous credulity, founded in utter ignorance or a disregard of the first principles of evidence in relation." (Reprint Minneapolis: Bethany Fellowship, 1986), 19.

³⁶ Hillerbrand, *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, 2.754.

³⁷ Ibid., 3.1610; also Finney, *Autobiography*, 141 reads, "These revivals first attracted the notice, and excited the opposition of certain prominent ministers at the East, and raised the cry of 'New Measures'" (see also 266). Later Finney complained about the Bostonians: "The orthodox churches there, are too formal; they are in bondage to certain ways; they are afraid of measures, afraid to launch forth in all freedom, in the use of means to save souls. They have always seemed to me, to be in bondage in their prayers, in so much that what I call the spirit of prayer, I have seldom witnessed in Boston . . . the Holy Spirit is grieved by their yielding to such a bondage" (346).

to feel the full power of the preacher's message of repentance.³⁸ Finney felt these practical improvements provided a higher yield of converts. He interpreted his positive results not as miracles of grace but as the application of God's appointed means for conversion. Holifield observed that Finney's "reputation initially rested on his 'new measures,'" which also distanced him from traditional Reformed thought.³⁹

After eight years as an itinerate preacher, Finney brought the "camp meeting" atmosphere to an urban setting when he became pastor of New York City's Second Free Presbyterian Church in 1832.⁴⁰ Doctrinally, he deviated from the Reformed orthodoxy and spurned Old School theologies, which taught one to wait for the Spirit to regenerate depraved humanity.⁴¹ Historians interpret Finney's main opponent as "Old School Calvinism."⁴² Cross observed that "Finney did not deliberately attempt to make Presbyterianism palatable to the rising common folk, but his conclusions did just that."⁴³ One of Finney's crucial differences of opinion dealt with the Spirit-filled process of conversion. If humanity were obligated to seek God, Finney deemed they must have the

³⁸ Finney, *Autobiography*, 265.

³⁹ Holifield, *Theology in America*, 361: "The notoriety of his new measures distanced him from such Edwardian revivalists as Asahel Nettleton and Lyman Beecher, who met with him in 1827 in New Lebanon, New York, in a failed attempt to rein him in. Finney went on to become the best-known revivalist preacher of his day."

⁴⁰ Finney, *Autobiography*, 291, illustrates Finney's reliance on prayer in making this decision: "At this time we had three children, and I could not well take care of my family with me, while laboring as an evangelist. My strength too, had become a good deal exhausted; and on praying and looking the matter over, I concluded that I would accept the call from the Second Free church, and labor, for a time at least, in New York."

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 55-56; as an example, Finney denounced his teacher's Old School traditions: "He [Gale] held also that the influences of the Spirit of God on the minds of men were physical, acting directly upon the substance of the soul; that men were passive in regeneration; and in short he held all those doctrines that logically flow from the fact of a nature sinful in itself. These doctrines I could not receive. I could not receive his views on the subject of atonement, regeneration, faith, repentance, the slavery of the will, or any of the kindred doctrines."

⁴² Holifield, *Theology in America*, 364; Ahlstrom, *Religious History*, 459.

⁴³ Cross, *Burned-over District*, 159.

innate power to do so.⁴⁴ In this regard he saw human initiation of the process of conversion as absolutely essential to receiving the Spirit.⁴⁵

Finney settled his family in New York City for five years between 1832 and 1837, although his denominational loyalties were not settled. By 1834, his Arminian sympathies drove him from Presbyterianism.⁴⁶ He joined the Congregationalist Church and began preaching at the Chatham Street Theater in New York City. In 1835 a series of his extemporaneous sermons were taken down by shorthand, published in a local newspaper, and later published in his classic book *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*.⁴⁷ In 1836, after Finney had preached for two years in his crowded theater, philanthropists helped Finney organize the Congregational Broadway Tabernacle just down the street.⁴⁸

Finney used New York City as his home base but responded to many requests to preach his less-than-orthodox theology in other cities. The most permanent invitation came from the new Oberlin College in Ohio where he started teaching during the summer

⁴⁴ Other theologians also left a strict view of election in favor of more agency and reliance on human ability or free will. New England theologians like Samuel Hopkins, Nathaniel Emmons, and Nathaniel Taylor accepted a modified election while Finney threw it out entirely. See Hewitt, *Regeneration and Morality*, 22.

⁴⁵ Finney dedicated several chapters in *Lectures on Revivals*, to the power of human responsibility in conversion. He believed that the way to excite believers to repent and come to Christ was through their own effort. "When I entered the ministry, there had been so much said about the doctrine of election and sovereignty that I found it was the universal hiding place, both of sinners and of the church, that they could not do anything, or could not obey the Gospel. And wherever I went, I found it indispensable to demolish these refuges of lies. And a revival would in no way be produced or carried on, but by dwelling on that class of truths, which holds up man's ability, and obligation, and responsibility. This was the only class of truths that would bring sinners to submission" (Finney, *Revivals*, 194; see also 101-102).

⁴⁶ There is some confusion on when Finney became a Congregationalist. In his autobiography, he claims 1834 as the year, but Garraty and Carnes in the *American National Biography* suggest 1836 (7.936).

⁴⁷ Finney's *Autobiography* explains that a friend and editor of the local *New York Evangelist* approached him for help to save the failing periodical. Finney's health wasn't good, but he agreed to "make it a subject of prayer" (300). Finney's solution turned into a weekly spontaneous lecture on revivals that his friend took down in shorthand and published each week.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 296. Even though Finney subscribed to the Holiness Movement, his departure of the presbytery was not from doctrinal differences. The final straw was a practical matter of jurisdiction in an excommunication case.

of 1835.⁴⁹ For two more winters he returned to preach at the Broadway Tabernacle, but he enjoyed Oberlin enough to move his family permanently to Ohio in 1837 and remained affiliated with the college for thirty-eight years until his death in 1875. To support and advance his theological perspective in Ohio, Finney founded and edited the *Oberlin Evangelist* in 1838. His dominate presence set the theological tone at the college, and eventually he published his *Lectures on Systematic Theology* (a two volume work written in 1846-47 and 1851). He held the post of President at Oberlin for fourteen years from 1851 to 1865. Notwithstanding Finney's tenure at Oberlin, his evangelistic tours carried on throughout his life—including two trips to England with his third wife Elizabeth. He died in Oberlin on August 16, 1875.

Teachings on the Holy Spirit

Finney's teachings on the Holy Spirit are summed up in his search for the Holy Spirit as a fulfillment of God's promises. Traditional theologians attacked him on all sides, but he did not change his theology. He saw individual agency as completely interwoven in the process of retrieving that potential gift of the Spirit.⁵⁰ A half hearted effort was not enough—Finney believed in complete consecration and turning over one's agency to God's will. God's biblical promises of his Spirit can all be found but only when people align their lives with God's commands. Finney's pneumatology began with prayer, revivals, conversion, and ended with sanctification. Even though Finney did not delineate

⁴⁹ At the same time, sixty miles from Oberlin, Smith's thriving community of Mormons was building their first temple in Kirtland, Ohio. However, neither Finney nor Smith mentions the other in their writings from this period.

⁵⁰ Charles G. Finney, *Sermons on Gospel Themes* (Oberlin, OH: E. J. Goodrich, 1876), 240. Evidence of Finney's modern application is in his *Memoirs of Charles Finney*: "The student should be encouraged to exercise, and prove, and improve, their gifts and calling of God, by going out into any places open to them, and holding Christ up to the people in earnest talks" (89).

this four-step-process to achieve the Spirit's indwelling, his writings point to this path powered by man's efforts to receive the assurance of God's Spirit.

1. The Holy Spirit and Prayer

Prayer held a paramount position in Finney's pneumatology and became his key resource to seek the companionship of the Holy Spirit.⁵¹ Finney's personal experiences led him to preach that all mortals "are able to" receive the Holy Ghost's guidance if they reach out to God in prayer, with a repentant, humble heart and faith.⁵² He saw a synergistic effect between human effort and the divine grace of the Holy Spirit. In his mind, the gift of God's Spirit was available and needed by all—but humans bore the responsibility to seek and receive the divine gift of the Holy Spirit through prayer.⁵³ Not just any prayer would bring the Spirit: "Prayer, to be effectual, must be by the intercession of the Spirit. You never can expect to offer prayer according to the will of God without the Spirit."⁵⁴ The Spirit of God can influence all Christians during a faith-filled submissive

⁵¹ Finney's *Autobiography* generalized a specific incident from Bolton England: "I have seldom addressed congregations upon any subject that seemed to produce a more powerful and salutary effect, than the subject of prayer. I find it so everywhere. Praying people are immediately stirred up by it, to lay hold of God for a blessing. Through the whole of that week the spirit of prayer seemed to be increasing, and our meetings had greater and greater power" (411). On a personal level, Finney expressed the closeness he felt to God through prayer: "I went to God, to commune with him—as I did very, very frequently—I would fall on my knees. I often found myself smiling, as it were, in the face of God" (340).

⁵² Finney, *Revivals*, 54. The full quote reads, "it is not because Christians are unable to offer such prayer, where the will of God is revealed in His Word or indicated by His providence. They are able to do it, just as they are able to be holy. But the fact is, that they are so wicked that they never do offer such prayer, unless they are influenced by the Spirit of God. There must be a faith, such as is produced by the effectual operation of the Holy Ghost." Later Finney reemphasized, "Let it never be forgotten that no Christian ever prays aright, unless led by the Spirit. He has natural power to pray, and so far as the will of God is revealed, is able to do it; but he never does, unless the Spirit of God influences him; just as sinners are able to repent, but never do, unless influenced by the Spirit" (93).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 101: "The Spirit is given, not to enable them to see or believe, but because without the Spirit they will not look, or feel, or act, as they ought."

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 51. Finney felt that effective prayers required both heart-felt faith and the Spirit's presence: "There must be a faith, such as is produced by the effectual operation of the Holy Ghost."

prayer, just as it did with the ancient disciples.⁵⁵ Finney's vast writings on the relationship between prayer and the Spirit primarily fell into four categories: the spirit of prayer, fasting and prayer, revelation through prayer, and meetings for prayer. Each of these aspects will be illustrated with examples from Finney's writings.

The Spirit of prayer. Understanding Finney's pneumatology starts by understanding the roll of sincere prayer in seeking the Spirit. One of the most common phrases in Finney's writings is the "spirit of prayer."⁵⁶ He used the phrase to describe the powerful influence the Holy Ghost can have on sincere humans when they communicate with God. His definition of the "spirit of prayer" encompassed the human's sincerely seeking, reverently preparing, and humbly calling upon Christ's promises to send His Spirit. Finney's usage also highlights the human role in initiating the search for the Spirit. We might understand Finney's meaning better by substituting a different preposition: he described "the spirit *of* prayer" as feeling the Spirit *during* prayer. His repetition left no doubt that he believed each Christian had an "obligation to be filled with the Spirit" while praying.⁵⁷ Finney argued that everyone who turned his or her heart entirely to the Lord in prayer could feel the Holy Spirit, which was "the great gift of God."⁵⁸ His usage of the

⁵⁵ influenced by the Spirit of God. And if the Spirit could lead the mind of an apostle to exercise faith in regard to a miracle, He can lead the mind of another Christian to exercise faith in regard to receiving any other blessing, by a reference to the same general promise."

⁵⁶ Examples of "the spirit of prayer" are found in Finney, *Autobiography*, 51, 128, 130, 133, 139, 144, 148, 164, 193, 215, 272-273, 279- 280, 302, 330, 337, 346, 370, 411-412; *Revivals*, 27-28, 30-31, 45, 49, 62-63, 92, 101, etc.

⁵⁷ Finney, *Revivals*, 101: "Whenever the necessity and importance of the Spirit's influences are held forth, there can be no doubt that persons are in danger of abusing the doctrine, and perverting it to their own injury. For instance: when you tell sinners that without the Holy Spirit they never will repent, they are very liable to pervert the truth, and understand by it that they cannot repent, and therefore are under no obligation to do it until they feel the Spirit. It is often difficult to make them see that all the 'cannot' consists in their unwillingness, and not in their inability. So again, when we tell Christians that they need the Spirit's aid in prayer, they are very apt to think they are under no obligation to pray the prayer of faith until they feel the influences of the Spirit. They overlook their obligation to be filled with the Spirit, and wait for the spirit of prayer to come upon them without asking, and thus they tempt God."

⁵⁸ Finney, *Autobiography*, 279.

“spirit of prayer” encompassed two facets: humanity’s constant effort to pray in a manner in tune with the Spirit and God’s promise to send the gift of His Spirit.

The “spirit of prayer” was one way Finney described communing with the Holy Spirit. In his *Lectures on Revivals*, he explained the spirit of prayer in the context of revivals: “What constitutes a spirit of prayer? Is it many prayers and warm words? No. Prayer is the state of the heart. The spirit of prayer is a state of continual desire and anxiety of mind for the salvation of sinners.”⁵⁹ In his *Autobiography*, Finney described the spirit of prayer as an occasion when God took someone’s “case in hand” to commune with him or her.⁶⁰ His descriptions emphasize the human effort as “continual desire” and God’s Spirit as present *in* a prayerful heart. Finney was convinced that if the spirit of prayer were present, God’s “work would move on powerfully;” and without it, the work stagnated.⁶¹ He preached this doctrine to counteract the Calvinist teaching that man’s depravity incapacitated him to seek the intervention of the Holy Spirit. Finney veered away from the Old School philosophy by emphasizing that all penitent seekers must actively begin the search for the “intercession of the Holy Ghost.”⁶² Their differences, though, were a matter

⁵⁹ Finney, *Revivals*, 27-28. Finney’s quote continues. “It is something that weighs them down. It is the same, so far as the philosophy of mind is concerned, as when a man is anxious for some worldly interest. A Christian who has this spirit of prayer feels anxious for souls. It is the subject of his thoughts all the time, and makes him look and act as if he had a load, on his mind. He thinks of it by day, and dreams of it by night. . . . this deep, continual, earnest desire for the salvation of sinners is what constitutes the spirit of prayer for a revival” (28).

⁶⁰ Finney, *Autobiography*, 165.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 280; he also states, “In regard to my own experience, I will say that unless I had the spirit of prayer I could do nothing. If even for a day or an hour I lost the spirit of grace and supplication, I found myself unable to preach with power and efficiency, or to win souls by personal conversation” (139).

⁶² Finney, *Revivals*, 101. Finney’s notion of false ideas expressed by the orthodox Reformed tradition interpreted regeneration as the work of God’s Holy Spirit “while the subject is passive,” followed by conversion where the human subject acts in faith. Finney felt that theologians were *incorrect* in teaching that “God and the subject work each in turn” (Finney, *Systematic Theology*, 1.269). In reality both Old School and New School thinking had a place for God’s work and human effort. But Finney objected to the implications of passivity and the lack of reliance on human responsibility.

of emphasis—the Old School emphasized the Holy Spirit’s initiation and power while Finney emphasized the human capability to unlock the Spirit’s power.

When Finney wrote of the “spirit of prayer,” he often did so in conjunction with the Spirit’s work of repentance, witness of truth, motivation to action, and need for sincerity. The human exertion that preceded and ignited the spirit of prayer, according to Finney, was repentance. He taught, “You cannot expect to get the spirit of prayer first, and then repent. You cannot fight it through so.”⁶³ Finney consistently preached that before receiving the Spirit, one needed to forsake all sins and consecrate one’s life to God. He directed sinners “to pray in faith, to pray in the spirit of repentance; and that when they asked God to forgive them, they were to commit themselves unalterably to his will.”⁶⁴ Repentance was not an easy, one time overview of their weaknesses. He called repentance “deep work,” requiring regular painful examination:

Let there be this deep work of repentance and full confession, this breaking down before God, and you will have as much of the spirit of prayer as your body can bear up under. The reason why so few Christians know anything about the spirit of prayer is because they never would take the pains to examine themselves properly, and so never knew what it was to have their hearts all broken up in this way.⁶⁵

Finney placed the burden of repentance on human effort; then forgiveness comes from God. Only after a “full confession” can the spirit of prayer enter one’s body. Furthermore, Finney instructed sinners to repent on their own volition: “Sinners are not bound to repent because they have the Spirit’s influence, or because they can obtain it, but because they are

⁶³ Finney, *Revivals*, 92. Adjacent to this quotation, another example reads, “Be careful not to grieve the Spirit of God. Confess and forsake your sins. God will never lead you as his hidden ones, and let you into his secrets unless you confess and forsake your sins.”

⁶⁴ Finney, *Autobiography*, 330. The full quote reads, “Sinners were never taught, in those revivals, that they needed to expect conversion, in answer to their own prayers. They were told that if they regarded iniquity in their hearts, the Lord would not hear them; and that while they remained impenitent, they did regard iniquity in their hearts. I do not mean that they were exhorted not to pray. They were informed that God required them to pray. . . . They were taught, expressly that mere impenitent and unbelieving prayer, is an abomination to God” (329-330).

⁶⁵ Finney, *Revivals*, 45.

moral agents, and have the powers which God requires them to exercise.”⁶⁶ Anytime converted Christians felt a lack of the Spirit, Finney called them to revisit repentance so that the spirit of prayer could return the Spirit to their hearts.⁶⁷

Another requirement to receive the spirit of prayer was the presence of truth. The Spirit witnessed to the veracity of true doctrine, not falsehoods. Finney vigilantly included the need for the spirit of prayer to work hand in hand with the gospel truths: “For unless they have the spirit of prayer (or unless some one else has), the truth, by itself will do nothing but harden men in impenitence.”⁶⁸ He believed one must humbly seek to know divine truths to receive the Spirit. When the spirit of prayer and the spirit of truth are internalized, Finney felt that a “unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace” would come.⁶⁹ Harmony and cooperation are byproducts of the Spirit’s work. Once while preaching to a group of Baptists on the controversial subject of immersion, Finney recalled,

A great Spirit of prayer prevailed; and after the discussion on baptism, a spirit of most interesting unity, brotherly love, and Christian fellowship prevailed. I never had occasion finally, to rebuke the opposition of the Baptist brethren publicly. In my readings on the subject of baptism, the Lord enabled me to maintain such a spirit that no controversy was started, and no controversial spirit prevailed. The discussion produced no evil result, but great good, and, so far as I could see, only good.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Ibid., 101.

⁶⁷ While preaching in Boston during the winter of 1843/44, Finney remembered, “During this winter the Lord gave my own soul a very thorough overhauling, and a fresh baptism of his Spirit. . . . My mind was greatly drawn out in prayer, for a long time; as indeed it always has been, when I have labored in Boston. I have been favored there, uniformly, with a great deal of the spirit of prayer” (Finney, *Autobiography*, 337).

⁶⁸ Finney, *Revivals*, 49; Finney continued, “Sometimes it happens that those who are the most engaged in employing truth are not the most engaged in prayer. This is always unhappy. . . . Probably in the Day of Judgment it will be found that nothing is ever done by the truth, used ever so zealously, unless there is a spirit of prayer somewhere in connection with the presentation of truth. Others err in the reverse direction. Not that they lay too much stress on prayer. But they overlook the fact that prayer might be offered for ever, by itself, and nothing would be done. Because sinners are not converted by direct contact of the Holy Ghost, but by the truth, employed as a means.”

⁶⁹ Finney, *Autobiography*, 316.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 133. In this case Finney capitalized “Spirit of prayer”; often all three words were printed in lower case.

Finney accredited the amicable discussion to the spirit of prayer and avoided the discussion of controversy (just as he initially printed nothing on the controversial Joseph Smith). Furthermore, Finney required the seeker to *act* on the Spirit's witness of truth, which in turn developed the spirit of prayer into feelings of faith that enlightened seekers.

Commitment to the spirit *of* prayer became participating with the Spirit *in* prayer. Significantly, in Finney's school of thought when one felt the Spirit in prayer, he or she must respond and commit to follow every divine prompting. Humans must discharge their duties for the Spirit to work efficaciously in prayer. Finney believed that the Holy Spirit led inquiring mortals to know what to pray for: "When all other means fail of leading us to the knowledge of what we ought to pray for, the Spirit does it." He denounced traditional Reformed doctrines that taught God's Spirit will work "while we do nothing."⁷¹ It is not until the seeker commits to action that the Spirit "prays for us, by exciting our own faculties. Not that he immediately suggests to us words, or guides our language. But he enlightens our minds, and makes the truth take hold of our souls."⁷²

Finally, Finney believed that the spirit of prayer required utmost sincerity. His memoirs describe his own pilgrimage in the spirit of prayer early in his ministerial career: "As soon as I made up my mind that I never would say anything to God in prayer, that I did not really mean, God answered me; and the Spirit came down, and I was filled with

⁷¹ Ibid., 81. Finney also taught his audience in the *Lectures on Revivals*: "If you find yourself exercised with benevolent desires for any object, there is a strong presumption that the Spirit of God is exciting these very desires, and stirring you up to pray for that object, so that it may be granted in answer to prayer" (52).

⁷² Ibid., 81. Furthermore Finney emphasized that the Spirit intercedes by helping "Christians to pray according to the will of God, or for the things that God desires them to pray for. Why is the Holy Spirit thus employed? Because of our ignorance. Because we know not what we should pray for as we ought. We are so ignorant both of the will of God, revealed in the Bible, and of his unrevealed will, as we ought to learn it from his providence. Mankind are vastly ignorant both of the promises and prophecies of the Bible, and blind to the providence of God."

the Holy Ghost.”⁷³ Without an earnest heart, Finney had no hope for the blessings of the spirit of prayer.⁷⁴ Finney’s earnest prayers often led to long prayers as well.⁷⁵ He described, for example, a day-long heartfelt prayer while on a trip to England that he referred to as “wrestling with God.” “In answer to that day’s agony, he [God] has continued to give me the spirit of prayer.”⁷⁶ The spirit of prayer was God’s reward for Finney’s extended passionate yearnings. Once when praying in London, he felt “as if I could not stop praying; and that the spirit of prayer would almost draw me out of myself, in pleadings.”⁷⁷ The sincerity of his prayers was blessed by the Spirit that guided his extended petitions to the Lord in behalf of those around him. Finney referred to similar outpourings as the “powerful spirit of prevailing prayer.”⁷⁸

⁷³ Ibid., 136.

⁷⁴ An example of this was recorded in Finney’s *Autobiography*. At one time he wanted to pray for someone but could not. His prayer had been a sweet communication with the Spirit until he tried to pray for this man. He felt his mouth was shut by the Spirit of God. “I had no spirit of prayer for him at all. As soon as he told me what he had done, I understood it. I could see that his convictions were all gone, and that the Spirit of God had left him. From that time he grew more careless and hardened than ever” (51).

⁷⁵ Ibid., 337; Finney described praying for four hours one day as “I gave myself to a great deal of prayer.” That prayer ended by consecrating his family and will to God (339). Not only was this his own experience, but he also described others who experienced “a mighty spirit of secret prayer [when] Christians prayed a great deal, many of them spending many hours in private prayer” (139). Another entire “town was full of prayer. Go where you would, you heard the voice of prayer. Pass along the street, and if two or three Christians happened to be together, they were praying. Wherever they met they prayed” (164).

⁷⁶ Ibid., 301-302: “But this was not of man’s wisdom. Let the reader remember that long day of agony and prayer at sea, that God would do something to forward the work of revivals, and enable me, if he desired to do it, to take such a course as to help forward the work. I felt certain then that my prayers would be answered; and I have regarded all that I have since been able to accomplish as in a very important sense, an answer to the prayers of that day. The spirit of prayer came upon me as a sovereign grace, bestowed upon me without the least merit, and in despite of all my sinfulness. He pressed my soul in prayer, until I was enabled to prevail and through infinite riches of grace in Christ Jesus, I have been many years witnessing the wonderful results of that day of wrestling with God. In answer to that day’s agony, he has continued to give me the spirit of prayer.” To possibly a lesser degree than wrestling, Finney describes someone else for whom “his spirit of prayer was such, he was so burdened” (272).

⁷⁷ Ibid., 370. The full citation reads, “I was scarcely ever more drawn out in prayer for any city or place than I was for London. Sometimes when I prayed, in public especially, it seemed, with the multitudes before me, as if I could not stop praying; and that the spirit of prayer would almost draw me out of myself, in pleadings for the people, and for the city at large.”

⁷⁸ Ibid., 273. Similarly, in Finney’s *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* he explained, “Prevailing, or effectual prayer, is that prayer which attains the blessing that it seeks. It is that prayer which effectually moves God. The very idea of effectual prayer is that it effects [*sic*] its object” (49).

Finney believed that the unifying spirit of prayer came from an interdependent relationship between God's universal promises and humans seeking His Spirit with an attitude of repentance, truth, commitment, and sincerity. By exerting his upmost effort in the spirit of prayer, Finney experienced the biblical promise of becoming one with God: "At this time it seemed as if my soul was wedded to Christ, in a sense in which I had never had any thought or conception of before."⁷⁹ He believed the spirit of prayer brought the human and divine into union.

Fasting and prayer. Combining fasting with prayer also provided powerful results for Finney's search for the Holy Spirit.⁸⁰ Fasting was another feat completely controlled by human agency to overpower the cravings for food with cravings for the Spirit. Fasting helped Finney remove himself from worldly distractions in order to seek for heavenly purposes. He often fasted to foster clearer direction by the Holy Spirit in his life:

Whenever I fasted, and let the Spirit take his own course with me, and gave myself up to let him lead and instruct me, I universally found it in the highest degree useful. I found I could not live without enjoying the presence of God; and if at any time a cloud came over me, I could not rest, I could not study, I could not attend to anything with the least satisfaction or benefit, until the medium was again cleared between my soul and God.⁸¹

Finney described a synergistic effect between prayer and fasting. He felt God's Spirit was strongest when he dedicated himself to prayer and fasting. Sometimes that resulted in an outpouring of clear guidance, and other times he explained, "the Spirit struggled within me with groanings that could not be uttered."⁸² Fasting strengthened him when he felt

⁷⁹ Finney, *Autobiography*, 341. Finney's experience was so powerful that he later remembered, "What I experienced that winter, exceeded all that I had before experienced, that at times I could not realize that I had ever before been truly in communion with God" (342).

⁸⁰ Ibid., 46-47 reads, "I also found it very profitable, and felt very much inclined to hold frequent days of private fasting. On those days I would seek to be entirely alone with God."

⁸¹ Ibid., 47.

⁸² Ibid., 49. Later in the same volume, Finney described a day when "Deacon McC- and myself agreed upon the spot to spend the next day in fasting and prayer—separately in the morning, and together in the

“weak in the presence of temptation.”⁸³ Fasting was another way that Finney encouraged Christians to exert their own energy in calling on the powers of heaven to receive the Spirit’s rewards.

Revelation through prayer. Revelation, in the sense of Divine answers to prayer, was part of Finney’s pneumatological vocabulary. In describing his conversion, Finney used the word “revelation” three times to illustrate the Spirit’s answers and direction to his prayers.⁸⁴ Likewise, in his *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* this pattern continued as he felt that new revelation from the Holy Spirit came in answer to his prayers:

A great deal has been said on the subject of praying in faith for things not revealed. It is objected that this doctrine implies a new revelation. I answer that, new or old, it is the very revelation that Jehovah says He makes. It is just as plain here as if it were now revealed by a voice from heaven, that the Spirit of God helps the people of God to pray according to the will of God, when they themselves know not what they ought to pray for.⁸⁵

New revelation for him was personal inspiration from God’s Spirit to direct God’s servants in their work.⁸⁶ He did not deal with the question of new revelation diminishing or replacing the biblical revelation—it was not a conflict in his mind. The Bible promised

afternoon. I learned in the course of the day that the people were threatening me—to ride me on a rail, to tar and feather me, and to give me a walking paper, as they said. Some of them assured me; and said that I had put them under oath, and made them swear that they would not serve God; that I had drawn them into a solemn and public pledge to reject Christ and his Gospel. This was no more than I expected. In the afternoon Deacon McC- and I went into a grove together, and spent the whole afternoon in prayer. Just at evening the Lord gave us great enlargement and promise of victory. Both of us felt assured that we had prevailed with God; and that, that night, the power of God would be revealed among the people” (72).

⁸³ Ibid., 308. He continued to describe his need for frequent “days of fasting and prayer, and to spend much time in overhauling my own religious life, in order to retain that communion with God, and that hold upon the divine strength, that would enable me efficiently to labor for the promotion of revivals of religion.”

⁸⁴ One example of Finney’s use of the word “revelation” in his conversion is found in his *Autobiography*: “I had stopped in the street right where the inward voice seemed to arrest me. . . after this distinct revelation had stood for some little time before my mind, the question seemed to be put, ‘Will you accept it now, today?’ I replied, ‘Yes’” (28, see also 29, 36).

⁸⁵ Finney, *Revivals*, 51.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 93: “Why do you suppose it is that so little stress is laid on the influences of the Spirit in prayer, when so much is said about His influences in conversion? Many people are amazingly afraid the Spirit’s influences will be left out. They lay great stress on the Spirit’s influences in converting sinners. But how little is said, how little is printed, about His influence in prayer! How little complaining there is that people do not make enough of the Spirit’s influence in leading Christians to pray according to the will of God!”

answers to prayers, so when the Spirit revealed something specific to his mission, Finney saw it as fulfilling biblical prophecy.⁸⁷

Finney's example of receiving revelation through prayer speaks of the old pneumatological question—how to discern between true and false spirits or impressions? He answered by encouraging his audience to purify the desires of their hearts. He differentiated between personal desires and the promptings of the Spirit by scrutinizing one's desires and actions. He believed from his own experience that when one's greatest desire was to solemnly "commit" oneself to the Lord, that desire was pure and the inspiration was trustworthy.⁸⁸ Under those circumstances, Finney felt that everyone in a "spiritual frame of mind" will have the Spirit's gift of discernment to detect true and false spirits or religious ideas.⁸⁹

Finney encouraged all Christians to search for divine revelation from prayer as he did.⁹⁰ Toward the end of his life, he described another extraordinary answer to prayer as "revelation." He felt divinely instructed "above all that I had ever asked or thought" and

⁸⁷ Finney, *Autobiography*, 115-116: "God revealed to me, all at once, in a most unexpected manner, the fact that he was going to pour out his Spirit at Gouverneur, and that I must go there and preach. . . . I can never tell how, or why, the Spirit of God made that revelation to me. I knew then, and I have no doubt now, that it was a direct revelation from God to me. I had not thought of the place, that I know of, for months; but in prayer the thing was all shown to me, as clear as light, that I must go and preach in Gouverneur, and that God would pour out his Spirit there."

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 425; in 1867 Finney remembered a meeting in Oberlin where he "called all the professors of religion who were willing to commit themselves against all resistance offered to the teachings of the Holy Spirit, to rise up and unite with us in prayer, under the solemnity of this promise. Nearly all the professors of religion rose up without hesitation. I then called upon those that were not converted to rise up, and take the same stand. . . . I asked those of them who were willing to pledge themselves to do this no more, and to accept the teachings of the Holy Spirit and give themselves to Christ, also to rise up, and we would make them subjects of prayer. . . . Nearly every person in the house stood up . . . We had a very solemn season of prayer, and dismissed the meeting."

⁸⁹ Finney, *Revivals*, 120.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 62-63; Finney did not interpret all reactions to prayer as God given. In regard to such bodily effects as e.g. jerking, fainting, screaming, etc., which were more common in revivals, he explained, "These effects of the spirit of prayer upon the body are themselves no part of religion. It is only that the body is often so weak that the feelings of the soul overpower it. These bodily effects are not at all essential to prevailing prayer; but are only a natural or physical result of highly excited emotions of the mind. It is not at all unusual for the body to be weakened, and even overcome, by any powerful emotion of the mind, on other subjects besides religion."

rejoiced: “I had no conception of the length and breadth, and height and depth, and efficiency of [God’s] grace. . . I found myself exclaiming, ‘Wonderful! Wonderful! Wonderful!’ as these revelations were made to me.”⁹¹ This experience that Finney called “revelation” reinforced his belief in the rightness of preparing proactively and seeking divine answers to prayers. These revelatory answers to prayers and experiences led Finney to deduce that God’s divine plan corrected the “original imperfection of the human race” through revelation and education. He wrote, “The great end of God’s moral government, is to correct this imperfection by education, and revelation, and to ultimately perfect man’s condition.”⁹² Education and revelation became the solutions for Christian seekers like him to strive for perfectibility through the Spirit’s sanctification in this life.

Meetings for prayer. To foster the spirit of prayer, repentance, and revelation, Finney often organized prayer meetings. Unlike his Puritan forebears, Finney thought it was a sin to passively wait for the Lord. For him, cultivating an environment for the outpouring of the Spirit in a prayer meeting was a virtue. Even though he instructed Christians to promote prayer meetings, he understood that only the Spirit of the Lord made them efficacious. Again, the Spirit and mortals worked in harmony. For example, Finney admired a group of repentant Bostonian Christians for preferring prayer meetings over preaching:

The people very extensively seemed to prefer meetings for prayer to meetings for preaching. The general impression seemed to be, ‘We have had instruction until we are hardened; it is time for us to pray.’ The answers to prayer were constant, and so striking as to arrest the attention of the people generally through out the land. It was evident that in answer to prayer the windows of heaven were opened and the Spirit of God poured out like a flood.⁹³

⁹¹ Ibid., 340-1.

⁹² Finney, *Autobiography*, 357.

⁹³ Ibid., 398.

Finney agreed that there comes a point where preaching must be applied and in his opinion, prayer meetings (if administered correctly) accomplished that aim. Praying together was active; listening to preaching was passive. Finney's solution to a successful prayer meeting involved laying aside personal desires and yearning to know God's will through unified prayer.

Prayer meetings were often centered on preparing an area for a spiritual revival. Finney described the people of Rochester holding daily prayer meetings for such a revival in 1855: "A few souls had been wrestling with God until they felt that they were on the eve of a great revival." Initially Finney was reticent and questioned if their inspiration was from a heavenly source. After his own prayers confirmed their inspiration, he "was soon convinced that it was of God" because "a most excellent spirit prevailed."⁹⁴ Finney felt familiar enough with the Spirit of the Lord to discern between "an excellent spirit" and a deceptive one. One of Finney's concerns with prayer meetings was to ensure they cultivated peace and harmony and were not "exceedingly loud" or filled with confusion.⁹⁵ He also cautioned others likewise to use "great solemnity" and no "affectation" in their meetings so as not to "quench the Spirit."⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Ibid., 390. The quote is preceded by: "We commenced our labors there, and it was very soon apparent that the Spirit of God was working among the people. Some Christians in that place . . . had been praying most earnestly all summer for the outpouring of the Spirit there."

⁹⁵ Ibid., 413 reads, "There should not be any confusion, or anything bordering on it, if we expected them to listen and become intelligently converted."

⁹⁶ Finney, *Revivals*, 128. The full quote reads, "Great pains should be taken, both by the leader and others, to watch narrowly the leadings of the Spirit of God. Let them not quench the Spirit for the sake of praying according to the regular custom. Avoid everything calculated to divert attention away from the object. All affectation of feeling should be particularly guarded against. If there is an affectation of feeling, most commonly others see and feel that it is affectation, not reality. At any rate, the Spirit of God knows it, and will be grieved. On the other hand, all resistance to the Spirit will equally destroy the meeting."

2. Revivals

Finney's second venture to encounter God's Spirit started with a receptive audience hearing a Spirit-filled sermon that developed into a revival. If the preacher were inspired by the Spirit and if the audience were interested enough to stay connected for days of preaching, the gathering would turn into a feast of the Spirit. Finney taught that preachers had the responsibility to plead to God for His Spirit before they preached in order to instigate revivals. When Finney used the term "revival" he meant not only popular camp meetings or consecutive days of preaching but more inclusively a revival of the Spirit of God over an assembly or community.⁹⁷ That blessing of the Spirit came first and most importantly through prayer but also required truth, initiative, inspired preaching, and submissive Christians.⁹⁸ Significantly, Finney did not believe he or any other man could produce a revival.⁹⁹ Even with "more than forty years" of successful revivals, he did not "take credit" for his man-made work, because he believed God "divinely directed" him; thus the glory went to God.¹⁰⁰ As a case in point, Finney's *Autobiography* illustrated the

⁹⁷ Repeatedly, Finney linked the presence of Spirit with the coming of revivals. For example, "The Spirit of the Lord was poured out, and the revival soon went forward with great power" (Finney, *Autobiography*, 206; see also 138, 195, 320; *Revivals*, 27). Always aware of opposition toward revivals, he acknowledged that some bizarre religious gatherings were questionable, but he insisted his "revivals were as truly from God as those" in the book of Acts (Finney, *Autobiography*, 206-207). Finney distinguished a godly revival by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. If the Holy Spirit were present, he believed God approved.

⁹⁸ Finney, *Revivals* 27: "A revival may be expected when Christians have a spirit of prayer for a revival. That is, when they pray as if their hearts were set upon it" (see also Finney, *Autobiography*, 138).

⁹⁹ Finney, *Autobiography*, 316: "I have always attributed our success in this good work entirely to the grace of God...nothing but continued divine influence, pervading the community, sustained us under our trials, and kept us in an attitude of mind in which we could be efficient in the work we had undertaken. We have always felt that if the Lord withheld his Spirit, no outward circumstances could make us truly prosperous."

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 208: "Were I to live my life over again, I think that, with the experience of more than forty years in revival labors, I should, under the same circumstances, use substantially the same measures that I did then. And let me not be understood to take credit to myself. No indeed. It was no wisdom of my own that directed me. I was made to feel my ignorance and dependence, and led to look to God continually for his guidance. I had no doubt then, nor have I ever had, that God led me by his Spirit, to take the course I did. So clearly did he lead me from day to day, that I never did or could doubt that I was divinely directed." To understand the magnitude of Finney's revivals, he recorded an estimated number of 500,000 people attending his northern States revivals in a single year, 1858. He then apologetically added, "Slavery seemed to shut it out from the South . . . the Spirit of God seemed to be grieved away from them" (397).

Spirit's direction in prayer that set off his first revival among a group of young men at Adams College. The sparks from his own conversion and his new testimony developed into "a revival revived."¹⁰¹

I proposed that we should observe a closet concert of prayer for the revival of God's work; that we should pray at sunrise, at noon, and at sunset, in our closets, and continue this for one week; when we should come together again and see what farther was to be done. No other means were used for the revival of God's work. But the spirit of prayer was immediately poured out wonderfully upon the young converts.¹⁰²

These young men deduced that their sincere prayers were instrumental in cultivating the Holy Spirit. Finney recorded his conclusions from their experience: "The Spirit was poured out, and before the week ended all the meetings were thronged; and there was as much interest in religion, I think, as there had been at any time during the revival"¹⁰³

Finney used the same means from his first revival to produce similar ends throughout his life; he and a searching community asked God in faith, and their prayers were answered by an outpouring of the Spirit.¹⁰⁴ The fact that God answered their prayers was evidence to

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 54.

¹⁰² Ibid. The quote continues, "Before the week was out I learned that some of them, when they would attempt to observe this season of prayer, would lose all their strength and be unable to rise to their feet, or even stand upon their knees in their closets; and that some would lie prostrate on the floor, and pray with unutterable groanings for the out-pouring of the Spirit of God." For other examples of physical reactions—"he lay groaning upon the bed, the Spirit making intercession for him, and in him, with groaning that could not be uttered" (208).

¹⁰³ Ibid., 155; Finney described promoting revivals with "much prayer, secret and social, public preaching, personal conversation, and visitation from house to house; and when inquirers became multiplied, I appointed meetings for them, and invited those that were inquiring to meet for instruction, suited to their necessities. These were the means and the only means, that I had thus far used, in attempting to secure the conversion of souls . . . The work was with such power, that even a few words of conversation would make the stoutest men writhe on their seats, as if a sword had been thrust into their hearts. It would probably not be possible for one who had never witnessed such a scene, to realize what the force of the truth sometimes is, under the power of the Holy Ghost" (155).

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 138: "I have said, more than once, that the *spirit of prayer* that prevailed in those revivals was a very marked feature of them. It was common for young converts to be greatly exercised in prayer; and in some instances, so much so, that they were constrained to pray whole nights . . . There was a great pressure of the Holy Spirit upon the minds of Christians."

Finney that their desires were acceptable to God. Furthermore, he felt his results testified to the correctness of his message and means.¹⁰⁵

In addition to the presence of sincere prayer, Finney also found that revivals advanced best when true doctrines were taught.¹⁰⁶ And he felt the most successful revivals came when he preached the need for moral agency and responsibility in seeking God.¹⁰⁷ A case in point occurred at a revival in Gouverneur, New York, in 1825:

The doctrines preached in promoting that revival, were those that I have preached everywhere. The total moral, voluntary depravity of unregenerate man; the necessity of a radical change of heart, through the truth, by the agency of the Holy Ghost; the divinity and humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ; his vicarious atonement, equal to the wants of all mankind; the gift, divinity, and agency of the Holy Ghost: repentance, faith, justification by faith, sanctification by faith' persistence in holiness as a condition of salvation; indeed all the distinctive doctrines of the Gospel were stated and set forth with as much clearness, and point, and power, as were possible to me under the circumstances.¹⁰⁸

Finney attacked three of the five standard Calvinistic doctrines: total depravity, unconditional election, and limited atonement.¹⁰⁹ Instead of traditional Reformed

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 60. Finney understood the Spirit to witness to the truth of what he taught: "For the evidence was that the Spirit of God had blessed my views." The positive results of the Spirit converting his audience acted as a witness to the truth of Finney's sermon on the universal atonement of Christ. This was initially confusing to his Old School Presbyterian teacher, Mr. Gale. Finney remembered, "This I think, staggered him considerably in regard to the correctness of his view. I could see, in conversation with him, that he felt very much surprised that *this view* of the atonement should be instrumental in converting" (*italics mine*).

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 151-152; Finney remembered that Mr. Gale felt "that God would not bless my labors, because I would not preach what he regarded as the truths of the Gospel. But when he found that the Spirit of God did accompany my labors, it led him to the conclusion that he was wrong."

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 219, 220, 222; Finney described a group of Calvinists from Delaware who could not feel the Spirit: "They seemed to be afraid to make any effort, lest they should take the work out of the hands of God. They had the oldest of the old-school views of doctrine; and consequently their theory was that God would convert sinners in his own time; and that therefore to urge them to immediate repentance, and in short to attempt to promote a revival, was to attempt to make men Christians by human agency, and human strength, and thus to dishonor God by taking the work out of his hands. . . . But I was preaching to please the Lord, and not man. I thought that it might be the last time I should ever preach there; but purposed, at all events, to tell them the truth, and the whole truth, on that subject, whatever the result might be. . . . From this point the work went forward. The truth was worked out admirably by the Holy Spirit."

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 133; see also 180.

¹⁰⁹ Hillerbrand, *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, 1.377. Finney elaborated on his position in his *Autobiography*: "Instead of telling sinners to use the means of grace and pray for a new heart, we called on them to make themselves a new heart and a new spirit, and pressed the duty of instant surrender to God" (80). He described talking to an unconverted Christian: "I then tried to make him understand the agency that

theology, he emphasized the “voluntary” nature of man’s depravity, the “necessity of a radical change of heart” enabling humanity to come unto Christ, and an unlimited atonement—“equal to the wants of all mankind.” Finney’s experience taught him that a lack of truth inhibited the Spirit’s witness and thus inhibited revivals of religion.¹¹⁰

Finney also introduced “new measures” in his revivals.¹¹¹ He wanted to implement practices that might motivate his audiences to repentance and commitment. As he began preaching in the Burned-over District in the 1820s, his ideas evolved to incorporate praying for sinners by name, allowing women to pray and testify publicly in mixed assemblies, and using the anxious seat. The development of the latter during a revival in Rochester, New York, is described in his *Autobiography* as a way to encourage prideful people to acknowledge their need for a Savior: “The Spirit of the Lord was evidently poured out on the congregation; and at the close of the sermon, I did what I do not know I had ever done before, called upon any who would give their hearts to God, to come forward and take the front seat.”¹¹² From this point forward, he saw the advantage of having “some measure that would bring sinners to a stand,” so he saved a front bench for those who earnestly sought a spiritual witness.¹¹³ Then he called forward any people who

the Spirit of God has in giving the sinner repentance and a new heart; that it is a divine persuasion; that the Spirit leads him to see his sins, urges him to give them up and to flee from the wrath to come. He presents to him the Savior, the atonement, the plan of salvation, and urges him to accept it” (245).

¹¹⁰ Finney, *Revivals*, 207: “Revivals should increase in purity and power, as intelligence increases.”

¹¹¹ Finney, *Autobiography*, 266. The label “new measures” was used by those opposed to Finney’s revival work. He defended his own practices with the word “means,” as in means to an end. “The means used were simply preaching, prayer and conference meetings, much prayer, much personal conversation, and meetings for the instruction of earnest inquirers. These, and no other means were used of the promotion of that work. There was no appearance of fanaticism, no bad spirit, no divisions, no heresies, no schisms. Neither at that time, nor certainly so long as I was acquainted at that place, was there any result of that revival to be lamented, nor any feature of it that was questionable effect” (83).

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 177.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 265-266; Finney’s full quote reads, “I had sometimes asked persons in the congregation to stand up; but this I had not frequently done. However, in studying upon the subject, I had often felt the necessity of some measure that would bring sinners to a stand. From my own experience and observation I had found, that with the higher classes especially, the greatest obstacle to be overcome was their fear of being known as

“were willing to renounce their sins and give themselves to God” in order for the preacher and congregation to focus their prayers on them.¹¹⁴ Finney’s “new measures” were challenged on all sides, but he maintained that they did not encourage uncivilized behavior: “There should not be any confusion or anything bordering on it, if we expected [the congregation] to listen and become intelligently converted.”¹¹⁵ In fact, Finney complained about the commotion created by the Methodists: “The Methodist brethren were very much engaged, and for some time were quite noisy and demonstrative in their prayers, when sinners came forward. . . . I suggested that we should take a different course.”¹¹⁶ The purpose of Finney’s measures was to more readily obtain the blessings of the Spirit for repentant souls.

Finney did not forget the role of the preacher in his exertion to convey the Holy Spirit in revivals. He “held that the Holy Spirit operates in the preacher, clearly revealing these truths in their proper order to him, and enabling him to set them before the people, in

anxious inquirers. They were too proud to take any position that would reveal them to others as anxious for their souls.”

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 266.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 413. Finney mentions attacks on his “new measures” from three Congregational ministers, who published a pamphlet against those revivals—but Finney chose not to reply to their complaints (141). Hambrick-Stowe in his biography of Finney identified one of those pamphlets as coming out of Boston in 1832, “The New Divinity Tried,” by Asa Rand. Another attack came from “the arch-orthodox Presbyterian Charles Hodge.” When he “read the pamphlets, he seized the opportunity to launch a salvo of his own against Finney, and the entire New School movement. Thanks to Finney, New School Presbyterianism could be exposed as corrupted with Taylor’s New Haven Pelagianism” (*Finney and the Spirit of American Evangelicalism*, 128). Finney identified another pamphlet written against his theology, “*Warning against Error*,” written by the Presbytery of Detroit and synod of Michigan. *Systematic Theology*, 2.1245. The controversy of Finney’s “new measures” erupted in 1827 at a gathering in New Lebanon, New York, when Finney met with fellow theologians Lyman Beecher (1775-1863) and Asahel Nettleton (1783-1844) to discuss his revival practices (Hewitt, *Regeneration and Morality*, 21).

¹¹⁶ Finney, *Autobiography*, 413. Finney continues, “For some time I said nothing about this, lest I should throw them off and lead them to grieve the Spirit. I saw that their impression was, that the greater the excitement, the more rapidly would the work go forward. They therefore would pound the benches, pray exceedingly loud, and sometimes more than one at a time. I was aware that this distracted the inquirers, and prevented their becoming truly converted . . . after letting things pass on so for two or three weeks” (413). Finney admits earlier that even with his efforts to maintain order, at times, “the Spirit’s work was so spontaneous, so powerful and so overwhelming, as to render it necessary to exercise the greatest caution and wisdom, in conducting all the meetings, in order to prevent an undesirable outburst of feeling, that soon would have exhausted the sensibility of the people, and brought about a reaction” (163). His best efforts failed occasionally as he recorded in his *Autobiography*, 187.

such proportion, and in such order as is calculated to convert them.” As a result, he never wrote out his sermons but spent hours pondering the gospel, speaking with the people to learn their needs, and praying until he could “preach from inspiration” of the Spirit.¹¹⁷ He described his preaching: “When I arose, I had no idea what I should say; but the Spirit of God came upon me, and I took up their prayers.”¹¹⁸

In addition to studying, ministering, and praying for hours, Finney also preached for hours at a time: “I could preach two hours, and two hours and a half and longer, without feeling the least fatigue.”¹¹⁹ Time was not his important concern (and hopefully his hearers felt the same way). The only thing that really mattered to him was to preach the “direct teaching of the Holy Spirit” to assure that the Lord’s message came from the pulpit. Without that gift of divine inspiration, he believed that “a man will never make much progress in preaching the Gospel,” and in his opinion his fellow preachers were woefully lacking “in their want of the power of the Holy Ghost.”¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 98. Finney described his simple heart felt sermons as a change from his previous pattern of public speaking: “Before I was converted I had a different tendency. In writing and speaking, I had sometimes allowed myself to use ornate language. But when I came to preach the Gospel, my mind was so anxious to be thoroughly understood, that I studied in the most earnest manner, on the one hand to avoid what was vulgar, and on the other to express my thoughts with the greatest simplicity of language” (86). Initially, “the people chafed a little under the preaching, but with such power was it set home by the Holy Spirit, that I soon heard no more complaint” (218). His “habit has always been to study the Gospel, and the best application of it, all the time. I do not confine myself to hours and days of writing my sermons; but my mind is always pondering the truths of the Gospel, and the best ways of using them. I go among the people and learn their wants. Then, in the light of the Holy Spirit, I take the subject that I think will meet their present necessities. I think intensely on it, and pray much over the subject on Sabbath morning, for example, and get my mind full of it, and then go and pour it out to the people” (96).

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 143.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 85. Finney summarized, “I think my sermons generally averaged nearly or quite two hours. I preached out of doors; I preached in barns; I preached in schoolhouses; and a glorious revival spread all over that new region of country.”

¹²⁰ Ibid., 65, 64. Finney continued to emphasize the importance of preaching with the inspiration of the Spirit: “The fact is, unless he can preach the Gospel as an experience, present religion to mankind as a matter of consciousness, his speculations and theories will come far short of preaching the Gospel . . . I am afraid I must say, to many of the ministers even of the present day. I think that their practical views of preaching the Gospel, whatever their theological views may be, are very defective indeed; and that their want of unction, and the power of the Holy Ghost, is a radical defect in their preparation of the ministry” (64-65; see 96-99 for preaching by “inspiration”).

Once prayer, true doctrine, appropriate measures, and inspired preaching were all in place, Finney saw the last step in establishing a revival as the *immediate submission* of unconverted or backsliding Christians.¹²¹ To illustrate what he meant by “immediate,” Finney contrasted the arrival of the Spirit in a revival to the speed of a postal carrier: “I really believe, if you will unite this afternoon in the prayer of faith to God, for the immediate outpouring of his Spirit, that you will receive an answer from heaven, sooner than you would get a message from Albany, by the quickest post that could be sent.”¹²² Finney insisted that each sinner has the power to “unite” with God—the problem was not God’s timing, but man’s submissiveness. If a praying congregation felt a profound desire to repent, Finney exhorted them to use their agency to immediately commit their lives to God in order to receive a revival of the Spirit.

Finney saw revivals of the Spirit as the natural outgrowth of pure human motives and God’s spiritual promises:

I tried to impress upon them as a fact, that prayer [for a revival] would be immediately answered if they took the stumbling blocks out of the way, and offered the prayer of faith. The word seemed to thrill through the hearts of Christians. Indeed I have seldom addressed congregations upon any subject that seemed to produce a more powerful and salutary effect.¹²³

For those ministers who did not receive this immediate spiritual blessing, he alleged that they had “false motives.”¹²⁴ The crucial impetus for a congregation to enjoy a revival of

¹²¹ In Finney’s *Lectures on Revivals*, he maintained that “when Christians pray in faith, the Spirit of God is poured out, and sinners are melted down and converted on the spot” (120). He felt no need to delay one’s conversion.

¹²² Finney, *Autobiography*, 164.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 411.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 114; “Mr. Finney, what should you think of a man that was praying week after week for the Holy Spirit, and could get no answer?” I replied that I should think he was praying from false motives. ‘But from what motives,’ said he, ‘should a man pray? If he wants to be happy, is that a false motive?’ I replied, ‘Satan might pray with as good a motive as that,’ and then quoted the words of the Psalmist: ‘Uphold me with thy free spirit. Then will I teach transgressors thy ways, and sinners shall be converted unto thee.’ ‘See!’ said I, ‘the Psalmist did not pray for the Holy Spirit that he might be happy, but that he might be useful, and that

the Spirit, from Finney's perspective, was to yield "their hearts to God" on the spot.¹²⁵ By following this and other scriptural guidelines, Finney saw revivals of the Spirit as the fulfillment of God's promises. To secure God's promises, he felt duty bound to instigate a revival by using his God-given agency.¹²⁶ God endowed humanity with the "power to" act, and with that power, humans had the "obligation" to yield to God "whether the Spirit strives with them or not."¹²⁷ Yielding one's will to God opened the doorway for the individual work of conversion.

3. Conversion

Finney's aim for revivals was to convert sinners and reclaim backsliding saints. God's promise to send his Spirit was realized in conversion when repentant sinners forsook their sins. Finney was convinced that conversion was the outgrowth of "yielding

sinners might be converted to Christ" (see also 117, 236). Another false motive that Finney described in his *Lectures on Revivals* was competition between denominations: "When Christians begin to proselytize. When the Baptists are so opposed to the Presbyterians, or the Presbyterians to the Baptists, or both against the Methodists, or Episcopalians against the rest, that they begin to make efforts to get the converts to join their Church, you soon see the last of the revival. Perhaps a revival will go on for a time, and all sectarian difficulties are banished, till somebody circulates a book, privately, to gain proselytes" (Finney, *Revivals*, 267). This reference to "a book" may have been a reference to Joseph Smith's *Book of Mormon*.

¹²⁵ Finney, *Autobiography*, 180; the full quote reads, "We told them the Spirit was striving with them to induce them now to give him their hearts, now to believe, and to enter at once upon a life of devotion to Christ, of faith, and love, and Christian obedience. We taught them that while they were praying for the Holy Spirit, they were constantly resisting him; and that if they would at once yield to their own convictions of duty, they would be Christians. We tried to show them that everything they did or said before they had submitted, believed, given their hearts to God, was all sin, was not that which God required them to do, but was simply deferring repentance and resisting the Holy Ghost."

¹²⁶ Finney's *Lectures on Revivals* told ministers that it is their "duty to have [the Spirit of God] . . . How much good you might do, if you had the Spirit. And you, Sunday-school teachers, how much good you might do; and you, church-members, too, if you were filled with Spirit, you might do vast good, infinite good" (108).

¹²⁷ Finney described the Lord's promises in the context of humanity's responsibility and power to seek those promises: "When there is a particular promise, specifying the particular blessing: as where we pray for the Holy Spirit. This blessing is particularly named in the promise, and here we have evidence, and we are bound to believe, whether we have any Divine influence or not: just as sinners are bound to repent whether the Spirit strives with them or not, their obligation resting not upon the Spirit's influences, but upon the powers of moral agency which they possess; upon their ability to do their duty. And while it is true that not one of them ever will repent without the influences of the Spirit, still they have power to do so, and are under obligation to do so whether the Spirit strives with them or not" (91) Similarly, from Finney's *Autobiography*, "The Spirit of the Lord was immediately poured out, and there was a general agitation among the dry bones" (320).

to the truth.”¹²⁸ He taught that each conversion was a rational choice that formed the foundation of a new life.¹²⁹ Similar to his emphasis on prayer and revivals, the harmonious effort between the Spirit and humanity was absolutely crucial to Finney.¹³⁰ The Spirit provided conviction and joy while human agency had the voluntary requirement to repent, believe, and immediately submit to God. Finney explained, “God required [man] to repent, and God could not repent for him; required him to believe, but God could not believe for him; God required him to submit, but could not submit for him.”¹³¹

Within the subject of a conversion, Finney included discussions on conviction, repentance, immediate submission, regeneration, as well as other doctrines. “Conviction” was the word Finney used to explain the Spirit’s influence that brought a sinner to repentance and full conversion.¹³² He understood that God, “as a moral governor,” justified only the obedient, not those sinning.¹³³ The Spirit worked on truths presented by

¹²⁸ Finney, *Revivals* 318; the full quote reads, “Men are to be converted, not by physical force, or by a change wrought in their nature or constitution by creative power, but by the truth made effectual by the Holy Spirit. Conversion is yielding to the truth.”

¹²⁹ Finney, *Systematic Theology*, 1.272; Finney explained that a man’s “natural attributes [are] requisite to render perfect obedience to God. All he needs is to be induced to use these powers and attributes as he ought.”

¹³⁰ Once sinners repented and submitted to God’s will, according to Finney “we had a right to expect the Holy Spirit to cooperate with us, giving effect to our feeble effort” (Finney, *Autobiography*, 150).

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 245. Finney’s full quote described the false teachings that removed personal responsibility: “I tried to instruct him, and to show him the error that he had fallen into, under such instructions as he had received, and that he had resisted and grieved the Spirit, by waiting for God to do what he had commanded him to do. I tried to show him that, in the very nature of the case, God could not do for him what he required him to do.”

¹³² In Finney’s *Autobiography* he encouraged a man struggling with feelings of guilt or conviction to press forward to commitment and conversion: “‘It is plain the Spirit of God is still calling you, still urging you to repentance; you acknowledge that you feel this urgency in your own mind.’ He inquired, ‘Is this, then, what the Spirit of God is doing, to show me all this?’ I assured him that it was; and that he was to understand this as a divine call, and as evidence conclusive that he was not abandoned, and had not sinned away the day of grace, but that God was striving to save him still. I then asked him if he would respond to the call, if he would come to Jesus, if he would lay hold upon eternal life then and there. He was an intelligent man, and the Spirit of God was upon and teaching him, and making him understand every word that I said” (245-246; for more examples see 187).

¹³³ Holifield, *Theology in America*, 365: “God could not ‘justify one who does not yield to a present and full obedience to the moral law.’”

a preacher or scripture, by witnessing to their truth with a conviction of guilt.¹³⁴ Finney called on offenders to change their self-centered hearts through repentance and to submit their lives to God's command.¹³⁵ He described the Spirit's work of conviction as a "great tribulation" and being "pressed by the Spirit" until at last, the sinner yields to the Lord.¹³⁶ Unlike many preachers, Finney felt a delayed conviction was not necessary; rather humble, repentant sinners had the power to yield immediately to the Spirit's promptings and commit their lives to God.¹³⁷ He asserted that God empowered humanity with the ability to think and act; therefore, humanity—not God—delayed the promised blessings of forgiveness and the Spirit of peace and joy: "We insisted then, as I have ever done since, on immediate submission, as the only thing that God could accept at their hands; and that all delay, under any pretext whatever, was rebellion against God."¹³⁸ With his nontraditional view of regeneration, Finney identified people who postponed their complete submission to God "[in] rebellion against God."

¹³⁴ Finney, *Autobiography*, 72; Finney hoped his preaching would act as the source of truth for the Spirit to convict sinners: "The Spirit of God came upon me with such power, that it was like opening a battery upon them. For more than an hour, and perhaps for an hour and a half, the word of God came through me to them in a manner that I could see was carrying all before it. It was a fire and a hammer breaking the rock; and as the sword that was piercing to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit. I saw that a general conviction was spreading over the whole congregation. any of them could not hold up their heads."

¹³⁵ Finney, *Systematic Theology*, 1.274: "Regeneration consists in the sinner changing his ultimate choice, intention, preference, or in changing from selfishness to love or benevolence; or, in other words, in turning from the supreme choice of self-gratification, to the supreme love of God and the equal love of his neighbor. Of course the subject of regeneration must be an agent in the work."

¹³⁶ Finney, *Autobiography*, 44. The full quote reads, "I have known persons to remain for weeks in great tribulation of mind, pressed by the Spirit; but they could make no progress till the point upon which they were committed was yielded." Furthermore, the only reason why the Spirit magnified sinners' guilt, according to Finney's mind, was because they "were convicted, but had not yet repented, believed, and given their hearts to God" (236).

¹³⁷ Ibid., 180-181: "It was not uncommon to hear old professors of religion, say that they were under conviction many months, or years, before they found relief; and they evidently had the impression that the longer they were under conviction, the greater was the evidence that they were truly converted. We taught the opposite of this. I insisted that if they remained long under conviction, they were in danger of becoming self-righteous, in the sense that they would think that they had prayed a great deal, and done a great deal to persuade God to save them; and that finally they would settle down with a false hope. We told them that under this protracted conviction, they were in danger of grieving the Spirit of God away."

¹³⁸ Ibid., 181. Finney then emphasized the potential for immediate relief from conviction: "It became very common under this teaching, for persons to be convicted and converted, in the course of a few hours, and sometimes in the course of a few minutes."

Regeneration was synonymous with conversion for Finney.¹³⁹ Both conversion and regeneration implied “the simultaneous exercise of both human and Divine agency.”¹⁴⁰ For him, regeneration was not a physical change “but a moral change”; it was not a passive act, nor solely God’s act, but initiated by human’s “own act.”¹⁴¹ Furthermore, he taught that regeneration, was “*not* a progressive work . . . but the *beginning* of obedience to God.”¹⁴² These views came into conflict with theologians who viewed regeneration as the work of the Spirit alone.¹⁴³ The doctrinal underpinning of the clash stemmed from different views on moral depravity. Those who espoused total depravity separated conversion from regeneration and removed the voluntary nature of human’s initial work.¹⁴⁴ Finney opposed their view because his personal experience taught him that when

¹³⁹ Finney, *Systematic Theology*, 1.271: “I shall drop and discard the distinction; and in our investigations henceforth, let it be understood, that I use regeneration and conversion as synonymous terms. . . . [Otherwise it is] not only arbitrary, but anti-scriptural and injurious.”

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 1.271. A few pages later he stated his perspective again, confirming that the Spirit and human were also indispensable in the work: “Both are “willing, designing, responsible” agents” (274).

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 1.272; Finney, *Revivals of Religion*, 341-42 reads, “It is ridiculous . . . to say that a sinner is passive in regenerating, or passive in being converted, for conversion is his own act. The thing to be done is that which cannot be done for him. It is something *he must do*, or it will never be done.” Finney held this view even as a young convert in opposition to his theology teacher’s belief of regeneration: “He [Gale] held also that the influences of the Spirit of God on the minds of men were physical, acting directly upon the substance of the soul; that men were passive in regeneration” (Finney, *Autobiography*, 55).

¹⁴² Finney, *Revivals*, 322 reads, “Regeneration, or conversion, *is not* a progressive work. What is regeneration? What is it but the *beginning* of obedience to God? And is the beginning of a thing progressive? It is the first act of genuine obedience to God—the first voluntary action of the mind that is what God approves, or that can be regarded as obedience to God. That is conversion. When persons talk about conversion as a progressive work, it is absurd. They show that *they know* just as much about regeneration or conversion, as Nicodemus did.”

¹⁴³ Ibid., 343-344: “Oh what a lot of spiritual quackery there is in this world, and how many ‘forgers of lies’ there are, ‘physicians of no value,’ who know no better than to comfort sinners with false hopes, and delude them with their ‘old wives’ fables,’ and nonsense, or who give way to false tenderness and sympathy, till they have not firmness enough to see the sword of the Spirit applied, to cut men to the soul, and lay open the sinner’s naked heart. Alas! That so many are ever put into the ministry, who have not skill enough to stand by and see the Spirit of God do its work, in breaking up the old foundations, and crushing all the rotten hopes of a sinner, and breaking him all down to the feet of Jesus.”

¹⁴⁴ Finney condemned those who upheld total depravity as selectively citing Scriptures that ascribe conversion “to the Spirit of God, and seem to overlook those that ascribe it to man, and speak of it as the sinner’s own act. When they have quoted Scripture to prove it is the work of God, they seem to think they have proved that it is that in which man is passive, and that it can in no sense be the work of man” (ibid., 188). In so doing, only half of the truth is told according to Finney because the works of man and God are both needed for regeneration and are both exemplified in Scripture: “The Spirit of God, by the truth,

a man used his own innate power to find God, “the Spirit of God came upon him and filled him with . . . unspeakable joy.”¹⁴⁵ Finney described this joy as the sanctification by the Spirit.

4. Sanctification

The final step in Finney’s pneumatology was a Christian’s need to strive for the Spirit’s sanctification. Cross explained that during Finney’s seven year association in Boston, from 1836 to 1843, he and Asa Mahan (the first president of Oberlin College) “prayerfully elaborated their hypothesis of holiness” and Finney “underwent his own reconversion to a sanctified condition.”¹⁴⁶ Finney saw sanctification as the ultimate fulfillment of God’s promise of the Spirit.¹⁴⁷ A sanctified soul enjoyed the “continual grace and indwelling Spirit of Christ.”¹⁴⁸ Sanctification “by the Holy Spirit” and “sanctification by faith” worked hand in hand as God blessed His obedient children.¹⁴⁹

influences the sinner to change, and in this sense is the efficient cause of the change. But the sinner actually changes, and is therefore himself, in the most proper sense, the author of the change” (188).

¹⁴⁵ Finney, *Autobiography*, 45. “In New England, I have found a high degree of general education, but a timidity, a stiffness, a formality, and a stereotyped way of doing things, that has rendered it impossible for the Holy Spirit to work with freedom and power . . . they have even put the Holy Ghost into a strait jacket” (393-394).

¹⁴⁶ Cross, *Burned over-District*, 249. Cross also observed that during the late thirties and early forties, a substantial interest in sanctification developed (251). Asa Mahan also served as the only president of Cincinnati college for its eleven graduates. His views on sanctification are elaborated in his two most famous books: *The Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection* (1839) and *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost* (1870). See also Holifield, *Theology in America*, 367-8.

¹⁴⁷ This is a different view of sanctification than that Alexander Campbell attributed to Finney. Campbell summarized Finney’s perspective of “Entire Sanctification” or “Christian Perfection” as “Consecration to God is sanctification, and by an act of faith, a man may consecrate his whole being to the service of God, for time and for eternity.” *Millennial Harbinger*, 420. I see Campbell misunderstanding Finney’s deeper need for actions accompanying faith.

¹⁴⁸ Finney, *Systematic Theology*, 2.786.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.836: “Let me by no means be understood as teaching sanctification by faith, as distinct from and opposed to sanctification by the Holy Spirit, or Spirit of Christ, or which is the same thing, by Christ is our sanctification, living and reigning in the heart. Faith is rather the instrument or condition, than the efficient agent that induces a state of present and permanent sanctification. Faith simply receives Christ, as king, to live and reign in the soul.”

The former was Christ's work and the latter man's application. Once more, God and humanity must act together to receive the Spirit's gift.¹⁵⁰

Finney required complete human obedience for the Spirit's sanctification to work. This unique twist to the definition of sanctification set Finney apart from theologians of his day. He felt that Christians had a mortal duty to seek and receive the Spirit's sanctification; otherwise, they "will dishonor God, disgrace the Church, and be lost."¹⁵¹ In his school of thought, if Christians entirely left their wicked ways, the Spirit would make them holy.¹⁵² He believed that God created man with the capacity to give "perfect obedience to God."¹⁵³ Finney's *Systematic Theology* often used the phrase "entire sanctification" to describe a present or ongoing state of "being established, confirmed, preserved, [and] continued in a state of sanctification or of entire consecration to God."¹⁵⁴ In his chapter on sanctification, Finney quoted Old Testament prophets and then apostle Paul to emphasize the universal application of entire sanctification: "How could so modest

¹⁵⁰ Finney's use of "entire sanctification" comes from John Wesley's Holiness Movement, which Finney incorporated along with Arminian doctrines of Christ's atonement for each person—not a payment for a penalty. Hillerbrand, *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, 2.877, 1.100.

¹⁵¹ Finney, *Revivals*, 102 offered six reasons why everyone should be filled with the Spirit: 1. It is your duty because you have a promise of it. 2. Because God has commanded it. 3. It is essential to your own growth in grace that you should be filled with the Spirit. 4. It is as important as it is that you should be sanctified. 5. It is as necessary as it is that you should be useful and do good in the world. 6. If you do not have the Spirit of God in you, you will dishonor God, disgrace the Church, and be lost."

¹⁵² Finney, *Systematic Theology*, 2.738 quoted 1 Corinthians 6:11: "Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? . . . but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God."

¹⁵³ Cross, *Burned-over District*, 250. Cross also points out that Finney did not require "whole obedience" despite "entire dedication." Rather Finney emphasized that humanity must "make the best use we can of all the light we have."

¹⁵⁴ Finney, *Systematic Theology*, 1.380. "Sanctification is defined in two ways: 1. In the sense of present, full obedience, or entire consecration to God. 2. In the sense of continued abiding consecration or obedience to God. Entire sanctification, when the terms are used in this sense, consists in being established, confirmed, preserved, continued in a state of sanctification or of entire consecration to God." Even more powerfully, Finney described the difference between an unsanctified and a sanctified disciple: "The distinction [is] between desire and will. From the course of thought he had presented, and from the attitude in which I saw that the congregation was at the time, I saw, or thought I saw, that the pressing of that distinction, just at that point, upon the people, would throw much light upon the question whether they were really Christians or not, whether they were really consecrated persons, or whether they merely had desires without being in fact willing to obey God" (*Autobiography*, 317).

a man as Paul speak of himself in this manner unless he knew himself to be in a state of entire sanctification and thought it of great importance that the church should know it?”¹⁵⁵

If one consecrated one’s will to God and received the baptism of the Holy Ghost, Finney believed “entire sanctification” was obtainable in one’s life time.¹⁵⁶

Consecration. Finney’s writings on sanctification include the three sub-themes of consecrating one’s life, not “grieving the Spirit,” and baptizing with the Holy Ghost.¹⁵⁷ The first two necessitate human initiative, and all three involve human accountability. Before one could enjoy sanctification, Finney taught the need to work proactively because “sanctification consisted [of] entire consecration.”¹⁵⁸ He envisioned people breaking away from their “selfishness in all its forms,” which in turn could empower them to consecrate their thoughts, time, gifts, and willpower “to the glory of God.”¹⁵⁹ He saw this process repeating and developing throughout a Christian’s life:

As long as we exist, and knowledge increases, there is no doubt that we shall be called upon to grow in grace, by consecrating to God every new object of knowledge, of desire, and of affection, that we may come to know and desire and love, to all eternity. As you get new light, you must enlarge your consecration from day to day, and from hour to hour, or you will cease to grow in grace.¹⁶⁰

Consecration was not a solitary event for Finney but a lifelong—voluntary—requirement if one wanted to grow in grace or sanctification. Finney’s consecration included

knowledge, desire, and affection as well as “a constant conformity to all the teachings of

¹⁵⁵ Finney, *Systematic Theology*, 398; Jeremiah 31:31-34; Ezek 36:15-17; and 2 Corinthians 6:3-7

¹⁵⁶ Finney’s chapter on sanctification begins with a subheading: “That Entire Sanctification is Attainable in this Life” and then continues to explain, ““through the sanctification of the Spirit and the belief of the truth’ (2 Thes 2:13)” (ibid., 2.382).

¹⁵⁷ By not “grieving the Spirit,” Finney meant not doing any sinful thing to offend the presence of the Spirit.

¹⁵⁸ Finney, *Systematic Theology*, 2.409. Previously, Finney described “entire consecration” as having love for God directing one’s life: “Love is identical with the entire consecration of the whole being to the glory of God, and to the highest well-being of the universe; or in other words, that it consists in *disinterested benevolence*” (2.378).

¹⁵⁹ Finney, *Revivals*, 419.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 430.

the Holy Spirit.”¹⁶¹ Consecration required a heart and ear open to spiritual promptings and constant vigilance to not “grieve the Spirit.”¹⁶²

Grieve Not the Spirit. Finney insisted that any sin offended God’s Spirit which in turn inhibited the work of sanctification. He denounced all hypocrisy—insincere prayers, boisterous levity, arrogant pride, high life, or high fashion—as grieving the Spirit.¹⁶³ To educate his audience in the danger of affronting the Spirit, Finney first preached the “high ideas of the Holy Ghost” and explained “that nothing good will be done without His influences.” He warned, “be careful, then, not to grieve Him away, by slighting or neglecting His heavenly influences.”¹⁶⁴ In at least three of his lectures on revivals, Finney alerted his audience to the dangers of grieving the Spirit. In one he attacked the practice of using memorized or “set forms of prayer” as destroying the very purpose of communing through prayer.¹⁶⁵ In another lecture he advised: “If a minister means to promote a revival, he should be very careful not to introduce controversy. He will grieve away the Spirit of God.”¹⁶⁶ Finally he counseled the church as a whole against Christians who “do not feel their dependence on the Spirit.” He saw that problems arise “whenever they get strong in

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 431. Finney continued to explain that consecration entailed, “keeping up with our convictions of duty, and with our growing knowledge of the will of God.”

¹⁶² Ibid., 92, 96; Finney, *Autobiography*, 282, 413.

¹⁶³ Finney, *Revivals* 103: “It may be that you live a hypocritical life. Your prayers are not earnest and sincere. . . Others have so much levity that the Spirit will not dwell with them. The Spirit of God is solemn, and serious, and will not dwell with those who give way to thoughtless levity. . . Others are so proud that they cannot have the Spirit. They are so fond of dress, high life, equipage, fashion, etc., that it is no wonder they are not filled with the Spirit.”

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 96. Finney included a list of things that would have no impact without the Spirit: “No praying or preaching will be of any avail without Him. If Jesus Christ were to come down here and preach to sinners, not one would be converted without the Spirit.”

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 97: “We see from this subject the absurdity of using set forms of prayer. The very idea of using a form rejects, of course, the leadings of the Spirit. Nothing is more calculated to destroy the spirit of prayer, and entirely to darken and confuse the mind, as to what constitutes prayer, than to use forms. Forms of prayer are not only absurd in themselves, but they are the very device of the devil to destroy the spirit and break the power of prayer. It is of no use to say the form is a good one. Prayer does not consist in words. And it matters not what the words are if the heart is not led by the Spirit of God. If the desire is not enkindled, the thoughts directed, and the whole current of feeling produced and led by the Spirit of God, it is not prayer. And set forms are, of all things, best calculated to keep an individual from praying as he ought

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 192.

their own strength, God curses their blessings. In many instances, Christians sin against their own mercies, because they get lifted up with their success, and take the credit to themselves, and do not give all the glory to God.”¹⁶⁷ Finney believed that men and women had control over their destinies in this matter. He did not blame Adam or Even for all subsequent prideful selfish thoughts, but called for personable accountability for each behavior that thwarted the Spirit’s intervention. From his view, only after repentance and recommitment would the Spirit offer a cleansing spiritual baptism and return to the work of sanctification. God’s promises could not be reached unless humans did their part.

Baptism of the Holy Spirit. One of the great New Testament spiritual promises is the baptism of the Holy Ghost. Finney deemed this spiritual baptism as “indispensable to ministerial success.”¹⁶⁸ His use of “baptism of the Holy Ghost” embraced a variety of Spirit-filled experiences: an outpouring at conversion, a healing of the mind, and an overflowing of God’s love.¹⁶⁹ Three times he connected a “divine anointing of the Holy Ghost” with the baptism of the Spirit, as if the two were synonymous.¹⁷⁰ He inferred that the biblical reference to the apostles being “endued [sic] with power” was the baptism of the Holy Ghost.¹⁷¹ Significantly, he linked the apostles’ baptism of the Spirit with their own intervention: “The baptism of the Holy Spirit involved the exercise of their own agency, it is easy to see that this expectation was indispensable to their receiving the

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 268.

¹⁶⁸ Finney, *Autobiography*, 63.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 185, 112, 41, 37.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 63, 380, *Revivals*, 442. A good example of Finney’s interplay of terms is found in *Systematic Theology*, 2.926: “He may be thoroughly and constantly enlightened by the Holy Spirit, and enjoy so constant and so deep an anointing, may be so baptized into Christ, and made so acquainted with him, in his various offices and relations, as to break effectually and permanently the power of temptation; and so confirm the soul in its consecration as that, through the indwelling of Christ by his Spirit, he shall be more than conqueror in every conflict with the world, the flesh, and Satan.”

¹⁷¹ Finney, *Autobiography*, 63.

blessing . . . it had brought them into an attitude of waiting of its fulfillment.”¹⁷² Every time the Spirit arrives, from Finney’s perspective, it follows a prepared and receptive heart.

Finney’s own baptism of the Spirit described in his biographical sketch is the most thorough illustration of the gift. Elsewhere Finney told of a woman who received a “fresh baptism of the Holy Spirit” after she exerted an “anxious inquiry” about the doctrine of sanctification.¹⁷³ He preached the need for action, both in “the necessity of the thorough and universal consecration of herself and her all to Christ” as well as a belief in “the sealing of the Holy Spirit.”¹⁷⁴ A few hours later, “her mind became at once entirely calm, and she felt that she began to receive of the fullness of the Holy Spirit.”¹⁷⁵ Finney labeled the joy she felt as an anointing and baptism of the Holy Spirit. For this woman and all others, he felt that by personally nurturing our “faith, we secure deeper and deeper baptisms of the Holy Ghost, and put on the Lord Jesus Christ, more and more thoroughly.”¹⁷⁶ This was sanctification at its best for Finney and included the fruits of the Spirit.¹⁷⁷

Conclusion

According to Finney, experiencing the Holy Spirit fulfilled God’s promises to every searching and repentant soul. Most notably, Finney encouraged total human exertion to

¹⁷² Finney, *Systematic Theology*, 1.795.

¹⁷³ Finney, *Autobiography*, 380.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 379.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 380.

¹⁷⁶ Finney, *Revivals*, 442. The quote continues, “and in more of His official relations, by just so much the faster do we grow in the favor of God. . . . You must pray in faith for the Holy Spirit. You must appropriate and put on Christ through the Holy Spirit. At every forward step in your progress, you must have a fresh anointing of the Holy Spirit through faith.”

¹⁷⁷ Finney described the fruits of the Spirit (Gal 5:22), blessing his ministry: “The Lord overshadowed us continually with the cloud of his mercy. Gales of divine influence swept over us from year to year, producing abundantly the fruits of the Spirit ‘love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance’” (*Autobiography*, 360).

align one's life with Christ in order to receive the Spirit's influence in prayer, revivals, conversions, and sanctification. He boldly declared that all people had the power to receive the Spirit in prayer and condemned those who did not feel the Spirit for not trying hard enough to receive it: "if you live without the Spirit, you are without excuse."¹⁷⁸ Humans had the innate power, according to Finney, to instigate their own spiritual destinies. Further denouncing Calvinistic thought, Finney contended,

As I said, do not wait passively for anything to be done to you, as if some physical influence were to be brought to bear upon you, like an electric shock, to make you willing. Yield to the persuasions of his truth and of his Spirit. Yield to your convictions. Yielding to your convictions is coming to Christ. You are convinced that you ought to come, that you may come, that now is the time to come;—now yield to your convictions.¹⁷⁹

Clearly, Finney believed human responsibility required immediate action to receive the Spirit. This anthropocentric view was precisely the point where he separated himself from Old School Presbyterians like Charles Hodge. However, in all of Finney's calls for human accountability, he did not forget that God was the giver of His Spirit. Finney honored the Divine empowerment of that gift by explaining that the "influences of the Spirit are wholly a matter of grace."¹⁸⁰ Finney credited "the gracious influence of the Holy Spirit" as the motivation behind obedience. Holifield saw this as the one Calvinist principle that Finney did not abandon.¹⁸¹ The entire reason why mortals had the power to seek the Spirit, Finney deduced, was because God endowed them with the power to seek and find Him through the Spirit. Ultimately, Finney envisioned a union between the human spirit

¹⁷⁸ Finney, *Revivals*, 101. His lecture continues to encourage human control of religious life: "Obligation to perform duty never rests on the condition that we shall have the influence of the Spirit, but on the powers of moral agency. We, as moral agents, have the power to obey God, and are perfectly bound to obey; and the reason that we do not is, that we are unwilling."

¹⁷⁹ Charles Finney, "Sinners not willing to be Christians." *The Oberlin Evangelist* (July 31, 1861): np, remarks #5.

¹⁸⁰ Finney, *Revivals*, 97.

¹⁸¹ Holifield, *Theology in American*, 366. "While [Finney] said that the will had, in principle, the power to choose the good, he also said that sinners never, in fact, obeyed" without the Spirit's influence.

and God's Spirit to guarantee "the universal teaching and guidance of the Holy Spirit."¹⁸²

When this goal is achieved, he promised his audience, "in all things you shall be led by the Spirit of God," and enjoy the "Holy Spirit's residence"¹⁸³

Finney's place on the nineteenth century pneumatological spectrum of our five early nineteenth century theologians lies at the anthropocentric end of the scale—opposite from that of Hodge. While Finney was closer to Cartwright's Arminian perspective, Finney nevertheless spoke, sought, and petitioned the Spirit far more boldly than Cartwright did. Only Joseph Smith had a more extreme perspective about man's spiritual potential than Finney. We turn next to study how Smith goes beyond Finney's exhortations on the Spirit.

¹⁸² Finney, *Revivals*, 433.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 301. Note that Finney emphasized the requirement of human effort to attain God's promises in the subsequent sentences: "The thing to be attained is the universal teaching and guidance of the Holy Spirit, so that in all things you shall be led by the Spirit of God. . . . Always remember, therefore, that to grow in grace, you must grow in the possession of the fullness of the Holy Ghost in your heart."

Chapter 6

Joseph Smith Junior's Biographical Background

Joseph Smith, Junior (1805-1844), the founder of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, embraced the biblical gifts of the Spirit and expanded the traditional sphere of the Spirit's influence.¹ While Smith's thoughts on the Holy Ghost appear to fall within the mainstream of the enthusiastic outbursts of the Second Great Awakening, a closer look shows that he made an abrupt and radical departure from the pneumatology of his day.² The next two chapters argue that Smith's culture and kin stimulated some of his questions about revelation, but his novel doctrines on the Holy Ghost show little resemblance to the thoughts of his day outside of the shared biblical vocabulary.³ In order to understand Smith's doctrines of the Holy Spirit, chapter six unfolds Smith's youthful background—both his extended family values and early visionary experiences. Chapter seven outlines his pneumatology. Both chapters demonstrate that Smith was influenced by

¹Biographies on Joseph Smith, Jr., include Richard L. Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1971 reprint 2003); Hyrum L. Andrus and Helen Mae Andrus, eds., *They Knew the Prophet*, (Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1974); Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History* (New York City, NY: 1946); Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1984); *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York City, NY: Random House, 2005); Francis M. Gibbons, *Joseph Smith: Martyr, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1982); Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith, The First Mormon* (Garden City, NY: Signature Books, 1977); Truman G. Madsen, *Joseph Smith the Prophet* (Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1989; Robert L. Millet, ed., *Joseph Smith: Selected Sermons and Writings* (New York City: NY: Paulist Press, 1989); Larry C. Porter and Susan Easton Black, eds. *The Prophet Joseph: Essays on the Life and Mission of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1988); Robert V. Remini, *Joseph Smith* (New York City, NY: Viking Penguin, 2002); Lucy Mack Smith, *History of Joseph Smith by his Mother* (1853, Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, reprint 1956); Dan Vogel, *Joseph Smith: the Making of a Prophet* (Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 2004). I have listed a selection from both believing LDS and anti-Mormon authors.

²Biographers who often label Joseph Smith as a product of his environment include Susan Juster, *Doomsayers: Anglo-American Prophecy in the Age of Revolution* (Philadelphia, PN: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 260-270; Ahlstrom, *Religious History*, 503-506; Campbell, "Delusions" *Millennial Harbinger*, 2 (1831), 93. Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 242; Holifield, *Theology in America*, 332-350; Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, ix; articles by Richard Hughes titled "Two Restoration Traditions: Mormons and Churches of Christ in the Nineteenth- Century," and by Nathan Hatch, "The Christian Movement and the Demand for a Theology of the People" in Casey, *Stone-Campbell Movement: An International Religious Tradition* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2002), 354-359.

³ Smith claimed that his expansive views of the Spirit came as new revelation.

his environment, but his pneumatology goes beyond the thinking of his day in its greater depth and breadth of thought.

Joseph Smith's deeper analysis includes a greater emphasis on the Spirit than does the Bible or his peers, more descriptive titles, and more inclusive use of the charismatic gifts of the Spirit. He emphasized the Spirit's role in providing new divine direction through revelations and prophecies, a new scripture, priesthood power, visions, and as a source of personal inspiration. For Joseph Smith, moreover, a special "Melchizedek" or Apostolic Priesthood ordination was required to administer the "Gift of the Holy Ghost" by the laying on of hands.⁴ The "Holy Spirit of Promise" and the promise of the Second Comforter were also aspects of Smith's doctrine of the Holy Spirit that were unique to him in the antebellum period of American religious history.

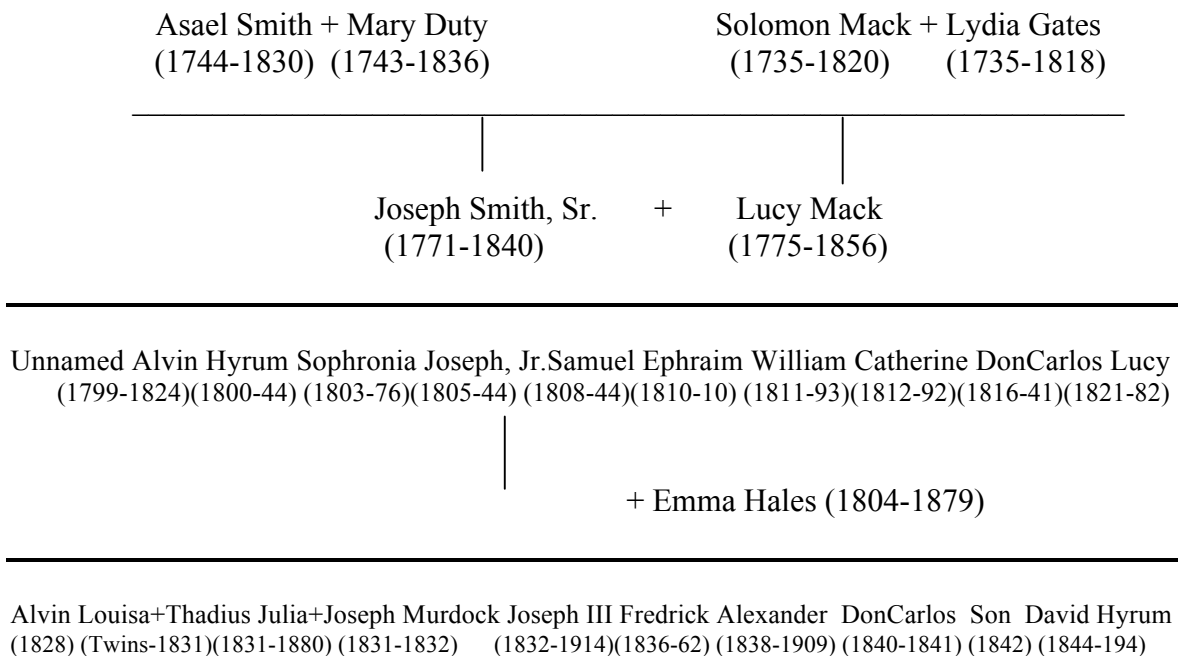
The social and religious background of Joseph Smith's family had a significant impact on the direction in which his pneumatology developed. Because of his upbringing, Smith was open to a range of thoughts about the Holy Spirit's influence and revelation. Initially, the family isolation, home schooling, and frequent moves fostered an inbreeding of family values and thought.⁵ His religious ideas stemmed more from his close knit family than from any study of theology or denominational differences. However, if we limit Smith's doctrine to his family and environment we will miss the genius of his pneumatology. As Richard Bushman observed, "If we tie him [Joseph Smith] down to upstate rural New York, we will miss the expansiveness of his thinking, like explaining

⁴ I chose to capitalize all references to the "Gift of the Holy Ghost" in Smith's usage to emphasize its distinctive definition in his thinking. Smith's distinctive definitions will be discussed more in chapters seven and eight.

⁵ Smith's biographer, Richard Anderson, asserted that "the formation of the boy is perceived through his family background" (*Smith's Heritage*, xi).

Shakespeare from the small town mentality of Stratford.”⁶ A more expansive view than Smith’s family and the Second Great Awakening is needed to appreciate his pneumatology. Nevertheless, we need to examine his family’s spiritual life and his youthful experiences in order to understand how he developed the frame of mind to believe in angels, visions, verbal answers to prayers, and a full restoration of the primitive church. His background acted as a spring board to the development of his doctrine on the Holy Spirit.

Family and Religious Life



Extended Family

Joseph Smith, Junior, was born December 23, 1805, in Sharon, Vermont, on his Grandfather Mack’s farm, the fourth child of Lucy Mack and Joseph Smith Senior. The Smiths’ stay in Sharon was relatively short-lived, and they moved around the Connecticut

⁶ Richard Bushman was quoted in Grant Underwood, “Worlds of Joseph Smith: Attempting to Situate Joseph Smith,” *BYU Studies*, vol. 44, (Provo, UT: BYU, 2005), 42. The quote was preceded by “I am advocating global perspectives . . . I think they are the only way to highlight the nature of Joseph Smith’s achievements.”

River Valley eight times in twenty years.⁷ Unlike the transient nature of Joseph Smith's immediate family, his ancestors lived in the same settled Puritan community. For four generations Smith's paternal line of Puritans lived as farmers just north of Salem, in Topsfield, Massachusetts. Smith's maternal ancestors lived in Lyme, Connecticut, for the two previous generations. Large families did not always have land available for each of their children, and such was the case with both of Joseph Smith's grandfathers. His grandparents joined the Yankee migration north along the Connecticut River Valley in search of arable land. Like many Americans at the time, Joseph Smith's grandparents and parents did not put down roots for more than a dozen years at a time.⁸ Worthy of note, even though both families relocated regularly, the extended families remained geographically clustered together. The prominent familial impact was even more powerful because the families often lived in isolated wilderness environments where family associations were their major social contact. As a result, Smith's extended family had a large impact on his ideas and values.⁹

To unfold the impact of his heritage, we will first look at ways that Joseph Smith's grandparents and then his parents cultivated the values that developed into his

⁷ Between 1797 and 1816 Joseph Smith, Sr., and Lucy Mack Smith and their growing family moved in a circle around father Asael's home in Tunbridge, Vermont, before leaving the Connecticut River Valley permanently. In chronological order, they lived in Tunbridge on their own farm (1796), Randolph as a shop keeper (1802), Royalton (1804), Sharon as a school teacher (1805), Tunbridge, Royalton, then Lebanon, New Hampshire (1811), and back to Vermont again farming in Norwich (1814). Finally in the fall of 1816, "the year without a summer," the Smiths moved from New England to Palmyra, New York. Later their clan also moved with the Mormons to Kirtland, Ohio, in 1831, and Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1839. Allen and Leonard, *Latter-day Saints*, 24; S. Kent Brown, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard H. Jackson, eds., *Historical Atlas of Mormonism* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 6.

⁸ In 1791, the same year that Vermont entered the Union as the fourteenth state, in their late forties, with eight children in tow, Asael and Mary Smith purchased their first eighty-three acre farm in Tunbridge, Vermont. Smith's maternal grandparents, Solomon and Lydia Mack, tried various occupations in Gilsum and Montague, New Hampshire, and then moved across the state line briefly to Tunbridge, Vermont, before returning to New Hampshire.

⁹ Anderson, *Smith's Heritage*, 1: "Joseph Smith's religious and ethical heritage came to him in two ways: by some degree of contact with grandfathers and grandmothers and directly in the perpetuation of family traditions by his own parents."

pneumatology. Both of Smith's grandfathers served on behalf of their country and supported the revolutionary cause of liberty throughout their lives. Smith remembered that a "love of liberty was diffused into my soul by my grandfathers while they dandled me on their knees."¹⁰ The story of Grandpa Mack's solo attack on a group of armed Indians during his first enlistment in the French and Indian War was passed on from one generation to the next. Smith internalized his grandfather's strategy completely enough to enact it himself when attacked by a mob (and had equal success).¹¹ Joseph Smith gained more from his grandparents than merely repeating war stories in different settings; his grandfathers created in him a respect for laws and the liberties both of the land and of God.¹²

Despite concurring on devotion to liberty, the two families differed when it came to religion. Asael Smith (1744-1830) left his Puritan-Congregationalists roots for the more egalitarian and rational thought of Universalism. The move to Universalism was popular

¹⁰ Smith, *History*, 5.498.

¹¹ Richard Anderson, *Smith's Heritage*, 8. According to Solomon Mack's autobiography, he was traveling with a single companion through a forest when he came upon four hostile Indians only "150 yards ahead, armed with knives, tomahawks, and guns." With nothing more than nerve and a walking stick, Solomon yelled to his companion, who trailed one-hundred yards behind, as well as to the Indians: "'Rush on! Rush on! Brave boys, we'll have the devils! We'll have the devils!'" He ran toward them, and when his companion came in sight, he remembered it "gave them a terrible fright, and I saw them no more. But I am bound to say the grass did not grow under my feet." Smith recalled the story years later in Palmyra when he repeated this portion of history by attacking challenges with the same strategy. His mother's biography described a "large company of men well-armed came rushing up to the house" to steal the newly acquired golden plates: "Smith threw open the doors, and taking a hint from the stratagem of his grandfather Mack, hallooed [*sic*] as if he had a legion at hand, in the meanwhile giving the word of command with great emphasis; while all the male portion of the family, from the father down to little Carlos, ran out of the house with such fury on the mob that it struck them with terror and dismay. And they fled before the little Spartan band into the woods, where they dispersed themselves to their several homes" (Lucy Smith, *History of Joseph Smith*, 112).

¹² Joseph Smith's revelations admonish compliance with the laws of the land. Three canonized examples follow: "Let no man break the laws of the land, for he that keepeth the laws of God hath no need to break the laws of the land." Joseph Smith Jr., *Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (1835 reprint, Salt Lake City, UT: Corporation of the President, 1981), 58:21 (hereafter cited, *D&C*): "And now, verily I say unto you concerning the laws of the land, it is my will that my people should observe to do all things whatsoever I command them. And that law of the land which is constitutional, supporting that principle of freedom in maintaining rights and privileges, belongs to all mankind, and is justifiable before me" (*D&C*, 98:4): "We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law." Joseph Smith, *Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City: Corporation of the President, 1842. Reprint 1986), Articles of Faith, 12.

in the region as five Congregational local clergymen converted to Universalism in 1790, the year before the Smiths arrived. Asael and his oldest two sons, Jesse and Joseph, Sr., helped organize a Universalist society in Tunbridge. The society lasted for only two years, after which the Smith men returned to the Congregational meetinghouse, although Asael and his oldest sons maintained their Universalist beliefs and mistrust of traditional Christianity.¹³ The doctrine of Universalism reacted against the Calvinistic-Reformed roots of New England by preaching a universal atonement and salvation for all.¹⁴ This democratic theology flourished in Vermont where the population lacked an aristocracy. Among the more established Christians in southern New England, Universalism was viewed as a religious cult. Asael's religious affiliation did not hinder his community standing as he was repeatedly elected to manage town affairs—serving as a selectman, highway surveyor and town moderator.¹⁵

Enough inhabitants of the “Green Mountains” modified the Puritan religion of their forefathers to the degree that the rest of New England referred to Vermont as a hotbed of heresies.¹⁶ Vermont's society was very young; two-thirds of all Vermont residents in 1800 were under twenty-six.¹⁷ Their youth and mobility catalyzed change—including religious

¹³ Porter and Black, eds., *The Prophet Joseph*, 4-6.

¹⁴ The basic belief of nineteenth-century Universalism was stated in the 1803 New Hampshire convention: “We believe there is one God, whose nature is love, revealed in one Lord Jesus Christ, by one Holy Spirit of grace, who will finally restore the whole family of mankind to holiness and happiness” (Anderson, *Smith's Heritage*, 133). Within the first decade of statehood, Vermont culturally accepted Universalism in Tunbridge. The Universalists, in fact, shared the same church building with the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Baptists. This practice, however, was overturned March 13, 1809, when the Congregationalists forbade the Universalists to worship in their meeting house (*ibid.*, 134).

¹⁵ Bushman, *Beginnings*, 24.

¹⁶ In 1774 Connecticut's General Association of Ministers (which consisted mainly of Reformed ministers) toured the region of Vermont and began a major missionary effort to reclaim the inhabitants religiously. Their efforts did not stop the population from enthusiastically purchasing deistic works like Ethan Allen's *The Only Oracle of Man* (published in 1784) and Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason* (published in three parts 1794, 1795, and 1807). Bushman summarized, “the grip of the old Puritan faith had been broken in Vermont” (*Beginnings*, 28).

¹⁷ Cross, *Burned Over District*, 6.

change. Both grandfathers fell into that category as they left the religion of their forefathers—just as Joseph Smith, Junior, did again two generations later. Underlining Asael Smith’s belief was his faith in God. He communicated his belief in Christ in a letter to his wife Mary:¹⁸ “Put your whole trust solely [in Him. He neve]r did nor never will forsake any that trusted in him.”¹⁹ At the same time, Asael embraced Enlightenment thinking and encouraged his sons to learn from Thomas Paine’s *Age of Reason*. Unlike Paine, however, Asael incorporated his love of God and reason into a harmonious balance. In a letter written in 1800 at age fifty-six, he attempted to pass onto his children his respect for God by counseling them to consider the “immortality in your souls”:

And now my dear children, let me pour out my heart to you and speak first to you of immortality in your souls. Trifle not in this point: the soul is immortal. You have to deal with an infinite majesty; you go upon life and death. Therefore, in this point be serious. Do all to God in a serious manner. When you think of him, speak of him, pray to him, or in any way make your addresses to his great majesty, be in good earnest. Trifle not with his name nor with his attributes, nor call him to witness to anything but is absolute truth; nor then, [*sic*] but when sound reason on serious consideration requires it.²⁰

Asael’s correspondence suggests that he was a concerned father and lived a life of faith and piety as well. He was not a controlling patriarch as is illustrated in the same letter when he leaves the choice of religious affiliation open to each person—according to their personal study of scripture, and their own reasoning, and feelings.²¹

¹⁸ Asael intended to have the letter delivered as a “posthumous address to his family” because he was worried about the reception of some of his opinions. Smith, *History*, 1.8-9. But in reality he did not die for thirty years.

¹⁹ Anderson, *Smith’s Heritage*, 120.

²⁰ Ibid., 160. Asael’s writing reflects the style of the day of people who are literate, but not well educated.

²¹ Ibid., 161. Asael wrote: “As to religion, I would not wish to point out any particular form to you; but first I would wish you to search the scriptures and consult sound [reas]on, and see if they (which I take to [be] two witnesses that stand by the God of the whole earth) are not sufficient to evince to you that religion is a necessary theme. Then I would wish you to study the nature of religion, and see whether it consists in outward formalities, or in the hidden man of the heart.”

The core of Asael's letter focused on coming to Christ. Without outrightly debating religious questions, Asael's written testimony discussed many religious issues of the day. He believed that Christ alone could save, without "mixing any of their [man's] own righteousness with his." He did not name it, but he also denounced the Calvinistic doctrine that only a certain number of the elect were saved. Asael did not see himself as a heretic but rooted his thoughts on his need for a Redeemer. He also urged his children to realize their personal need for a Savior:

First I would wish you to search the Scriptures and consult sound reason and see if they (which I take to be two witnesses that stand by the God of the whole earth) are not sufficient to evince to you that religion is a necessary theme. Then I would wish you to study the nature of religion, and see whether it consists in outward formalities, or in the hidden man of the heart; whether you can by outward forms, rites and ordinances save yourselves, or whether there is a necessity of your having help from any other hand than your own. If you find that you stand in need of a Savior, Christ saith: "Look unto me and be ye saved all ye ends of the earth." Then look to Him, and if you find from scripture and sound reason that Christ hath come into the world to save sinners, then examine what it was that caused him to leave the center of consummate happiness to suffer as he did—whether it was to save mankind because they were sinners and could not save themselves or whether he [came] to save mankind because they had repented of their sins, so as to be forgiven on the score of their repentance. If you find that he came to save sinners merely because they were such, then try if there is any other [sinner] so great that he cannot save him.²²

Asael concluded his letter with a summary of his religious convictions and parental counsel to follow "scripture and sound reason."²³ He believed that these two keys acted as

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid., 124-125: "But mind that you admit no others as evidences but the two that God hath appointed, viz., scripture and sound reason . . . But if these two witnesses testify to you that God is just to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works; then believe them. And if you can believe that Christ [came] to save sinners and not the righteous Pharisees or self-righteous; that sinners must be saved by the righteousness of Christ alone, without mixing any of their own righteousness with his, then you will see that he can as well save all as any. And there is no respect of persons with God, who will have all mankind to be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth, viz., that 'there is one God and one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time.' And when you believe this you will enter into his rest, and when you enter into his rest you will know what that rest is, and not before. And having gotten this evidence that God is true, be still adding to your evidence and enjoy your present assurance. Do all to God as to your father, for his love is ten thousand times greater towards you than ever any earthly father's could [be] to his offspring."

a witness of God and could lead to faith in Christ. Asael's repeated instruction to consult both the scriptures and reason appears to be motivated from the religious answers he found and hoped to pass onto his beloved children. He preached the need to believe and live one's convictions and thereby honor God as one's father: "Do all to God as to your father, for his love is ten thousand times greater towards you than ever any earthly father's could [be] to his offspring."²⁴

Asael's ties to his children were extremely important to him. As his family grew, he strove to keep them physically and emotionally close. He provided adjacent farms for his oldest three sons (including Joseph, Sr.) in Tunbridge. When the clan left New England for western New York between 1815 and 1816, six of his children and their families all settled in St. Lawrence County, with Lucy and Joseph, Sr., settling nearby in Ontario County, New York. The majority of the next generation also moved together to Kirtland, Ohio, between 1831 and 1836 to join Joseph Smith, Junior's, religious movement.²⁵

Religious feelings were also strong in Smith's maternal line. His grandmother, Lydia Mack (1735-1818), was the oldest daughter of Deacon Daniel Gates of the Congregational Church.²⁶ Lydia followed his footsteps into the congregation and was the main source of religious and academic instruction for her eight children.²⁷ Her husband remembered,

²⁴ Ibid., 126.

²⁵ Ibid., 26. The move to Kirtland was an exodus to follow Smith's religious gathering of Mormons. Bushman summarized, "of the thirteen members of the Asael Smith family, seven accepted the Mormon faith, three died before they had an opportunity, and three rejected it. John Smith, who was baptized in 1832 was the first to join the church" (Ibid., 198). Joseph Smith, Jr., recorded in his journal May 18, 1836—the day when his widowed grandmother, Mary Duty Smith, arrived in Kirtland, "It was a happy day, for we had long prayed to see our grandmother and uncles in the Church." Smith, *History*, 2.443.

²⁶ Deacon Daniel Gates formalized his religious convictions in his will: "I would . . . commit my soul into the hands of God, who gave it, hoping and believing that I shall obtain remission of all my sins through the alone merits of Jesus Christ, my only Savior, and that for his sake I shall be admitted into life eternal." Anderson, *Smith's Heritage*, 33.

²⁷ Lydia's husband Solomon Mack wrote of her, "As our children were deprived of schools, she assumed the charge of their education, and performed the duties of an instructress as none, save a mother, is capable of.

She, besides instructing them in the various branches of an ordinary education, was in the habit of calling them together both morning and evening, and teaching them to pray; meanwhile urging upon them the necessity of love towards each other, as well as devotional feelings towards him who made them. In this manner my first children became confirmed in habits of piety, gentleness, and reflection, which afforded great assistance in guiding those who came after them, into the same happy channel.²⁸

Traditional Christian values were fostered in the Mack home by their mother; however, with repeated household moves into sparsely-populated regions without ministers, Lydia emphasized piety over formal church attendance—there simply were no churches to attend. The fruits of her labor were evidenced by the fact that her oldest son, Jason Mack, became a lay preacher at age twenty, and her daughter Lovisa had a vision of “the Saviour, as through a veil.”²⁹ Lydia’s youngest, Lucy (Joseph Smith, Junior’s, mother), hungered for religious conversion, especially during her teenage years when she experienced the death of her two older sisters. Seeking for religious answers was another trait passed onto her son, Joseph, Junior.

Lydia’s husband, Solomon Mack (1735-1820), on the other hand, traveled frequently and did not find religious answers until late in his life.³⁰ In 1810 at the age of seventy-five, Solomon experienced a religious conversion. He noted that, “God did appear for me and took me out of the horrible pit and mirey [*sic*] clay, and set my feet on the rock of Jesus Christ.”³¹ He published his testimony as a missionary pamphlet in 1811 and devoted the rest of his life to sharing the “Good News.” The final lines in Solomon’s pamphlet express his commitment to serving the Lord:

Precepts accompanied with examples such as hers, were calculated to make impressions on the minds of the young, never to be forgotten.” Ibid., 34.

²⁸ Ibid., 35.

²⁹ Bushman, *Beginnings*, 18.

³⁰ Solomon Mack spent several years as a seaman. This was a common lifestyle according to historian Daniel Howe: “New England Yankees made themselves one of the world’s great seafaring peoples. . . . Seaport Americans earned livings not only as merchant sailors but also as fishermen, whalers, and shipwrights.” Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 47.

³¹ Bushman, *Beginnings*, 16.

The remainder of my days, I mean to spend in my father's service though a poor cripple . . . I have a love to all rich and poor, kings and nobles, black and white, come all to Jesus my friends, come to Jesus and he will in no wise cast you off; oh! Come come, how sweet is the love to Jesus—how beautiful is the love of God. This invitation is from my heart.³²

The sincerity of Solomon's rough writing communicated his "love of God."

Because Joseph lived in close contact with his Mack grandparents for his first eleven years, he knew of his Grandfather Solomon's testimony and service first hand, as well as through his published tract. While Solomon's grandchildren and great grandchildren learned of Solomon's faith, his children learned of his tenacity and perseverance in the face of hardship. His grim endurance drove him to start over again and again after several unsuccessful business ventures. Lucy inherited her faith from her mother; she learned perseverance from her father and fought through every hardship and trial in her life. She passed these same strengths, in turn, to her son Joseph. The impact of Joseph Smith's extended family's religious convictions lasted beyond his youth; most of his uncles, aunts, and cousins joined his religious movement and held positions of authority.

Immediate Family

The most direct stimulus on Joseph Smith, Junior's, religious upbringing came from his parents. The couple met in Tunbridge, Vermont, and married on January 24, 1797. An examination of their lives shows a strong work ethic built on a spiritual core. Joseph, Sr., insisted on religious "services" each night and morning where the family read the scriptures, sang hymns and kneeled in prayer.³³ In Lucy's autobiography, she recollected,

³² Ibid., 67.

³³ Bushman, *Beginnings*, 37. Lavina Fielding Anderson, *Lucy's Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith's Family Memoir* (Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 2001), 38. The practice of daily devotionals was recorded by both Lucy and her son William. Daily prayer, "both morning and evening," which was also consistent with Lucy Mack's childhood under the tutelage of her mother, Lydia Gates Mack. During the winter of 1830-31 between twelve and twenty neighbors attended the devotionals. (Ibid., 34-35). According

“Whilst we worked with our hands we endeavored to remember the service of & the welfare of our souls.”³⁴ Lavina Fielding Anderson, the most exhaustive biographer of Lucy Mack Smith, described her “as a model of domestic spirituality, a model drawn directly from her New England culture about proper behavior for pious women.”³⁵ The Smith’s fifth son, William, the only son to live to an old age, remembered that his mother “made use of every means which her parental love could suggest, to get us engaged in seeking for our soul’s salvation.”³⁶ Most importantly for this study, the boy Joseph also perceived his parents’ efforts to teach Christianity. In a brief autobiography he wrote in 1832 at age twenty-six, only one sentence dealt with the first decade of his life, and it singled out his religious education at home: “[My] goodly parents spared no pains to instructing me in the Christian religion.”³⁷ For young Smith worship of God was a daily devotion.

The Smiths’ religion was more visible at home than at church. Often they lived in unsettled areas without a meeting house. Their church attendance was sporadic at best and divided between different denominations. Lucy yearned for the association with a church and investigated different denominations over the years. In 1802 after a disappointing Presbyterian service she concluded,

Thither I went in expectation of obtaining that which alone could satisfy my soul—the bread of eternal life. When the minister commenced, I fixed my mind with breathless attention upon the spirit and matter of the discourse, but all was emptiness, vanity, vexation of spirit, and fell upon my heart like the chill, untimely blast upon the starting ear ripening in a summer sun. It did not fill the aching void within nor satisfy the craving hunger of my soul. I was almost in total despair, and

to first hand accounts, Joseph Smith continued this same practice of evening family devotionals in his home. Andrus, *They Knew the Prophet*, 147.

³⁴ Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 323.

³⁵ Ibid., 17.

³⁶ Bushman, *Beginnings*, 39.

³⁷ Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 10.

with a grieved and troubled spirit I returned home, saying in my heart, there is not on earth the religion which I seek.³⁸

A Vermont minister agreed to baptize Lucy without requiring that she join a specific denomination, thus enabling her to fulfill the biblical command without committing herself to a creed.³⁹ When the family moved to Palmyra, New York, there was one church building belonging to the Presbyterians, and Lucy attended services there.⁴⁰

Lucy focused her faith during a traumatic experience in the fall of 1802. In between the birth of her second and third children, she contracted “consumption” (probably tuberculosis). After six months, her doctors and husband did not think she would live, so she sought what she felt was the only resource she had left:

I then looked to the Lord and begged and pled that he would spare my life that I might bring up my children and comfort the heart of my husband. Thus I lay all night, sometimes gazing gradually away to heaven, and then reverting back again to my babies and my companion at my side, and I covenanted with God that if he would let me live, I would endeavor to get that religion that would enable me to serve him right, whether it was in the Bible or wherever it might be found, even if it was to be obtained from heaven by prayer and faith. At last a voice spoke to me and said, "Seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. Let your heart be comforted. Ye believe in God, believe also in me."⁴¹

Lucy immediately began to recover.⁴² She experienced other faith healings for her family and herself. In 1811, her daughter Sophronia was deathly ill with typhoid fever. After

³⁸ Lucy Smith, *History of Joseph Smith*, editor's introduction from 1853 manuscript, np. The 1901 edition is less dramatic and ends, "I therefore determined to examine my Bible, and taking Jesus and His disciples for my guide neither give nor take away." Preston Nibley, ed., *History of Joseph Smith by His Mother, Lucy Mack Smith* (Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1954), 36.

³⁹ Ibid. Lucy does not name the minister or his denomination. Full church membership "was often a closely guarded privilege," but many more people attended services. Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 39.

⁴⁰ Milton V. Backman, Jr., *Joseph Smith's First Vision: Confirming Evidences and Contemporary Accounts*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1971, 1980), 184. Palmyra was home to at least four denominations (Presbyterian, Methodist, Quakers, and Baptist), but in 1820 all but the Presbyterian congregations met in homes or schools until meetinghouses were built.

⁴¹ Preston Nibley, ed. *History of Joseph Smith*, 34.

⁴² Ibid.: "In a few moments my mother came in and, looking upon me, she said, 'Lucy, you are better.' I replied as my speech returned just at that instant, 'Yes, mother, the Lord will let me live, if I am faithful to the promise which I made to him, to be a comfort to my mother, husband, and children.' I continued to gain strength until I became quite well as to bodily health."

ninety days of battling the illness, the Smiths' physician gave up hope. When Sophronia stopped breathing and her eyes "set," Lucy remembered she and her husband "clasped our hands together and fell upon our knees by the bed side and poured our grief and supplications into His ears who hath numbered the hair[s] upon our heads then think it not strange if he heard us—he did hear us and I felt assured that he would answer our prayers."⁴³ Despite the negative comments from onlookers, Lucy scooped up the lifeless Sophronia in her arms and filled with faith, paced the floor until Sophronia breathed again. Sophronia returned to full health and lived a long life. Lucy's life was punctuated with what she believed were divine healings.⁴⁴

The gifts of the Spirit were not only spoken of, but practiced in the home where Joseph, Junior, grew up. In addition to the gift of healing, Lucy also spoke with the gift of prophecy. She recorded a dream that she felt was prophetic when she was courting her husband. She saw both Joseph, Sr., and his brother Jesse as beautiful trees. Unlike Jesse's stiff branches, Joseph, Sr.'s, tree was "girdled with light that responded with the utmost 'joy and gratitude' to a gentle breeze."⁴⁵ The interpretation came with the vision: Joseph, Sr., would "hear and receive [the gospel] with his whole heart, and rejoice therein," while Jesse would always resist.⁴⁶ Lucy remembered this dream and valued it as if it were a prophetic message from the Holy Spirit.

⁴³ Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 301.

⁴⁴ Another example that Lucy interpreted as God's healing through faith and prayer occurred en route to Missouri in 1835 when she had pneumonia. She recorded the incident years later: "I commenced calling upon the Lord, beseeching him to restore me to health, as well as my daughter Catherine [who had just given birth]. I urged every claim which is afforded us by the Scriptures, and continued praying faithfully for three hours, at the end of which time, I was relieved from every kind of pain, my cough left me, and I was well" (ibid., 42).

⁴⁵ Ibid. For four examples of Lucy Mack Smith's gift of prophecy, see 42-44.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 42.

The Reformed tradition and Universalism did not maintain Joseph, Sr.'s, initial interest, so he shied away from both while looking for a church more consistent with the New Testament teachings. The Vermont revivals of 1810 to 1811 probably affected him because he had two distinctive dreams that he interpreted as messages from God in 1811.⁴⁷ The first left the impression that “the world ... now lieth inanimate and dumb, in regard to the true religion, or plan of salvation.”⁴⁸ He traveled through a “barren field” with “nothing save dead, fallen timber.” He was instructed by an “attendant spirit” to “travel on, and by the wayside you will find on a certain log box, the contents of which, if you eat thereof, will make you wise, and give unto you wisdom and understanding.”⁴⁹ He found the box, opened it to eat but then had to flee from wild animals. He concluded his religious answers were not then available but was left with a glimmer of hope for the future. In his second dream, he again traveled in “the desolate world” with a guide. He came to a narrow path that led him to a stream with a rope handrail along its bank. A beautiful tree that bore “dazzling” white fruit caught his attention, and he began to eat. He wanted his family to join him, and soon they “all commenced eating, and praising God for this blessing. We were exceedingly happy, that our joy could not easily be expressed.” Joseph, Sr., inquired of his guide as to the meaning and was told that the fruit represented the “pure love of God, shed abroad in the hearts of all those who love him, and keep his commandments.”

⁴⁷ Joseph Smith, Sr.'s, religious searching is recorded in his wife's memoirs from 1811: “About this time my husband's mind became much excited upon the subject of religion.” The first dream occurred in April, 1811, a month after William's birth. Lucy Smith, *History of Joseph Smith*, 46. Historian David Howe pointed to “the earthquakes centered along the New Madrid Fault in Missouri during the winter of 1811-1812, the greatest ever recorded in North America, provoked religious revivals.” American famers felt their dependence on nature's God for survival and turned to Him for divine assistance. Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 38.

⁴⁸ Mark L. McConkie, *The Father of the Prophet: Stories and Insights from the Life of Joseph Smith, Sr.* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1993), 59. Also Lucy Smith, *History of Joseph Smith*, 47. Lucy recorded five of her husband's special dreams, and McConkie records seven.

⁴⁹ McConkie, *Father of the Prophet*, 59.

On-lookers from a nearby large building treated those eating the fruit with “disrespect and contempt.” The guide explained that they were the inhabitants of Babylon and “despise[d] the Saints of God, because of their humility.” Before he awoke, Joseph, Sr., also learned that two more children were to come to his family.⁵⁰ From 1811 to 1819, he experienced a total of seven exceptional dreams that each portrayed a religious seeker in a barren wasteland seeking divine answers and God’s church. Lucy remembered her husband “would not subscribe to any particular system of faith, but contended for the ancient order, as established by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and his Apostles.”⁵¹

The experiences of Joseph, Sr. and Lucy—inspired dreams, visions, healings, prophecy, and seeking a restoration of the primitive church—were handed down and then duplicated by their son. None of young Joseph’s mystical claims stepped outside of his family’s realm of spirituality. And the Smith family was not alone; they fit into the visionary culture of the day, which perceived godly direction through the workings of His Spirit in various forms.⁵² Visions and dreams were part of the larger context of the Second Great Awakening, albeit on the fringe of acceptability. For example, another Vermonter, Orestes Brownson (1803-1876), experienced visions and revelatory dreams in his youth.⁵³

⁵⁰ Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 297-298; Lucy Smith, *History of Joseph Smith*, 48–50. The dream was interpreted as prophetic when the Smiths had two more children in 1816 and 1821.

⁵¹ Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 294.

⁵² Leigh Schmidt records accounts of visions in *Hearing Things*. One person described, “I was standing in a barn with wonderful beams, and up in the beams it was full of beautiful little angels and singing softly and playing on curious instruments, and they made the sweetest music I ever heard, though I often hear sweet music. And a beautiful angel stood before me and said: ‘Eve, I am told to ask you what is the dearest wish of your heart. You may tell me and it will be given to you.’ And I answered, ‘I want to look on the face of my Savior.’ Slowly a great light grew about me and I knew some one stood before me, and I knew it was the Lord, and I covered my face and did not look. I felt I was unworthy to look on Him, or to speak to Him; and then the light went away and has never come back again” (127-128).

⁵³ Patrick Carey, ed., *Early Works of Orestes A. Brownson: Free Thought and Unitarian Years 1820-35* (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 2001), 2.64-65. The Catholic convert Orestes Brownson documented a night of anguish at age fifteen: “A soft, an inexpressibly sweet sensation pervaded my whole frame. There was a light around to which the day would have seemed as night; yet it was midnight . . . All

Grant Underwood observed that by the early nineteenth-century, “charismatic experience had clearly overflowed the dikes of denominational religion.”⁵⁴

Joseph Smith Junior’s Youth⁵⁵

The first recorded expression of Joseph Smith, Junior’s, faith came when Joseph was seven years old. In 1813 typhus fever swept through Lebanon, New Hampshire, and struck the Smiths. The infection festered in Joseph’s leg, and the pain became so excruciating for the boy that after three weeks, a team of doctors from Dartmouth College decided either to amputate or bore into the bone and chip out the infected pieces. Lucy chose the latter operation. The doctors prepared for the surgery by bringing in ropes to bind Smith and alcohol to dull his pain. Lucy recorded her son saying,

I will not touch one particle of liquor, neither will I be tied down; but I will tell you what I will do—I will have my father sit on the bed and hold me in his arms, and then I will do whatever is necessary in order to have the bone taken out. . . . The Lord will help me, and I shall get through with it.⁵⁶

The child’s faith sustained him, and the operation was successful. Smith limped on crutches for the next three years. He was still partially lame when the family traveled from Vermont to upstate New York in the late fall of 1816, but over time he regained full use of his leg.⁵⁷

my guilt, all my grief, all my anguish were gone and I felt as if ushered into a new world, where all was bright and lovely . . . ‘I have tasted heaven today, what more can I contain?’ Thus was I born again.”

⁵⁴ Grant Underwood, “Attempting to Situate Joseph Smith” *BYU Studies* 44.4 (Winter, 2005): 43. Elsewhere Bushman wrote, “In 1825 a teacher in the Palmyra Academy said that he saw Christ descend ‘in a glare of brightness exceeding tenfold the brilliancy of the meridian Sun.’ The *Wayne Sentinel* in 1823 reported Asa Wild’s vision of Christ in Amsterdam, New York, and the message that all denominations were corrupt. . . . Religious eccentrics claimed visits from divinity.” Bushman, *Beginnings*, 58.

⁵⁵ Appendix One includes a time line of Joseph Smith’s life.

⁵⁶ Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 308; Lucy Smith, *History of Joseph Smith*, 57. The quote also included, “Mother, I want you to leave the room, for I know you cannot bear to see me suffer so; father can stand it, but you have carried me so much, and watched over me so long, you are almost worn out. . . . Now, mother, promise me that you will not stay, will you?”

⁵⁷ Backman, *Joseph Smith’s First Vision*, 20: “Joseph Smith, Sr., had preceded the other members of the family west, had located a new residence in Palmyra, and had hired Caleb Howard to assist his wife and children in the move from Norwich, Vermont. Howard, however, did not prove to be a trustworthy hand. He

Move from Vermont to western New York. When Joseph Smith Junior was ten years old, his parents gave up trying to eke out a living from the rocky shallow soil of Vermont. His immediate family of ten members, trailed a few months after the majority of his extended family had left in search of more fertile farmland in upstate New York.⁵⁸ In the first twenty years following statehood in 1791, Vermont's immigration surged three hundred percent; then in the next decade the population moved out of the state in flood proportions.⁵⁹ Evacuation reached its peak in 1816, the "year without a summer." In June of 1816, it snowed, destroying all the farmers' crops, and again in July, frost killed the replanted seedlings. The Smiths left in the fall of that year. Most evacuees went to newly-opened lands in northern and western New York, the Military Tract in Ohio, or the Phelps and Gorham Purchase. Joseph, Junior's, maternal grandparents were too frail to make the journey. At the final farewells between Lucy and her mother, Lydia Mack exhorted her daughter: "Continue faithful in the service of God to the end of your days, that I may have the pleasure of embracing you in another and fairer world above."⁶⁰ They relied on their hope of a heavenly reunion to sustain them.

squandered the family's funds by drinking and gambling and then rode in the Smith wagon, forcing Joseph and others to walk. Under normal conditions the trek would not have been so difficult for Joseph, but the young boy, who was about ten, had not fully recovered from an operation which had been performed a few years earlier while the Smiths were living in Lebanon, New Hampshire. Portions of the bone had been removed from Joseph's left leg, and the boy was still hobbling on crutches when he started for New York."

⁵⁸ Even though Palmyra was a young town, having only been open for settlement twenty-five years, it had a thriving community of 2,614 by 1810, and thanks to its proximity to the Erie Canal, it continued to grow for years. Bushman, *Beginnings*, 43-44.

⁵⁹ Vermont population figures grew from 85,425 in 1790 to 217,895 in 1810. Then the rapid increase dramatically slowed as more people moved out of the state than in. The 1820 population was only 235,981, not even enough growth to account for the birth rate over the decade. The primary factors of Vermont's decreased population were the following: 1) President Thomas Jefferson's embargo of 1808; 2) the cloudburst of 1811; 3) the collapse of the Vermont State Bank in 1811-1812; 4) the War of 1812; 5) the epidemic of "spotted," 1813; 6) late snows in June and frost in July of 1816, which destroyed crops. More than sixty towns in Vermont lost a significant percentage of inhabitants between 1810 and 1820.

⁶⁰ Bushman, *Beginnings*, 41; Lucy Smith, *History of Joseph Smith*, 68.

The revival of 1816 and 1817 was in progress when the Smiths arrived in Palmyra. They had experienced revivals in Vermont in 1810 and 1811, but the family as a whole had not chosen to join a church. This lack of belonging to a denomination was normal for the area, according to Cornell historian Whitney Cross: “An overwhelming majority of western New Yorkers sympathized with the churches and attended meetings regularly. Relatively few, however, ‘professed’ religion, attended Communion, or belonged in the legal or religious sense to the church proper.”⁶¹ The parents were divided between seeking for the primitive church and Presbyterianism, while the children were divided between Presbyterianism and Methodism. Nevertheless, the family was devoted to their daily Bible study and tried to live pious lives.

Religious Seeking

The Palmyra revival may have had an effect on young Smith because he wrote years later that he began worrying about religion at the age of twelve, which would have been in 1817 or 1818.⁶² Similarly, his mother remembered that he began “seriously searching the scriptures” between the ages of twelve and fifteen.⁶³ His three siblings closest in age also joined churches during this time, which undoubtedly made an impression on him as well.⁶⁴ He was caught up in the religious fervor of the Second Great Awakening and wanted to be a participant. Like most citizens of upstate New York, Smith questioned his standing with God. Joseph Smith remembered that he “wanted to get religion too, wanted to feel

⁶¹ Cross, *Burned Over District*, 41. Cross quotes a Baptist minister who preached in the newly developing area near the Smith’s home in 1817: “I do not administer to a church in this Neighborhood where I live, for there is none—my congregation has . . . some nominal Baptist, Presbyterians, Congregationalists . . . with Arminianism, several Universalists . . .”

⁶² Bushman, *Beginnings*, 53.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 205; Lucy, Hyrum, Sophronia, and Samuel also joined the Presbyterian Church during their years in Palmyra.

and shout like the rest but could feel nothing.”⁶⁵ Elsewhere he remembered, “I kept myself aloof from all these parties though I attended their several meetings as often as occasion would permit.”⁶⁶ He was confused and overwhelmed with the variety of claims and doctrines of the churches in his area.

Joseph Smith found himself right in the middle of a crowd of Yankees seeking religious answers. His town’s four denominations (Presbyterian, Methodist, Society of Friends, and Baptist) enjoyed growth during these years, suggesting that he was one of many concerned with religion.⁶⁷ The extended district was a sea of diversity, including congregations of Episcopalians, Congregationalists, and Freewill Baptists in adjacent towns. Camp meetings and revivals swept the country side. One convert described a “religious cyclone which swept over the whole region round about and the kingdom of darkness was terribly shaken.”⁶⁸ The question of the era became, “What must I do to be saved?”⁶⁹ Leigh Schmidt of Princeton collected hundreds of journal accounts of Americans who sought and received conversion experiences from the Bible and private prayer in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁷⁰ From his perspective, the “predicament actually became as much one of God’s loquacity as God’s hush.”⁷¹ Hundreds of pamphlets were published in the early nineteenth-century that communicated personal conversion

⁶⁵ Quoted in Backman, *Joseph Smith’s First Vision*, 177.

⁶⁶ Quoted in John Welch and Eric Carlson, eds. *Opening the Heavens: Accounts of Divine Manifestations 1820-1844* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 2005), 13.

⁶⁷ When the Smiths arrived in Palmyra, only the Presbyterians had a meeting house. In 1819 the Manchester Baptists increased 25% in numbers and built a meeting house two miles west of Palmyra. In February 1820, the Geneva Presbyterians reported “during the past year more have been received into the communion of the Churches than perhaps in any former year” (Bushman, *Beginnings*, 53). Methodists built a new meeting house in Palmyra in 1822, as did the Society of Friends in 1823 (51). Methodist membership in Palmyra nearly doubled (374 to 654) in 1820.

⁶⁸ Milton Backman Jr., “Awakenings in the Burned-over District: New Light on the Historical Setting of the First Vision,” *BYU Studies*, 9 (Spring 1969): 306.

⁶⁹ Bushman, *Beginnings*, 52.

⁷⁰ Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Hearing Things* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Press, 2000), 38-77.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 11.

accounts and visions of the time. Opportunities to hear preaching filled the Burned-over District. Milton Backman, who has written extensively on the beginnings of Mormonism, found revival activity in fifty towns in western New York between 1819 and 1820.⁷²

Smith's autobiographical accounts reference the wide spread religious fervor. "There was in the place where we lived an unusual excitement on the subject of religion. It commenced with the Methodists, but soon became general among all the sects in that region of country. Indeed, the whole district of country [*sic*] seemed affected by it."⁷³ This description could have referred to a myriad of towns in the Burned-over-District or across America. Specifically, though, Smith may have been alluding to the Genesee Conference of Methodist preachers, which gathered thirteen miles south of the Smith's farm in July of 1819. Bushman estimated 110 ministers attended and preached in the area between conference sessions.⁷⁴ Years later Smith remembered that he "became somewhat partial to the Methodists."⁷⁵ Methodism became the fastest growing religion in the early Republic.⁷⁶ The Methodists solved the minister shortage problem by enlisting itinerant preachers without requiring educational degrees. The number of preachers in the first half of the nineteenth-century tripled per capita.⁷⁷ This tremendous religious upsurge accompanied

⁷² Backman, "Awakenings," 312, 304. There were four Methodist ministers assigned to the regions near the Smith farm in 1819 and 1820: William Snow, Andrew Peck, Ralph Lanning, and Isaac Grant. The latter two (responsible for the neighboring Lyons' District) saw the Methodist membership double from 374 to 654 in 1820 alone. Smith probably heard them preach and possibly shared his visionary story with one of them. Religious interest was not limited to the Methodists though. Backman quoted Presbyterian church records listing an annual growth of nine new members a year between 1812 and 1818, followed by a surge of eighty new members between July 1819 and July 1820. For other denominational growth during 1819-1820 see Backman, "Awakenings."

⁷³ Smith, *Pearl*, JS-H 1:5.

⁷⁴ Bushman, *Beginnings*, 53.

⁷⁵ Smith, *Pearl*, JS-H 1:8.

⁷⁶ Backman, "Awakenings," 301-20. Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 3, explains, "By 1820 Methodist membership numbered a quarter million; by 1830 it was twice that number."

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 4: "The eighteen hundred Christian ministers serving in 1775 swelled to nearly forty thousand by 1845. . . . The colonial legacy of one minister per fifteen hundred inhabitants became one per five hundred.

the population boom and followed transient patterns of the population westward.

Competition for members grew, and denominations splintered.

Religious Confusion

Joseph Smith was not baptized into the Methodist church or any other denomination; his frustration did not stem from the doctrines *per se*, but from the disharmony they fostered.

Great multitudes united themselves to the different religious parties, which created no small stir and division amongst the people, some crying, "Lo, here!" and others, "Lo, there!" Some were contending for the Methodist faith, some for the Presbyterian, and some for the Baptist. For, notwithstanding the great love which the converts to the different faiths expressed at the time of their conversion, and the great zeal manifested by the respective clergy, who were active in getting up and promoting this extraordinary scene of religious feeling, in order to have everybody converted, as they were pleased to call it, let them join what sect they pleased; yet when the converts began to file off, some to one party and some to another, it was seen that the seemingly good feelings of both the priests and the converts were more pretended than real; for a scene of great confusion and bad feeling ensued--priest contending against priest, and convert against convert; so that all their good feelings one for another, if they ever had any, were entirely lost in a strife of words and a contest about opinions.⁷⁸

This perceived hypocrisy and tension of the clergy and church members disappointed the boy, and he lost trust in finding answers from them: "In the midst of this war of words and tumult of opinions, I often said to myself: what is to be done? Who of all these parties are right; or are they all wrong together? If any one of them shall be right, which is it, and

This greater preaching density was remarkable given the spiraling population and the restless movement of the peoples to occupy land beyond the reach of any church organization."

⁷⁸ Smith, *History*, 1.5-6.

how shall I know it?”⁷⁹ Smith searched the scriptures for answers, “believing as I was taught, that they contained the word of God.”⁸⁰

Consistent with many religious seekers, Smith felt that a particular biblical verse answered his plea for guidance. Religious seekers felt that the Holy Spirit motivated and directed their Bible reading. The Spirit directed Smith to James 1:5: “If any of ye lack wisdom, let him ask of God that giveth to men liberally and upbraideth not and it shall be given him.” A Methodist, Reverend George Lane, may have directed him to this scriptural passage as he used it in his revival sermons in western New York.⁸¹ The passage had a great impact on young Joseph. He felt the Spirit of God wrote its message on his mind and heart, and he rejoiced:

Never did any passage of scripture come with more power to the heart of man than this did at this time to mine. It seemed to enter with great force into every feeling of my heart. I reflected on it again and again, knowing that if any person needed wisdom from God I did. At length I came to the conclusion that I must either remain in darkness and confusion, or else I must do as James directs, that is, ask of God.⁸²

With the optimistic perspective of youth, Smith determined to ask the Almighty in prayer which church he should join. Up to this point, the fourteen-year-old boy followed the pattern laid out by his society to find religious answers.⁸³ He sought divine direction because human reasoning alone was deficient and his answer came as a vision.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 1.3-4. Bushman suggested that Smith’s confusion also possibly stemmed from meetings of a “juvenile debating club.” Probably the “juvenile debaters” addressed issues like God’s existence, deistic beliefs, and others. One of the newspaper office apprentices reported that the boy Joseph came to one of their meetings where they worked to “solve some portentous questions of moral or political ethics” *Beginnings*, 55.

⁸⁰ Quoted in Lucy Smith, *History of Joseph Smith*, 73, 84.

⁸¹ Madsen, *Joseph Smith the Prophet*, 8.

⁸² Smith, Pearl, *JS-H* 1:12.

⁸³ The greatest American theologian, Jonathan Edwards (1703 -1758), had influenced much of American Protestant thought by the early nineteenth -century. He taught that our religious experiences are to be judged within the teachings of the Bible in order to determine if they fall within the bounds of truth. If the Bible directed one to do something, it was safe to hold as good counsel. Edwards also strove to enjoy an increase in the influence of the Holy Spirit.

Early Visions (1820-1830)

Similar to members of other communities, Smith sought a conversion experience. He just wanted to know which church to join. He was not seeking a vision, divine call to serve, or an answer about the character of God—though he testified that he received all these answers.⁸⁴ Even though he was not expecting a vision in answer to his prayer, presumably his father's example of experiencing messages through dreams prepared him with an open mind to accept such experiences as reality. Some Americans at this time accepted visionaries—if their experiences were symbolic and mythical, but very few believed visionaries if they claimed their incident as a literal reality.⁸⁵

Over the course of his life, Joseph Smith described seeing multiple visions that all fit into the category of corporeal visions: “perception by bodily eyes . . . of an object that is naturally invisible to man.”⁸⁶ In an article on Smith's visions, Alexander Baugh defined visions as “seeing vivid images where the veil is lifted from an individual's mind in order to see and comprehend the things of God.”⁸⁷ Among Smith's list of “visions,” he included dreams that conveyed spiritual messages; personal appearances of the deity, angels, and devils; and visual revelations through the Urim and Thummim. These visions, in the form of divine revelation, were preceded by the Spirit of God motivating, prompting, and

⁸⁴ Richard Bushman observed that young Smith saw himself as a passive participant: “Judging from his own account, Smith was less in control of his life than most believed.” Jan Shipps referred to Smith's first vision, the seer stones and the command to translate the plate as “the prophetic puzzle.” Richard Bushman, “Joseph Smith's Many Histories,” *BYU Studies*, 44.4 (winter, 2005):12.

⁸⁵ Givens, *Hand of Mormon*, 74-75. Givens argues that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the idea that visions “should be read as simple reflection of reality is apparently deemed too absurd to consider. If we can decipher some kind of hidden meaning from a revelation about the ‘geography of heaven and hell,’ for example, then we stand to benefit accordingly. But if we are being offered a map of the celestial world's physical terrain, then it all seems to be just so much silliness.” Givens points to the mystic Boehme and Smith as two visionaries who were too literal for their era.

⁸⁶ Thomas Carson and Joann Cerrito, *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., s.v. “Charismatic Phenomena.” (Detroit, MI: Thomson and Gale, 2003), 10.107. The encyclopedia continues, “Corporeal and imaginative visions may be caused by some natural power or by the devil, and therefore such possibilities must be investigated.”

⁸⁷ Alexander L. Baugh, “Parting the Veil: The Visions of Joseph Smith,” *BYU Studies*, 38.1, (1999): 23.

tutoring the boy Joseph. The Spirit's role in his visions was in part mentioned in *Doctrine and Covenants* (D&C) 67:11: "For no man has seen God at any time in the flesh, *except quickened by the Spirit of God*" (italics mine). The Spirit is also mentioned as testifying to the truth, and as the agent who opened Smith's understanding.

First Vision

Smith's first vision was a theophany that occurred in the early spring of 1820 when he "came to the conclusion that I must either remain in darkness and confusion or else I must do as James directs, that is, Ask of God." He described his mental anguish over not being able to discern truth through his own reasoning: "I at last came to the determination to ask of God, concluding that if he gave wisdom to them that lacked wisdom, and would give liberally and not upbraid, I might venture."⁸⁸ His decision to ask God for guidance was made without giving direct credit to the promptings of the Holy Spirit, but to the Bible directly. Desiring to pray aloud and in private, the fourteen year-old Smith left the crowded log cabin and went to a grove of trees on the family farm to ask God which church to join. His answer became known as the First Vision, and members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints refer to it as the beginning of the Restoration of Christ's church on earth. In Smith's words, his prayer was interrupted initially by a power of "thick darkness" that was finally dispelled by a glorious pillar of light:

After I had retired to the place where I had previously designed to go, having looked around me, and finding myself alone, I kneeled down and began to offer up the desires of my heart to God. I had scarcely done so, when immediately I was seized upon by some power which entirely overcame me, and had such an astonishing influence over me as to bind my tongue so that I could not speak. Thick darkness gathered around me, and it seemed to me for a time as if I were doomed to sudden destruction. But, exerting all my powers to call upon God to deliver me out of the power of this enemy which had seized upon me, and at the very moment when I was ready to sink into despair and abandon myself to destruction—not to an imaginary

⁸⁸ Jesse, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 198-199.

ruin, but to the power of some actual being from the unseen world, who had such marvelous power as I had never before felt in any being—just at this moment of great alarm, I saw a pillar of light exactly over my head, above the brightness of the sun, which descended gradually until it fell upon me. It no sooner appeared than I found myself delivered from the enemy which held me bound.⁸⁹

Smith's release from the adversarial power came after he wielded all his energy in prayer.

He felt that God's authoritative presence overpowered the forces of darkness.

Smith retold this story at various times and places with different emphases. His descriptions used specificity and detail. In his 1835 recital of the vision, the pillar of light brought relief from the satanic force and was also described as a "pillar of fire."⁹⁰ In the earliest account of the experience, written in 1832 (and the only retelling in Smith's handwriting), the word "fire" is crossed out with "light" replacing it.⁹¹ The fiery nature of the light is again described in Smith's journal, dated November 9, 1832 (this time in his scribe's handwriting). Smith recounted his vision to a Jewish visitor, including a description of the light similar to Moses' encounter with the burning bush: "I called on the Lord in mighty prayer, a pillar of fire appeared above my head . . . this pillar of flame which was spread all around, yet nothing consumed."⁹² The most detailed description of the light is found in the first published account of the vision, written in second person as a missionary tract in 1840 by the apostle Orson Pratt (and later used by Smith himself):

He continued praying, while the light appeared to be gradually descending toward him; and as it drew nearer, it increased in brightness, and magnitude, so that by the time that it reached the tops of the trees, the whole wilderness, for some distance around, was illuminated in a most glorious and brilliant manner. He expected to have seen the leaves and boughs of the trees consumed, as soon as the light came in

⁸⁹ Smith, *Pearl*, JS-H 1:15. By experiencing both forces of God and Satan, Smith claimed to discern between them.

⁹⁰ Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 74–77, contains Smith's 1835 recital of the vision. Each of Smith's recitals of his first vision are printed in Larry E. Dahl and Donald Q. Cannon, eds., *Encyclopedia of Joseph Smith's Teachings* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2002), 252–268.

⁹¹ Welch and Carlson, *Opening the Heavens*, 5.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 8.

contact with them; but, perceiving that it did not produce that effect, he was encouraged with the hope of being able to endure its presence.⁹³

All six full accounts directly formulated by Smith, and four of the five secondhand accounts written during his lifetime, mention that the light evolved into a vision of the Lord.⁹⁴ In ten of the eleven accounts, two heavenly personages are described—God the Father and His Son.⁹⁵ Smith described them as looking like glorified men: “The Father has a body of flesh and bones as tangible as man’s; the Son also.”⁹⁶ The 1838 account that Smith dictated for his history became canonized and described the vision as follows:

I saw a pillar of light exactly over my head, above the brightness of the sun, which descended gradually until it fell upon me . . . When the light rested upon me I saw two Personages, whose brightness and glory defy all description, standing above me in the air. One of them spake unto me, calling me by name and said, pointing to the other—*This is My Beloved Son. Hear Him!*⁹⁷

The vision changed young Smith’s perception of God and his relationship to the other members of the Godhead. The traditional concept of the Trinity no longer fit his concept

⁹³ Ibid., 21.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 19, (3-26). Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 74–77, 83–84, meticulously lists eight testimonials of “Joseph Smith’s Vision directly formulated by him.” Two of Jessee’s accounts (November 9 and 14, 1835) are only one sentence long *references* to the vision, not a *retelling*. Unlike Jessee, I refer to six accounts because I am not counting the two mere references to the vision.

⁹⁵ Welch and Carlson, *Opening the Heavens*, 63, 74, fn 27, provide a thorough analysis of the differences between accounts of this vision written in the first and second person. They examine the seeming absence of two personages in the 1832 retelling in Smith’s own hand. Welch does not see a contradiction between this and the other recordings, because the inclusion of “the spirit of god” appears to reference God’s presence. Smith’s first draft of the 1832 account especially appears to suggest there were two beings present.

⁹⁶ Smith, *D&C*, 130:22. Earlier, this same 1843 description or revelation reads, “When the Savior shall appear we shall see him as he is. We shall see that he is a man like ourselves. And that same sociality which exists among us here will exist among us there, only it will be coupled with eternal glory, which glory we do not now enjoy” (ibid., 130:1-2). The separate nature of the beings is clearer in the 1835 record: “A personage appeared in the midst of this pillar of flame, which was spread all around and yet nothing consumed.

Another personage soon appeared like unto the first: he said unto me thy sins are forgiven thee. He testified also unto me that Jesus Christ is the son of God. I saw many angels in this vision. I was about 14 years old when I received this first communication” (quoted in Dahl and Cannon, *Encyclopedia of Joseph Smith’s Teachings*, 254). In the *Pearl of Great Price*, God the Father is described: “Man of Holiness is his name, and the name of his Only Begotten is the Son of Man, even Jesus Christ, a righteous Judge, who shall come in the meridian of time . . . Behold, I am God; Man of Holiness is my name; Man of Counsel is my name; and Endless and Eternal is my name, also” (Moses 7:35). For a more detailed discussion, see Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 343-346.

⁹⁷ Smith, *Pearl*, JS-H 1:17 (italics original).

of the oneness or unity of the Godhead's purpose. He believed Jesus was God's Son both on earth and in heaven. In two other retellings of this vision, Smith described the two personages descending separately—emphasizing their independent nature even more.⁹⁸ In not accepting the conventional definition of the Trinity, Smith also held the Holy Spirit as an independent divine being with a separate role in the unified mission of the Godhead.⁹⁹ This is the first incident where we see Smith rejecting the teachings of his culture. The influence of Smith's society led him to pray, prepared him for an answer, but his new concept of God was not built on the long-established definition of the Trinity or any avant-garde alternatives.¹⁰⁰

In Smith's 1838 account, after his description of God the Father and His Son, he returned to address his original question:

My object in going to inquire of the Lord was to know which of all the sects was right, that I might know which to join. No sooner, therefore, did I get possession of myself, so as to be able to speak, than I asked the Personages who stood above me in the light which of all the sects was right (for at this time it had never entered into my heart that all were wrong)—and which I should join. I was answered that I must join none of them, for they were all wrong; and the Personage who addressed me said that all their creeds were an abomination in his sight; that those professors were all corrupt; that: "they draw near to me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me, they teach for doctrines the commandments of men, having a form of godliness, but they deny the power thereof." He again forbade me to join with any of them; and many other things did he say unto me, which I cannot write at this time. When I came to myself again, I found myself lying on my back, looking up into heaven. When the light had departed, I had no strength; but soon recovering in some degree, I went home.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ See the 1835 recounting in footnote 785.

⁹⁹ Smith described the unified mission of God in his rewriting of Genesis. Jehovah explained to Moses, "This is my work and my glory, to bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of man." Smith, *Pearl*, Moses 1:39.

¹⁰⁰ Modern attacks against the Trinity came from several sources (i.e. Universalists like John Murray 1741-1815, Unitarians like William Channing, 1780-1842)—but none described God as Joseph Smith did.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., *JS-H* 1:16-19. Smith documented seven accounts of the answer to his first verbal prayer. They are written at different times, for different audiences, from different points of his understanding of what the vision meant to him personally and to the world.

When he left the grove of trees, the boy Joseph believed that God answered his prayer, accepted him, and that God's spiritual communication was the highest form of knowledge. According to this account, he also learned that no churches were entirely correct because an apostasy had occurred. It was not until later, through other revelations, that Smith felt called to restore Christ's church through an endowment of the Apostolic Priesthood.

The assumption that an apostasy occurred was not unique to Smith but lay at the foundation of some Protestant Reformers.¹⁰² However, Smith did not follow the conventional pattern of turning to the Bible to re-establish primitive Christianity as Campbell, Stone, and others did. Instead, Smith claimed to work as the ancient prophets did, clearly directed by God. He claimed that his personal revelations were the source of his restoration. He asserted that the divine revelation he received surpassed any other form of learning: "Could you gaze into heaven five minutes, you would know more than you would by reading all that ever was written on the subject."¹⁰³

Similar to many converts, the teenage Smith disclosed his conversion experience to a local minister, but the minister's response shocked him:

Some few days after I had this vision I happened to be in company with one of the Methodist Preachers who was very active in the before mentioned religious excitement; and, conversing with him on the subject of religion, I took occasion to give him an account of the vision which I had had. I was greatly surprised at his behavior; he treated my communication not only lightly, but with great contempt,

¹⁰² Christopher Cushing, ed., "Literary Review" *The Congregational Quarterly*, 17 (Boston, MA: American Congregational Union, 1875): 436: "Christ and his apostles organized his church a spiritual power on earth to oppose and overcome the kingdom of darkness, but in a few centuries it became corrupt, and degenerated into an earthly physical force, and was found in that condition by the reformers, Wielding, Luther, Calvin, and their compeers. The Reformation winnowed out the wheat and left the chaff." Also, Evangelical Alliance for the United States of America-Christianity, *Christianity Practically Applied: The Discussions of the International Christian Conference* (New York City, NY: Baker and Taylor, 1894), 331: "Flacius, the first learned Protestant historian . . . described the Roman Church from the fifth to the sixteenth -century as the great apostasy of prophecy." Johann Peter Lange, Philip Schaff, eds. *Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal, and Homilectical* (New York, NY: Scribner, 1870), 134: "Calvin reckons . . . sectarianism as belonging to the great apostasy."

¹⁰³ Smith, *History*, 6.50. Smith said this less than a year before his martyrdom.

saying it was all of the devil, that there were no such things as visions or revelations in these days; that all such things had ceased with the apostles, and that there would never be any more of them.¹⁰⁴

To the minister, Smith's vision sounded too much like many other extreme conversion stories of the day. A rich visionary culture filled early America with many prophets. Susan Juster documents over three hundred published sources of unorthodox prophets who circulated their visions in early America.¹⁰⁵ Smith's vision, similar to those of these other prophets, exceeded what was held to be the limits of acceptable responses to prayers. Givens has pointed out that many nineteenth-century visions often had a mythic orientation, but "Joseph's language was anything but reveling with metaphor and obscurity."¹⁰⁶ Perhaps a little more vagueness would have been easier for Smith's Methodist minister to accept. As it stood, though, Smith's vision violated the minister's bounds of propriety. In the minister's mind, and in the minds of many like him, the Bible was the end of revelation from God. From Smith's perspective, though, honoring the Bible as a sacred book did not preclude further divine communication. Nor did the Bible include the entire scope of God's revealed words to mortals in the past.¹⁰⁷ Regrettably, the youthful Smith did not have a Gamaliel to calm the angry leaders and to call for the test of time to bear the fruits of truth or falsehood (Acts 5:34). Harassing enemies and mobs plagued him all his life and resulted in his martyrdom in 1844.

¹⁰⁴ Smith, *Pearl*, JS-H 1:21.

¹⁰⁵ Juster, *Doomsayers*, 209-210. Givens reported that Bushman found thirty-two published pamphlets that described visionary experiences between 1783 and 1815. Givens, *Hand of Mormon*, 72.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹⁰⁷ Many people like Joseph Smith anticipated that God would reveal more truth. Solomon Chamberlain "had a vision, in or about the year 1807, of three heavens, graded hierarchically according to their differing degrees of glory. In another vision, in 1816, he learned that the true church was not upon the earth, but that it soon would be, and that its arrival would be connected with the publication of another book of scripture, much like the Bible." Susan Easton Black, ed., *Stories from the Early Saints: Converted by the Book of Mormon*, (Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1992), 15.

The Methodist minister's concern, however, was valid. Dubious and even fabricated experiences as communications from God filled nineteenth-century religious histories. An itinerant minister known as "Crazy Dow" (1777-1834) illustrates the problem. He hired a trumpet player to hide in the branches of a tree and blow his horn on cue during a camp meeting to simulate an angelic call. The event appeared as a miracle to the congregation: "amid howls of fear and screams for mercy the congregation went down."¹⁰⁸ Peter Cartwright exposed a preacher named A. Sargent who used gun powder to feign a heavenly light: "He said God had come down to him in a flash of light, and he fell under the power of God and thus received his vision."¹⁰⁹ Cartwright smelled sulfur, found the powder, and exposed the sham. The impact of the enlightenment on nineteenth-century America called for the test of reason in all religious allegations. Common sense, moreover, demanded less extravagant visions and realistic claims to personal revelation.

The Bible called for testing the Spirits, as an initial step, to see if they were genuine. This was underscored in the aftermath of the Enlightenment when many people wanted Baconian empirical evidence and the scientific method applied to spiritual matters too. Especially when certain people thought they received divine messages, logical minds asked how one tested the authenticity of personal revelation. Smith often addressed this question and answered that evidence was necessary. His followers believed his demonstrations in the form of new revelation, *The Book of Mormon*, which invited readers to "experiment" on the word of God to determine truth from the Spirit.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Sellers, *Lorenzo Dow*, 147. Interestingly, Peter Cartwright is called "a kind of second edition of Lorenzo Dow" by Cartwright's biographer, Robert Bray, *Cartwright*, 89.

¹⁰⁹ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 76.

¹¹⁰ Smith, *The Book of Mormon*, Alma 32:27, 33, 35: "Arouse your faculties, even to an experiment upon my words, and exercise a particle of faith, yea, even if ye can no more than desire to believe, let this desire work in you, even until ye believe in a manner that ye can give place for a portion of my words. . . . and it swelleth and sprouteth, and beginneth to grow, ye must needs know that the seed is good. . . . O then, is not this real?"

Joseph Smith spoke of at least five standards of objectivity to verify truth: reason,¹¹¹ two or three witnesses,¹¹² compatibility with biblical truths,¹¹³ identifying “their fruits,” (Matt 7:20),¹¹⁴ and the testimony of the Holy Spirit.¹¹⁵ He interpreted the Spirit’s inspiration as palpable evidence and called on all “honorable searchers for truth” to apply specific principles to receive the Spirit’s witness of truth.¹¹⁶ Smith adapted the biblical counsel from James by including the need to obey God’s commandments, study the

I say unto you, Yea, because it is light; and whatsoever is light, is good, because it is discernible, therefore ye must know that it is good.” Alma asked his readers to apply the law of the harvest to work with spiritual matters as well.

¹¹¹ Smith’s revelations often have God asking for reasoning: “I will reason as with men in days of old, and I will show unto you my strong reasoning. . . . Wherefore, hearken and I will reason with you, and I will speak unto you and prophesy, as unto men in days of old” (*D&C*, 45:10, 15): “And now come, saith the Lord, by the Spirit, unto the elders of his church, and let us reason together, that ye may understand; Let us reason even as a man reasoneth one with another face to face. Now, when a man reasoneth he is understood of man, because he reasoneth as a man; even so will I, the Lord, reason with you that you may understand” (*D&C*, 50:10-12).

¹¹² The law of witnesses is found in the Bible (Deut 17:6; 19:15; Matt 18:16; 2 Cor 13:1) and repeated in *The Book of Mormon*. For example, a total of twelve people saw and handled the golden plates in addition to Smith. For a list of their names, see footnote 135.

¹¹³ Smith did not feel that humans should confine themselves to creedal interpretations of the scriptures but only to facts within the Bible. In January of 1836, a visitor asked him how his teachings differed from other Christian denominations, he answered: “We believe the Bible, and they do not.” He felt fervently enough on this subject to publish an even stronger statement in the *Elders Journal* two years later. He organized the article as a dialogue of questions followed by his answers: “First--‘Do you believe the Bible?’ ‘If we do, we are the only people under heaven that does, for there are none of the religious sects of the day that do.’ Second--‘Wherein do you differ from other sects?’ ‘In that we believe the Bible, and all other sects profess to believe their interpretations of the Bible, and their creeds’” (*History*, 3.28).

¹¹⁴ Smith specifically suggested using the law of the harvest, or looking at the “fruits,” to determine if someone were a true or false prophet: “When, therefore, any man, no matter who, or how high his standing may be, utters or publishes anything which afterwards proves to be untrue, he is a false prophet. And if he does it uncalled for, for the purpose of injuring his fellow-beings, or for the sake of gain, or to deceive any man by putting a false coloring upon a matter of religion, to lead astray or prejudice the minds of any to hinder them from receiving the truth, wo [*sic*] unto him, he is a false prophet! . . . Did you ever hear, or have you ever read of a true prophet that spake evil of any man, or that would lie to further the cause of God or anything else?” (*History*, 1.389).

¹¹⁵ Smith, *History*, 2.13-14; In a letter to church leaders Smith summarized his standard of truth: “The voice of reason, the language of inspiration, and the Spirit of the living God, our Creator, teaches us, as we hold the record of truth in our hands.”

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.282-283: “We must love our enemies; bless them that curse us; do good to them that hate us, and pray for them that despitefully use us, and persecute us, or else you and the world may know that we are not the children of God. Therefore to be obedient to the precepts of our divine Master, we say unto you-Search the Scriptures-search the revelations which we publish, and ask your Heavenly Father, in the name of His Son Jesus Christ, to manifest the truth unto you, and if you do it with an eye single to His glory, nothing doubting, He will answer you by the power of His Holy Spirit. You will then know for yourselves and not for another. You will not then be dependent on man for the knowledge of God; nor will there be any room for speculation.”

scriptures, and then ask the “Heavenly Father, in the name of His Son Jesus Christ, to manifest the truth unto you, and if you do it with an eye single to His glory, nothing doubting, He will answer you by the power of His Holy Spirit.”¹¹⁷ Smith felt that the power of the Spirit’s internal witness was stronger than any physical facts: “You will then know for yourselves and not for another. You will not then be dependent on man for the knowledge of God; nor will there be any room for speculation.”¹¹⁸ Smith’s objective standard may not have been substantiating enough for some, but for him, the Spirit of discernment was the key.

Many other religious leaders described visions similar to Joseph Smith’s without persecution following them and their followers to their graves. The year after Smith’s vision, Charles Finney had a vision of God that changed his life. The American Quaker leader John Woolman (1720-72) related a vision of divine light and “words spoken to my inward ear which filled my whole inward man.”¹¹⁹ He heard the words repeated two times, as “certain evidence of Divine Truth.” Later he “heard a soft melodious voice, more pure and harmonious than any voice I had heard in my ears before . . . [and] believed beyond doubting that it was the voice of an holy angel.”¹²⁰ An itinerant preacher, James Horton, noted that once while praying, “A bright sheet of glory fell on me and these words seemed to be spoken to me, ‘Be a child of mine and I will be a father unto thee, and thou shalt see where thou art to dwell.’ Whether in the body or out of the body, the Lord knows.”¹²¹

¹¹⁷ Smith, *History*, 1.282-283. Smith continued, “Search the Scriptures, search the Prophets, and learn what portion of them belongs to you and the people of the nineteenth -century.”

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.283.

¹¹⁹ Schmidt, *Hearing Things*, 43.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 56-57.

These four were joined by hundreds of others who experienced dazzling, brilliant, light-filled visions.

Perhaps Joseph Smith's vision was condemned more than others' revelations because it gave him a new understanding of the Godhead, scripture, and other faiths. Other Christian visionaries built their experiences into the fabric of traditional Christian denominationalism. Even without realizing it, young Smith challenged three major traditional doctrinal issues in his claims: the nature of God (Trinity), the nature of man (original sin), and the nature of revelation (scripture). Nearly all Protestants and Catholics shared a Nicene Trinitarian theology and an *ex nihilo* view of creation. Smith's vision confronted that fourth-century Trinitarian doctrine with an anthropomorphic God, who later taught Smith that matter was eternal. Smith's claims also challenged other Christian creeds, including those of the Apostles and Athanasia, and those promulgated by the Councils of Orange, Dort, and Westminster, as well as the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England.¹²² Smith was not another Luther hoping to purify the church. He did not fit into the eighteenth and nineteenth-century efforts to return to Christian primitivism. Rather than comparing Smith to his contemporaries who endeavored to reform Christianity, Jan Shipps perceived Smith's restoration as totally distinct—a "reiteration, reinterpretation, recapitulation, and ritual re-creation of the significant events in Israel's past and . . . of early Christianity."¹²³ Similarly, Givens observed, "In translating the gold

¹²² Smith felt that too many creeds were promoted by compromise or expediency and thwarted the Holy Spirit's inspiration. In his own words, "The most prominent difference in sentiment between the Latter-day Saints and sectarians was, that the latter were all circumscribed by some peculiar creed, which deprived its members the privilege of believing anything not contained therein, whereas the Latter-day Saints have no creed, but are ready to believe all true principles that exist, as they are made manifest from time to time." Smith, *History*, 5.215. Smith blamed the creeds (not the Bible) for darkening people's minds to receive more truth and new revelation.

¹²³ Shipps, *Mormonism*, 54. Shipps compares Smith's restoration to Campbell's by explaining, "Unlike those, for example who followed Alexander Campbell into the Disciples of Christ's restoration and shortly

plates, Joseph reinvented a prophetic role modeled more closely on Moses than on Paul . . . not just emulating but actually invoking Old Testament modes of seership.”¹²⁴ Smith claimed to start afresh, not merely reforming Christianity: “I never built upon any other man's ground.”¹²⁵ Smith felt directed through his “personal revelations” to erase the past seventeen hundred years of Christian philosophy and start over again.

Smith charted a new path because his vision left him no other choice. He did not step down from the context or content of his vision. Eighteen years after the fact he explained:

Though I was hated and persecuted for saying that I had seen a vision, yet it was true; and while they were persecuting me, reviling me, and speaking all manner of evil against me for so saying, I was led to say in my heart: Why persecute me for telling the truth? I have actually seen a vision; and who am I that I can withstand God, or why does the world think to make me deny what I have actually seen? For I had seen a vision; I knew it, and I knew that God knew it, and I could not deny it, neither dared I do it; at least I knew that by so doing I would offend God, and come under condemnation.¹²⁶

Smith’s persecutions may have stopped if his visions had stopped, but they did not—they intensified.¹²⁷ From that point on, his revelations took him further and further away from mainstream American Christianity.

thereafter found themselves to be the members of just one more Protestant denomination (now subdivided into two), Latter-day Saints of every stripe are heirs of a radical restoration” (85).

¹²⁴ Givens, *Hand of Mormon*, 82.

¹²⁵ Smith, *History*, 6.410.

¹²⁶ Smith, *Pearl, JS-H* 1:25. A later example of Smith’s continuing sense of duty to follow his revelations is found in a dictated letter written March 22, 1839; while he was imprisoned in a Missouri jail, Smith described some of his persecution and beliefs: “We are kept under a strong guard, night and day, in a prison of double walls and doors, proscribed in our liberty of conscience, our food is scant, uniform, and coarse; we have not the privilege of cooking for ourselves, we have been compelled to sleep on the floor with straw, and not blankets sufficient to keep us warm; and when we have a fire, we are obliged to have almost a constant smoke. The Judges have gravely told us from time to time that they knew we were innocent, and ought to be liberated, but they dare not administer the law unto us, for fear of the mob. But if we will deny our religion, we can be liberated. . . . Now sir, the only difference between their religion, and mine, is, that I firmly believe in the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ, being the chief corner stone” (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 417-418).

¹²⁷ Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 407, includes a letter Smith wrote to the church while he was incarcerated: “Neither will we deny our relegion [sic] because of the hand of oppresion [sic] but we will hold on untill [sic] death we say that God is true that the constitution of the united States is [true] that the Bible is true that the book of [mor]m[on] is true that the book of covenants [is] tru[e] that Christ is true that the ministering [angels sen]t forth from God are true and [that we know] that we have an house not made

Angel Moroni

The next major spiritual experience in Joseph Smith's young life took place three and a half years later. By that time, at age seventeen, he "had full confidence" that God would answer his prayer with another "divine manifestation." He remembered on September 21, 1823:

I had retired to my bed for the night, I betook myself to prayer and supplication to Almighty God for forgiveness of all my sins and follies, and also for a manifestation to me, that I might know of my state and standing before him; for I had full confidence in obtaining a divine manifestation, as I previously had one. While I was thus in the act of calling upon God, I discovered a light appearing in my room, which continued to increase until the room was lighter than at noonday, when immediately a personage appeared at my bedside, standing in the air, for his feet did not touch the floor.¹²⁸

Smith's second vision was as real to him as the first. He never showed a moment of doubt as to its reality. His angelic vision had clear details, without the vagueness of hallucinations; he described the visible characteristics of his visiting heavenly messenger:

He had on a loose robe of most exquisite whiteness. It was a whiteness beyond anything earthly I had ever seen; nor do I believe that any earthly thing could be made to appear so exceedingly white and brilliant. His hands were naked, and his arms also, a little above the wrist; so, also, were his feet naked, as were his legs, a little above the ankles. His head and neck were also bare. I could discover that he had no other clothing on but this robe, as it was open, so that I could see into his bosom. Not only was his robe exceedingly white, but his whole person was glorious beyond description, and his countenance truly like lightning. The room was exceedingly light, but not so very bright as immediately around his person. When I first looked upon him, I was afraid; but the fear soon left me. He called me by name, and said unto me that he was a messenger sent from the presence of God to me, and that his name was Moroni.¹²⁹

[with hands] eternal in the heavens, whose [builder and m]aker is God a consolation [which our opp]resers cannot feel when for[tune, or fate, sh]all lay its iron hand on them [as it has on us] now we ask what is man [remember breth]ren that time and chance hape[neth to all men] we shall continue our reflect=[ions in our nex]t We subscribe ourselves your sin=[cere friends and] brethren in the bonds of the ever]=lasting [sic] gospel prisoners of Jesus Christ for the sake of the gospel and the saints" (brackets are from Jessee's publication).

¹²⁸ Smith, *Pearl*, JS-H 1:29-30.

¹²⁹ Ibid., JS-H 1:31-33.

Smith described Angel Moroni as a named, resurrected man who was glorified and spoke to him by name, not as a winged ethereal essence.

Smith's definition of an angel was unique to his culture. The visionary herald had once lived on the earth and was now a resurrected glorified being. All of Smith's angelic visitors had names and a mortal history. Smith's retelling of the experience had Moroni introducing himself as the last Israelite prophet from the New World and as a military leader of an ancient civilization. Purportedly he came to give his ancient record to Smith. The assignment included the calling of Smith to translate the record through the power of the Holy Ghost. In Smith's words the angel explained,

God had a work for me to do . . . He said there was a book deposited, written upon gold plates, giving an account of the former inhabitants of this continent, and the source from whence they sprang. He also said that the fulness of the everlasting Gospel was contained in it, as delivered by the Savior to the ancient inhabitants. . . . He told me, that when I got those plates of which he had spoken—for the time that they should be obtained was not yet fulfilled—I should not show them to any person . . . if I did I should be destroyed. While he was conversing with me about the plates, the vision was opened to my mind that I could see the place where the plates were deposited, and that so clearly and distinctly that I knew the place again when I visited it.¹³⁰

According to Smith, Moroni ended his visitation by quoting several biblical prophecies including references to the gifts of the Spirit from Joel 2:28-29 that would soon be fulfilled: "I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions. And also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my spirit."¹³¹ The

¹³⁰ Ibid., *JS-H* 1:33-34, 42. Smith's record also noted, "my name should be had for good and evil among all nations, kindreds, and tongues, or that it should be both good and evil spoken of among all people" (33).

¹³¹ Ibid., *JS-H* 1:36-41; Moroni also recited Isaiah 11; Acts 3:22-23; Joel 2:28-41; and Malachi chapters 3, and 4, with a slightly modified version of 4:1, 4:5, 4:6.

message was impressed even more clearly on Smith's mind when the exact vision was duplicated three more times.

In addition to the mental images and the whisperings of the Spirit, Smith asserted that the vision's reality was tangibly verified the next morning when he went to find the golden plates:

I . . . went to the place where the messenger had told me the plates were deposited; and owing to the distinctness of the vision which I had had concerning it, I knew the place the instant that I arrived there. . . . Having removed the earth, I obtained a lever, which I got fixed under the edge of the stone, and with a little exertion raised it up. I looked in, and there indeed did I behold the plates, the Urim and Thummim, and the breastplate, as stated by the messenger. The box in which they lay was formed by laying stones together in some kind of cement. In the bottom of the box were laid two stones crossways of the box, and on these stones lay the plates and the other things with them. I made an attempt to take them out, but was forbidden by the messenger, and was again informed that the time for bringing them forth had not yet arrived, neither would it, until four years from that time; but he told me that I should come to that place precisely in one year from that time, and that he would there meet with me, and that I should continue to do so until the time should come for obtaining the plates.¹³²

According to the accounts written by Smith, his mother, and friends, this Angel Moroni visited annually and gave instructions until Smith was allowed to receive the plates four years later on September 21, 1827.¹³³

¹³² Smith. *JS-H* 1:50, 52, 53.

¹³³ Scholars question Smith's source of *The Book of Mormon*. Some hold that Smith's story of an angel and translation is not reasonable. The archeologist John Clark asked all scholars to give the book an objective analysis: "Any fair understanding of Joseph Smith must derive from a plausible explanation of *The Book of Mormon*, and both science and reason can and should be involved in the evaluation. Because the book makes claims about American prehistory, archaeology has long been implicated in assessments of the book's credentials as an ancient history, and by direct implication, of the veracity, sanity, or honesty of Joseph Smith." He points out that the book claims an extremely in-depth system of geography, a numerical system based on eight, over one thousand years of history, Israelite law and ceremonial traditions, six-hundred ancient names with roots from ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, multiple authorship claims, a military system that matches the Assyrian organization, a government that matches Israelite judges more than American democracy, a consistent, unique calendar system, elaborate chiasmic passages, archeological claims, and political intrigue. These and his other points suggest *The Book of Mormon* is more at home in the ancient world than the nineteenth-century. John Clark "Archaeological Trends and Book of Mormon Origins," *BYU Studies*, 44.4 (2005): 84.

It may sound convenient that Smith was commanded not to show the golden plates to anyone, but Smith felt the reverse. He described the imposed secrecy as giving rise to misrepresentations and slanderous comments, but he did not feel he could supersede the angel's command. In 1829 an amendment to the angelic statement came as a revelation, and Smith felt liberated.¹³⁴ His mother described him coming into the house and exclaiming,

Father, mother, you do not know how happy I am; the Lord has now cased the plates to be shown to three more besides myself. They have seen an angel, who has testified to them, and they will have to bear witness to the truth of what I have said, for now they know for themselves that I do not go about to deceive the people, and I feel as if I was relieved of a burden which was almost too heavy for me to bear, and it rejoices my soul that I am not any longer to be entirely alone in the world.¹³⁵

Twelve eye-witnesses recorded their version of handling and studying the golden plates (with four of them also seeing an angel).¹³⁶ Shortly after the witnesses' examination of the

¹³⁴ Smith, *D&C*, 5:11-13: "And in addition to your testimony, the testimony of three of my servants, whom I shall call and ordain, unto whom I will show these things, and they shall go forth with my words that are given through you. Yea, they shall know of a surety that these things are true, for from heaven will I declare it unto them. I will give them power that they may behold and view these things as they are." In answer to this revelation to Smith, Angel Moroni showed the plates to three other men and one woman (Mary Whitmer), followed by Smith showing them to eight additional men.

¹³⁵ Smith, *History*, 1.59. The account then records Martin Harris, Oliver Cowdery, and David Whitmer, the Three Witnesses' arrival in the house: "Upon this, Martin Harris came in. He seemed almost overcome with joy, and testified boldly to what he had both seen and heard. And so did David and Oliver, adding that no tongue could express the joy of their hearts and the greatness of the things which they had both seen and heard." Smith's *History* described "The difference between the testimony given the Three Witnesses and that given to the Eight, is that the former was attended by a splendid display of the glory and power of God and the ministration of an angel, while the latter was attended by no such display, but was a plain, matter-of-fact exhibition of the plates by the Prophet to his friends, and they not only saw the plates, but handled them and examined the engravings upon them" (1:59). The published testimonies of the three and eight witnesses are found in the front of *The Book of Mormon* and in Smith's *History*, 1.56-57. Mary Whitmer's account is found in H. Donl Peterson, *Moroni-Ancient Prophet, Modern Messenger* (Bountiful, UT: Horizon Publishers, 1983), 114, 116.

¹³⁶ Milton V. Backman, Jr., *Eyewitness Accounts of the Restoration* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1986), 161. In addition to Joseph Smith Jr., the twelve who saw the plates in 1829 were Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, Martin Harris, Mary Whitmer, Hyrum Page, Joseph Smith, Sr., Hyrum Smith, Samuel Smith, Christian Whitmer, Jacob Whitmer, Peter Whitmer, Jr., and John Whitmer.

plates, Smith returned them to the angel in June, 1829, after having them for about twenty-one months.¹³⁷

The Book of Mormon

Smith claimed that the process of translating the gold plates into *The Book of Mormon* was through revelation of the Holy Ghost.¹³⁸ Re-invoking the role of a prophet for Smith included emulating one by claiming to receive divine revelation through the Old Testament “Urim and Thummim.”¹³⁹ These “interpreters” allegedly offered an unimpeachable translation and elevated the work “to a scriptural status.”¹⁴⁰ The earliest date associated with translating *The Book of Mormon* is 1828, although relentless persecution, household moves, financial hardships, illness, and a son’s birth and death, delayed the work.¹⁴¹ It was not until April 7, 1829, when the school teacher, Oliver Cowdery, volunteered to act as Smith’s scribe that the work began in earnest.¹⁴² Three

¹³⁷ Porter, Backman, and Black, *LDS History: New York*, 67–68: “By the wisdom of God, they remained safe in my hands, until I had accomplished by them what was required at my hand. When, according to arrangements the messenger called for them, I delivered them up to him.” Smith, *Pearl*, JS-H 1:60.

¹³⁸ The title page of *The Book of Mormon* claims that Smith translated the book “by the gift and power of God.” He understood that the power to translate was a gift of the Spirit. (*D&C*, 5:4 “And you have a gift to translate the plates; and this is the first gift that I bestowed upon you.”). We will discuss his view of the Holy Ghost in chapter seven.

¹³⁹ Ex 28:30 ; Lev 8:8; Deut 33:8 ; Ezra 2:63; Neh 7:65. In the Old Testament, the Urim and Thummim are first mentioned in connection with Aaron’s breastplate, but Smith’s translation of the Book of Abraham claimed that patriarch also used the Urim and Thummim (Smith, *Pearl*, Abr 3:1; also mentioned in *D&C*, 10:1; 17:1, 130:8-10; *Pearl*, JS-H 35, 42, 65).

¹⁴⁰ Givens, *Hand of Mormon*, 83.

¹⁴¹ Smith attributed to the Spirit the following communication: “Behold, thou wast called and chosen to write *The Book of Mormon*, and to my ministry; and I have lifted thee up out of thine afflictions, and have counseled thee, that thou hast been delivered from all thine enemies, and thou hast been delivered from the powers of Satan and from darkness!” (*D&C*, 24:1; see also *D&C*, 20:8).

¹⁴² Oliver Cowdery first met the Smith family while teaching school in Palmyra, New York. He heard about Joseph Smith, Jr.’s, visions and left to meet him in Harmony, Pennsylvania. Smith’s *History* explained, “On the 5th day of April, 1829, Oliver Cowdery came to my house, until which time I had never seen him. He stated to me that having been teaching school in the neighborhood where my father resided, and my father being one of those who sent to the school, he went to board for a season at his house, and while there the family related to him the circumstance of my having received the plates, and accordingly he had come to make inquiries of me. Two days after the arrival of Mr. Cowdery (being the 7th of April) I commenced to translate the Book of Mormon, and he began to write for me” (1.32-33). Milton Backman verified that Smith bought a farm next to his wife’s family in Harmony, Pennsylvania, “although Joseph settled on this farm

months later on July 1, 1829, it was completed.¹⁴³ John Welch made a critical analysis of the translation process. He determined that it took Smith about sixty-three working days, averaging eight pages a day, to translate *The Book of Mormon*—a “phenomenal achievement.”¹⁴⁴ Smith’s wife Emma (who acted as both a scribe and eye witness to most of the translation process) reported in 1879 that during the writing of *The Book of Mormon*, Smith did not consult a Bible or other reference material.¹⁴⁵

Smith did not describe the mechanics of his translation, but secondhand reports leave a consistent description.¹⁴⁶ Oliver Cowdery (1806-1850), who acted as scribe for the

during the winter of 1827-1828, he did not secure title to the property until August 25, 1830, paying \$200 for approximately thirteen acres” (*Eyewitness Accounts*, 234).

¹⁴³ B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News Press, 1938), 1:100; also Backman, *Eyewitness Accounts*, 59–60. Kirkham, *New Witness for Christ in America*, 1:30 reads, “The translation of *The Book of Mormon*, was completed at Fayette, Seneca County, New York, about July 1, 1829, the printing began in August, 1829, and the book was advertised for sale and delivery on March 26, 1830.”

¹⁴⁴ Welch and Carlson, *Opening the Heavens*, 102; John Welch, *ReExploring the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: F.A.R.M.S., 1988), 4. “Considering the Book of Mormon’s theological depth, historical complexity, consistency, clarity, artistry, accuracy, and profundity, the Prophet Joseph’s translation is a phenomenal achievement—even a miraculous feat.” Welch’s table outlines the events and timing surrounding Smith’s translation of the *Book of Mormon* (*ibid.*, 9):

Date	Event
Apr 5	Oliver Cowdery arrives in Harmony, PA
7	Smith and Cowdery begin translation (Mosiah 1 or 1 Nephi); <i>D&C</i> , 6, 7, 8, and 9 received
May 10	Smith and Cowdery go to Colesville, NY (38 days); Aaronic Priesthood restored
15	<i>D&C</i> 10 received (3 Nephi 11?); Smith and Cowdery may have gone to Colesville (16 days)
25	Samuel Smith baptized; <i>D&C</i> , 11 received
June 1	Smith and Cowdery move from Harmony, PA, to Fayette, NY (Moroni, 1 Nephi)
11	Copyright application filed; <i>D&C</i> , 14, 15, 16, and 18 received (20 days)
15	Hyrum Smith, David Whitmer, and Peter Whitmer, Jr., are baptized around this date
20	Three Witnesses see the plates around this date (2 Nephi 27 or Ether 5)
25	Eight Witnesses handle the plates around this date (10 days)
30	Translation finished by this date (Words of Mormon or Moroni).

For dating the translation, see John W. Welch and Tim Rathbone, *The Translation of the Book of Mormon: Basic Historical Information* (Provo UT: F.A.R.M.S. Papers, 1986), 8-9.

¹⁴⁵ Royal Skousen, “Towards a Critical Edition of the Book of Mormon,” *BYU Studies*, 30.1 (Winter, 1990): 55; Black and Tate, *Joseph Smith*, 70.

¹⁴⁶ Emma Hales Smith Bidamon (1804-1879) was asked by her son in a recorded interview in 1879 if his father (Joseph Smith, Jr.) had a Bible or other reference material in their home during the translation of *The Book of Mormon*. Emma had acted as a scribe intermittently and was present in the same room for most of the translation. She answered that “Smith ‘had neither manuscript nor book to read from. . . . If he had anything of the kind he could not have concealed it from me. . . . Joseph Smith could neither write nor dictate a coherent and well-worded letter; let alone dictating a book like *The Book of Mormon*. And, though I was an active participant in the scenes that transpired, and was present during the translation of the plates, and

majority of the work, wrote a glowing description from his perspective of the translation process: “These were days never to be forgotten—to sit under the sound of a voice dictated by the inspiration of heaven, awakened the utmost gratitude of this bosom! Day after day I continued, uninterrupted, to write from his mouth, as he translated . . . ‘*The Book of Mormon*.’”¹⁴⁷ Elsewhere Cowdery referred to the “inspiration of God” as “authority of the Holy Spirit.”¹⁴⁸

Smith honored *The Book of Mormon* as scripture and heralded it as the “keystone of our religion.”¹⁴⁹ He believed, “a man can get nearer to God by abiding [by] its precepts than any other book.”¹⁵⁰ Elsewhere he also venerated it: “Take away *The Book of Mormon* and the revelations, and where our religion is? We have none.”¹⁵¹ In Smith’s mind, the canon of Christian scripture was not closed in the second-century, but was opened whenever God called a prophet.¹⁵² He held up *The Book of Mormon* as evidence that God

had cognizance of things as they transpired, it is marvelous to me, ‘a marvel and a wonder,’ as much so as to any one else” Emma and another scribe, David Whitmer, also recorded that Smith spelled out-loud unfamiliar names, which is also evident on the original manuscript. Skousen, “Towards a Critical Edition of the Book of Mormon,” 55. See also Susan Easton Black and Charles D. Tate, Jr., eds., *Joseph Smith: The Prophet, The Man* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1993), 70. Welch and Carlson, *Opening the Heavens*, 102, compiled over two hundred documents from contemporaneous historical records that verify the details of the translation process.

¹⁴⁷ Smith, *Pearl, JS-H*, footnote quoting Oliver Cowdery.

¹⁴⁸ Oliver Cowdery, *Messenger and Advocate*, vol. 1.3 (Oct 1834-Sept 1835): 40.

¹⁴⁹ Smith, *History*, 4.461: “Sunday, 28.-I spent the day in the council with the Twelve Apostles . . . I told the brethren that *The Book of Mormon* was the most correct of any book on earth, and the keystone of our religion, and a man would get nearer to God by abiding by its precepts, than by any other book.”

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. Smith believed that *The Book of Mormon* was more accurately translated than the Bible. His eighth Article of Faith reads, “We believe the Bible to be the word of God as far as it is translated correctly, we also believe *The Book of Mormon* to be the word of God” (*Pearl*, 60). While Smith saw errors in the current form of the Bible, he still honored it as scripture and felt that his revelations allowed him to understand it better than other Christians: “We believe the Bible, and all other sects profess to believe their interpretations of the Bible, and their creeds.” *History*, 3.28; also 2.378-379.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 2.52.

¹⁵² Smith identified false prophets as those deceived by the Devil and fallen prophets as those who disobeyed God: “My enemies say that I *have* been a true prophet. Why, I had rather be a fallen true prophet than a false prophet. When a man goes about prophesying, and commands men to obey his teachings, he must either be a true or false prophet. False prophets always arise to oppose the true prophets and they will prophesy so very near the truth that they will deceive almost the very chosen ones” (Smith, *History*, 6.364). This distinction among prophets raises the question: “Would Joseph Smith have called Mohammed a prophet?” There is no evidence that Joseph Smith read the Quran or spoke on the subject of Mohammed as a prophet. However,

spoke to prophets in areas beyond ancient Palestine.¹⁵³ Prophets dominate the text, and passages open the door for modern prophets. Smith believed that the Holy Spirit would testify to all sincere seekers of its truthfulness. It follows that Smith, as translator of the book, saw himself as a prophet.¹⁵⁴

Regardless of how strongly Smith and Cowdery felt about the book as new scripture, theologians of their day rejected it. Smith's new scripture was not reviewed for its theological merit, because the issue of its authenticity polarized its reception. The content of the book was rarely mentioned—even by Smith; instead he emphasized how it came forth.¹⁵⁵ Indeed, part of the book's message was its origin. Understandably, from Smith's perspective, the revelatory process witnessed to his call as a prophet. However, tampering

Smith's writings do outline what a false prophet is, and it appears that Mohammed would fall in that category (i.e. "None of the prophets have written, nor prophesied, save they have spoken concerning this Christ." Smith, *The Book of Mormon*, Jacob 7:11). In an editorial from April, 1842, Smith mentioned the "Koran" [*sic*] in the context of other texts that claimed inspiration: "'Try the spirits,' says John, but who is to do it? The learned, the eloquent, the philosopher, the sage, the divine—all are ignorant. The heathens will boast of their gods, and of the great things that have been unfolded by their oracles. The Mussulman [*sic*] will boast of his Koran, and of the divine communications that his progenitors have received. The Jews have had numerous instances, both ancient and modern, among them of men who have professed to be inspired, and sent to bring about great events, and the Christian world has not been slow in making up the number. 'Try the spirits,' but what by? Are we to try them by the creeds of men? What preposterous folly—what sheer ignorance—what madness! Try the motions and actions of an eternal being (for I contend that all spirits are such) by a thing that was conceived in ignorance, texts. . . . The Turks, the Hindoos [*sic*], the Jews, the Christians, the Indian; in fact all nations have been deceived, imposed upon and injured through the mischievous effects of false spirits." *History*, 4.571-573.

¹⁵³ *The Book of Mormon* claims to begin just before the Babylonian captivity and carries two groups of Israelites to a new promised land. (Later the book describes a third group from the time of the Tower of Babel). The text is divided into fifteen books each named after one of the author-prophets. Nephi was the second prophet in *The Book of Mormon*, son of the first prophet, Lehi. The First Book of Nephi is set in the sixth -century BCE. The First Book of Nephi was probably not the first portion translated by Smith, even though it is the first book in the modern edition. I used it merely as a demonstration of how the book used the subject of the Holy Ghost. For detailed information on the order and process of translating *The Book of Mormon*, see Royal Skousen, *Critical Edition of The Book of Mormon*, and Reynolds, *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited*, 61-93.

¹⁵⁴ Smith, *History of the Church*, 1.157. By February 1831, Joseph Smith felt comfortable enough with the title of prophet to introduce himself to a stranger who asked who he was: "I am Joseph the Prophet. You have prayed me here. Now, what do you want of me?"

¹⁵⁵ Givens, *Hand of Mormon*, 85: "During the seven years of the church's Nauvoo period, when Joseph was preaching in public on a regular basis, the hundreds of recorded pages of his sermons contain only a handful of brief allusions to the Book of Mormon—and none of them involve sustained discussion of doctrine or any other content. . . . Reviewing almost 2000 articles and publications on the Book of Mormon going back to 1830, two researchers affirm this 'tendency on the part of many speakers and writers merely to mention the Book of Mormon without entering into . . . meaningful discussion.'"

with the scriptural canon required too great a paradigm shift for most Christians. Opening the canon was too severe a breach from tradition, so Smith's book was not taken seriously.¹⁵⁶

Another problem that historians and theologians had (and have) with *The Book of Mormon* is its cursory connection to popular fascination with the origins of Native Americans.¹⁵⁷ Because some of the ideas in the *Book of Mormon* were not unique, many concluded that Smith wrote it from thoughts of the day.¹⁵⁸ One of the most well known nineteenth-century accounts on the origin of American Indians was Reverend Ethan Smith's essays, "View of the Hebrews," published in Vermont in 1823, and two years later, "Where are the Ten Tribes of Israel?" Another not so well known account was Solomon Spaulding's novel (known as *Manuscript Found*) set in the Roman world of Constantine and ending with American Indians. It was found in Hawaii in 1884 and first published as a 115-page monograph in 1885. Beyond a few buzz words in common, Ethan Smith's, Solomon Spaulding's and Joseph Smith's texts show far more differences than

¹⁵⁶ Like Smith, other visionaries, including Swedenborg and Mary Baker Eddy, wrote "inspired biblical commentaries." However, no other Christian claimed his or her product was new scripture or equal to the Bible. For questions of *Book of Mormon* authorship, see Reynolds, *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited*, 101-323.

¹⁵⁷ Givens, *Hand of Mormon*, 93-94: "Various theories to account for the people of the mounds and kindred American Indians had been propounded back in Puritan times and earlier. Daniel Gookin, Indian superintendent for Massachusetts Bay Colony mentioned in his encyclopedic work *Israelites, Tartars, Scythians, and Moors* as possible ancestors, before concluding that 'there is nothing of certainty to be concluded. . . . The full determination [of the matter] must be left until the day when all secret and hidden things shall be manifested to the glory of God.'" Givens found a book from 1607 entitled *Origin of the Indians of the New World*; another from 1650, *Jews in America, or Probabilities that the Americans of that Race*; from 1775, *History of the American Indian*; from 1816, *A Star in the West*; and 1825, *The Wonders of Nature and Providence*—all showing the long standing popularity of the subject. As a sarcastic offering to the era, Mark Twain also claimed to translate ancient journals in his fictional novel, *The Diaries of Adam and Eve* (San Francisco, CA: Fair Oaks Press, reprint, 1997). Beyond these nineteenth-century examples, the sacred text of the Mayan-Quiche Indians, *Popol Vuh*, was translated in the sixteenth-century, and hinted at Israelite heritage of the Mayans. *Popol Vuh* was published in Spanish and French in the nineteenth century, and in German and English in the twentieth century. David B. Castledine, trans. *Popol Vuh* (Reprint Guatemala City, Guatemala: Monclem Ediciones, 2003), 99.

¹⁵⁸ Early Mormon missionaries capitalized on this shared interest and asked potential investigators: "[Do you] wish to purchase a history of the origin of the Indians?" Givens, *Hand of Mormon*, 94.

similarities.¹⁵⁹ Although skeptics considered it a product of the environment, believers saw in *The Book of Mormon* a fulfillment of prophecy.

The first edition of *The Book of Mormon* was not a commercial success.¹⁶⁰ The historian Givens quotes a Philadelphian who described the reception of *The Book of Mormon* in 1840: “No sooner had the Book of Mormon made its appearance, than priests and professors began to rage, Madam Rumour [*sic*] began with her poisonous tongues; epithet upon epithet, calumny upon calumny, was heaped upon the few that were first engaged in the cause; mobs raged, and . . . a general hue and cry was raised”¹⁶¹ But Givens concludes, “If Joseph was disappointed by the book’s reception, he did not show it. He recorded with typical understatement that ‘as the ancient prophet had predicted of it, ‘it was accounted as a strange thing.’ No small stir was created by its appearance.”¹⁶² Instead of a rebuttal to the negative press, the first issue of the LDS newspaper, *The Evening and Morning Star*, called all “honest enquiring persons, who wish to learn the truth of the Book of Mormon” to “look at Genesis 49, Ezekiel 37, and Isaiah 29, with their references to the descendents of Joseph, a ‘stick of Ephraim,’ and ‘a marvelous work and a

¹⁵⁹ For a comparison of these three texts with *The Book of Mormon*, see John W. Welch, “An Unparallel” (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1985). Spencer J. Palmer and William L. Knecht, “View of the Hebrews: Substitute for Inspiration?” *BYU Studies*, 5 (1964): 105-13. Charles D. Tate, Jr., ed., *View of the Hebrews: 1825 2nd Edition Complete Text by Ethan Smith* (Provo: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1996). Lester E. Bush, Jr., “The Spaulding Theory: Then and Now,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, 10/4 (1977): 40-69. Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *Did Spaulding Write the Book of Mormon?* (Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1977).

¹⁶⁰ Allen and Leonard, *Latter-day Saints*, 53: “A few residents of Palmyra were determined to block the project. They persuaded Grandin [publishing] that he would never be paid if he proceeded with the printing. They threatened to boycott the book, and noted that without local sales, the Smiths could hardly raise the money to pay their debt. Grandin stopped work, and only after Martin Harris convinced him that he would, indeed, be paid for his services did he resume printing the first edition of 5,000 copies. On March 26, 1830, a newspaper advertisement announced publication of the Book of Mormon. It was not a commercial success, however, and a year later Martin Harris, true to his word, sold his mortgaged farm and paid the \$3,000.” The purpose of the book was never for popular or economic gain though. The millionth copy of *The Book of Mormon* sold in 2000. Since 2002, it has been translated in over one hundred languages.

¹⁶¹ Givens, *Hand of Mormon*, 61.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 61

wonder' in the latter days.”¹⁶³ Smith always held to his original position—*The Book of Mormon* was divinely inspired scripture.¹⁶⁴

Restoration of the Priesthoods: John the Baptist, Peter, James, and John

In the process of translating *The Book of Mormon*, Smith and Cowdery came across a section in 3 Nephi that referred to the authority to baptize—which in turn motivated further questions and inspiration:

When Jesus had spoken these words unto Nephi, and to those who had been called, (now the number of them who had been called, and received power and authority to baptize, was twelve) and behold, he stretched forth his hand unto the multitude, and cried unto them, saying: . . . I have given power that they may baptize you with water; and after that ye are baptized with water, behold, I will baptize you with fire and with the Holy Ghost; therefore blessed are ye if ye shall believe in me and be baptized, after that ye have seen me and know that I am.¹⁶⁵

The issue of authority was particularly important in Catholicism, although it became diffused by the Reformation. Even though the Protestant sermons of the day were often centered on “repent and be baptized,” the question of who had the authority to baptize was not clear. Most Protestants saw authority coming from the Bible, the Spirit, or an education.¹⁶⁶ The issue of authority bothered others, though, like Charles Wesley, who

¹⁶³ Ibid., 95. Ezek 37:19 reads, “Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, I will take the stick of Joseph, which is in the hand of Ephraim, and the tribes of Israel his fellows, and will put them with him, [even] with the stick of Judah, and make them one stick, and they shall be one in mine hand.” Smith’s claim that the *Book of Mormon* and the Bible act together to fulfill Ezek 37:19 was common knowledge enough for Elder Boynton to write to Smith on January 20, 1834: “My determination is, with the stick of Smith [the *Book of Mormon*] in one hand, and the stick of Judah [the Bible] in the other, to labor diligently in this world, that my skirts may be clear from the blood of all men, and I stand acquitted before the bar of God” (Smith, *History*, 2:40; also 1.107, 2.390; 3.53; 6.24; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 155).

¹⁶⁴ Smith, *History*, 3.385. Smith encouraged his fellow believers: “See to it that you do not betray heaven, that you do not betray Jesus Christ, that you do not betray your Brethren, & that you do not betray the revelations of God whether in the bible, *Book of Mormon*, or *Doctrine & Covenants* or any of the word of God” (for original spelling see Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 7-8).

¹⁶⁵ Smith, *The Book of Mormon*, 3 Nephi 12:13, 1. Oliver Cowdery credited this section as the stimulus that initiated the Aaronic Priesthood, although there is some debate regarding four previous verses that also mention baptism with authority (see Mosiah 18:13, 17; 21:33; Alma 5:3, 8:10; and Smith, *Pearl, JS-H* footnote by Oliver Cowdery).

¹⁶⁶ Ministers who claimed authority to preach from the Bible or directly from the Spirit of God clashed with those who were ordained after their seminary education. Lyman Beecher from Yale opposed the Pope’s claim of authority, but simultaneously opposed the authority of itinerant preachers. Like Beecher, most

split from his brother's Methodist movement over the issue of authority: "W[esley] his hands on C. hath laid, But who laid hands on him?"¹⁶⁷

The need for authority recurs regularly in *The Book of Mormon* ("authority" is used forty-eight times in total), and it puzzled Smith and his scribe. On May 15, 1829, they went to the banks of the Susquehanna River to ask the Lord for inspiration on the subject. Their journals record a visitation of the resurrected John the Baptist in answer to their prayer. Smith explained that John the Baptist laid his hands on their heads and said,

Upon you my fellow servants in the name of the Messiah I confer the Priesthood of Aaron, which holds the keys of the ministering of angels, and of the gospel of repentance, and of baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; and this shall never be taken again from the earth, until the sons of Levi do offer again an offering unto the Lord in righteousness.¹⁶⁸

Cowdery's chronicle is longer and after a similar recounting, he ended his account:

I shall not attempt to paint to you the feelings of this heart, nor the majestic beauty and glory which surrounded us on this occasion; but you will believe me when I say, that earth, nor men, with the eloquence of time, cannot begin to clothe language in as interesting and sublime a manner as this holy personage. No; nor has this earth power to give the joy, to bestow the peace, or comprehend the wisdom which was contained in each sentence as they were delivered by the power of the Holy Spirit!¹⁶⁹

educated Reformed preachers claimed their authority came from their studies and ordination. Methodist itinerant preachers like Peter Cartwright received authority from their superiors after a period of time testifying to their conversion experience as an "exhorter." Without any formal education or training, Cartwright used his certificate as authority to baptize 12,000 people in his lifetime. He did not stand alone; he belonged to the fastest-growing religion in America during the nineteenth-century that required no seminary training. Other itinerant preachers, like Lorenzo Dow, felt their authority came as the Spirit guided them. When priesthood authority was discussed initially in the Old Testament, it was a birthright of the chosen, given to the first born or chosen son from Abraham to Isaac, Isaac to Jacob, etc. Following Moses and Aaron, the priestly line of authority came through the tribe of Levi. Priesthood keys were addressed in the New Testament, but the apostles received their authority from being called and sent by Jesus, not through blood lineage. Hatch described the lack of interest in religious authority in the United States as an outgrowth of the eighteenth-century political liberties. The national emphasis on political liberty created a resistance to authority and orthodoxy. During the Second Great Awakening, the trend was to diminish the role of ecclesiastical hierarchy and to lessen the role of priestly authority. (*Democratization of American Christianity*. 17-46.) Joseph Smith's revelations took him in the opposite direction.

¹⁶⁷ Adrian Burdon, *Authority and Order: John Wesley and His Preachers* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 63.

¹⁶⁸ Smith, *D&C*, 13.

¹⁶⁹ Smith, *Pearl*, *JS-H* 1:74 footnote.

Cowdery felt an overpowering difference between human speech and angelic speech because of the impact of the Spirit. He described the angelic communication as “the truth unsullied as it flowed from a pure personage, dictated by the will of God.” For him, the internal transforming witness of the Holy Spirit struck “all into insignificance.”¹⁷⁰

John the Baptist also explained “that he acted under the direction of Peter, James and John who held the keys of the Priesthood of Melchizedek, which Priesthood he said would in due time be conferred on us.”¹⁷¹ Smith’s account later told of a visitation of the resurrected apostles Peter, James and John who came to give the “keys” or power to baptize with the Holy Ghost: “The voice of Peter, James, and John in the wilderness between Harmony, Susquehanna county, and Colesville, Broome county, on the Susquehanna river, declaring themselves as possessing the keys of the kingdom, and of the Dispensation of the Fulness [*sic*] of Times.”¹⁷² Over time, Smith and Cowdery conferred the Aaronic and Melchizedek “Priesthood keys” on others.¹⁷³

Smith maintained that the authority to hold this higher apostolic or Melchizedek Priesthood was absolutely crucial because it brought the power to bestow the *Gift of the Holy Ghost*. He distinguished the *Gift of the Holy Ghost*, which was available only through the apostolic priesthood, from the Spirit’s witness of truth, which was available to all sincere seekers.¹⁷⁴ For him, the *Gift of the Holy Ghost* empowered one to receive the

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Smith, *History*, 1.40-41.

¹⁷² Smith, *D&C*, 128:20. The date of the ordination of the Melchizedek priesthood is not known. For a fuller argument see Smith, *History*, 1.51, footnote 2; and Richard Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 118. It appears to me that the first time Smith introduced a Melchizedek priesthood ordinance was at the organization of the church when baptized members were confirmed and given the Gift of the Holy Ghost.

¹⁷³ LDS use the phrases “Melchizedek Priesthood,” “priesthood endowment,” and “priesthood authority,” as if the first noun modified the second. The Mormon usage is found in Smith’s quotations and in this study.

¹⁷⁴ Smith, *History*, 5.25-26: “We believe in the Gift of the Holy Ghost being enjoyed now, as much as it was in the Apostles’ days; we believe that it [the Gift of the Holy Ghost] is necessary to make and to organize the Priesthood, that no man can be called to fill any office in the ministry without it; we also believe in

charismatic gifts of the Spirit. He summarized, “We believe that we have a right to revelations, visions, and dreams from God, our heavenly Father; and light and intelligence, through the Gift of the Holy Ghost, in the name of Jesus Christ, on all subjects pertaining to our spiritual welfare.”¹⁷⁵ Smith believed that the gift opened the doorway for revelation and sanctification. These early visions of God, Jesus, Moroni, John the Baptist, Peter, James, and John, all preceded the organization of the Church of Christ on April 6, 1830. Smith asserted that each vision brought new revelation by the power of the Spirit.

Organization of the Church—April 6, 1830

Joseph Smith gathered his followers together in the Whitmer log cabin in Fayette, New York, on Tuesday morning April 6, 1830, to organize, “the Church of Christ” (later changed to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—LDS). New York law required at least three but not more than nine names to legally form a religious society. Although approximately sixty congregated for the historic event, only the required six names are recorded on the official documents.¹⁷⁶ Smith’s history briefly described the agenda of the meeting emphasizing that “the Holy Ghost was poured out upon us to a very great degree—some prophesied, whilst we all praised the Lord, and rejoiced

prophecy, in tongues, in visions, and in revelations, in gifts, and in healings; and that these things cannot be enjoyed without the Gift of the Holy Ghost. We believe that the holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and that holy men in these days speak by the same principle; we believe in its being a comforter and a witness bearer, that it brings things past to our remembrance, leads us into all truth, and shows us of things to come; we believe that ‘no man can know that Jesus is the Christ, but by the Holy Ghost.’ We believe in it [this Gift of the Holy Ghost] in all its fullness, and power, and greatness, and glory; but whilst we do this, we believe in it rationally, consistently, and scripturally, and not according to the wild vagaries, foolish notions and traditions of men.”

¹⁷⁵ Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 421; an excerpt from a letter written in Liberty Jail, Clay County, Missouri, March 22, 1839, by Joseph Smith to Isaac Galland.

¹⁷⁶ The six men included (in the order they signed): Joseph Smith, Jr., Hyrum Smith, Oliver Cowdery, Samuel H. Smith, Peter Whitmer, Jr., and David Whitmer.

exceedingly.”¹⁷⁷ The meeting began “by solemn prayer to our Heavenly Father,” and then after the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, Smith recorded, “We then laid our hands on each individual member of the Church present, that they might receive the Gift of the Holy Ghost, and be confirmed members of the Church of Christ.”¹⁷⁸ Smith had promised this gift or “ordinance” a year earlier, and now for the first time administered it by the laying on of hands.

Smith spoke on the doctrine of Holy Spirit repeatedly during the meeting. He admonished those gathered to listen sensitively for a witness of the Holy Spirit, to “receive it in faith” (*D&C*, 20:14). If he spoke through the Spirit and others received his message from the Spirit, both were edified. From his perspective, the Spirit could testify to all truth—including that he was a prophet of God and spoke under inspiration of God. He justified the establishment of another church by invoking the authority and direction he received by the Spirit of God. During the meeting, Smith read a revelation (known as the “Articles and Covenants of the Church”) that he received for the occasion. It outlined the basic church organization and highlighted the role that the Spirit would play in the church:

God does inspire men and call them to the holy work in this age and generation, as well as in generations of old . . . the holy prophets, who spake as they were inspired by the Gift of the Holy Ghost . . . believe in the gifts and callings of God by the Holy Ghost, which beareth record of the Father and of the Son; Which Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are one God, infinite and eternal, without end . . . we know that these things are true and according to the revelations of John, neither adding to, nor diminishing from the prophecy of his book, the holy scriptures, or the revelations of God which shall come hereafter by the gift and power of the Holy Ghost, the voice of God, or the ministering of angels.¹⁷⁹

The significance of this proclamation in the historical setting of the organization of the church is clear. Smith called for the witness of the Holy Spirit to validate his role as a

¹⁷⁷ Smith, *History*, 1.74.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Smith, *D&C*, 20:10, 11, 26-28.

prophet and to bring forth the “holy work” of establishing a church just as the ancient apostles did. He also addressed the issue of adding new scripture to the canon (Deut 4:2; 12:32; Prov 30:6; Rev 22:18-19) and justified his action by crediting the “gift and power of the Holy Ghost” as the source of his writings. Smith believed that he, like Jesus’ apostles in the meridian of time, spoke new revelation from God through inspiration given through the Holy Spirit.

References to the Spirit maintained a thread of continuity throughout the “Articles and Covenants of the Church” (now published as section twenty of the *Doctrine and Covenants*). Sixteen of the eighty-four verses or eighteen percent of the revelation include references to the Holy Spirit. No other topic consistently reappears throughout the document as does the Holy Spirit. It specifically refers to the important role of the Holy Spirit in the new church. Two of those verses explain how the Gift of the Holy Ghost is obtained:

All those who humble themselves before God, and desire to be baptized, and come forth with broken hearts and contrite spirits, and witness before the church that they have truly repented of all their sins, and are willing to take upon them the name of Jesus Christ, having a determination to serve him to the end, and truly manifest by their works that they have received of the Spirit of Christ unto the remission of their sins, shall be received by baptism into his church . . . and to confirm those who are baptized into the church, by the laying on of hands for the baptism of fire and the Holy Ghost, according to the scriptures.¹⁸⁰

The cleansing by immersion is only part of the process of entering into the church according to Smith. More important for him was the second half of the ordinance, the confirmation and cleansing of the Spirit administered by those with authority of the Melchizedek Priesthood. Although the gift is given to all repentant, worthy, accountable, baptized members, Smith taught that only those who are humble and contrite hear its

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 20:37, 41; see also 20:35, 60, 73.

promptings.

In the new church, the synergistic relationship between the priesthood and the Holy Spirit allowed both to function, and contrariwise, without one, the other could not function. The “Articles and Covenants” explains, “Every elder, priest, teacher, or deacon is to be ordained according to the gifts and callings of God unto him; and he is to be ordained by the power of the Holy Ghost, which is in the one who ordains him” (*D&C*, 20:60). Only those with the priesthood keys can ordain others to the priesthood. To act in God’s name, one must be directed by God’s Spirit. The “Articles and Covenants” stipulate that the presence of the Spirit must direct everything from the transmission of authority of the priesthood to the agenda for each meeting. Those with proper “priesthood authority” were charged to insure that the Spirit guided their leadership: “The elders are to conduct the meetings as they are led by the Holy Ghost” (*D&C*, 20:45).¹⁸¹ This lofty goal could be achieved only if the members lived lives worthy of the Spirit’s presence.

Smith passionately insisted that the Spirit of God direct the new church—even down to the details of the worship services. The meetings of the new church were not like those of the Quakers, who waited to speak until the Spirit moved them; Smith’s worship services included prayers, sermons, hymns, the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, and testimonies—each led by the Spirit of the Lord. Smith felt so strongly about teachers following promptings of the Spirit that in February, 1831, he recorded, “the Spirit shall be given unto you by the prayer of faith; and if ye receive not the Spirit ye shall not teach.”¹⁸² The “Articles and Covenants of the Church” envisioned the Spirit as the bond that unified and brought together in harmony the great diversity of thoughts and feelings that were

¹⁸¹ The phrase “priesthood authority” is used by LDS for the authority of God’s power.

¹⁸² Smith, *D&C*, 42:14.

coming from new converts into a church of lay teachers. The “Articles and Covenants” instructed Smith that everything he did in the church must be inspired by God’s Spirit, from teaching and ministering to record keeping and translating.¹⁸³

The “Articles and Covenants” also emphasized the vital role of the Spirit in accompanying and sealing church “ordinances” (like baptism by immersion for the remission of sins and the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper).¹⁸⁴ The Spirit verified the efficaciousness of each ordinance—as the one who could judge individual worthiness and proper priesthood authority. The “Articles and Covenants” outlined the Spirit’s role in renewing baptismal covenants during the weekly Lord’s Supper. The set prayers (one of two set prayers in the church) focused on remembering the Lord’s atoning sacrifice and repenting in order to keep the Holy Spirit:

O God, the Eternal Father, we ask thee in the name of thy Son, Jesus Christ, to bless and sanctify this bread to the souls of all those who partake of it, that they may eat in remembrance of the body of thy Son, and witness unto thee, O God, the Eternal Father, that they are willing to take upon them the name of thy Son, and always remember him and keep his commandments which he has given them; that they may always have his Spirit to be with them that they do always remember him.”¹⁸⁵

According to the sacramental prayer over the Lord’s Supper, the reward for always

¹⁸³ Smith, *D&C*, 21:1-2: “Behold, there shall be a record kept among you; and in it thou shalt be called a seer, a translator, a prophet, an apostle of Jesus Christ, an elder of the church through the will of God the Father, and the grace of your Lord Jesus Christ, being inspired of the Holy Ghost to lay the foundation thereof, and to build it up unto the most holy faith.”

¹⁸⁴ When Smith referred to “the sacrament,” he referenced the specific enactment of the Lord’s Supper. See *History*, 2.204; 3.116 – 117, 123. Smith referred to “ordinances” as those saving rituals or set requirements directed by God that must be carried out on earth for humans to return to the presence of God. He included baptism, blessing of children, sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, administering to the sick, temple work, marriage, washing of feet, etc. Later he taught that ordinances could be performed vicariously for the dead. He usually referred to “ordinances” not to “sacraments” as the Catholics do. An LDS apostle Bruce R. McConkie described ordinances: “Among his laws and commandments, the Lord has provided certain rites and ceremonies which are also called ordinances. These ordinance-rites might be pictured as a small circle within the larger circle of ordinance-commandments. Most of these rites and ceremonies, as illustrated by baptism and celestial marriage, are essential to salvation and exaltation in the kingdom of God; some of them, such as the blessing of children and the dedication of graves, are not ordinances of salvation, but are performed for the comfort, consolation, and encouragement of the saints.” *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1966), 548. The priesthood was the power and authority of God used to administer the ordinances, but not an ordinance itself. These concepts will be addressed in chapter seven as well.

¹⁸⁵ (*D&C*, 20:77) Similar wording is in *The Book of Mormon*, Moroni 4-5; and also Smith, *History*, 1:65-69.

remembering the Lord and renewing one's covenant with Him was the guidance of His Spirit. Smith repeated the last phrase again in the prayer over the wine.¹⁸⁶ Both prayers stipulate that one must live a life worthy of the Spirit's companionship, because in Smith's mind—unlike the Puritan view—the hope of receiving constant guidance by the Spirit was something to strive for (not wait for) and was attained by keeping God's commands and taking on the name of the Lord.¹⁸⁷ The combination of repentance and a weekly renewal maintained the potential for a lifeline to the Spirit.

The crucial point in establishing a new church for Smith was receiving the Spirit's direction in everything. From Smith's perspective, it was God's church, not his nor any other human's; therefore, he felt the Spirit of God must direct all of the affairs of the church. He claimed that God governed the church through His Holy Spirit, not by its leader's prerogative nor by the members' preference. Smith never referred to the new organization as "his church," because in his mind, it was Christ's church directed by the Holy Spirit through revelation.¹⁸⁸ Smith emphasized the Spirit's role in a synopsis of the "fundamental principles" of the new religion:

¹⁸⁶ Smith initially used wine for the Lord's Supper, but in August, 1830, he received another revelation instructing him, "For, behold, I say unto you, that it mattereth not what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink when ye partake of the sacrament [of the Lord's Supper], if it so be that ye do it with an eye single to my glory--remembering unto the Father my body which was laid down for you, and my blood which was shed for the remission of your sins. Wherefore, a commandment I give unto you, that you shall not purchase wine neither strong drink of your enemies." (*D&C*, 27:2-3). LDS use water now each week as they partake of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

¹⁸⁷ Smith, *History*, 2.204. Smith recorded comments on the need for worthiness before partaking of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in his journal from February 28, 1835: "Several who had recently been baptized, were confirmed, and the sacrament was administered to the Church. Previous to the administration, I spoke of the propriety of this institution in the Church, and urged the importance of doing it with acceptance before the Lord, and asked, How long do you suppose a man may partake of this ordinance unworthily, and the Lord not withdraw His Spirit from him? How long will he thus trifle with sacred things, and the Lord not give him over to the buffetings of Satan until the day of redemption! The Church should know if they are unworthy from time to time to partake, lest the servants of God be forbidden to administer it. Therefore our hearts ought to be humble, and we to repent of our sins, and put away evil from among us."

¹⁸⁸ When Smith used the phrase "His church" it was with a capital "H," referring to Christ. For example, "The testimony of the witnesses to the book of the Lord's commandments, which He gave to His Church through Joseph Smith, Jun" (*ibid.*, 1.226); and "I leave you in the hands of God and His Church" (2.343).

The fundamental principles of our religion are the testimony of the Apostles and Prophets, concerning Jesus Christ, that He died, was buried, and rose again the third day, and ascended into heaven; and all other things which pertain to our religion are only appendages to it. But in connection with these, we believe in the Gift of the Holy Ghost, the power of faith, the enjoyment of the spiritual gifts according to the will of God.¹⁸⁹

According to Smith, the Spirit functioned only in connection with the Savior. The combination of the Spirit's direction and the Melchizedek Priesthood (in this case seen in apostles, and prophets) established the authority of the church.¹⁹⁰ The Spirit was the fuel that started and powered the church; Smith therefore, did not create the church's authority.

Most of the nation derided Smith, some assaulted him, and a few believed him. Undaunted, he claimed that revelation led him to restore Christ's primitive church on the earth complete with an apostolic priesthood, and the same organization of prophets, apostles, teachers, evangelists, and saints. As a poor farm boy, he was an unlikely candidate for a religious genius, but he saw himself as another biblical prophet called in his youth like Joseph the dreamer or Samuel the seer. Joseph Smith's background and youthful experience provide the context for examining his pneumatology.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 3:30; dated May 8, 1838. Previous to this quote, Smith summarized the church in another statement dated April 21, 1834, at a church conference in Norton, Medina County, Ohio. According to his scribe's notes in his journal, "President Smith then stated that the meeting had been called, because God had commanded it; and it was made known to him [Smith] by vision and by the Holy Spirit. He then gave a relation of obtaining and translating *The Book of Mormon*, the revelation of the Priesthood of Aaron, the organization of the Church in 1830, the revelation of the High Priesthood, and the Gift of the Holy Ghost poured out upon the Church" (2:52).

¹⁹⁰ Smith's understanding of priesthood authority is further discussed in chapter seven and *D&C*, 68:17, 19; 84:21; 107:8, 17-18, 20; 113:8; 121:37.

Chapter 7

Joseph Smith's Doctrine of the Holy Spirit

Although Joseph Smith's ideas about the Spirit were unconventional, he never asserted that he taught a new understanding of the doctrine of the Spirit. Rather, he universally maintained that his teachings were in strict accord with the teachings of Christ and the apostolic church. Whereas it is certain that his doctrines do find their basis in biblical teachings and do not contradict biblical teachings on the subject, Smith nonetheless expands and elaborates those doctrines in ways that are at variance with the creeds and doctrines of the prevailing Christian churches of his time. Unlike the majority of antebellum Christians, Smith spoke of the Holy Spirit as a distinct and separate entity within the Godhead.¹ He envisioned a broader scope to the Spirit's communication than his fellow Christians allowed—from revealing new scripture to inspiring every searching human. This enlarged but culturally-deviant doctrine lends support to this dissertation's thesis, that Smith's pneumatology was not entirely a product of his environment.

We will examine Smith's extensive, and at times unique, perspective on the Holy Spirit by outlining the pneumatology in 1) the canonized *Book of Mormon* and *Doctrine and Covenants*, 2) Smith's non-canonized teachings, and 3) his recorded personal experiences. The first section looks at the way the Holy Spirit is used in the two books Smith added to his scripture canon. It then compares that information with the biblical usage. The second section focuses on five topics: the Godhead, counterfeit spirits, the Gift

¹ Acts 17:29; Rom 1:20. Smith described three divine beings who have always been separate entities. He taught that the Spirit could dwell within humans because of its spiritual state. He referred to all spirit, not in the standard definition of "an immaterial essence," but rather, "spirit is a substance; that it is material, but that it is more pure, elastic and refined matter than the body; that it existed before the body, can exist in the body; and will exist separate from the body" (Smith, *History*, 4.575, also *D&C*, 130:22). The Spirit communicated to humanity through the channels of God's power or priesthoods (Smith, *History*, 5.555).

of the Holy Ghost, gifts of the Spirit, and the Holy Spirit of Promise. The third section highlights Smith's *experiences* with the charismatic gifts of the Spirit, including an outpouring of those gifts at the dedication of the church's first temple. The intent of this chapter is to unfold Smith's pneumatology, which distinguished him from his associates.

I. Canonical Writings on the Holy Spirit

The most illuminating way to uncover the foundation of Smith's doctrine of the Holy Spirit is to explore the writings he held as additional scripture. Smith classified *The Book of Mormon* and the revelations compiled into the *Doctrine and Covenants* as "sacred writings."² He held up both of these books on a par with the Bible as a standard of doctrine.³

Smith's pneumatological vocabulary is similar to that of the Bible, but his expanded canon offered broader meanings and detailed instructions on how to access and recognize the Holy Spirit.⁴ To illustrate this argument, we first look at *The Book of Mormon* references to the Spirit, followed by the detailed directions offered in the *Doctrine and Covenants*. Third, we compare the Bible with Smith's extended canon by examining how each book discusses the Spirit in terms of word ratios, repetitive phrases, and detailed instructions.

² Smith, *History*, 1.237; 2.11, 54-55; 4.491; 5.1 - 2.

³ Ibid., 6.57. Smith did not believe the Bible was inerrant as many Christians did at that time. He explained, "I believe the Bible as it read when it came from the pen of the original writers. Ignorant translators, careless transcribers, or designing and corrupt priests have committed many errors. As it read, Gen. 6:6, 'It repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth;' also, Num. 23:19, 'God is not a man, that he should lie, neither the Son of man, that he should repent;' which I do not believe. But it ought to read, 'It repented Noah that God made man.' This I believe, and then the other quotation stands fair." Other examples when Smith felt inspired to clarify the Bible are his changes to Genesis 1-6, now found in the *Book of Moses*, and Matthew 24 (both published in *The Pearl of Great Price*). Usually, though, as these examples illustrate, Smith pointed out words that were incorrect rather than entire chapters.

⁴ Similar to the Bible and practice of his day, Smith referred to the "Spirit," "Holy Spirit," "first Comforter," and "Holy Ghost" interchangeably.

The Book of Mormon

According to the LDS tradition, *The Book of Mormon* was not written by Smith, only translated by him. His vocabulary is found in the book, acting as evidence that he translated the book.⁵ However, literary and stylometry studies confirm that the phrasing is not his.⁶ Scholars have carefully studied the word patterns with statistical and linguistic models that show a high probability that the authorship of *The Book of Mormon* and *Doctrine and Covenants* is different from Smith's personal writings. The analysis also shows a statistical account that differentiates major authors within *The Book of Mormon*.⁷

Smith had no formal seminary or theological training as a youth (outside of personal and family Bible reading); therefore, it is probable that his first study of doctrine came from translating *The Book of Mormon*. At the very least, *The Book of Mormon*'s emphasis on the Spirit served as a tutorial for Smith. During the course of translation, Smith claimed to work under the influence of the Holy Spirit. In other words, he felt instructed on the

⁵ G. Bruce Schaalje, John L. Hilton, and John B. Archer, "Comparative Power of Three Author-Attribution Techniques for Differentiating Authors," *FARMS Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, 6.1 (Spring 1997): "In light of our results for translated works and texts from the Book of Mormon, the fact that writings attributed to different Book of Mormon prophets have similar vocabulary richness but distinct frequencies of noncontextual words and word-pattern ratios is completely consistent with Joseph Smith's educational level and his account of the translation process. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that translated writings attributed to different New Testament authors also show similar vocabulary richness but display distinct frequencies of noncontextual words and word-pattern ratios." See also Reynolds, *Book of Mormon Authorship*, 13-14.

⁶ Roger Keller, *Book of Mormon Authors* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University-Religious Studies Center, 1996). The word order and specific phrasing used in *The Book of Mormon* are often indicative of a Hebrew origin. For examples, see Hugh Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert/The World of the Jaredites/There Were Jaredites* (Provo, UT: F.A.R.M.S., 1988), 11-77; Welch, *ReExploring the Book of Mormon*, 48-64, 77-84, 105-107.

⁷ John L. Hilton carried out the most thorough literary analysis on *The Book of Mormon* to date. He approached its authorship with stylometry—letting the computer do the analysis by counting and comparing selected words in defined relationships. Stylometry demonstrates that individual authors leave a unique stamp or "wordprint" on their writings that can usually be detected through a series of computerized analyses of small word usage. (See Keller, *Book of Mormon Authors* for large word usage.) On the basis of this finding, Hilton asserted that statistically speaking, there is an extremely remote possibility that Smith or other suspected authors of the day wrote *The Book of Mormon* (i.e. Oliver Cowdery, Sydney Rigdon, Solomon Spaulding, to name a few). Furthermore, the parts of *The Book of Mormon* that claim to be authored by different prophets do in fact have distinguishable literary separation or wordprints. Statistical analyses of the text provide evidence for Smith's explanation of the book's origins. Reynolds, *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited*, 225-254. Also Welch, *ReExploring the Book of Mormon*, 221-222.

Spirit by both the translation process and textual messages. *The Book of Mormon* has a rich pneumatology, which became the foundational source of Smith's doctrine on the Holy Spirit.⁸ My research found *The Book of Mormon* has three times more references to the Holy Spirit than the KJV Bible.⁹

Smith's pneumatology did not stem solely from *The Book of Mormon*, but the following evidence demonstrates that the book had a major initial impact on his developing doctrine. Throughout *The Book of Mormon*, the prophetic writers are guided by the Holy Spirit time and time again.¹⁰ The first chapter describes a prophet "overcome with the Spirit" after a vision of heaven and the throne of God. Another prophet describes himself as "led by the Spirit, not knowing beforehand the things which I should do."¹¹

⁸ In the first chapter of 1 Nephi alone, the Spirit of God is cited three times, and by the time the book of First Nephi is complete, the Spirit of God is mentioned forty-six times, an average of 2.3 times per chapter. An even greater proportion is found in the last book, Moroni, with 2.9 citations referring to the Holy Spirit per chapter. This is a far greater emphasis than one finds in the Bible. Not all of the chapters in *The Book of Mormon* maintain the same high ratio or usage, see Table Four.

⁹ *The Book of Mormon* claims that its first prophets belonged to the late seventh century Old Testament Israel (600 BCE), leaving Jerusalem just before the Babylonian captivity. Comparing the references to the Spirit (or any derivative of *ruach* that referred to the Holy Ghost) in Isaiah and Ezekiel (Isaiah has fifteen references out of sixty-one chapters and Ezekiel has eight references out of forty-three chapters), one finds a smaller word-ratio than in *The Book of Mormon*. Nineteenth century Americans were most familiar with the New Testament Gospels where we find far more references to the Spirit than in the Old Testament. *Pneuma* identifies the Holy Spirit ten times in Matthew's twenty-; chapters; six times in Mark's sixteen chapters; twenty-six times in Luke's twenty-four chapters; fifteen times in John's twenty-one chapters; and forty-eight times in the book of Acts' twenty-eight chapters. See Table Four for details.

¹⁰ Narrowing references of the "spirit" to those that specifically refer to the "Holy Spirit" is not a clear science. I separated references to the pre-mortal Lord's spirit from the Holy Spirit by context, content, and how other scripture used the same titles for the Spirit. In this study all references to the "Spirit of God" or the "Spirit of the Lord" are attributed to the Holy Spirit. I based my decision on the fact that the fifth century editors of *The Book of Mormon*, Mormon and Moroni, consistently recorded the names "Spirit of God" and "Spirit of the Lord" just as they are found in the Old Testament and brass plates (1 Nephi 11:1; 13:13; 15:12; Words of Mormon, 1:7; Ether 15:19; etc). Because these editors use the same title for the Holy Spirit before and after Christ's resurrection—and some of their references clearly point to the Holy Spirit—it is probable that they consistently intended the same person. For example, the editors of Mosiah 2:36; 4:3; 13:5; 18:13; Alma 5:46-47 use the same names one thousand years later for Mormon 2:26. Zenos, uses the phrase "Spirit of God" in 1 Nephi 19:12 just as Mormon does centuries after Christ's Resurrection (Moroni 10:8-9; see also Ether 12:2). The phrase "Spirit of the Lord" is used by the Old Testament prophet Isaiah (11:2; also 2 Nephi 21:2), just as Mormon and Moroni's post-resurrection writings include the same title for the Holy Ghost (Mormon 2:26; 5:16; Moroni 9:4). For the sake of continuity in comparisons, I follow the pattern of these two editors, who consistently identified the Holy Spirit as the Spirit of God or the Spirit of the Lord. See Appendix Four.

¹¹ *The Book of Mormon*, 1 Nephi 4:6.

Prophets claimed their authority to preach from the Spirit.¹² The Spirit compelled a prophet as it “came down and wrought upon the man.”¹³ (This favorite word, “*wrought*,” demonstrates the Spirit’s power of exertion forty-one times.¹⁴) The Spirit also fostered belief and whispered encouragement.¹⁵ Even worship services were directed by the Spirit.¹⁶ Smith adopted this same practice into his own church meetings.

Smith demonstrates a kinship with *The Book of Mormon*’s Spirit-directed prophets. By the time he finished translating *The Book of Mormon* in 1829, his claim to divine tutoring included at least six visions and nineteen revelations. It appears that *The Book of Mormon* acted as a springboard to Smith’s doctrines that he further developed from revelations in the *Doctrine and Covenants*.

Doctrine and Covenants

Joseph Smith claimed to hear audible or mental words that he felt came from the Spirit of the Lord.¹⁷ He referred to these special answers to prayers as revelations and

¹² Ibid., 1 Nephi 10:22 : “The Holy Ghost giveth authority that I should speak these things.”

¹³ Ibid., 1 Nephi 13:12; also, 1 Nephi 4:10: “I was constrained by the Spirit,” 1 Nephi 7:15; 2 Nephi 28:1; Alma 14:11.

¹⁴ A sampling of *The Book of Mormon* usage of “wrought” is found in 1 Nephi 13:12 -13; 17:51-52; 2 Nephi 10:4; Enos 1:26; Mosiah 5:2; Alma 5:23; Ether 12:18.

¹⁵ Ibid., 2 Nephi 33:1: “when a man speaketh by the power of the Holy Ghost the power of the Holy Ghost carrieth it unto the hearts of the children of men.” Similarly, 1 Nephi 4:11: “The Spirit said unto me . . .” (also, the “voice of the Spirit” gives verbal directions in 1 Nephi 4:18 ; 22:2; Words of Mormon 1:7; Alma 7:9, 14; 17:10; 39:12; Moroni 8:7).

¹⁶ Ibid., Moroni 6:9: “Their meetings were conducted by the church after the manner of the workings of the Spirit, and by the power of the Holy Ghost; for as the power of the Holy Ghost led them whether to preach, or to exhort, or to pray, or to supplicate, or to sing, even so it was done.”

¹⁷ *D&C*, 14:8, records the first reference to Smith receiving auditory revelations: “You shall receive the Holy Ghost, which giveth utterance, that you may stand as a witness of the things of which you shall both hear and see . . .” A later revelation to Smith’s peers in June 1829, now recorded as *D&C*, 18:9, reads, “I speak unto you, even as unto Paul mine Apostle.” Again in *D&C*, 43:23, he recorded: “The Lord shall utter his voice out of heaven.” Later in *D&C*, 128:20, 23, Smith recorded hearing multiple voices: “What do we hear? . . . A voice of the Lord in the wilderness of Fayette, Seneca county [*sic*], declaring the three witnesses to bear record of the book. The voice of Michael . . . The voice of Peter, James and John in the wilderness . . . And again I say, how glorious is the voice we hear from heaven, proclaiming in our ears, glory, and salvation.” An attorney who defended Smith in New York, Mr. Reid, remembered that Smith “said that he distinctly heard the voice of Him that spake.” Smith, *History*, 1.96 footnote 2. Ehat and Cook found “In 1835 Joseph Smith wrote to his uncle Silas to convince him that revelation was still necessary, reasoning

recorded them as scripture.¹⁸ In 1833, he published his revelations as the *Book of Commandments*. By 1835, they were enlarged and published again as the *Doctrine and Covenants* (abbreviated, *D&C*). Both of these compilations (as well as future editions in 1844, 1876, 1921, 1981) were divided into sections and canonized as scripture.¹⁹ The content of these books was the result of the Lord's revelation or inspiration of the Holy Spirit.²⁰

The *Doctrine and Covenants* communicates its pneumatological emphasis with hundreds of allusions to the Spirit. From Smith's first revelations, the references to the Holy Spirit spill out as if they were the favorite, well understood subject to the young man. Smith's initial fascination with the Spirit did not wane. As he grew older, he explored nontraditional territory, more often than not within the bounds of King James Version (KJV) terminology. He did not claim these first texts as his own ideas, but insisted that the Spirit inspired his mind with God's words. He carefully differentiated

that the modern Saints had to hear an audible voice from the Lord by revelation." Andrew Ehat and Lyndon Cook, eds. *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Smith* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University- Religious Studies Center, 1990), 17, footnote 6. On March 22, 1839, Smith dictated a letter that included his testimony concerning the nature of receiving revelation: "I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me is not after man; for I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 423.

¹⁸ Smith, *History*, 6.69. Smith described "the forms of Scripture and prophecy" as all "'Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists,' and revelations." Smith also quoted and agreed with Elder E. P. Maginn's definition: "All modern revelations [are] Scripture as well as those given anciently" (6.12).

¹⁹ Smith felt commanded to canonize his revelations: "And whatsoever they [the servants of God] shall speak when moved upon by the Holy Ghost shall be scripture, shall be the will of the Lord, shall be the mind of the Lord, shall be the word of the Lord, shall be the voice of the Lord, and the power of God unto salvation." *D&C*, 68:5. Today the *D&C* is organized, nearly chronologically as "sections." Not all of Smith's entries in the *D&C* are revelations. A few sections are translations, prayers, historical accounts, and organizational minutes—though he professed all were inspired. With this in mind, Brigham Young University professor Steven Walker wrote, "the *Doctrine and Covenants* is not, as some have supposed, a word for word reiteration of the exact language of God dictated in all cases audibly; it is, rather, a Revelation of his will to his prophets through a variety of communicational media, in several different forms." Steven C. Walker, "The Voice of the Prophet," *BYU Studies*, 10 (1969): 95. Smith did not preach the infallibility of apostles and prophets; rather, he understood the Spirit's message was correct, even if it came through terrestrial avenues.

²⁰ *D&C*, 102:23: "The president may inquire and obtain the mind of the Lord by revelation."

between his own thoughts and the Lord's words.²¹

The Doctrine and Covenants defines the Spirit in the Godhead. The *Doctrine and Covenants* describes a distinct Spirit deity known as the third member of the Godhead: “The Holy Ghost has not a body of flesh and bones, but is a personage of Spirit. Were it not so, the Holy Ghost could not dwell in us. A man may receive the Holy Ghost, and it may descend upon him and not tarry with him” (D&C, 130:22-23). This Spirit acts as the messenger of the Father and Son to mortal disciples. Smith's revelations describe several functions of the Spirit, including cleansing (D&C, 76:52), comforting (D&C, 36:2; 39:6), revealing (D&C, 27:18; 104:36), prophesying (D&C, 20:35; 34:10; 131:5), sanctifying (D&C, 84:33; 105:36), sealing (D&C, 124:124, 131:5; 132:18-19) and witnessing to all truth (D&C, 1:39; 14:8; 45:57).²²

Early citations of the Spirit act as a handbook for receiving inspiration. Just under half of the canonized revelations that Smith received were initiated by others' questions. Thirty-six family members and friends sought to know their standing and calling before God and trusted Smith as their mouthpiece. The majority of revelations—whether each revelation was to Smith or his adherents— included something about the Holy Spirit (77 of Smith's 134 canonized revelations or 58%).²³

The initial references to the Spirit came as answers to friends' questions about the translation of *The Book of Mormon*. The references offer guidelines on how to receive divine inspiration. Each revelation is consistent with biblical teachings: the Spirit is a

²¹ Smith, *History*, 6.366. Shortly before his martyrdom Smith preached: “I never told you I was perfect; but there is no error in the revelations which I have taught.”

²² For a complete list of references to the Spirit in Smith's Canon, see Appendix Four.

²³ D&C sections 1 through 133 are attributed to Joseph Smith as well as section 137. Other sections are attributed to Oliver Cowdery (134), John Taylor (135), Brigham Young (136), and Smith Fielding Smith (138). See Appendix Two for a chronological listing of Smith's revelations that reference the third member of the Godhead.

guide, comfort, and witness. Six examples follow (as with all revelations that came through Smith, they are in first person as from the voice of God²⁴).

Blessed art thou for what thou hast done; for thou hast inquired of me, and behold, as often as thou hast inquired thou hast received instruction of my Spirit. If it had not been so, thou wouldst not have come to the place where thou art at this time. (*D&C* 6:14)

According to the *Doctrine and Covenants*, whether or not a recipient realizes it, every time one seeks divine guidance, the Spirit answers. Smith learned from the second reference that the Spirit will “enlighten thy mind” and bring one to truth:

Behold, thou knowest that thou hast inquired of me and I did enlighten thy mind; and now I tell thee these things that thou mayest know that thou hast been enlightened by the Spirit of truth. If you desire a further witness, cast your mind upon the night that you cried unto me in your heart, that you might know concerning the truth of these things. Did I not speak peace to your mind concerning the matter? What greater witness can you have than from God? (*D&C* 6:15, 22-23)

Consistent with the New Testament, this section identified peace as a witness to God’s Spirit.²⁵

The third citation of the Spirit taught Smith (and his scribe, Oliver Cowdery) that the Spirit by which Moses brought the children of Israel through the Red Sea was an example of God communicating revelation through His Spirit.

Whatsoever things you shall ask in faith, with an honest heart, believing that you shall receive a knowledge concerning the engravings of old records, which are ancient, which contain those parts of my scripture of which has been spoken by the manifestation of my Spirit. Yea, behold, I will tell you in your mind and in your heart, by the Holy Ghost . . . this is the *spirit of revelation*; behold, this is the spirit by which Moses brought the children of Israel through the Red Sea on dry ground. (*D&C* 8:1-3 italics mine).

Tucked into this answer was a definition of the “spirit of revelation.” When the Spirit

²⁴ Smith claimed his revelations came from “the gift and power of the Holy Ghost, the voice of God, or the ministering of angels” (*D&C*, 20:35). He did not identify the Spirit in terms of the Trinity, so the Spirit’s origination or the issue of filioque was not pertinent nor discussed. See page 270.

²⁵ Rom 14:17; 15:13; Gal 5:22; Smith, *D&C*, 19:23; 111:8; *The Book of Mormon*, Mosiah 4:3.

spoke to one's mind and heart, it was revelation. This view contradicted those of several theologians, like Campbell, who believed revelation came only to biblical prophets and apostles. Oblivious to the controversy, Smith charted his own path; he claimed to receive direction that he called revelation from the Spirit.²⁶

The fourth reference to the Spirit came a few days after the previous message, as a gentle rebuke to the same friend, Cowdery, for not taking more personal initiative in seeking divine help:

You have not understood; you have supposed that I would give it unto you, when you took no thought save it was to ask me. But, behold, I say unto you, that you must *study it out* in your mind; then *you must ask* me if it be right, and if it is right I will cause that your bosom shall burn within you; therefore, *you shall feel* that it is right. But if it be not right you shall have no such feelings, but you shall have a stupor of thought that shall cause you to forget the thing which is wrong. (D&C9:7-9; italics added).

The counsel to “study it out” before asking God taught the need for human reasoning.

Much like the Enlightenment ideals of the popular Scottish Common Sense Realists, Smith applied reason to the reception of revelation, but to a degree greater than that of the Scottish Realists. Smith felt that God empowered humans to activate revelation by using their own reasoning power to find the best answer to their questions. After finding a potential solution, they prayed to ask God for His confirmation of their ideas. Divine positive feedback came as the Spirit's inspiration and negative feedback as a “stupor of thought.”

The fifth reference to the Spirit came in May of 1829, when Smith's older brother,

²⁶ An example of Smith's enemies' anger at his spiritual claims follows: “The constable who served this second warrant upon me had no sooner arrested me than he began to abuse and insult me; and so unfeeling was he with me, that although I had been kept all the day in court without anything to eat since the morning, yet he hurried me off to Broome county, a distance of about fifteen miles, before he allowed me any kind of food whatever. He took me to a tavern, and gathered in a number of men, who used every means to abuse, ridicule and insult me. They spit up on me, pointed their fingers at me, saying, ‘Prophesy, prophesy!’” (Smith, *History*, 1.91).

Hyrum, sought direction from God through his brother. Hyrum learned that obedience, humility, prayer, and desire are prerequisites to feeling the Spirit's enlightenment and joy:

I say unto thee, put your trust in that Spirit which leadeth to do good—yea, to do justly, to walk humbly, to judge righteously, and this is my Spirit. Verily, verily, I say unto you, I will impart unto you of my Spirit, which shall enlighten your mind, which shall fill your soul with joy; . . . Keep my commandments; hold your peace; appeal unto my Spirit . . . Seek not to declare my word, but first seek to obtain my word, and then shall your tongue be loosed; then, if you desire, you shall have my Spirit and my word, yea, the power of God unto the convincing of men . . . Deny not the spirit of revelation nor the spirit of prophecy. (*D&C* 11:12-13, 18, 21, 25)

The revelation explained that the Spirit acted as a convincing witness and led to “do good,” including “do justly, walk humbly, and judge righteously.” For two months the flow of revelations acted as a handbook that enabled Smith and his followers to identify the Spirit of God.

Throughout his sixteen years as “a translator, a revelator, a seer, and prophet” (*D&C*, 124:125), Smith's dependence on and fascination with the Holy Spirit did not wane.²⁷ Rather than develop over time, the pneumatology in the *Doctrine and Covenants* is consistent from the start but expanded over time. Smith's initial interest in spirituality may have developed from his environment—yet interest is different than having a command of the subject. His earliest revelations already appear pregnant with an understanding of the Spirit. Where did Smith's doctrine of the Spirit come from? Beyond his familial background, an additional possibility stems from his translation of *The Book of Mormon*. The pneumatological connections between these two books, as well as their unique assertions about the Spirit become more obvious as we contrast them with the Bible.

²⁷ A chronological view of Smith's 134 canonized revelations demonstrates his regular references to the Holy Spirit. Each of the seventy-seven sections in the *D&C* that addresses the subject of pneumatology is listed sequentially in Appendix Two. Tables Three through Seven are the product of my research .

The Book of Mormon and Doctrine and Covenants Compared with the Bible

One best distinguishes the pneumatology of *The Book of Mormon* and *Doctrine and Covenants* by comparing it to biblical references. Evidence suggests that Smith's canonized books speak of the Spirit more often and in more detail than the Bible does. I organized my evidence with numerical, linguistic, and illustrative examples to compare the Spirit's use in the Bible with that in *The Book of Mormon* and in the *Doctrine and Covenants*.

Numerical Comparisons between Smith's Sources and the Bible

A careful counting of words that point to the Holy Spirit in *The Book of Mormon* and *Doctrine and Covenants* illustrates a greater emphasis on the Spirit than we find in the Bible. Even though the books published by Smith are under half the size of the Bible, we find 207 more references to God's Spirit than the Bible contains. Table Four illustrates the usage of four words used most often to describe the Holy Spirit: Spirit (when the Hebrew *ruach* and Greek *pneuma* refers to God's Spirit),²⁸ Holy Ghost, Comforter, and Baptism by Fire.

²⁸ Because the English, Hebrew, and Greek, words for spirit / *ruach* / *pneuma*, all have multiple meanings, Appendix Four lists each verse where the Spirit belonged to God in the Bible. I carefully examined each scriptural use of "spirit," and if the spirit related to man, then it was not listed as God's Spirit. Separating out which spirit refers to the Holy Spirit is not a clear science. I attempted to be consistent across all four books. For example, when God placed His Spirit in man (Elijah), I credited it to the Holy Spirit. The "spirit of prophecy" I also accredited to God's Spirit. Similarly, I counted examples when led "by the Spirit" from Helaman 10:16, Alma 22:1. However, I did not attribute the Holy Spirit to "*a spirit*" that carries a prophet into a vision, or when a prophet is "in the spirit." Nor when someone had the "spirit of meekness" or a "contrite spirit" did I attribute that to the Holy Ghost. Neither did I include the references in Daniel when he was told he had the "spirit of the holy gods" because of the pagan connotations of the context. I tried to be consistent, e.g. when "good spirit" was used in Neh 9:20, it was also used in *The Book of Mormon*, Alma 3:26. When Truth and Spirit were linked, they were included, but not "true spirit of freedom" (Alma 60:25).

Table Four: Word Ratio of Spirit, Holy Ghost, Comforter, and Baptism of Fire

TEXT:	Number of Words	Spirit	Holy Ghost	Com- forter	Baptism of Fire ²⁹	Total	References per 1,000 words
Doctrine & Covenants Sections 1-133	107,289	148	48	24	4	224	2.09
Book of Mormon	266,944	202	91	1	6	300	1.12
King James New Testament	180,565	143	86	4	0	233	1.29
King James Old Testament	610,303	73	0	1	0	74	0.12
King James Bible	790,868 ³⁰	216	86	5	0	307	0.39

This table confirms that Smith’s canon contains a significant interest in the Spirit as seen by the frequency of word usage in his revelations. The *Doctrine and Covenants* mentions the Spirit 62% more often than the New Testament and seventeen times more than the Old Testament. The vast majority of *The Book of Mormon* claims to lie on the timeline of the Old Testament, yet it has over nine times more references per 1000 words to the Spirit than the Old Testament.

Linguistic Comparisons between Smith’s Sources and the Bible

As we look more closely at the use of pneumatological phrases, we find *The Book of Mormon* and *Doctrine and Covenants* deviating from the biblical pattern by using more descriptive names for the Spirit. In contrast to the Bible’s shorter labels like Holy Ghost or

²⁹ This includes minor derivations: “baptized with fire,” “baptize with fire,” “baptism by fire,” and baptism of fire.”

³⁰ The number of total words in the Bible was taken from a biblical software. Other sources and translations have slightly different totals. The numbers are similar enough to prove this point.

Holy Spirit, *The Book of Mormon* and *Doctrine and Covenants* designate the Spirit with longer titles, often conveying additional doctrinal meaning by describing the Spirit with many three-to-five-word titles. *The Book of Mormon* uses these descriptive names to identify the Spirit three times more often than the New or Old Testaments. For example, the Old Testament uses the title “Spirit of the Lord” most often to describe the Holy Spirit (twenty-six times). As *The Book of Mormon* purports to begin in an Old Testament setting, it is appropriate that it shares this common phrase. But surprisingly, this phrase is found forty times in *The Book of Mormon*.³¹ One of those forty uses in *The Book of Mormon* is augmented further as “the Spirit of the Lord Omnipotent.”³² When length of books and word ratio are taken into account, these numbers are even more significant—*The Book of Mormon* uses “Spirit of the Lord” five times more often than the New Testament and two-and-a-half times more than the Old Testament. If this were a unique finding it would be insignificant, but a comparison demonstrates that *The Book of Mormon* and *Doctrine and Covenants* use more descriptive phrases to identify the Spirit than the Bible. Table Five lists, alphabetically, the phrases that describe the Spirit in three-to-five-word segments.

³¹ Pneumatological word choice supports the thesis that the majority of *The Book of Mormon* originated from the Israelite tradition. Supposedly, the Israelite remnant took a copy of their scriptural records as their sole literary source. The Old Testament uses only four phrases for the Holy Spirit: 1) Filled (him) with the Spirit” three times; 2) “His Holy Spirit” two times; 3) “Spirit of God” fourteen times; and 4) “Spirit of the Lord” twenty-six times. The latter two also dominate *The Book of Mormon* usage. “Spirit of God” is mentioned twenty times, and “Spirit of the Lord” forty times.

³² *The Book of Mormon*, Mosiah 5:2.

Table Five: Titles for the Holy Spirit in three-to-five-Word-Segments

TITLES OR DISCRIPTIONS	OLD TESTAMENT	NEW TESTAMENT	THE BOOK OF MORMON	D&C
Baptism of (by) fire			2	4
Baptize(d) with fire			4	
Filled with the Spirit	1	1	7	1
Filled him with the Spirit	2			
Gift of the Holy Ghost		2	3	6
His Holy Spirit	2	1	5	1
Holy Spirit of God		1	2	
Holy Spirit of Promise		1		7
Power of the Holy Ghost		1	25	5
Spirit and in Truth		2	2	
Spirit and my Word				1
Spirit and Power			2	1
Spirit and Power of God			1	
Spirit of Christ		2	2	1
Spirit of Glory		14		
Spirit of God	14	12	20	3
Spirit of our God		1		2
Spirit of the living God		1		
Spirit of Grace	1	1		
Spirit of His mouth		1		
Spirit of His Son		1		
Spirit of Holiness		1		
Spirit of Jesus Christ		1		1
Spirit of the Lord	26	5	40	1
Sp. of the Lord Omnipotent			1	
Spirit of Prophecy		1	18	2
Spirit of Prophecy and Rev			1	
Spirit of Revelation			9	2
Spirit of your Father		1		
Spirit of Truth		4		12
Spirit of the Truth			1	
Sword of the Spirit		1		
Voice of the Spirit			2	5
TOTAL	46	55	147	53

In our quest to understand Smith's pneumatology, we ask why did he record descriptive phrases to identify the Holy Spirit? Usually he wrote in a straight-forward manner without adornment.³³ Table Five shows that most of the phrases that define the Spirit in *The Book of Mormon* and *Doctrine and Covenants* use biblical vocabulary (i.e. Spirit of the Lord, Spirit of Truth, Spirit of God, etc.), but five titles are unique. The unique variations poignantly divulge a breadth and theological innovation. The embellished titles divulge more details about the workings of the Spirit and reveal a sense of reverence and adoration for the Spirit.

By examining a few of *The Book of Mormon's* and *Doctrine and Covenant's* exclusive and favored expressions, we uncover Smith's doctrinal emphasis:

1) *Voice of the Spirit*. As a case in point, a characteristic phrase that is unique to *The Book of Mormon* and *Doctrine and Covenants* is "the voice of the Spirit." Seven times in Smith's canonized writings and nine times in his *History of the Church*, he described spiritual inspiration as "the voice of the Spirit." The *Doctrine and Covenants* applied the phrase generally in that "every one that hearkeneth to the voice of the Spirit cometh unto God" (84:47), and specifically to "my servant, by the voice of the Spirit, those that are chosen; and they shall be sanctified" (105:36). It may describe an audible voice at times, but it also identifies an inner communication (105:40).

2) *Spirit of Revelation*. Also unique to Smith's canon is the phrase "the Spirit of revelation," which describes a favorite aspect of his theology. The idiom is found nine

³³ See Joseph Smith's personal history recorded in *The Pearl of Great Price*. As the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* describes: "His writing style and personality show up most clearly in his holograph writings. These show a conversational style." Ludlow, 3.1345.

times in *The Book of Mormon* and twice in *The Doctrine and Covenants*.³⁴ Indicative of his own thought, the same phrase appears ten times in Smith's *History of the Church* together with four more occurrences of a slight variation, "spirit of prophecy and revelation."³⁵ Revelation expressed one of the most important roles of the Holy Spirit for Smith. He believed revelation was available to him and to all other seekers. He defined the process of receiving promptings from the Holy Spirit as revelation.³⁶

3) *Spirit and Power of God*. Smith's canon consistently associated power with the Spirit—either with this unique phrase, "Spirit and power," or with variations that connect the Spirit to power. One example from *The Book of Mormon* points to the Holy Spirit as the source of all "the words which have been spoken by the mouth of all the holy prophets, which have been delivered unto them by the *Spirit and power of God*, since the world began, even down unto this present time."³⁷ Smith's canon also used the phrase "power of the Holy Ghost" thirty times compared to a single appearance in the Bible (Rom 15:13). Aside from these repeated phrases, the Bible couples the "Spirit" or "Holy Ghost" with "power" ten times. Looking for the same pattern in *The Book of Mormon*, we find "power" linked with God's Spirit fifty-seven times (seventeen times more frequently when evaluated on a per thousand word basis

³⁴ *The Book of Mormon*, Alma 4:20; 5:46; 8:24; 9:21; 17:3; 23:6; 45:10; Hel 4:23; 3 Nephi 3:19; *D&C*, 8:3; 11:25. This research demonstrated the consistent use of "the Spirit of revelation" by Alma. A clear example of this usage is found in Alma 9: 21: "Having been visited by the Spirit of God; having conversed with angels, and having been spoken unto by the voice of the Lord; and having the spirit of prophecy, and the spirit of revelation, and also many gifts, the gift of speaking with tongues, and the gift of preaching, and the Gift of the Holy Ghost, and the gift of translation;" *The Book of Mormon* claims multiple authorship, and this singular word preference supports this theory. For information on statistical separation of authors in *The Book of Mormon*, see *Nurturing Faith through the Book of Mormon: The 24th Annual Sidney B. Sperry Symposium* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1995), 154, 167; John L. Hilton, "On Verifying Wordprint Studies: Book of Mormon Authorship," *BYU Studies*, 30 (1990): 89-108.

³⁵ The phrase "spirit of prophecy and revelation" is found in Smith, *History*, 1.64; 2.382; 2.489; 3.379 and in *The Book of Mormon*, Alma 43:2.

³⁶ Smith, *History*, 3.381.

³⁷ *The Book of Mormon*, 1 Nephi 3:20 (emphasis mine).

than the Bible).³⁸ The *Doctrine and Covenants* has an even greater ratio, with thirty-five connections—or twenty-six times the concentration of the Bible and one-and-a-half times more than in *The Book of Mormon*. In Smith’s own writings we find over fifty associations.³⁹ This evidence suggests the proposition that the Spirit’s prominence in Smith’s thought stemmed initially from its importance in *The Book of Mormon* and the *Doctrine and Covenants* and then was amplified in his own writings.

4) *Spirit of Prophecy*. The majority of the phrases in reference to the Spirit are biblical, as in the “spirit of prophecy.” The Bible mentions this phrase once (Rev 19:10), in contrast to eighteen citations in *The Book of Mormon*, and even more significantly, twenty-three times in Smith’s *History of the Church*.⁴⁰ Four of those latter references occurred on January 1, 1843, in response to the Illinois State Legislature request for Smith to define a prophet:

If any person should ask me if I were a prophet, I should not deny it, as that would give me the lie; for, according to John, the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy; therefore if I profess to be a witness or teacher, and have not the spirit of prophecy, which is the testimony of Jesus, I must be a false witness; but if I be a true teacher and witness, I must possess the spirit of prophecy, and that constitutes a prophet; and any man who says he is a teacher or preacher of righteousness, and denies the spirit of prophecy, is a liar, and the truth is not in him; and by this key false teachers and imposters may be detected.⁴¹

Smith’s statement from the official proceedings illustrates his belief that the spirit of prophecy was a gift not only for him as God’s prophet but also the means for other

³⁸ The number does not include those references to the spirit or power of Satan, Elijah, Paul, and others.

³⁹ Smith, *History* 1.39-40, 71-72, 83-84, 115, 195 fn, 282, 314-315, 323, 325-326, 386, 422, 425; 2.32, 138, 182, 230, 241, 353, 368, 382, 477, 529; 3.30, 50-51; 88, 89, 132, 384, 396; 4.200, 266, 275, 345, 349, 359, 486, 503, 538, 555, 571, 573-574; 5.25-26, 30, 107; 6.23-24, 26, 82, 265, 346. Jessee, *Writings*, 19-20, 122, 130, 147, 180, 216, 272-273.

⁴⁰ Smith, *History*, 1.42; 1.46; 1.64; 1.71; 2.382; 2.428; 2.489; 3.28; 3.379; 3.389; 5.140; 5.215; 5.231; 5.392; 5.400; 5.427; 5.516; 6.77; 6.194. Joseph also approved the inclusion into his *History of the Church* of eleven other references to the “spirit of prophecy” by Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Sidney Rigdon, and an editorial from the *Boston Bee*.

⁴¹ Smith, *History*, 5.215-216. *The Book of Mormon* uses the phrase “false teachers” twice—once to describe a current predicament and the other foretelling a future state (Words of Mormon 1:16; 2 Nephi 28:12).

proselytes to gain a belief in Jesus' divinity. This aspect of the Spirit's work and influence was especially important to him.

5) *Filled with the Spirit*. *The Book of Mormon* also favored the phrase "filled with the Spirit" with seven references, while the other three books cite it only once each.⁴² In the Old Testament and in *The Doctrine and Covenants*, the phrase describes those chosen by God (Ex 28:3; *D&C* 27:7); and Ephesians juxtaposes it with being drunk (Eph 5:18). *The Book of Mormon* elaborates on different manifestations of being "filled with the Spirit." It describes recipients who "began to prophesy" (1 Nephi 5:17; 2 Nephi 25:4), or "came forth . . . rejoicing" (Mosiah 18:14), or were "filled with the Spirit of God . . . [and] perceived the thoughts of" others (Alma 18:16). Elsewhere the Holy Spirit worked powerfully on those who repented: They experienced physical manifestations—"my father did speak . . . with power, being filled with the Spirit, until their frames did shake before him" (1 Nephi 2:14). When an entire group received an outpouring of Spirit, the text describes "behold, they were *filled with the Spirit*; and they did cry out with one voice, and gave glory to Jesus" (3 Nephi 20:9, emphasis mine).

Smith also used the phrase "filled with the Spirit" four times in his handwritten personal journal and six more times in his official *History of the Church*.⁴³ Smith's description of a special meeting in the Kirtland Temple on February 6, 1836, exemplifies the empowerment he associated with the phrase: "One of the seven [presidents of the Seventy] saw a vision of the Lord[']s Host-& others were filled with the spirit & spake in

⁴² Eph 5:18; Ex 28:3; *Book of Mormon*, 1 Nephi 1:12, 14; 5:17; 2 Nephi 25:4; Mosiah 18:14; Alma 18:16; 3 Nephi 20:9; *D&C*, 27:7.

⁴³ Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 6-7; 149; 152; 157; Smith, *History*, 1.391; 2.277-8; 2.384, 387, 392.

tongues & prophecied [*sic*]-This was a time of rejoicing long to be remembered! [P]raise the Lord.”⁴⁴ For Smith, “filled with the Spirit” had glorious.

Illustrative Comparisons between Smith’s Sources and the Bible

More than numbers and names, the contents of Joseph Smith’s canon show greater detail of the Holy Spirit’s work than the Bible discloses. The examples share KJV wording, but the LDS canonized books explain and expand the role of the Spirit. This further suggests that *The Book of Mormon* had a greater impact on Smith’s doctrinal understanding of the role of the Spirit than did the Bible. Five examples are illustrative.⁴⁵

1) *The Spirit leading through the strait gate.* In the Bible, Matthew and Luke record the need to enter in “at the strait gate.” This familiar imagery from the Sermon on the Mount and the Sermon on the Plain (also hinted at in Psalms 24:7-10; 118:19-20, and Jeremiah 7:2) symbolizes the need to enter into the presence of the Lord in a prescribed way. But when *The Book of Mormon* elaborates on the theme, it includes the inspiration of the Spirit as the essential guide to bring one through the gate to eternal life with Christ.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 157. It appears Smith recorded the same event (with a few more details) in his *History*: “President Zebedee Coltrin, one of the seven presidents of the Seventy, saw the Savior extended before him, as upon the cross, and a little after, crowned with glory upon his head above the brightness of the sun” (2.387). Interestingly, Smith included some of the manifestations of being “filled with the Spirit” that Paul included in his list of the gifts of the Spirit (1 Cor 12:7-11). A second example followed a similar meeting: “I felt to praise God with a loud hosanna, for His goodness to me and my father’s family, and to all the children of men. Praise the Lord, all ye, His Saints, praise His holy name. After these quorums were dismissed, I retired to my home, filled with the Spirit, and my soul cried hosanna to God and the Lamb, through the silent watches of the night; and while my eyes were closed in sleep, the visions of the Lord were sweet unto me, and His glory was round about me. Praise the Lord.” Smith, *History*, 2.387; this text is edited from Smith’s private journals, Jesse, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 152.

⁴⁵ The above sampling could be added to by several other examples on the role of the Spirit including:

- 1) Producing Fruits of the Spirit (Love, Revelation, Inspiration, Testimony, Peace, etc.) in Gal 5:22; Eph 5:9; Mosiah 3:19; 4:3; Alma 5:46-47; 13:28
- 2) The Spirit Producing Miracles in Gal 3:5; 2 Nephi 26:1; Alma 23:6; 3 Nephi 7:2
- 3) The Spirit and Rebirth in John 3:3-7; Mosiah 27:24-25; Alma 5:47-50; 7:14
- 4) The Spirit as a Teacher in John 14:26; Luke 12:12; and Alma 18:34
- 5) The Spirit in Repentance in Matt 3:11; Alma 5:50-54; Moroni 8:28
- 6) The Spirit as a Witness of Truth in Romans 9:1; Moroni 10:4-5
- 7) The Spirit as the Comforter in John 14-16; Moroni 8:26

Matthew 7:13

Enter ye in at the **strait gate**: for wide is the **gate**, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: Because **strait is the gate**, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.

Luke 13:24

Strive to **enter** in at the **strait gate**: for many, I say unto you, will seek to **enter** in, and shall not be able.

2 Nephi 31:17-18, 32:5

The **gate** by which ye should **enter** is repentance and **baptism** by water; and then cometh a remission of your sins by **fire and by the Holy Ghost**. And then are ye in this **strait** and narrow path which leads to **eternal life**, yea, ye have entered in by the **gate**; ye have done according to the commandments of the Father and the Son; and ye have received the **Holy Ghost** which witnesses of the Father and the Son, unto the fulfilling of the promise which he hath made, that if ye will **enter** in by the way, and receive the **Holy Ghost**, it **will show unto you all things what ye should do**.

The three quotes incorporate similar vocabulary. However, Nephi's sermon identifies the key position of the Spirit as the navigator through the narrow opening into God's presence. The Spirit becomes a personal guide to "show unto you all things what ye should do." Nephi's passage highlights another pneumatological insight by associating a remission of sins with the fire of the Spirit. Only then is one on the "path which leads to eternal life." He hints at a cause and effect relationship between the need for baptism and obedience in order to receive the Spirit, "which witnesses of the Father and the Son."

2) *Born Again through the Spirit*. The first of Smith's revelations to mention the Spirit is dated March, 1829, and came just before he began the intense translation of *The Book of Mormon*. The context involved a questioning neighbor who asked Smith to pray for him. The friend is told to seek for the promises of God's Spirit. The thoughts are consistent within the Gospel of John where Jesus explained the workings of the Spirit to Nicodemus.

The Bible states that one must be born again, but the *Doctrine and Covenants* goes further to explain the role of the Spirit in the process of a rebirth.

John 3:5-8

Except a man be **born of water and of the Spirit**, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. . . . Ye must be born again . . . so is everyone that is **born of the Spirit**.

D&C 5:16

Behold, whosoever *believeth on my words, them will I visit with the manifestation of my Spirit*; and they shall be **born of me, even of water and of the Spirit** (italics added).

Even though both verses focus on the promise of the Spirit and emphasize baptism, the *Doctrine and Covenants* explains that belief fosters the Spirit. The elusiveness in John leaves Nicodemus confused, while the *Doctrine and Covenants* outlines the connection between applied faith in the words of God and a resultant manifestation of the Spirit.

3) *The Spirit as a guide to overcome the natural man*. According to 1 Corinthians 2:14, the Spirit plays a major role in leading souls away from the “natural man.” *The Book of Mormon* includes a similar passage while shedding more light on the role of the Spirit. In Mosiah 3:19, a prophet-king treats the matter directly in his final address to his people. His sermon is a poetic chiasmus, suggesting that his words were carefully chosen and balanced.⁴⁶ He described the Holy Spirit as an antagonist to the natural man. While the

⁴⁶ According to John Welch, “The fact that King Benjamin uses chiasmus is not illogical. At the time that he delivered his famous speech, he was acting in a traditional coronation and would naturally be using the most traditional and convincing rhetoric at his command. Benjamin's thoughts had been carefully prepared beforehand and had even been ‘written and sent forth among those that were not under the sound of his voice.’ This degree of painstaking deliberation in writing was the rule, rather than the exception, among the Book of Mormon prophets.” “Chiasmus in the Book of Mormon,” *BYU Studies*, 10.1 (Fall 1969), 77. To appreciate the precise construction, John Welch, *King Benjamin's Speech* (Provo, Utah: F.A.R.M.S., 1998), 326-327, outlines the chiastic structure of Benjamin's speech:

1a. Preparations (1:1-2:8) Successor named and new name to be given; people gathered; tower built.

2a. All are indebted to God (2:9:-28);

3a. Consequences of obedience or disobedience (2:31-41);

4a. The angel's testimony of Christ's deeds (3:2-10);

5. Sanctification by the atonement of Christ (3:11-27);

4b. Benjamin's testimony of God's goodness (4:4-12);

3b. Righteous behavior of the redeemed (4:13-30);

2b. The sons and daughters of God (5:6-15);

1b. Final acts (6:1-3) Names recorded of all who accepted the name, Mosiah consecrated; Priests appointed;

wording in Paul's letter to the Corinthians is similar, the biblical passage offers less instruction on how to receive the intervention of the Spirit.

1 Corinthians 2:14

The **natural man** receiveth not the things of the **Spirit of God** for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.

Mosiah 3:19

The **natural man** is an enemy to God and has been from the Fall of Adam, and will be, forever and ever, unless he **yields** to the enticings of the **Holy Spirit**, and putteth off the **natural man** and becometh a saint through the atonement of Christ the Lord and becometh as a **child**, submissive, meek, humble, patient, full of love, willing to submit to all things which the Lord seeth fit to inflict, upon him, even as a child doth submit to his father.

The Book of Mormon teaches that the Spirit acts as one's director to come unto Christ in order to receive of His atoning mercy. It further teaches that yielding to the Spirit will drive away the "natural man" and assist one in developing the Christian qualities of meekness, humility, patience, and love. Doctrinally, the two quotations are in harmony; however *The Book of Mormon* passage is more thorough.

4) *The Spirit's role in judging righteously.* The biblical command to "judge righteous judgment" (John 7:24) is echoed and developed in *The Book of Mormon*. While the Bible repeats the need, the book of Moroni connects "the Spirit of Christ" with the ability to judge (also referred to as the "light of Christ").⁴⁷ *The Book of Mormon* proposes that everyone can judge between truth and error by examining whether a thought or action

⁴⁷ The "light of Christ" is a non-biblical phrase found three times in *The Book of Mormon*: Alma 28:14; Moroni 7:18-19; and once in *D&C*, 88:7. In *The Book of Mormon* the "light of Christ" is referred to as a cause of "joy because of the light of Christ [given] unto life" (Alma 28:14); and "ye should search diligently in the light of Christ that ye may know good from evil" (Moroni 7:19). In the twentieth century LDS have discussed different opinions over the association between the Holy Spirit and the Light of Christ—but *The Book of Mormon* drew a connection between the two. Moroni 7:16: "The Spirit of Christ is given to every man, that he may know good from evil;" Moroni 10:17: "And all these gifts [tongues, healing, faith, etc.] come by the Spirit of Christ;" *D&C*, 20:37: "They have received of the Spirit of Christ unto the remission of their sins;" *History*, 1.105, 319. Smith's practice is consistent with the Bible, which uses the "Spirit of Christ" as another name for the Holy Spirit in Rom 8:9, 1 Peter 1:11.

motivates goodness and brings one closer to Christ. The passage admonishes the reader to judge righteously by seeking “every good thing,” by following the “light of Christ,”—a conscience-like barometer within each person. The following scriptures illustrate the Mormon emphasis on the gift of discernment to judge righteously through the guidance of the Spirit

Leviticus 19:15

Ye shall do no unrighteousness in **judgment**: thou shalt not respect the person of the mighty: but in righteousness shalt thou judge the neighbour.

John 7:24

Judge not according to the appearance, but **judge righteous judgment**

John 1:9

The true Light, which **lighteth every man** that cometh into the world

Matthew 7:2

For with what **judgment ye judge** ye shall be **judged**

Moroni 7:6-19

It is given unto you to **judge**, that ye may know good from evil; and the way to **judge** is as plain, that ye may know with a perfect knowledge, as the daylight is from the dark given to **every man**, that he may know good from evil; wherefore, I show unto you the way to **judge**; for every thing which inviteth to do good, and to persuade to believe in Christ, is sent forth by the power and gift of Christ; wherefore ye may know with a perfect knowledge it is of God. But whatsoever thing persuadeth men to do evil, and believe not in Christ, and deny him, and serve not God, then ye may know with a perfect knowledge it is of the devil . . . the **light by which ye may judge, which light is the light of Christ**, see that ye do not judge wrongfully; for with that same **judgment which ye judge** ye shall also be **judged**. Wherefore, I beseech of you, brethren, that ye should search diligently in the **light of Christ** that ye may know good from evil; and if ye will lay hold upon every good **judgment**: thou shalt not respect the thing, and condemn it not, ye certainly will be a child of Christ

The Book of Mormon taught that people innately knew what was right through the “Spirit of Christ;” and it was not until selfishness and sin dulled that motivating power that humans lost the gift to judge. These Mormon ideas run counter to the doctrine of total

depravity and the subsequent inability to respond to Christ or the Spirit before regeneration.⁴⁸

Earlier in *The Book of Mormon*, Lehi taught that Christ's redemption empowered each person to be "free forever, knowing good from evil; to act for themselves and not to be acted upon."⁴⁹ The text explains that wrong choices are made because evil forces detour and cloud one's judgment.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, God gave each accountable human the innate agency to judge and the ability to act correctly through 1) Christ's atonement overcoming the Fall, and 2) the Spirit of Christ that enlightens judgment.

⁴⁸ Ahlstrom, *Religious History*, 79. Catholics and Orthodox Christians as well as several other Christian denominations do not share the traditional Reformed or Calvinist teaching of total depravity of man after the Fall of Adam and Eve. Smith held no attachment to the traditional creeds and therefore did not incorporate the traditional Reformed interpretation of man's relationship to God. Instead he built his doctrine on the revelations or ideas that he believed were from God. He never referred to the *D&C* as his creed even though it outlines his beliefs. He wanted an open canon ready to receive further revelation from the Spirit to each generation. Smith's second Article of Faith states, "We believe that men must be punished for their own sins and not for Adam's transgressions" (*Pearl*, Articles of Faith, 2). The most thorough explanation of the doctrine is found in *The Book of Mormon*: "Behold I say unto you that this thing shall ye teach—repentance and baptism unto those who are accountable and capable of committing sin; yea, teach parents that they must repent and be baptized, and humble themselves as their little children, and they shall all be saved with their little children. And their little children need no repentance, neither baptism. Behold, baptism is unto repentance to the fulfilling the commandments unto the remission of sins. But little children are alive in Christ, even from the foundation of the world; if not so, God is a partial God, and also a changeable God, and a respecter to persons; for how many little children have died without baptism! Wherefore, if little children could not be saved without baptism, these must have gone to an endless hell" (Moroni 8:10-13). The *D&C* also clarified: "The Spirit giveth light to every man that cometh into the world; and the Spirit enlighteneth every man through the world, that hearkeneth to the voice of the Spirit" (4:46). See also Roger Keller: "Teaching the Fall and the Atonement: A Comparative Method." *Religious Educator: Perspectives on the Restored Gospel*, 5.2 (2004): 101-117.

⁴⁹ *The Book of Mormon*, 2 Nephi 2:16, 26: "The Lord God gave unto man that he should act for himself. Wherefore, man could not act for himself save it should be that he was enticed by the one or the other [God or Satanic influences]. . . . The Messiah cometh in the fulness [*sic*] of time, that he may redeem the children of men from the fall. And because that they are redeemed from the fall they have become free forever, knowing good from evil; to act for themselves and not to be acted upon, save it be by the punishment of the law at the great and last day."

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 2 Nephi 2:11, 17-18, 27: "For it must needs be, that there is an opposition in all things. If not so . . . righteousness could not be brought to pass, neither wickedness, neither holiness nor misery, neither good nor bad. . . . An angel of God, according to that which is written, had fallen from heaven; wherefore, he became a devil, having sought that which was evil before God. And because he had fallen from heaven, and had become miserable forever, he sought also the misery of all mankind. . . . And the days of the children of men were prolonged, according to the will of God, that they might repent while in the flesh; wherefore, their state became a state of probation, and their time was lengthened, according to the commandments which the Lord God gave unto the children of men. . . . Wherefore, men are free according to the flesh; and all things are given them which are expedient unto man. And they are free to choose liberty and eternal life, through the great Mediator of all men, or to choose captivity and death, according to the captivity and power of the devil; for he seeketh that all men might be miserable like unto himself."

5) *The Spirit in relation to baptism*. Even themes as common as the Spirit and baptism are more prevalent in *The Book of Mormon* than in the Bible. Baptism is associated with the Holy Spirit in thirteen verses in the New Testament, twenty-five verses in *The Book of Mormon*, and fifteen verses in the *Doctrine and Covenants*.⁵¹ The biblical verses explain the Spirit's presence, its position following baptism, and its superiority, but they do not explain any other details. *The Book of Mormon* credits the Spirit with the power to cleanse the recipient, which in turn purifies the disciple to receive spiritual gifts and sanctification.

Only the books of Matthew and Luke record John the Baptist discussing the momentous gift that Jesus would offer as *baptism with fire* (Luke 3:7-8, 16-17; Matthew

⁵¹ Baptism and the Holy Spirit is cited in the following verses:

THE BOOK OF MORMON

1 Ne 11:27	Holy Ghost Baptized
2 Ne 31:8	Holy Ghost Baptized
2 Ne 31:12	Holy Ghost Baptized
2 Ne 31:13	Holy Ghost (2X) Baptism (2X) of fire
2 Ne 31:14	Holy Ghost Baptism (2X) of fire
2 Ne 31:17	Holy Ghost Baptism
Mosi 18:10	Spirit Baptized Spirit
Mosi 18:13	Spirit Baptize
Alma 7:14	Spirit Baptized
Alma 8:10	Spirit (2X) Baptize (2X) Baptize
3 Ne 9:20	Holy Ghost Baptized Baptize with fire
3 Ne 11:25	Holy Ghost Baptize (Baptismal prayer)
3 Ne 11:27	Holy Ghost Baptize
3 Ne 12:1	Holy Ghost (2X) Baptize(d) (4X) with fire
3 Ne 12:2	Holy Ghost Baptized with fire
3 Ne 18:11	Spirit Baptized
3 Ne 19:13	Holy Ghost Baptized with fire
3 Ne 26:17	Holy Ghost Baptized Baptize by fire
3 Ne 27:20	Holy Ghost Baptized
3 Ne 28:18	Holy Ghost Baptized
3 Ne 30:2	Holy Ghost Baptized
4 Ne 1:1	Holy Ghost Baptized
Morm 7:10	Holy Ghost Baptized with fire
Ether 12:14	Holy Ghost Baptized with fire
Moro 6:4	Holy Ghost Baptism

DOCTRINE AND COVENANTS

D&C 19:31	Holy Ghost Baptism
D&C 20:37	Spirit Baptized Baptism -2X
D&C 20:41	Holy Ghost Baptized Baptism
D&C 20:73	Holy Ghost Baptism Baptize-2X
D&C 33:11	Holy Ghost Baptized Baptism fr
D&C 35:5	Holy Ghost Baptize
D&C 35:6	Holy Ghost Baptize
D&C 39:6	Holy Ghost Baptism (2X) fr Cmft
D&C 39:10	Spirit Baptized
D&C 39:23	Holy Ghost Baptized
D&C 55:1	Spirit Baptized
D&C 68:25	Holy Ghost Baptism
D&C 84:27	Holy Ghost Baptism
D&C 84:64	Holy Ghost Baptized
D&C 84:74	Holy Ghost Baptized

BIBLE: NEW TESTAMENT

Matt 3:11	Holy Ghost Baptize fire
Matt 3:16	Spirit of God Baptized
Mark 1:8	Holy Ghost Baptized
Mark 1:10	Spirit dove Cometh of the water
Luke 3:16	Holy Ghost Baptized fire
John 1:33	Holy Ghost Baptized Baptizeth Sp
Acts 1:5	Holy Ghost Baptized
Acts 2:38	Holy Ghost Baptized
Acts 8:16-17	Holy Ghost Baptized He
Acts 10:47	Holy Ghost Baptized
Acts 11:16	Holy Ghost Baptized
Acts 19:5-6	Holy Ghost Baptized
1 Cor 12:13	Spirit (2X) Baptized

3:11). In *The Book of Mormon*, “baptism by fire” (or some form of the phrase) is found ten times, and two more references link the Spirit to fire.⁵² Similar to the Bible, *The Book of Mormon*’s formula to receive the baptism of fire, or cleansing of the Holy Ghost, begins with the baptism of water. The excerpt below is packed with exhortations to seek the Spirit after repentance and baptism.

Luke 3:7-8, 16-17 (~ Matt 3:11)

Then said he to the multitude that came forth to be **baptized** of him, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of **repentance** John answered, saying unto them all, I indeed **baptize** you with **water**; but one mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose he shall **baptize** you with the **Holy Ghost and with fire**: Whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and will gather the wheat into his garner but the chaff he will burn with fire unquenchable.

2 Nephi 31:13-14, 17

I know that if ye shall follow the Son with full purpose of heart, acting no hypocrisy and no deception before God, but with real intent, **repenting** of your sins, witnessing unto the Father that ye are willing to take upon you the name of Christ, by **baptism**—yea, by following your Lord and your Savior down into the **water**, according to his word, behold then shall ye receive the **Holy Ghost**; yea, then cometh the baptism **of the Holy Ghost**; and then can ye speak with the tongue of angels, and shout praises unto the Holy One of Israel. . . . After ye have **repented** of your sins, and but witnessed unto the Father that ye are willing to keep my commandments, by the **baptism of water**, and have received the **baptism of fire** and of the **Holy Ghost** . . . and after this should deny me it would have been better for you that ye had not known me. . .

For the gate by which ye should enter is **repentance** and **baptism by water** and then cometh a **remission of your sins by fire and by the Holy Ghost**

The Gospel authors foretell of a baptism of fire, yet they do not explain *why* it is significant. *The Book of Mormon* answered that question: The baptism by fire is the spiritual cleansing that allows worthy initiates to enjoy the companionship of the Holy

⁵² *The Book of Mormon*, 2 Nephi 31:13, 14, 17; 3 Nephi 9:20; 12:1, 2; 19:13; Mormon 7:10; Ether 12:14; and links between the Spirit to fire (Helaman 5:45; 3 Nephi 11:35).

Spirit, including the glorious manifestations of the gifts of the Spirit. The ordinance of baptism is the sign of obedience and desire to take on “the name of Christ”—meaning that one fully embraces the gospel, repents, and is willing to covenant with God to act as a disciple of Christ.⁵³ *The Book of Mormon* passage also explains that the two baptisms work together. It is not until after “repentance and baptism by water . . . then cometh a remission of your sins by fire and by the Holy Ghost.”⁵⁴

Smith called attention to the Spirit’s cleansing and purification power. In March of 1830, he claimed to receive a revelation—in a stinging chastisement to a friend—that the inspiration and power of the Holy Ghost were not always available:

Confess your sins, lest you suffer these punishments of which I have spoken, of which in the smallest, yea, even in the least degree you have tasted at the time I withdrew my Spirit. . . . walk in the meekness of my Spirit, and you shall have peace in me . . . of tenets thou shalt not talk, but thou shalt declare repentance and faith on the Savior, and remission of sins by baptism and by fire, yea, even the Holy Ghost . . . Pray always, and I will pour out my Spirit upon you, and great shall be your blessing. (*D&C* 19:20, 23, 31, 38)⁵⁵

One must live worthily to receive the Spirit’s cleansing and blessings.

The need for a cleansing brings up the concept of sin as an aftermath from the Fall.

The Book of Mormon and *Doctrine and Covenants* taught that the *consequences* of the Fall

⁵³ In addition to saving ordinances like baptism and the laying on of hands being offered to repentant humans, Smith also taught vicarious works for the dead to receive these specific saving ordinances. *D&C*, 127, 128; Smith, *History*, 4.206, 231, 424-425, 473, 568; 5.141, 424, 425; 6.319.

⁵⁴ *The Book of Mormon*, 3 Nephi 12:2 emphasized the importance of this principle by repeating the Spirit’s fiery cleansing as a concise formula: “Yea, blessed are they who shall believe in your words, and come down into the depths of humility and be baptized, for they shall be visited with fire and with the Holy Ghost, and shall receive a remission of their sins.” And again in the final pages, Moroni summarized this key doctrine: “And after they had been received unto baptism, and were wrought upon and cleansed by the power of the Holy Ghost, they were numbered among the people of the church of Christ; and their names were taken, that they might be remembered and nourished by the good word of God, to keep them in the right way, to keep them continually watchful unto prayer, relying alone upon the merits of Christ, who was the author and the finisher of their faith.” *The Book of Mormon*, Moroni 6:4. In Moroni’s retelling, the Spirit’s cleansing came only after much work. According to these verses, the promptings of the Spirit prepare an individual for full repentance and refinement—thanks to the merciful “merits of Christ.” The Spirit’s work prepares one to receive Christ’s work.

⁵⁵ Also, Smith, *History*, 1.74.

of Adam and Eve were both temporal and spiritual. Temporally, it brought a physical change to their bodies which enabled them to have children and become susceptible of death.⁵⁶ Spiritually, the Fall affected all humanity because humans “were cut off from the presence of the Lord.”⁵⁷ This is different from the “heredity of depravity” that some in the Reformed tradition believed.⁵⁸ Smith’s sources taught that Christ’s redemption reversed the spiritual effects of the fall “through the atonement which was prepared from the foundation of the world for all mankind.”⁵⁹ Different from most Christians, he believed: “God having redeemed man from the fall, men became again, in their infant state, innocent before God.”⁶⁰ If God redeemed all humanity from the effects of the fall, infants were initially pure and therefore, not baptized.⁶¹ The *Doctrine and Covenants* further

⁵⁶ *Pearl*, Moses 5:11; 6:59: “Eve, his wife, heard all these things and was glad, saying: Were it not for our transgression we never should have had seed, and never should have known good and evil, and the joy of our redemption, and the eternal life which God giveth unto all the obedient. . . . That by reason of transgression cometh the fall, which fall bringeth death.”

⁵⁷ *The Book of Mormon*, 2 Nephi 9:6: “For as death hath passed upon all men, to fulfil the merciful plan of the great Creator, there must needs be a power of resurrection, and the resurrection must needs come unto man by reason of the fall; and the fall came by reason of transgression; and because [men] became fallen they were cut off from the presence of the Lord.” Similarly, Mormon wrote “Behold, he created Adam, and by Adam came the fall of man. And because of the fall of man came Jesus Christ, even the Father and the Son; and because of Jesus Christ came the redemption of man” (Mormon 9:12; See also Hel 14:16). Another *Book of Mormon* prophet lamented in prayer: “we are unworthy before thee; because of the fall our natures have become evil continually; nevertheless, O Lord, thou hast given us a commandment that we must call upon thee, that from thee we may receive according to our desires” (Ether 3:2, 13). God’s answer to his prayer taught the importance of our desires leading to repentance, baptism, and obedience so that “ye are redeemed from the fall; therefore ye are brought back into my presence.”

⁵⁸ “The Belgic Confession says, ‘We believe, that by the disobedience of Adam, original sin has been diffused through the whole human race, which is a corruption of the whole nature, and a hereditary depravity, by which even infants in their mother’s womb are polluted.’” Charles Hodge: “The New Divinity Tried,” *Biblical Repertory and Theological Review*, vol. iv (Philadelphia, PN: Russell and Martien, 1832), 289.

⁵⁹ *The Book of Mormon*, Mosiah 4:7. Smith taught that all humanity can turn to God with repentant hearts, and if they are baptized by water and the Spirit, and continue to keep God’s commandments, they can experience salvation through Christ. Those people not baptized on earth will have the opportunity to learn about Christ’s Gospel in heaven and, therefore, the “baptisms for the dead” are performed for them (1 Corinthians 15:29; D&C, 128:1-18).

⁶⁰ D&C, 93:38.

⁶¹ Smith, *History*, 4.78-79 records a visitor’s report of Smith’s teaching: “He then took up the Bible. ‘I believe,’ said he, ‘in this sacred volume. In it the ‘Mormon’ faith is to be found. We teach nothing but what the Bible teaches. We believe nothing, but what is to be found in this book. I believe in the fall of man, as recorded in the Bible; I believe that God foreknew everything, but did not foreordain everything; I deny that foreordain and foreknow is the same thing. He foreordained the fall of man; but all merciful as He is, He

taught that even though Christ's sacrifice covered the sins of children, human nature was susceptible to sin; therefore baptism by immersion for a remission of sins, and a cleansing by the Spirit, was essential after an age of accountability.⁶² Smith's second article of faith explained, "Men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgressions."⁶³

The evidence from these five examples and previous data confirms that *The Book of Mormon* and *Doctrine and Covenants* amplified the biblical view of the Spirit—but why did the Mormon canonical authors feel the need to say more about the Spirit than did the Bible? I see the answer in Smith's claim to restore Christ's church through revelation. He relied on revelation for his authority, scripture, leadership, and doctrine. Smith's rejection of much of the theology of his day and his own personal teachings on the Spirit was based on his reliance on revelation.

foreordained at the same time, a plan of redemption for all mankind. I believe in the Divinity of Jesus Christ, and that He died for the sins of all men, who in Adam had fallen.' He then entered into some details, the result of which tended to show his total unbelief of what is termed *original sin*. He believes that it is washed away by the blood of Christ, and that it no longer exists. As a necessary consequence, he believes that we are *all born pure and undefiled*. That all children dying at an early age (say eight years) not knowing good from evil, were incapable of sinning; and that all such assuredly go to heaven. 'I believe,' said he, 'that a man is a moral, responsible, *free agent*; that although it was foreordained he should fall, and be redeemed, yet after the redemption it was not foreordained that he should again sin.'" (Italics mine)

⁶² *D&C*, 137:10: "And I also beheld that all children who die before they arrive at the years of accountability are saved in the celestial kingdom of heaven" (also 18:42; 20:71). Smith identified the age of accountability as age eight: "And their children shall be baptized for the remission of their sins when eight years old, and receive the laying on of the hands" (*D&C*, 68:27). The most elaborate discourse on the subject is in Mormon 8:8-10: "Listen to the words of Christ, your Redeemer, your Lord and your God. Behold, I came into the world not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance; the whole need no physician, but they that are sick; wherefore, little children are whole, for they are not capable of committing sin; wherefore the curse of Adam is taken from them in me, that it hath no power over them; and the law of circumcision is done away in me. And after this manner did the Holy Ghost manifest the word of God unto me; wherefore, my beloved son, I know that it is solemn mockery before God, that ye should baptize little children. Behold I say unto you that this thing shall ye teach—repentance and baptism unto those who are accountable and capable of committing sin; yea, teach parents that they must repent and be baptized, and humble themselves as their little children, and they shall all be saved with their little children."

⁶³ *Pearl*, Articles of Faith, 2.

II. Smith's Teachings on the Holy Spirit

The Book of Mormon and *Doctrine and Covenants* acted as the launch pad for Joseph Smith's teachings. For fourteen years as a prophet he expanded on their messages through sermons, letters, and editorials. I selected five of Smith's favorite (and to some degree distinctive) pneumatological topics to demonstrate his break with his contemporaries' views of the Spirit: the Godhead, counterfeit spirits, the "Gift of the Holy Ghost," gifts of the Spirit, and the "Holy Spirit of Promise."⁶⁴ Most of these topics do not sound atypical because Smith used biblical wording; however, Smith's understanding of these concepts did not convey the same meaning that traditional Christianity applied.

Smith's personal teachings are found in various genres—newspaper editorials, letters, journal entries, historical church records, and his sermons (as recorded by scribes). He always spoke extemporaneously—whether to a small group gathered in a home or to thousands of people congregated in other venues.⁶⁵ He kept a journal and historical records from the organization of the church on April 6, 1830, until his martyrdom on June 27, 1844. Unfortunately, he did not have his sermons consistently recorded until he moved to Illinois in 1839 at age thirty-four.⁶⁶ Once settled in the new city of Nauvoo, Smith

⁶⁴ The phrases in quotations—"Gift of the Holy Ghost" and "Holy Spirit of Promise"—are used by Smith as titles for a specific role of the Spirit as will be explained hereafter. The capitalization of these phrases is standard in LDS usage.

⁶⁵ Only once, on October 5, 1840, did Smith write or dictate a sermon before it was given, because he claimed to receive that sermon as a revelation. He had 173 public discourses recorded by forty different people. For the first nine years of his church history, he did not preach as often as his councilors, Sidney Rigdon, Oliver Cowdery and others who had prior experience in preaching. After Smith's trip to Washington, D.C., in 1839, he became the preacher of choice and spoke at least once a week. Charlotte Haven, a non-LDS visitor to Nauvoo in 1843, described the crowds gathering to hear him preach: "'Such hurrying' at least two hours before the services were to commence. 'One could have thought it was the last opportunity they would ever have to hear him'" (Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 15, 50, xii; xv; xix).

⁶⁶ Regardless of the lack of early recorded sermons, according to the acting LDS Church historian, the documents of the infant church are "probably the best-kept records and the most extensive archival collections of any religious organization of comparable size on earth. . . . As busy as he was with all of the demands made of him, he exerted great effort from the beginning to ensure future generations would have a

asked five scribes to record his sermons in short hand. Often he reviewed their notes and had the sermon copied into his official *History of the Church*. We observe that Smith's thoughts on the Spirit were so entrenched that he never felt the need to delineate them. We have organized his teachings into five categories and examine them in their historical context.

1. Godhead

Unlike the majority of antebellum Christians, Smith placed the Spirit in a Godhead of three *separate* personages.⁶⁷ Smith's personal revelations acted as his doctrinal foundation; he did not include Trinitarian thought from Augustinian, Reformed, or Universalist traditions. Nowhere in his sermons or writings does he even use the word "Trinity."⁶⁸ Instead, he preferred the biblical title "Godhead" when referencing God, His Son, and the Holy Spirit.⁶⁹ He based his knowledge of God on his own revelations, not on traditional Christian philosophy.⁷⁰ In 1820, when Smith was fourteen years old, his first vision identified the Father and Son as two separate personages. In 1843, he clarified his

record of the Church's history." Marlin K. Jensen "A Historian by Yearning," *The Religious Educator: Perspectives on the Restored Gospel*, vol. 8.3 (2007): 4.

⁶⁷ *The Book of Mormon*, 1 Nephi 11:21; 13:40; 2 Nephi 25:16, 2 Nephi 31:11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 21; Jacob 4:5; 3 Nephi 9:15; 20:31; 21:20; Mormon 5:14; Moroni 7:48. These verses describe the Godhead as separate beings, but there are other verses that are less clear in demarcating the members of the Godhead. Smith's perspective was ultimately based on his First Vision. In the *D&C*, see 20:27; 50:27; 76:13, 20, 25, 35, 43, 77; 93:4; 130:3, 22; 137:3.

⁶⁸ The closest Smith came to referencing the Trinity is found in the minutes of a sermon he preached in Nauvoo: "Concerning the Godhead it was not as many imagined—three heads and but one body. He said the three were separate bodies—God the first, and Jesus the Mediator the second, and the Holy Ghost. And these three agree in one; and this is the manner we should approach God in order to get his blessings." Dahl and Canon, *Encyclopedia of Joseph Smith's Teachings*, 298.

⁶⁹ Acts 17:29; Rom 1:20; Col 2:9. The Godhead is described at Jesus' baptism in Matt 3:16-17; Mark 1:9-10; Luke 3:22; the stoning of Steven in Acts 7:55-56; John's prologue in John 1:1-4; Rom 15:30; Eph 1:17; 1 Tim 2:5; 1 Pet 1:2.

⁷⁰ The Athanasian Creed reads, "The Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God, and yet there are not there Gods but one God." The oldest reference to the Trinity came from Theophilus of Antioch in 180. By the next century the word was found in Origen and Gregory Thaumaturgus' writings. The latter wrote, "The Father has never been without the Son, nor the Son without the Spirit: and this same Trinity is immutable and unalterable forever." Charles G. Herbermann, Edward Pace, eds., *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton, 1912), 15.47.

perspective: “The Father has a body of flesh and bones as tangible as man's; the Son also; but the Holy Ghost has not a body of flesh and bones, but is a personage of Spirit.”⁷¹

While others (like William Channing 1780-1842) in the nineteenth century refuted the doctrine of the Trinity, no one else described God and His Son with glorified bodies of flesh and bones and only the Holy Ghost as a personage of Spirit.⁷²

Smith defined the central place of the Godhead in his theology in the first of thirteen “Articles of Faith,” which he prepared at the request of a journalist in 1842.⁷³ “We believe in God, the Eternal Father, and in His Son, Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost.”⁷⁴ He also spoke on the Godhead in five of his recorded sermons.⁷⁵ The most comprehensive sermon occurred just eleven days before his martyrdom, Sunday, June 16, 1844, in a grove outside the Nauvoo Temple. It rained heavily while he preached, inhibiting him from finishing his

⁷¹ Smith, *History*, 5.325 recorded April 2, 1843. See also *D&C*, 130:22-23. Similarly, *The Book of Mormon* also separates the three beings: “The Spirit cried with a loud voice, saying: Hosanna to the Lord, the most high God; for he is God over all the earth, yea, even above all. And blessed art thou, Nephi, because thou believest in the Son of the most high God” (1 Nephi 11:6): “The justice of the Eternal God, and the Messiah who is the Lamb of God, of whom the Holy Ghost beareth record, from the beginning of the world until this time, and from this time henceforth” (1 Nephi 12:18).

⁷² Channing spoke out against most Puritan doctrines. He and his Boston Unitarians rejected the Trinity and the Godhead. For them Christ was not both man and God, nor did he perform a vicarious atonement. A century earlier, Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772), a visionary of the Enlightenment, also rejected the Trinity. Givens, *Hand of Mormon*, 73-77. Smith, Swedenborg, and Channing cast off the Trinity, but they replaced it with completely different doctrinal definitions of God.

⁷³ Smith prepared the “Articles of Faith” in 1842 at the request of John Wentworth, the proprietor of the *Chicago Democrat*. The “Articles of Faith” were canonized by the Church in 1880. Ever since that time they have been published with only minor clarifications in the *Pearl of Great Price* (Smith, *History*, 4.538, 541). By way of background Smith recorded on March 1, 1842: “I have written the following sketch of the rise, progress, persecution, and faith of the Latter-day Saints, of which I have the honor, under God, of being the founder. Mr. Wentworth says that he wishes to furnish Mr. Bastow, a friend of his, who is writing the history of New Hampshire, with this document. As Mr. Bastow has taken the proper steps to obtain correct information, all that I shall ask at his hands, is, that he publish the account entire, ungarnished [*sic*], and without misrepresentation.” James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1965-75), 1.136

⁷⁴ B. H. Roberts in his editorial comments in Joseph Smith’s *History of the Church* observed that “these Articles of Faith were not produced by the labored efforts and harmonized contentions of scholastics, but were struck off by one inspired mind at a single effort to make a declaration of that which is most assuredly believed by the Church, for one making earnest inquiry about the truth. The combined directness, perspicuity, simplicity and comprehensiveness of this statement of the principles of our religion may be relied upon as strong evidence of a divine inspiration resting upon the Prophet, Joseph Smith” (4.541).

⁷⁵ The five sermons are found in Ehat and Cook, *Words of Joseph Smith*.

message, but his scribe's notes overflow with references to the Spirit and Godhead:

I have always declared God to be a distinct personage, Jesus Christ a separate and distinct personage from God the Father, and that the Holy Ghost was a distinct personage and a Spirit: and these three constitute three distinct personages and three Gods. . . . I will show from the Hebrew Bible that I am correct, and the first word shows a plurality of Gods. . . . *Eloheim* is from the word *Eloi*, God, in the singular number; and by adding the word *heim*, it renders it Gods. It reads first, "In the beginning the head of the Gods brought forth the Gods," or, as others have translated it, "The head of the Gods called the Gods together."⁷⁶

Then Smith directly attacked the Trinity:

Many men say there is one God; the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are only one God! I say that is a strange God anyhow—three in one, and one in three! It is a curious organization. "Father, I pray not for the world, but I pray for them which thou hast given me." "Holy Father, keep through Thine own name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one as we are." All are to be crammed into one God, according to sectarianism. . . . I want to read the text to you myself—"I am agreed with the Father and the Father is agreed with me, and we are agreed as one."⁷⁷

Smith rejected the traditional interpretation of the Trinity, which he referred to as

"sectarianism." For him, the three beings were separate but unified in purpose, sharing many divine characteristics.

Smith never formally contrasted his views of the Godhead with the traditional Christian questions on pneumatology. He probably did not know what they were. He never discussed *filioque*, tritheism, or materialism in the Godhead by name—but he clearly preached two Gods with glorified tangible resurrected bodies, and one God with a Spirit body. He began one Sunday sermon, "I will preach on the plurality of Gods."⁷⁸ This

⁷⁶ Smith, *History*, 6.474, 476. For the original shorthand and spelling, see Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 379-381.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 6.476; Joseph Smith's extemporary sermon continued, "The Greek shows that it should be agreed. 'Father, I pray for them which Thou hast given me out of the world, and not for those alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word, that they all may be agreed, as Thou, Father, art with me, and I with Thee, that they also may be agreed with us,' and all come to dwell in unity."

⁷⁸ Ibid., 6.475: "Search the scriptures, for they testify of things that these apostates would gravely pronounce blasphemy. Paul, if Joseph Smith is a blasphemer, you are. I say there are Gods many and Lords many, but to us only one, and we are to be in subjection to that one, and no man can limit the bounds or the eternal existence of eternal time. Hath he beheld the eternal world, and is he authorized to say that there is only one

does not mean that Smith worshipped more than one God—he did not: “For this one God only will I worship, which is the God of glory.”⁷⁹ Similarly in a different setting, he stated, “we worship the God of Israel, in whom is neither variableness nor shadow of turning.” Nevertheless, he held a galactic perspective full of “other worlds” and other eternal beings that he also referred to as gods.⁸⁰ When discussing the creation of the earth, he referred to a “council of Gods,” where God the Father presided and His Son and the Holy Spirit were present:

In the beginning, the head of the Gods called a council of the Gods; and they came together and concocted a plan to create the world and people it. When we begin to learn this way, we begin to learn the only true God, and what kind of a being we have got to worship. Having knowledge of God, we begin to know how to approach Him, and how to ask so as to receive an answer.⁸¹

Smith’s plurality of gods included numberless glorified beings who existed before and after the creation. No written evidence demonstrates that Smith discussed the age-old

God? He makes himself a fool if he thinks or says so, and there is an end of his career or progress in knowledge. He cannot obtain all knowledge, for he has sealed up the gate to it. Some say I do not interpret the scripture the same as they do. They say it means the heathen's gods. Paul says there are Gods many and Lords many; and that makes a plurality of Gods, in spite of the whims of all men. Without a revelation, I am not going to give them the knowledge of the God of heaven. You know and I testify that Paul had no allusion to the heathen gods. I have it from God.”

⁷⁹ *Pearl*, Moses 1:20.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 1:33, 37-39. Smith claimed that God explained to Moses: “Worlds without number have I created; and I also created them for mine own purpose; and by the Son I created them, which is mine Only Begotten. . . . The heavens, they are many, and they cannot be numbered unto man; but they are numbered unto me, for they are mine. And as one earth shall pass away, and the heavens thereof even so shall another come; and there is no end to my works, neither to my words. For behold, this is my work and my glory—to bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of man.” Smith violated Christian thought of the day, which placed inert matter in a fixed universe and identified an eternal universe with an “eternal duration of matter.” His teachings impacted his church members as seen by the ripple effect it caused. His associate Parley P. Pratt repeated similar thoughts in a piece titled “Regeneration and Eternal Duration of Matter.” Pratt explained, “Matter and spirit are the two great principles of all existence. Everything animate and inanimate is composed of one or the other, or both of these eternal principles. I say eternal, because the elements are as durable as the quickening power which exists in them. Matter and spirit are of equal duration; both are self-existent, they never began to exist, and they never can be annihilated. * * * * [sic] Matter as well as spirit is eternal, uncreated, self existing. However infinite the variety of its changes, forms and shapes;—however vast and varying the parts it has to act in the great theater of the universe;—whatever sphere its several parts may be destined to fill in the boundless organization of infinite wisdom, yet it is there, durable at the throne of Jehovah” (Smith, *History*, 4.74). On May 15, 1843, Smith published this piece in the *Times and Seasons* newspaper.

⁸¹ Smith, *History*, 6.308.

issues surrounding the Trinity. In its place, he charted a new course with a far more extensive and personal God who governs multiple creations.⁸²

Eternal History of the Holy Spirit. Instead of the Trinity, Smith diverged even more dramatically from mainstream Christianity by teaching that the Holy Spirit had a separate eternal history. He taught that the Holy Spirit is a divine being of “spiritual matter.”⁸³

According to the notes taken by his scribe eleven days before Smith’s martyrdom, Smith preached, “The Holy Ghost is yet a Spiritual body and waiting to take to himself a body, as the Savior did or as God did, or the gods before them took bodies.”⁸⁴ Smith’s followers, who shared his theology of eternal spirits, accepted this idea as a logical outgrowth of his doctrine of the eternal progression.⁸⁵ Smith never changed his unusual shaping of the

⁸² In Smith’s rewriting of Genesis (that he claimed was inspired by the Spirit) he described a more detailed conversation between Moses and God after the burning bush episode. Smith quoted God as saying, “Worlds without number have I created; and I also created them for mine own purpose; and by the Son I created them, which is mine Only Begotten. And the first man of all men have I called Adam, which is many. But only an account of this earth, and the inhabitants thereof, give I unto you. For behold, there are many worlds that have passed away by the word of my power. And there are many that now stand, and innumerable are they unto man; but all things are numbered unto me, for they are mine and I know them” (*Pearl*, Moses 1:33-35).

⁸³ On the topic of spirits at large, Smith also deviated from long-established tradition by defining “spirit as matter” and announcing an eternal history for spirits in an eternally-expanding cosmos. He preached on the first point in response to a Methodist minister’s sermon, which he felt required a few doctrinal corrections: “There is no such thing as immaterial matter. All spirit is matter, but is more fine or pure, and can only be discerned by purer eyes. We cannot see it, but when our bodies are purified, we shall see that it is all matter.” *History*, 5.392-3. According to Smith’s journal from May 17, 1843, “The [Methodist] priest seemed pleased with the correction, and stated his intention to visit Nauvoo.” For original spelling, see Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 203. The Methodist Minister, Samuel A. Prior, wrote his perspective after meeting Joseph Smith: “In the evening I was invited to preach, and did so. The congregation was large and respectable—they paid the utmost attention. This surprised me a little, as I did not expect to find any such thing as a religious toleration among them.—After I had closed, Elder Smith, who had attended, arose and begged leave to differ from me in some few points of doctrine, and this he did mildly, politely, and affectingly; like one who was more desirous to disseminate truth and expose error, than to love the malicious triumph of debate over me. I was truly edified with his remarks, and felt less prejudiced against the Mormons than ever. He invited me to call upon him, and I promised to do so” (Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 203-204).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 382. Some LDS scholars like Roger Keller question this statement because Smith never had a chance to review or approve what his scribe, George Laub, wrote before Smith died. This sermon is the only place where this idea was introduced.

⁸⁵ Smith added to his unique multifaceted doctrine on the eternal nature of spirit by preaching that each human had a pre-earth history as a spirit-offspring of God. *D&C*, 88:15-16: “And the spirit and the body are the soul of man. And the resurrection from the dead is the redemption of the soul.” The biblical title “Heavenly Father” had literal application under Smith’s definition. He saw Jesus and the Holy Spirit also

doctrine of the Holy Spirit because he claimed it came from divine inspiration.

Roles of the Spirit. Smith also explored traditional roles of the Spirit within the Godhead: the Spirit acted as source of hope, comfort, perfect love, truth, witness, cleansing, and revelation.⁸⁶ Some of Smith's ideas, though, conveyed a unique twist. In a sermon on June 27, 1839, he identified the Spirit as an agent of intelligence:⁸⁷ "This first Comforter or Holy Ghost has no other effect than pure intelligence. It is more powerful in expanding the mind, enlightening the understanding, and storing the intellect with present knowledge."⁸⁸

2. Counterfeit spirits

Joseph Smith emphatically believed in supernatural influences—both forces of good

within the same eternal family as spirit offspring of God the Father. On May 6, 1833, Smith presented the concept of a pre-mortal existence—with Jesus speaking in the first person: "I was in the beginning with the Father, and am the Firstborn . . . Ye were also in the beginning with the Father" (*D&C*, 93:21, 23, 26). Smith taught that mortals, angels, and pre-mortal beings are all progressing eternally. Even God progressed to a perfect being, and his glory increased as well according to Moses 1:39: "This is my work and my glory—to bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of man" (*Pearl*; also Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 343-347).

⁸⁶ *The Book of Mormon*, Moroni 6:4; 8:26; *D&C*, 50:14; *History*, 2.18 – 19; 6.58: "No man can receive the Holy Ghost without receiving revelations. The Holy Ghost is a revelator."

⁸⁷ The *D&C* used the word "intelligence" to describe light and truth. For example, "Man was also in the beginning with God. Intelligence, or the light of truth, was not created or made, neither indeed can be. All truth is independent in that sphere in which God has placed it, to act for itself, as all intelligence also; otherwise there is no existence . . . The glory of God is intelligence, or, in other words, light and truth." *D&C*, 93:29-30, 36. Furthermore, the intelligence gained on earth is a benefit in the afterlife according to *D&C*, 130:18-19: "Whatever principle of intelligence we attain unto in this life, it will rise with us in the resurrection. And 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." Thus, the *D&C* projected that those who develop virtues through obedience and more knowledge on earth will be blessed with that advantage in the eternities after life.

⁸⁸ Smith, *History*, 3.380. The quote continues, "Now what is this other Comforter? It is no more nor less than the Lord Jesus Christ Himself; and this is the sum and substance of the whole matter; that when any man obtains this last Comforter, he will have the personage of Jesus Christ to attend him, or appear unto him from time to time, and even He will manifest the Father unto him, and they will take up their abode with him, and the visions of the heavens will be opened unto him, and the Lord will teach him face to face, and he may have a perfect knowledge of the mysteries of the Kingdom of God; and this is the state and place the ancient Saints arrived at when they had such glorious visions—Isaiah, Ezekiel, John upon the Isle of Patmos, St. Paul in the three heavens, and all the Saints who held communion with the general assembly and Church of the First Born." Initially recorded in Willard Richards' "Pocket Companion," see Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 4.

and of evil.⁸⁹ He preached that both powers actively worked on the earth.⁹⁰ Debate about the source of spiritual manifestations plagued upstate New York where many people claimed to communicate with the dead and to see into heaven.⁹¹ Smith warned that seeing a vision or having a supernatural experience did not ensure that the Spirit of God sanctioned the experience. Ironically, while Smith preached of the reality of Satan and pointed out shams, his peers pointed to him as one deceived of the devil.⁹² Beginning in 1820, when his Methodist minister labeled his first vision “of the devil,”⁹³ Smith countered attackers by teaching how to discern between true and false spirits. The historian Steven Harper studied early followers of Smith and found that “those who became Mormons were almost always first contemplative Bible believers who were skeptical of false prophets.”⁹⁴

Smith sensed a vital need to teach his followers how to distinguish between the Spirit of the Lord and spirits of the devil, in part to justify his own claim as a prophet. In

⁸⁹ In *The Book of Mormon*, the prophet Lehi explains the theological undergirding of Smith’s doctrine of demonic or counterfeit spirits in the world: “There is an opposition in all things. If not so . . . righteousness could not be brought to pass, neither wickedness, neither holiness nor misery, neither good nor bad” (2 Nephi 2:11). Opposition includes Satan’s deceptive imitation of every truth, as well as his vehement attack on what is most important to God (Alma 12:4; 3 Ne 2:2). From Joseph Smith’s perspective, the Spirit of God had an opponent—Satan. Smith believed demonic forces were clever counterfeits and perpetuated their false ideas, so that everyone must carefully guard against being deceived. Smith’s experiences with satanic influence can be read in *Pearl*, JS-H1:15; and Baugh, “Parting the Veil,” 42.

⁹⁰ Smith’s teachings on the reality of evil forces are consistent with biblical doctrine, which alerts its audience to false spirits: “believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world” (1 John 4:1). 2 Peter 2:1 also speaks of false prophets and “false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them.” Likewise, the biblical warning from Matthew 7:15: “false prophets, which come to you in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves” is repeated word for word in *The Book of Mormon* (3 Nephi 14:15). Smith also used the phrase “a wolf in sheep’s clothing,” in a personal letter to describe three friends who falsely befriended and then betrayed the church. Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 376; also Smith, *History*, 3:228.

⁹¹ Schmidt, *Hearing Things*, 201-211.

⁹² Campbell, *Millennial Harbinger*, May 4, 1831.

⁹³ *Pearl*, JS-H 1:21.

⁹⁴ Steven Harper, “Infallible Proofs, Both Human and Divine: The Persuasiveness of Mormonism for Early Converts,” *Religion and American Culture* 10.1 (winter 2000): 104. The early Mormon editor, W.W. Phelps, complained, “If you start a church with a prophet in it, everybody will [be] against you, as they were against Ann Lee, Joanna Southcoate, and old Jemima Wilkinson” (Givens, *Hand of Mormon*, 84).

the spring and summer of 1842, he felt strongly enough about the subject to publish two editorials.⁹⁵ Smith prefaced the first editorial, “Try the Spirits,” with an explanatory introduction: “Recent occurrences that have transpired amongst us render it an imperative duty devolving upon me to say something in relation to the spirits by which men are actuated.”⁹⁶ Then he cited New Testament examples of “false spirits” and dubbed the whirling Shakers, gesticulating revivalists, shouting Methodists, and silent Quakers, as a “heterogeneous mass of confusion.” Smith stressed, “There is nothing unnatural in the Spirit of God.”⁹⁷ He felt that the main problem in claiming spiritual influence was the assumption of inspiration and that inspiration could be from the devil:

Nothing is a greater injury to the children of men than to be under the influence of a false spirit when they think they have the Spirit of God. Thousands have felt the influence of its terrible power and baneful effects. Long pilgrimages have been undertaken, penances endured, and pain, misery and ruin have followed in their train; nations have been convulsed, kingdoms overthrown, provinces laid waste, and blood, carnage and desolation are habiliments [*sic*] in which it has been clothed.⁹⁸

According to Smith, satanic counterfeits have deceived generations of Christians and have led to wasteful and tragic conclusions.

Smith could not stop talking about discerning between spirits because the problem

⁹⁵ Smith, *History*, 3.743-748; originally published as “Try the Spirits” in the Nauvoo periodical, *Times and Seasons*.

⁹⁶ Smith, *History*, 4.571; written, April 1, 1842.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.580.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.573. Smith continued, “As we have noticed before, the great difficulty lies in the ignorance of the nature of spirits, of the laws by which they are governed, and the signs by which they may be known; if it requires the Spirit of God to know the things of God; and the spirit of the devil can only be unmasked through that medium, then it follows as a natural consequence that unless some person or persons have a communication, or revelation from God, unfolding to them the operation of the spirit, they must eternally remain ignorant of these principles; for I contend that if one man cannot understand these things but by the Spirit of God, ten thousand men cannot; it is alike out of the reach of the wisdom of the learned, the tongue of the eloquent, the power of the mighty. And we shall at last have to come to this conclusion, whatever we may think of revelation, that without it we can neither know nor understand anything of God, or the devil; and however unwilling the world may be to acknowledge this principle, it is evident from the multifarious creeds and notions concerning this matter that they understand nothing of this principle, and it is equally as plain that without a divine communication they must remain in ignorance” (4.573–574).

of false spiritual encounters did not go away.⁹⁹ His second editorial again complained, “Some people have been in the habit of calling every supernatural manifestation the effects of the Spirit of God, whilst there are others that think there is no manifestation connected with it at all; and that it is nothing but a mere impulse of the mind, or an inward feeling.”¹⁰⁰ Unlike Campbell and those who avoided the problem by disregarding all spiritual manifestations, Smith attempted to distinguish the godly from the ungodly. Over the years, his preaching included four criteria to identify false spirits: Discern by scriptural continuity, by spiritual preparation, by challenging all encounters, and by comparing each experience with a previous witness of the Holy Spirit. His four warnings were not that different from those of other ministers—only of degree not of kind.

1) Discern by scriptural continuity. Smith advised his people to apply their knowledge of scriptures to avoid deception: “whoso treasureth up my word, shall not be deceived.”¹⁰¹ One of his criteria to discern truth was to look for examples from scripture as a standard to judge between true and false spirits, prophets, and visionaries.¹⁰² For

⁹⁹ Ibid., 1.383: “On the subject of false reports, which are put in circulation by evil-minded men, to ridicule the idea of the gathering of Israel in these last days, we would say to our brethren abroad, believe them not; The Evening and Morning Star was established expressly to publish the truth, and the word of the Lord, that the Saints might not be deceived.”

¹⁰⁰ Smith: “The Gift of the Holy Ghost,” *History*, 5.26; Smith’s journal dated the editorial June 15, 1842. The opening paragraph distinguished spirits of God from spirits of the devil: “Various and conflicting are the opinions of men in regard to the Gift of the Holy Ghost.”

¹⁰¹ *Pearl*, JS-M 1:37; *JST*, Mark 13:43.

¹⁰² Smith’s reservoir of scriptural examples was larger than the *KJV* Bible. Smith also referred to *The Book of Mormon*, which includes several examples of devilish falsehoods, as scripture. The two most detailed examples are of two men named Sherem and Korihor. Sherem taught against the coming of the Christ and “labored diligently that he might lead away the hearts of the people.” After a long confrontation, a prophet Jacob convinced Sherem of the fraud and Sherem admitted “that he had been deceived by the power of the devil” (Jacob 7:18). Later in the text, another wicked man named Korihor demonstrates the devil’s deception. The account climaxes when a prophet rebukes Korihor for preaching against God: “Thou art possessed with a lying spirit, and ye have put off the Spirit of God that it may have no place in you; but the devil has power over you, and he doth carry you about, working devices that he may destroy the children of God. Behold, verily, thus saith the Lord unto you: In consequence of evils and designs which do and will exist in the hearts of conspiring men in the last days, I have warned you, and forewarn you, by giving unto you this word of wisdom by revelation” (Alma 30:42). After Korihor was convinced of his error, he confessed: “The devil hath deceived me; for he appeared unto me in the form of an angel” (Alma 30:53).

example, in 1835 a Jewish imposter called Joshua (actually named Robert Matthews) pretended to possess the resurrected spirit of the biblical apostle Matthias. Smith saw no scriptural backing for Matthews' claims, so he charged that Matthias' "doctrine was of the devil, that he was in reality in possession of a wicked and depraved spirit, although he professed to be the Spirit of truth itself."¹⁰³ On the grounds that the scriptures speak only of satanic possessions, Smith identified the imposter, "Joshua," as a charlatan. In another example, Smith recounted that "a man came to me in Kirtland, and told me he had seen an angel, and described his dress." The description ran counter to biblical descriptions (and to Smith's experiences), so Smith "told him he had seen no angel, and that there was no such dress in heaven." Again Smith used the Bible as his key criteria when the man "grew mad, and went into the street and commanded fire to come down out of heaven to consume me."¹⁰⁴ Smith drew a parallel with Elijah and said, "You are one of Baal's prophets; your God does not hear you; jump up and cut yourself; and he commanded fire from heaven to consume my house."¹⁰⁵ Like the false prophets in 1 Kings 18, the lack of fire identified this man as a fraud.

2) *Spiritual preparation wards off deception.* Smith encouraged the saints to foster the Spirit's companionship and gift of discernment as the best recourse against deception. He cautioned the members shortly after they began gathering in Kirtland, Ohio, in March 1831: "Beware lest ye are deceived; and that ye may not be deceived seek ye earnestly the

Smith learned over and over again in *The Book of Mormon* that Satan seeks to defraud humans in order to move them away from God. Smith also spoke of seeing the archangel Michael detecting the devil as a mock angel of light on the banks of the Susquehanna River. Smith, *History*, 5.151-152.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 2.307. For more information on R. Matthews see Jesse, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 665.

¹⁰⁴ Smith, *History*, 5.267-268.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

best gifts.”¹⁰⁶ He then outlined five ways to foster the Spirit, which in turn could discern against the “doctrines of devils”:

Ye are commanded in all things to [1] ask of God, who giveth liberally; and [2] that which the Spirit testifies unto you even so I would that ye should do in all holiness of heart, [3] walking uprightly before me, [4] considering the end of your salvation, [5] doing all things with prayer and thanksgiving, that ye may not be seduced by evil spirits, or doctrines of devils, or the commandments of men; for some are of men, and others of devils.¹⁰⁷

Smith stressed that discerning evil spirits was within the grasp of those who listened to the Holy Spirit.¹⁰⁸ Most of his counsel against evil influence focused on the spiritual preparedness of each individual. Unlike some in the Reformed tradition, he felt each person’s choices drew him or her toward God or Satan, righteousness or wickedness.¹⁰⁹ He taught if people were prayerful and contrite, they could recognize the edifying effects of the Spirit in their lives. Over time, one could also determine the sincerity of persons who claimed a spiritual experience by honestly examining his or her behavior: “Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?” (Matt 7:16; also 3 Ne 14:16, 20). Smith felt that many spiritual manifestations were not edifying and should be exposed as satanic forgeries.¹¹⁰ He warned that “false prophets always arise to oppose the true prophets, and they will prophesy so very near the truth that they will

¹⁰⁶ *D&C*, 46:8.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 46:7

¹⁰⁸ For the third time that month, Smith again claimed to receive a revelation that addressed using the Spirit’s prompting to discern satanic counterfeits—this time with an apocalyptic warning: “For they that are wise and have received the truth, and have taken the Holy Spirit for their guide, and have not been deceived—verily I say unto you, they shall not be hewn down and cast into the fire, but shall abide the day” (*D&C*, 45:57).

¹⁰⁹ *D&C*, 64:16: “They sought evil in their hearts, and I, the Lord, withheld my Spirit.”

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 52:16. Also Smith wrote a letter on August 1, 1834, to his church leadership in Missouri (referring to his membership by the New Testament title, “saints”): “We are sure if the Saints are very humble, very watchful, and very prayerful, that few will be deceived by those who have not authority to teach, or who have not the spirit to teach according to the power of the Holy Ghost” (*History*, 2.138-9).

deceive almost the very chosen ones.”¹¹¹ Over and over he preached that the solution to deception came from the Spirit’s protection—a blessing from living virtuously and seeking the gift of discernment.¹¹²

3) *Challenge Spiritual Encounters*. Smith also encouraged his followers to challenge their spiritual encounters rationally, prayerfully, and physically. He logically examined some of the widespread controversial behavior that often accompanied conversions at camp meetings as well as fortune-telling magic and found them lacking in the Holy Spirit.

One great evil is, that men are ignorant of the nature of spirits; their power, laws, government, intelligence, etc., and imagine that when there is anything like power, revelation, or vision manifested, that it must be of God. Hence the Methodists, Presbyterians, and others frequently possess a spirit that will cause them to lie down, and during its operation, animation is frequently entirely suspended; they consider it to be the power of God, and a glorious manifestation from God—a manifestation of what? Is there any intelligence communicated? Are the curtains of heaven withdrawn, or the purposes of God developed? Have they seen and conversed with an angel—or have the glories of futurity burst upon their view? No! but their body has been inanimate, the operation of their spirit suspended, and all the intelligence that can be obtained from them when they arise, is a shout of "glory," or "hallelujah," or some incoherent expression; but they have had "the power."¹¹³

Smith taught that the signs of the Holy Spirit’s presence included the communication of some uplifting intelligence or development of God’s purposes. If nothing edifying is gained, Smith taught, one should challenge the source of the experience. Several other

¹¹¹ Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 366. An example of this kind of deception is found as an editor’s footnote in Smith’s *History*, where he described a false teacher named Mrs. Hubble who tried to deceive a group of Mormons: “She professed to be a prophetess of the Lord, and professed to have many revelations, and knew the Book of Mormon was true, and that she should become a teacher in the church of Christ. She appeared to be very sanctimonious and deceived some who were not able to detect her in her hypocrisy; others, however, had the spirit of discernment and her follies and abominations were manifest” (1.157). One recognizes the gift of discernment as the Spirit’s promptings or inspiration of inner light.

¹¹² In June, 1831, Smith recorded another revelation to guard against satanic deceptions by vigilantly seeking the Spirit and watching for righteousness: “I will give unto you a pattern in all things, that ye may not be deceived; for Satan is abroad in the land, and he goeth forth deceiving the nations—wherefore, he that prayeth, whose spirit is contrite . . . whose language is meek and edifieth, the same is of God if he obey mine ordinances . . . He that is overcome and bringeth not forth fruits, even according to his pattern is not of me. Wherefore, by this pattern ye shall know the spirits in all cases under the whole heavens” (*D&C*, 52:14-19).

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 4.572.

theologians attacked the unnaturalness of “the Methodist fit,” but unlike Smith they did not seek the opening of “the curtains of heaven” to determine spiritual validity.

In addition to challenging spiritual manifestations rationally, Smith encouraged his people to pray for divine assistance in discerning spirits. He cautioned his valiant “Twelve Apostles” on July 2, 1839: “The devil may appear as an angel of light. Ask God to reveal it; if it be of the devil, he will flee from you: if of God, He will manifest Himself, or make it manifest. . . . Every spirit, or vision, or singing, is not of God.”¹¹⁴ Smith described the Spirit’s manifestations as either visual, verbal, or felt—but always edifying.¹¹⁵ If the influence was not uplifting, a prayerful request to God could overpower satanic forces (as Smith experienced in 1820 prior to his first vision). Prayer was also the solution that Cartwright settled on to overcome “the jerks” that periodically fell on his audience during camp meetings, although he saw them as well as other unnatural behaviors as manifestations from God.¹¹⁶

Smith identified a physical sign to use in discerning spirits. He offered “three Grand Keys by which good or bad angels or spirits may be known” through revelation.¹¹⁷ The first key distinguished between a glorified, resurrected, embodied being or an angel of

¹¹⁴ Smith, *History*, 3.392.

¹¹⁵ Smith developed his doctrines from the foundation of *The Book of Mormon*: “Behold they were manifest unto the prophet by the voice of the Spirit; for by the Spirit are all things made known unto the prophets” (1 Nephi 22:2). Similarly, Mormon 3:16 reads, “. . . the things which I saw and heard, according to the manifestations of the Spirit;” and *D&C*, 124:97, “let him be humble before me, and be without guile, and he shall receive of my Spirit, even the Comforter, which shall manifest unto him the truth of all things.”

¹¹⁶ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 45-46.

¹¹⁷ Smith, *History*, 5.267. Smith’s scribal notes from a sermon on 1 Peter 1:1-4 reads, “The first four verses are the preface to the whole subject. There are three grand Keys [*sic*] to unlock the whole subject. First what is the knowledge of God, Second what is it to make our calling and election sure. Third and last is how to make our calling and election sure. Ans [*sic*], it is to obtain a promise from God for myself that I shall have Eternal life, that is the more sure word of prophecy [*sic*]. Peter was writeing [*sic*] to those of like precious faith with them the Apostles First to be sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise. . . . Second how is he to get that Holy Spirit; Ans except a man be born again he cannot see the Kingdom of God . 32 Ques. What is it for a man to obtain salvation Ans, It is to triumph over every foe or ascend far above all enemies for the last enimey [*sic*] to conquer [*sic*] is death and untill [*sic*] that is done you have not obtained salvation.”

God and a devil who appeared as a counterfeit angel of light. His second key counseled, “When a messenger comes saying he has a message from God, offer him your hand and request him to shake hands with you.” Angels will not deceive you, but “if it be the devil as an angel of light, when you ask him to shake hands he will offer you his hand, and you will not feel anything; you may therefore detect him.”¹¹⁸ Third, Smith taught that Satan and his devils were immortal spirits and could not be tangibly perceived; they would either withdraw or attempt to deceive. He repeated similar counsel in two other sermons in Nauvoo.¹¹⁹ The advice to ask a spirit to shake hands, though, was completely original with Smith. Challenging spirits physically was preposterous for most theologians.

4) *Spiritual witness*. The need to know personally the Spirit of God became one of the four keys that Smith taught to discern between godly and demonic spirits. He defined a witness of the Spirit as everything “which leadeth to do good—yea, to do justly, to walk humbly, to judge righteously, and this is my Spirit.”¹²⁰ His personal solution to identify a Spirit of God versus a spirit of the devil lay in becoming acquainted with the communication, promptings, inspiration, and revelation of the Holy Spirit:

It requires the Spirit of God to know the things of God; and the spirit of the devil can only be unmasked through that medium, then it follows as a natural consequence that unless some person or persons have a communication, or revelation from God, unfolding to them the operation of the spirit, they must eternally remain ignorant of these principles. . . . A man must have the discerning of spirits, as we before stated, to understand these things, and how is he to obtain this gift if there are no gifts of the Spirit? And how can these gifts be obtained without revelation?¹²¹

¹¹⁸ *D&C*, 129:4, 8.

¹¹⁹ Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 20–21.

¹²⁰ *D&C*, 11:12–13; See also Moroni, 7:16. I outlined Smith’s definition of a spiritual witness on page 247.

¹²¹ Smith, *History*, 4.573–574. The quote continues, “Christ ascended into heaven, and gave gifts to men; and He gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers.” And how were Apostles, Prophets, Pastors, Teachers and Evangelists chosen? By prophecy (revelation) and by laying on of hands:—by a divine communication, and a divinely appointed ordinance—through the medium of the Priesthood, organized according to the order of God, by divine appointment. The Apostles in ancient times held the keys of this Priesthood —of the mysteries of the kingdom of God, and consequently were enabled to unlock and unravel all things pertaining to the government of the Church, the welfare of society,

Smith answered his own question on how to receive the “gift of discernment”—it came through revelation. He claimed that the newly-revealed priesthood order of God could bestow the *Gift of the Holy Ghost*, which included the gift of discernment among all the gifts of the Spirit.¹²²

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has also had its false spirits; and as it is made up of all those different sects professing every variety of opinion, and having been under the influence of so many kinds of spirits, it is not to be wondered at if there should be found among us false spirits.¹²³

Smith taught that all members needed a witness of the Spirit to discern between godly and demonic spirits.¹²⁴ Church leaders had an even greater responsibility to discern and cast out evil spirits.¹²⁵ This point was illustrated again in Smith’s translation of Genesis¹²⁶ where the prophet Moses encountered the devil imitating an angel of light:

Satan came tempting him, saying: Moses, son of man, worship me. And it came to pass that Moses looked upon Satan and said: Who art thou? For behold, I am a son of God, in the similitude of his Only Begotten; and where is thy glory, that I should worship thee? For behold, I could not look upon God, except his glory should come

the future destiny of men, and the agency, power and influence of spirits . . . A power similar to this existed through the medium of the Priesthood in different ages. Moses could detect the magician's power, and show that he [himself] was God's servant” (4.575).

¹²² Ibid. 4.574-580: “How were Apostles, Prophets, Pastors, Teachers and Evangelists chosen? By prophecy (revelation) and by laying on of hands:—by a divine communication, and a divinely appointed ordinance—through the medium of the Priesthood, organized according to the order of God, by divine appointment” (574).

¹²³ Ibid. 4.574.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 4.609; 5.25-26.

¹²⁵ Ibid. 4. 580; Smith recorded an example of a false influence that was removed from membership: “When the authorities returned, the spirit was made manifest, those members that were exercised with it were tried for their fellowship, and those that would not repent and forsake it were cut off.”

¹²⁶ In addition to translating *The Book of Mormon*, in June of 1830, Smith began his own “inspired version” of the Bible (now referred to as the Joseph Smith Translation, or *JST*). Much of the Bible was left untouched; in some chapters he changed only a word or two, while other sections, like Genesis 1-3, were heavily augmented. Many changes were doctrinal and others grammatical. Without a Greek or Hebrew text, he claimed revelation as the source of his rewriting. The *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* explains, “The Prophet Joseph Smith claimed a divine appointment to make an inspired rendition or, as he termed it, a ‘new translation’ of the Bible. . . . After laboring off and on for ten months on the early chapters of Genesis, Joseph Smith received a revelation from the Lord on Mar. 7, 1831, directing him to begin work on the New Testament” (Ludlow, “Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible-*JST*,” 764; also *D&C*, 45:60-61). Smith went through the Bible multiple times, submitting his changes for publication, but the project was not finished before his death.

upon me, and I were transfigured before him. But I can look upon thee in the natural man. Is it not so, surely? Blessed be the name of my God, for his Spirit hath not altogether withdrawn from me, or else where is thy glory, for it is darkness unto me? And I can judge between thee and God; for God said unto me: Worship God, for him only shalt thou serve. Get thee hence, Satan; deceive me not.¹²⁷

In this scriptural passage, Moses recognized the devil as an imposter because he previously experienced the real glory of God. Smith, like Moses, declared from first hand experience that he could discern genuine from imitation glorified beings.¹²⁸

In Smith's "inspired version" of Moses, we find a repeated concern that no one is exempt from exposure to counterfeit spirits. That is why Smith stressed the need for discernment through scriptural continuity, spiritual preparation, challenging spiritual encounters, and personal knowledge of the Holy Spirit in order to recognize a satanic sham. To know the Spirit, Smith believed the "Gift of the Holy Ghost" was indispensable.¹²⁹

3. The Gift of the Holy Ghost

Smith used the phrase "Gift of the Holy Ghost" as a unique title and gift that followed baptism and an ordination.¹³⁰ He taught that the *Gift of the Holy Ghost* could be a "constant companion" and medium for the gifts of the Spirit if the recipient lived

¹²⁷ Smith, *History*, 1.99; later published in *Pearl*, Moses 1:12-16.

¹²⁸ Smith, *History*, 4:573: "A man must have the discerning of spirits before he can drag into daylight this hellish influence and unfold it unto the world in all its soul-destroying, diabolical, and horrid colors." His discussion continues through page 581. Other examples of Smith's discerning of spirits of God and the devil are found in Alexander L. Baugh, "Parting the Veil: The Visions of Joseph Smith," *BYU Studies* 38.1 (1999): 23-71.

¹²⁹ Smith, *History*, 3.299; also published in *D&C*, 121:36: "The rights of the priesthood are inseparably connected with the powers of heaven, and . . . the powers of heaven cannot be controlled nor handled only upon the principles of righteousness."

¹³⁰ In March of 1830, Smith recorded the same principle: "Thou shalt declare repentance and faith on the Savior, and remission of sins by baptism, and by fire, yea, even the Holy Ghost" (*D&C*, 19:31). Baptism was essential as the first ordinance required to enter into the gate of heaven. Smith also believed, based on *The Book of Mormon*, that not until after "repentance and baptism by water . . . then cometh a remission of your sins by fire and by the Holy Ghost" (2 Nephi 31:17).

worthily.¹³¹ He saw the gift as one of the basic foundation points needed for the restoration of the gospel.

We believe that the first principles and ordinances of the Gospel are: first, Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; second, Repentance; third, Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; fourth, Laying on of hands for the Gift of the Holy Ghost.¹³²

The particular title, *Gift of the Holy Ghost*, first appeared in Smith's writings in the context of another revelation.

Historical introduction of the Gift of the Holy Ghost. On May 15, 1829, nearly a year before the organization of the Church, Smith identified the "Gift of the Holy Ghost" as a unique endowment.¹³³ He felt it must be in place in order to organize the church correctly. His account from the spring of 1829 looks forward to receiving both the gift and the accompanying priesthood authority to confer it:

We now became anxious to have that promise realized to us, which the angel that conferred upon us the Aaronic Priesthood had given us, viz., that provided we continued faithful, we should also have the Melchizedek Priesthood, which holds the authority of the laying on of hands for the Gift of the Holy Ghost. We had for some time made this matter a subject of humble prayer, and at length we got together in the chamber of Mr. Whitmer's house, in order more particularly to seek of the Lord what we now so earnestly desired; and here, to our unspeakable satisfaction, did we realize the truth of the Savior's promise—"Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you" . . . We were, however, commanded to defer this our ordination until such times as it should be practicable.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Smith, *History*, 3.300; this letter later became *D&C*, 121:46. On March 20, 1839, after months of deprivation and suffering in Liberty Jail, Smith received a revelation that promised the blessings of the Gift of the Holy Ghost: "The Holy Ghost shall be thy constant companion, and thy scepter an unchanging scepter of righteousness and truth."

¹³² *Pearl*, Articles of Faith, 4.

¹³³ Smith, *History*, 1.39, 335-336, 422; 3.30, 396-397; 4.497, 5.25-26. Smith claimed he learned that the Melchizedek priesthood had "the power of laying on hands for the Gift of the Holy Ghost" from the resurrected John the Baptist. Smith, *Peal*, *JS-H* 1:70-72.

¹³⁴ Smith, *History*, 60-62. Smith's account continues to give directions for the organization of the church ten months away: "We were commanded to bless bread and break it with [members], and to take wine, bless it, and drink it with them; afterward proceed to ordain each other according to commandment; then call out such men as the Spirit should dictate, and ordain them; and then attend to the laying on of hands for the Gift of the Holy Ghost, upon all those whom we had previously baptized, doing all things in the name of the Lord."

Smith and his companions felt that their prayers were answered, but they had to wait until a future ordination of the higher priesthood before receiving the “Gift of the Holy Ghost.”¹³⁵ After ten months, their period of waiting was over, and Smith received the Melchizedek Priesthood from the apostles Peter, James, and John, who authorized him to ordain priesthood holders and bestowed upon baptized members the Gift of the Holy Ghost at the organization of the Church on April 6, 1830.

We then laid our hands on each individual member of the Church present, that they might receive the Gift of the Holy Ghost, and be confirmed members of the Church of Christ. The Holy Ghost was poured out upon us to a very great degree—some prophesied, whilst we all praised the Lord, and rejoiced exceedingly.¹³⁶

Smith linked the priesthood confirmation to the Gift of the Holy Ghost and to receiving gifts of the Spirit.

From 1830 forward the Gift of the Holy Ghost became one of Smith’s favorite topics and an emphasis in his revelations. Especially from 1830 to 1831, the records are filled with references to the Gift of the Holy Ghost.¹³⁷ Most of his references to baptism also mention the ordinance of receiving the Gift of the Holy Ghost through priesthood leaders’ hands:

¹³⁵ Piecing together Smith’s history to determine when the Gift of the Holy Ghost was first given challenges historians. Bushman questions whether the year was 1829 or 1830. *Rough Stone Rolling*, 118. Smith’s record states that it followed the Aaronic Priesthood in May of 1829 and preceded the organization of the Church on April 6, 1830, where he used the Melchizedek Priesthood to give the Gift of the Holy Ghost. Dates are compiled from Smith, *History*, 60-62, 70, 74-78.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.77.

¹³⁷ Smith, *History*, 1.86, 87, 106, 107, 108, 109, 115, 157, 335–336; 422, 465. Also *D&C*, 33:11, 15, 16; also “Thou didst baptize by water unto repentance, but they received not the Holy Ghost. But now I give unto thee a commandment, that thou shalt baptize by water, and they shall receive the Holy Ghost by the laying on of the hands, even as the apostles of old” (*D&C*, 35:5). “I will lay my hand upon you by the hand of my servant Sidney Rigdon, and you shall receive my Spirit, the Holy Ghost, even the Comforter, which shall teach you the peaceable things of the kingdom” (*D&C*, 36:2; December, 1830). “On as many as ye shall baptize with water, ye shall lay your hands, and they shall receive the Gift of the Holy Ghost” (*D&C*, 39:23, January 5, 1831, *D&C*, 49:14; March 1831). “Inasmuch as parents have children in Zion . . . that teach them not to understand the doctrine of repentance, faith in Christ the Son of the living God, and of baptism and the Gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of the hands, when eight years old, the sin be upon the heads of the parent” (*D&C*, 68:25; November, 1831; see Appendix Four).

Repent and be **baptized**, every one of you, for a remission of your sins; yea be **baptized** even by water, and then cometh the **baptism of fire** and of the **Holy Ghost** . . . whoso having faith you shall confirm in my church, by the laying on of the hands, and I will bestow the **Gift of the Holy Ghost** upon them . . . and the power of my **Spirit** quickeneth all things.¹³⁸

His message sounded similar to John the Baptist's plea in Matthew 3:11 and Luke 3:16.

Yet Smith's precise use of "the Gift of the Holy Ghost," was a technical title and a response to the priesthood ordinance of baptism. It differentiated him from those Protestants of his day who spoke of the gift of the Spirit in a general way. In a spontaneous sermon on July 9, 1843, Smith taught,

So far we are agreed with other Christian denominations [as] they all preach faith and repentance. The gospel requires baptism by immersion for the remission of sins, which is the meaning of the word in the original language—namely, to bury or immerse. We ask the sects, Do you believe this? They answer, No. I believe in being converted. I believe in this tenaciously. So did the Apostle Peter and the disciples of Jesus. But I further believe in the Gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands. Evidence by Peter's preaching on the day of Pentecost, Acts 2:38. You might as well baptize a bag of sand as a man, if not done in view of the remission of sins and getting of the Holy Ghost. Baptism by water is but half a baptism, and is good for nothing without the other half—that is, the baptism of the Holy Ghost.¹³⁹

Smith's new pneumatological fabric of baptism and the Gift of the Holy Ghost did not fit into the old theological fabric.

Difference between the influence of the Holy Spirit and the Gift of the Holy Ghost.

Although the concept of a "Gift of the Holy Ghost" was biblical, no American Christian denomination at the time understood that gift in the same way that Smith understood it.

The New Testament distinguished between the "seven" who had authority to baptize, and the apostles who alone had a different authority to lay "their hands on" the Samaritans when they "received the Holy Ghost" (Acts 8:14-17). In nineteenth century Christian thought, no one taught the doctrine of a lower and higher priesthood, and no Protestant

¹³⁸ D&C 33:11; emphasis added.

¹³⁹ Smith, *History*, 5.499.

denomination had a separate ordinance to receive the Gift of the Holy Ghost.¹⁴⁰ These ideas and terminology bridged the Old and New Testaments, but were not integrated into nineteenth century American Protestant vocabulary. Furthermore, the reliance on a special God-given authority of the priesthood hinted more of Catholicism than Protestantism. Nevertheless, Roman Catholics did not share the terminology and ideology behind a special Melchizedek Priesthood ordinance directly following baptism to empower all members with the Gift of the Holy Ghost.¹⁴¹

One of the major questions in understanding the Gift of the Holy Ghost is how Smith differentiated it from the witness of the Holy Spirit. In a Sunday sermon March 20, 1842, Smith identified the distinction as a matter of continuity and power:

There is a difference between the Holy Ghost and the Gift of the Holy Ghost. Cornelius received the Holy Ghost before he was baptized, which was the convincing power of God unto him of the truth of the Gospel, but he could not receive the Gift of the Holy Ghost until after he was baptized. Had he not taken this sign or ordinance upon him, the Holy Ghost which convinced him of the truth of God, would have left him. Until he obeyed these ordinances and received the Gift of the Holy Ghost, by the laying on of hands, according to the order of God, he could not have healed the sick or commanded an evil spirit to come out of a man, and it obey him.¹⁴²

Smith taught that the *influence* or *witness* of the Spirit testified to truth and could fill the recipient with a witness of Jesus' gospel through the "convincing power of God;" while the Gift of the Holy Ghost was received only "according to the order of God" or through a

¹⁴⁰ Even though the terminology is not the same with Catholics, the gift of the Holy Spirit is involved in the Catholic sacrament of confirmation and is conferred by the laying on of hands. Bernard L. Marthaler, *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed. (Detroit, MI: Thomson and Gale, 2003), 4.87-90.

¹⁴¹ Two other of Smith's revelations referenced the Melchizedek Priesthood ordination: *D&C*, 27:12; 128:20. Also "the power" or authority to receive the Gift of the Holy Ghost is included in *D&C* 18:2, 18, 32, 35, 47.

¹⁴² Smith, *History*, 4.554, 555; for original notation see Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 108. Smith also referred to other biblical accounts in other sermons and writings. On September 1, 1835, the newspaper *Messenger and Advocate* refers to Acts 5:31-32; 8:12-17, 36-40; 10:44-48; 19:1-6; Heb 6:1-6; Rev 22:17. Another editorial that Smith published on June 15, 1842, also quotes 1 Corinthians 12 on the gifts of the Spirit, Acts 2 on Pentecost, and Ephesians 4 on authority.

higher priesthood ordinance of the laying on of hands.¹⁴³ The Gift of the Holy Ghost cleansed members and thus enabled them to receive the inspiration of the Holy Spirit as long as they kept the commandments and lived the principles of righteousness.¹⁴⁴

Authority to give the Gift of the Holy Ghost. The Gift of the Holy Ghost was administered after baptism as an ordinance through the laying on of hands by those holding the higher or Melchizedek Priesthood.¹⁴⁵ Smith referred to the Aaronic priesthood as the “lesser priesthood,” which functioned in Israel from Moses to John the Baptist.¹⁴⁶ The “higher priesthood,” he claimed, was the same priesthood that the apostles received in the New Testament which enabled them to give the Gift of the Holy Ghost to baptized members (Acts 2:38). According to the Book of Acts, the vital catalyst for the baptism of fire is the apostolic authority: “ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you” (Acts 1:8; also John 20:22; 8:15-19; Heb 6:2). Smith identified the “Melchizedek Priesthood,” as “the authority of the laying on of hands for the Gift of the

¹⁴³ Smith, *History*, 4.574: The “laying on of hands:—by a divine communication, and a divinely appointed ordinance—through the medium of the Priesthood, organized according to the order of God, by divine appointment.” *D&C*, 49:14 and 52:31 identify only those with higher priesthood to have the authority to confirm and give the Gift of the Holy Ghost. The confirmation is the ordinance, not the priesthood—it is the medium of authority to offer the gift.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.499.

¹⁴⁵ Joseph Smith believed that the priesthood did not come as a reward for completing an education or level of service. He taught that the priesthood must come from God. The *D&C* further explained, “There are, in the church, two priesthoods, namely, the Melchizedek and Aaronic, including the Levitical Priesthood. Why the first is called the Melchizedek Priesthood is because Melchizedek was such a great high priest. Before his day it was called the Holy Priesthood, after the Order of the Son of God. But out of respect or reverence to the name of the Supreme Being, to avoid the too frequent repetition of his name, they, the church, in ancient days, called that priesthood after Melchizedek, or the Melchizedek Priesthood. All other authorities or offices in the church are appendages to this priesthood. But there are two divisions or grand heads—one is the Melchizedek Priesthood, and the other is the Aaronic or Levitical Priesthood” (*D&C*, 107:1-6). The Aaronic priesthood had the authority to baptize, but only one with the higher priesthood could administer in several higher ordinances including the laying on of hands for the Gift of the Holy Ghost (*Pearl, JS-H* 1:70; also Acts 8:15).

¹⁴⁶ Smith, *History*, 2.210, 477; also 1.39; Smith claimed that the distinction between the two priesthoods was announced in May of 1829, during the resurrected John the Baptist’s visitation. As mentioned earlier, Smith associated John the Baptist’s visitation with the restoration of two keys: 1) Aaronic Priesthood; and 2) Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins. John the Baptist also made the first reference to the particular “Gift of the Holy Ghost” and its accompanying higher priesthood. According to Joseph Smith’s personal history, John the Baptist “said this Aaronic Priesthood had not the power of laying on hands for the Gift of the Holy Ghost, but that this should be conferred on us hereafter” (*Pearl, JS-H* 1:70).

Holy Ghost.”¹⁴⁷ He claimed to receive this authority from the hands of the resurrected Apostles Peter, James, and John.¹⁴⁸

Smith expanded the realm of the “Gift of the Holy Ghost” as the authorizing agent to restore the church. For Smith, once the Melchizedek Priesthood was in place and the Gift of the Holy Ghost given, the authority was in place to restore God’s church:

We believe that it [the Gift of the Holy Ghost] is necessary to **make and to organize the Priesthood**, that no man can be called to fill any office in the ministry without it; we also believe in prophecy, in tongues, in visions, and in revelations, in gifts, and in healings; and that **these things cannot be enjoyed without the Gift of the Holy Ghost**. . . . The human family are [*sic*] very apt to run to extremes, especially in religious matters, and hence people in general, either want some miraculous display, or they will not believe in the Gift of the Holy Ghost at all. . . . We believe in it [this Gift of the Holy Ghost] **in all its fullness, and power, and greatness, and glory**; but whilst we do this, we believe in it rationally, consistently, and scripturally, and not according to the wild vagaries, foolish notions and traditions of men.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ Smith, *History*, 1.60. Smith believed that authority of the Melchizedek Priesthood was the same priesthood that Jesus’ apostles held and had the power to give the Gift of the Holy Ghost (*D&C*, 128:20). Smith also taught that it was the Gift of the Holy Ghost that brought other gifts of the Spirit: “We believe that we have a right to revelations, visions, and dreams from God, our heavenly Father; and light and intelligence, through the Gift of the Holy Ghost, in the name of Jesus Christ, on all subjects pertaining to our spiritual welfare.” Jesse, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 421 (an excerpt from Smith’s letter to Isaac Galland written in Liberty Jail, Clay Co. MO, March 22nd, 1839).

¹⁴⁸ See footnote 159; Smith, *History*, 2.210; also *D&C*, 107:3.

¹⁴⁹ Smith, *History*, 5.26-28 (emphasis added). The same quote also includes additional caution: “We believe that the Holy Ghost is imparted by the laying on of hands of those in authority, and that the gift of tongues, and also the gift of prophecy are gifts of the Spirit, and are obtained through that medium; but then to say that men always prophesied and spoke in tongues when they had the imposition of hands, would be to state that which is untrue, contrary to the practice of the Apostles, and at variance with holy writ . . . If an Elder lays his hands upon a person, it is thought by many that the person must immediately rise and speak in tongues and prophesy; this idea is gathered from the circumstance of Paul laying his hands upon certain individuals who had been previously (as they stated) baptized unto John’s baptism; which when he had done, they ‘spake in tongues and prophesied.’ Phillip also, when he had preached the Gospel to the inhabitants of the city of Samaria, sent for Peter and John, who when they came laid their hands upon them for the gift of the Holy Ghost; for as yet he was fallen upon none of them; and when Simon Magus saw that through the laying on of the Apostles’ hands the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money that he might possess the same power (Acts 8). These passages are considered by many as affording sufficient evidence for some miraculous, visible manifestation, whenever hands are laid on for the gift of the Holy Ghost. . . . for Paul says, ‘To one is given the gift of tongues, to another the gift of prophecy, and to another the gift of healing;’ and again: ‘Do all prophesy? do all speak with tongues? do all interpret?’ evidently showing that all did not possess these several gifts; but that one received one gift, and another received another gift—all did not prophesy, all did not speak in tongues, all did not work miracles; but all did receive the gift of the Holy Ghost; sometimes they spake in tongues and prophesied in the Apostles’ days, and sometimes they did not. The same is the case with us also in our administrations, while more frequently there is no manifestation at all; that is visible to the surrounding multitude; this will appear plain when we consult the writings of the Apostles, and notice their proceedings in relation to this matter. Paul, in 1st Cor. 12, says, ‘Now concerning

In short, Smith maintained that the Gift of the Holy Ghost gave authority to 1) organize the priesthood, 2) practice the gifts of the Spirit, 3) demonstrate the fullness of the Spirit in power, greatness, and glory. According to Smith, the Gift of the Holy Ghost functioned only through a restored apostolic authority. He defended his beliefs as intellectually rational, internally consistent, and doctrinally harmonious with all his scripture, including the Bible.

The idea that a new priesthood authority was needed was novel to most nineteenth century Protestants.¹⁵⁰ Peter, James, and John were only three of the twelve angels that Smith claimed brought back priesthood authority and keys for the restoration of Christ's church by September of 1830.¹⁵¹ Most Protestants believed authority came from the Bible. Ordination often followed an education or after a witness of the Spirit, depending on whether the minister was a Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Baptist, or Methodist. Smith contradicted this by insisting God's authority came from an ordination of a special

Spiritual gifts, brethren, I would not have you ignorant; it is evident from this, that some of them were ignorant in relation to these matters, or they would not need instruction."

¹⁵⁰ Smith disagreed with the mystics who saw no cessation of the charismata. Rather, he taught that when the apostolic or Melchizedek priesthood left the earth during the apostasy, the Gift of the Holy Ghost was restored to the earth again through the higher priesthood authority of Peter, James, and John. *History*, 4.211; *D&C*, 124:28; 127:8; 132:45; *Pearl, JS-H* 1:72.

¹⁵¹ Smith's list of "keys of the restoration" given to the infant church in September of 1830 is now canonized by LDS as *D&C* 27. The context assumes that the voice of the Lord is speaking in first person of His return: "I will drink of the fruit of the vine with you on the earth, and with Moroni [1], whom I have sent unto you to reveal *The Book of Mormon*, containing the fulness of my everlasting gospel, to whom I have committed the keys of the record of the stick of Ephraim; And also with Elias [2], to whom I have committed the keys of bringing to pass the restoration of all things spoken by the mouth of all the holy prophets since the world began, concerning the last days; And also John [3] the son of Zacharias . . . which John I have sent unto you, my servants, Joseph Smith, Jun., and Oliver Cowdery, to ordain you unto the first priesthood which you have received, that you might be called and ordained even as Aaron; And also Elijah [4], unto whom I have committed the keys of the power of turning the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to the fathers, that the whole earth may not be smitten with a curse; And also with Joseph [5] and Jacob [6], and Isaac [7], and Abraham [8], your fathers, by whom the promises remain; And also with Michael [9], or Adam, the father of all, the prince of all, the ancient of days; and also with Peter [10], and James [11], and John [12], whom I have sent unto you, by whom I have ordained you and confirmed you to be apostles, and especial witnesses of my name, and bear the keys of your ministry and of the same things which I revealed unto them." All of Smith's heavenly beings or angels are named and possess an earthly history in addition to their heavenly ministry.

priesthood—delivered directly from the hands of the last person to hold the keys. The passing of priesthood keys was entirely unique to Smith. His fifth Article of Faith emphasized the importance of proper authority passed on for all church leadership: “We believe that a man must be called of God, by prophecy, and by the laying on of hands by those who are in authority, to preach the Gospel and administer in the ordinances thereof.”

Unlike the Protestant clergy of his day, Smith believed that the Gift of the Holy Ghost had been on the earth whenever prophets of God held the higher priesthood since the time of Adam.¹⁵² (Elsewhere Smith clarified that the Spirit could witness and testify to the truth at anytime; but he distinguished between the presence of the Spirit and the Gift of the Holy Ghost.¹⁵³) The *Doctrine and Covenants* taught that prophets, before Jesus’ resurrection, also held the higher priesthood authority and thereby received the Gift of the Holy Ghost.¹⁵⁴ Jan Shipps interpreted this as part of Smith’s “replication” or “ritual re-creation” of the “Hebrew-Christian history.”¹⁵⁵

[Smith] entered into a new age in much the same way that the Saints of early Christianity entered into a new age. In doing so the Latter-day Saints started over, not to reform the institutions of Christendom but to participate in a transformation

¹⁵² Smith’s “translation” of the book of Genesis described baptism by water as an ordinance since the days of Adam: “Our father Adam spake unto the Lord, and said: Why is it that men must repent and be baptized in water? And the Lord said unto Adam: Behold I have forgiven thee thy transgression in the Garden of Eden” (*Pearl*, Moses 6:53). Elsewhere Smith also explained, “Some say the kingdom of God was not set up on the earth until the day of Pentecost, and that John did not preach the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins; but I say, in the name of the Lord, that the kingdom of God was set up on the earth from the days of Adam to the present time. Whenever there has been a righteous man on earth unto whom God revealed His word and gave power and authority to administer in His name, and where there is a priest of God—a minister who has power and authority from God to administer in the ordinances of the gospel and officiate in the priesthood of God, there is the kingdom of God; and, in consequence of rejecting the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the Prophets whom God hath sent, the judgments of God have rested upon people, cities, and nations, in various ages of the world, which was the case with the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, that were destroyed for rejecting the Prophets” (*History*, 5.256-257; See also 1:xxix).

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 5.25-26; *D&C*, 46:6-7.

¹⁵⁴ *D&C*, 20:26: “Not only those who believed after he came in the meridian of time, in the flesh, but all those from the beginning, even as many as were before he came, who believed in the words of the holy prophets, who spake as they were inspired by the Gift of the Holy Ghost, who truly testified of him in all things, should have eternal life, As well as those who should come after, who should believe in the gifts and callings of God by the Holy Ghost, which beareth record of the Father and of the Son.”

¹⁵⁵ Shipps, *Mormonism*, 64.

which in its totality has now made Mormonism into a distinct, discrete, internally consistent religious tradition.¹⁵⁶

Shippo observed that Smith started over as early Christianity did. Smith's requirement of a new priesthood and ordinance to offer the Gift of the Holy Ghost was essential to that restoration.

Righteousness of member. Secondly, Smith taught that personal worthiness was required in order for members to enjoy the Gift of the Holy Ghost: "The Gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands, cannot be received through the medium of any other principle than the principle of righteousness, for if the proposals are not complied with, it is of no use, but withdraws."¹⁵⁷ The Spirit cannot be deceived and will not influence persons if they are disobedient to God's commands. Smith explained that the "Gift of the Holy Ghost" will function only as a constant companion "if it so be that we keep his commandments, so as to render ourselves worthy in his sight."¹⁵⁸ Smith described humans as fallible, and the Spirit as the infallible judge—only constant vigilance, repentance, and pure intent maintained the companionship of the Holy Ghost.¹⁵⁹ This did not mean that only perfect people enjoyed the gift; when people were repentant, humble, and meek the Holy Ghost could inspire them, but when their hearts changed or hardened, the Gift of the Holy Ghost left.

5. Gifts of the Spirit

Perhaps the most prominent pneumatological theme in Smith's teachings in his

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 85.

¹⁵⁷ Smith, *History*, 3.379.

¹⁵⁸ Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 421.

¹⁵⁹ Smith, *History*, 2.204: "How long do you suppose a man may partake of this ordinance unworthily, and the Lord not withdraw His Spirit from him? How long will he thus trifle with sacred things, and the Lord not give him over to the buffetings of Satan until the day of redemption! The Church should know if they are unworthy from time to time to partake, lest the servants of God be forbidden to administer it. Therefore our hearts ought to be humble, and we to repent of our sins, and put away evil from among us."

conversations, sermons, editorials, as well as his additional scripture was the gifts of the Spirit. He strategically included them as his seventh Article of Faith: “We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, and so forth.”¹⁶⁰ Similar lists of the gifts of the Spirit are found in each of LDS four canonized, “standard works” or scripture: the Bible, *The Book of Mormon*, the *Doctrine and Covenants*, and the *Pearl of Great Price* (published posthumously). One entire revelation was dedicated to the subject of the gifts of the Spirit. Moreover, the very last chapter of *The Book of Mormon* acts as an emphatic conclusion on the subject.

All three sections on the gifts of the Spirit in *The Book of Mormon*, *Doctrine and Covenants*, and 1 Corinthians encourage their audiences to seek the gifts of the Spirit: “Covet earnestly the best gifts” (1 Cor 12:31). Going beyond that simple encouragement, *The Book of Mormon* counsels, “And again I would exhort you that ye would come unto Christ, and lay hold upon every good gift,” adding, “and touch not the evil gift, nor the unclean thing” (Moroni 10:30). Similarly *The Doctrine and Covenants* encourages, “seek ye earnestly the best gifts,” and then adds another crucial conditional, “always remembering for what they are given” (D&C, 46:8).

The Doctrine and Covenants calls attention to the fact that the gifts of the Spirit are to serve others (which it repeats five times¹⁶¹) and to defend against Satan’s counterfeits or evil gifts or unclean things (D&C, 46:8, 26). Further references to the gifts make it clear that more is required than simply a desire to receive or exercise these spiritual gifts. *The Doctrine and Covenants* attaches four prerequisites for exercising the gifts in the name of Christ: being unselfish, practicing virtue, continuing in holiness, and being grateful (46:9, 32-33). Just like

¹⁶⁰ *Pearl*, Articles of Faith, 7.

¹⁶¹ D&C, 46:26: “And all these gifts come from God, for the benefit of the children of God;” See also 46:9, 10, 12, 29.

the Gift of the Holy Ghost, the gifts are given to “those who love me and keep all my commandments, and [to] him that seeketh so to do; that all may be benefited that seek.”¹⁶²

Many Christians from the Second Great Awakening believed in practicing some of the internal gifts of the Spirit (like faith, hope, and charity), but very few believed that the externally visible charismatic gifts were available in the post apostolic church.¹⁶³ Smith declared that as part of his restoration, all of the gifts of the Spirit were reinstated just as they were with the New Testament apostles.¹⁶⁴ In an editorial published in 1842, he claimed “We believe in the Gift of the Holy Ghost being enjoyed now, as much as it was in the apostles' days.”¹⁶⁵ His recorded accounts on the gifts of the Spirit do not introduce doctrine different from what is stated in the Bible. In fact, when Smith spoke of the gifts of the Spirit in sermons or editorials, he quoted Paul's words in 1 Corinthians 12. Paul's list of the gifts is similar to lists found in *The Book of Mormon* and *Doctrine and Covenants*—possibly because most of Smith's audience had more access to the Bible. A study of all four canonical

¹⁶² Ibid., 46:9.

¹⁶³ In addition to Hodge and Campbell mentioned previously, the influential Jonathan Edwards also distrusted supernatural and miraculous claims. See Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 185, for more on the supernatural tradition in the eighteenth and nineteenth century; see also 190, 225-32.

¹⁶⁴ Smith, *History*, 1.314: “Christ said to His disciples (Mark 16:17 and 18), that these signs should follow them that believe—‘In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover;’ and also, in connection with this, read 1st Corinthians, 12th chapter. By the foregoing testimonies we may look at the Christian world and see the apostasy there has been from the apostolic platform; and who can look at this and not exclaim in the language of Isaiah, ‘The earth also is defiled under the inhabitants thereof; because they have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinances, and broken the everlasting covenant?’” (See also 1.188, 314; 322, 4.252, 603; *The Book of Mormon*, Mormon 9:24; Ether 4:18; *D&C*, 84:65.).

¹⁶⁵ Smith, *History*, 5.25–26. The quote continues, “We believe that it [the gift of the Holy Ghost] is necessary to make and to organize the Priesthood, that no man can be called to fill any office in the ministry without it; we also believe in prophecy, in tongues, in visions, and in revelations, in gifts, and in healings; and that these things cannot be enjoyed without the gift of the Holy Ghost. We believe that the holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and that holy men in these days speak by the same principle.” Also in one of Smith's revelations from September of 1832 he claimed that the Lord told him: “As I said unto mine apostles *I say unto you* again, that every soul who believeth on your words, and is baptized by water for the remission of sins, shall receive [the gift of] the Holy Ghost.” *D&C*, 84:64 (italics mine). The negative consequences are reinforced in verse 74: “They who believe not on your words, and are not baptized in water in my name, for the remission of their sins, that they may receive the Holy Ghost, shall be damned, and shall not come into my Father's kingdom where my Father and I am.”

texts (1 Corinthians 12:1-11; Moroni 10:7-18; *D&C*, 46:8-31; the Seventh Article of Faith) shows a similar inventory of the gifts of the Spirit, even though each one uses a different order and different wording. Appendix Three categorizes each gift in the four accounts and presents a parallel version of the texts for comparison.

Doctrine and Covenants 46 offers the most detail on the gifts of the Spirit. It also includes three particular elements not found in 1 Corinthians 12 or *The Book of Mormon*: 1) the gift of faith divided into categories, 2) the roles of a bishop, and 3) the need for a “head.” It separates the gift of faith into four elements: a witness to *know* that Jesus is the Son of God, the faith to *believe* the witnesses of others (*D&C*, 46:13-14), faith to *heal*, and faith to *be healed* (*D&C*, 46:19-20 also see Acts 14:9).

The second distinctive element in *Doctrine and Covenants* 46 calls for bishops to possess the gift of discernment (46:27). Bishops in the LDS church are ministering layman with stewardships over local geographical congregations. The gift of discernment allows a bishop to ascertain the needs of his members. He determines the strength of their gifts in order to call them into service and to bless the church at large. Paul hoped to use the gifts of the Spirit to build up the church or the body of Christ (1 Cor 12:12, 27). Through the gifts of the Spirit, Smith felt that each member had the responsibility to serve God by building his kingdom on earth.¹⁶⁶ Smith believed that God’s work and glory came from helping humans to reach their full potential by drawing closer to God, as stated in Moses 1:39: “This is my work and my glory—to bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of man.”¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ Smith, *History*, 4.570. At a meeting of the Relief Society (the LDS woman’s organization), Smith preached the need to use the gifts of the Spirit to build the kingdom of God: “The Lord was going to make of the Church of Jesus Christ a kingdom of Priests, a holy people, a chosen generation, as in Enoch’s day, having all the gifts as illustrated to the Church in Paul’s epistles and teachings to the churches in his day—that it is the privilege of each member.”

¹⁶⁷ *Pearl*, Moses 1:39.

The third unique element includes a “head” or someone who possessed all the gifts of the Spirit, “in order that every member may be profited thereby” (*D&C*, 46:29). At the time in the church’s history when Smith received this revelation he was twenty-five years old and had exhibited nearly all the gifts of the Spirit listed in scripture.¹⁶⁸ The only gift he lacked came the following year in 1832, when he spoke with the gift of tongues.¹⁶⁹ Smith felt instructed by revelation to establish a “head” or “presiding elder,” to pattern the church after God’s “house of order.”¹⁷⁰ Four years later on March 28, 1835, Smith recorded another revelation on the duties of being head: “The duty of the President of the office of the High Priesthood is to preside over the whole church, and to be like unto Moses—Behold, here is wisdom; yea, to be a seer, a revelator, a translator, and a prophet, having all the gifts of God which he bestows upon the head of the church.”¹⁷¹ In 1839, another revelation came that taught that the head must be meek and humble enough to hear and act as God’s spokesperson.¹⁷² Other instructions followed on the blessings and responsibilities of the head.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁸ Examples of casting out devils (Smith, *History*, 1.83-84; 2.188-189); the gift of prophecy (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 156-157; Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 165, 247, etc.); speaking in tongues (Dahl and Canon, *Encyclopedia of Joseph Smith's Teachings*, 669-670; Smith, *History*, 2.428); interpretation of tongues (*Elders' Journal of the Church of Latter-day Saints*, 1 (October 1837), 9, 15, 25; Smith, *History*, 1.409, 2.140; 292; 428; 4.489, etc.); healing the sick (*ibid.*, 1.272, 3.113, 2.328; 4.18; 5.303; etc.; others' healing 4.361, 5.308-309, 6.187, etc.), discerning of Spirits (*ibid.*, 1.84-85; 2.307, 3.392; *D&C*, 46:15-16, 23, 27).

¹⁶⁹ See pages 307 and 308 for Smith’s account of speaking in tongues.

¹⁷⁰ *D&C*, 20:67; 21:1: “Behold, there shall be a record kept among you; and in it thou shalt be called a seer, a translator, a prophet, an apostle of Jesus Christ, an elder of the church through the will of God the Father, and the grace of your Lord Jesus Christ.” Also *D&C* 88:119: “Organize yourselves; prepare every needful thing; and establish a house, even a house of prayer, a house of fasting, a house of faith, a house of learning, a house of glory, a house of order, a house of God.”

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 107:91-92.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 121:34-42: “There are many called, but few are chosen. And why are they not chosen? Because their hearts are set so much upon the things of this world, and aspire to the honors of men, that they do not learn this one lesson—that the rights of the priesthood are inseparably connected with the powers of heaven, and that the powers of heaven cannot be controlled nor handled only upon the principles of righteousness. That they may be conferred upon us, it is true; but when we undertake to cover our sins, or to gratify our pride, our vain ambition, or to exercise control or dominion or compulsion upon the souls of the children of men, in any degree of unrighteousness, behold, the heavens withdraw themselves; the Spirit of the Lord is

Smith's Teaching on the Gifts of the Spirit

Smith's teachings on the gifts of the Spirit demonstrate his passion for the subject. His first recorded sermon in Nauvoo, dated June 27, 1839, spoke of the gifts of revelation, prophecy, and tongues. In his extemporaneous style, Smith first expounded on recognizing the gift of revelation:

The spirit of revelation is in connection with these blessings. A person may profit by noticing the first intimation of the spirit of revelation; for instance, when you feel pure intelligence flowing into you, it may give you sudden strokes of ideas, so that by noticing it, you may find it fulfilled the same day or soon; (i.e.) those things that were presented unto your minds by the Spirit of God, will come to pass; and thus by learning the Spirit of God and understanding it, you may grow into the principle of revelation, until you become perfect in Christ Jesus.¹⁷⁴

Smith encouraged his audience to act on the subtle promptings of the spirit. He felt those prophetic spiritual insights could lead one to “become perfect in Christ Jesus.”

The sermon continued with a warning against the misuse of the gift of tongues: “It is not necessary for tongues to be taught to the Church particularly, for any man that has the Holy Ghost, can speak of the things of God in his own tongue as well as to speak in another; for faith comes not by signs, but by hearing the word of God.”¹⁷⁵ Three years later in an editorial dated June 15, 1842, for the *Times and Seasons*, Smith printed a

grieved; and when it is withdrawn, Amen to the priesthood or the authority of that man. Behold, ere he is aware, he is left unto himself, to kick against the pricks, to persecute the saints, and to fight against God. We have learned by sad experience that it is the nature and disposition of almost all men, as soon as they get a little authority, as they suppose, they will immediately begin to exercise unrighteous dominion. Hence many are called, but few are chosen. No power or influence can or ought to be maintained by virtue of the priesthood, only by persuasion, by long-suffering, by gentleness and meekness, and by love unfeigned; By kindness, and pure knowledge, which shall greatly enlarge the soul without hypocrisy, and without guile.”

¹⁷³ *D&C* 50:30: “As ye are appointed to the head, the spirits shall be subject unto you;” See also 84:80; 107:55, 92.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.381. (For original scribal notes, see Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 4). Other gifts were also mentioned: “FAITH comes by hearing the word of God, through the testimony of the servants of God; that testimony is always attended by the Spirit of prophecy and revelation. . . . TONGUES were given for the purpose of preaching among those whose language is not understood; as on the day of Pentecost, etc., and it is not necessary for tongues to be taught to the Church particularly, for any man that has the Holy Ghost, can speak of the things of God in his own tongue as well as to speak in another; for faith comes not by signs, but by hearing the word of God” (3.379).

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.381.

similar warning against glossolalia:

The gift of tongues is the smallest gift perhaps of the whole, and yet it is one that is the most sought after. . . . Be not so curious about tongues, do not speak in tongues except there be an interpreter present; the ultimate design of tongues is to speak to foreigners, and if persons are very anxious to display their intelligence, let them speak to such in their own tongues. The gifts of God are all useful in their place, but when they are applied to that which God does not intend, they prove an injury, a snare and a curse instead of a blessing.¹⁷⁶

Smith gave this cautionary counsel over and over because he felt that the gift of tongues was easily counterfeited by the devil.¹⁷⁷ Smith believed that God gave the “gift of tongues” mainly to bless foreign missionaries, not those seeking a dramatic display: “the gift of the tongues by the power of the Holy Ghost in the Church, is for the benefit of the servants of God to preach to unbelievers.”¹⁷⁸

In the same editorial, June 15, 1842, Smith also taught that the gifts of the Spirit follow the priesthood ordination of the Gift of the Holy Ghost:

We believe that the Holy Ghost is imparted by the laying on of hands of those in authority, and that the gift of tongues, and also the gift of prophecy are gifts of the Spirit, and are obtained through that medium; but then to say that men always prophesied and spoke in tongues when they had the imposition of hands, would be to state that which is untrue, contrary to the practice of the apostles, and at variance with holy writ; for Paul says, "To one is given the gift of tongues, to another the gift of prophecy, and to another the gift of healing;" and again: "Do all prophesy? do all speak with tongues? do all interpret?" evidently showing that all did not possess these several gifts . . . The same is the case with us also in our administrations.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 5.31-32.

¹⁷⁷ For example in Smith, *History* from December 26, 1841: “Sunday evening Sermon on the purpose of the gift of tongues: The public meeting of the Saints was at my house this evening, and after Patriarch Hyrum Smith and Elder Brigham Young had spoken on the principles of faith, and the gifts of the Spirit, I read the 13th chapter of First Corinthians, also a part of the 14th chapter, and remarked that the gift of tongues was necessary in the Church; but that if Satan could not speak in tongues, he could not tempt a Dutchman, or any other nation . . .” (4.486). Again another warning was given in a sermon to the women of Nauvoo on April 28, 1842: “If you have a matter to reveal, let it be in your own tongue; do not indulge too much in the exercise of the gift of tongues, or the devil will take advantage of the innocent and unwary. You may speak in tongues for your own comfort, but I lay this down for a rule, that if anything is taught by the gift of tongues, it is not to be received for doctrine.” The summary notes recorded by Eliza R. Snow added: “The Spirit of the Lord was poured out in a very powerful manner, never to be forgotten by those present on this interesting occasion” (Ibid., 4.602, 603, 607).

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 4.486; also 2.162; 3.379; 3.392.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 5.26-27.

Clearly the gifts were not delivered upon demand at ordination. Smith understood that God maintained control of how and when the gifts of the Spirit function. In the same editorial, Smith created a hypothetical situation to prove his point on this critical issue:

But suppose the gifts of the Spirit were immediately, upon the imposition of hands, enjoyed by all, in all their fullness and power; the skeptic would still be as far from receiving any testimony except upon a mere casualty as before, for all the gifts of the Spirit are not visible to the natural vision, or understanding of man; indeed very few of them are . . . they come from God; they are of God; they are all the gifts of the Holy Ghost; they are what Christ ascended into heaven to impart; and yet how few of them could be known by the generality of men.¹⁸⁰

Smith held the gifts of the Spirit in worshipful respect. They were a manifestation of God's graces on earth and as such were precious. The editorial opposed any showy attention that the gifts of the Spirit often received in religious revivals or magical displays:

The greatest, the best, and the most useful gifts would [not] be known . . . by an observer. It is true that a man might prophesy, which is a great gift . . . [but] the manifestations of the Gift of the Holy Ghost, the ministering of angels, or the development of the power, majesty or glory of God were very seldom manifested publicly, and that generally to the people of God, as to the Israelites; but most generally when angels have come, or God has revealed Himself, it has been to individuals in private, in their chamber; in the wilderness or fields, and that generally without noise or tumult.¹⁸¹

Smith valued the personal manifestation of God's gifts the most. He treasured those sacred, private, quiet moments when he experienced visions or felt the gifts of the Spirit revealing God's glory with power. These private manifestations strengthened the recipient, who, according to the *Doctrine and Covenants*, was then more able (and had the responsibility) to bless others.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 5.25-28.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 5.30-31.

Most often the gift of healing required this individual attention. Smith encouraged both men and women to heal the sick through the gifts of the Spirit.¹⁸² On March 17, 1842, Smith organized the women into a “Relief Society.” He instructed them to “administer to the sick and comfort the sorrowful.”¹⁸³ The secretary Eliza R. Snow recorded Smith preaching, “Respecting females administering for the healing of the sick, he further remarked, there could be no devil in it, if God gave His sanction by healing; that there could be no more sin in any female laying hands on and praying for the sick, than in wetting the face with water; it is no sin for anybody to administer that has faith, or if the sick have faith to be healed by their administration.”¹⁸⁴ Smith’s wife Emma, who acted as president of the society, followed this counsel and received the gift of healing. The recorded minutes from their meetings on April 14 and 19, 1842, quoted one of the healed women: “Mrs. Durfee bore testimony to the great blessing she received when administered to after the close of the last meeting, by Emma Smith and Counselors Cleveland and Whitney. She said she never realized more benefit through any administration, [and] that she was healed and thought the sisters had more faith than the brethren.”¹⁸⁵ The gift of healing required not only the faith of the one healed and the faith of the one healing, but also the will of the Lord.¹⁸⁶ Many remained sick and died without being healed—not because of a lack of faith, but as Smith taught, because the Lord willed it otherwise.

¹⁸² *D&C*, 128:17. Smith discussed the need for women to practice the gifts of the Spirit: “The sisters would come in possession of the privileges, blessings and gifts of the Priesthood...such as healing the sick [and] casting out devils” (*History*, 4:602; for original notes see Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 119).

¹⁸³ Carol Cornwall Madsen, ed., *In Their Own Words: Women and the Story of Nauvoo* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1994), 200.

¹⁸⁴ Smith, *History*, 4:607.

¹⁸⁵ Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 139-40.

¹⁸⁶ Smith discussed the need for the gifts to follow God’s will: “We believe in the gift of the Holy Ghost, the power of faith, the enjoyment of the Spiritual gifts according to the will of God, the restoration of the house of Israel, and the final triumph of truth” (Smith, *History*, 3:30).

The same is true for all of the gifts of the Spirit. Smith encouraged all disciples of Christ to seek the gifts of the Spirit, always remembering that God gave the gifts when He deemed it wisest. Three months before Smith's death, on March 15, 1844, a friend named John Wilkie sought a "blessing" or special prayer from Smith. In that blessing Smith prayed for the gifts of the Spirit on his friend's behalf: "May the Lord grant his Spirit and peace to abide upon Brother Wilkie and his companion through the remainder of their days . . . and their faith increase from day to day until they shall have power to lay hold on the blessings of God and the gifts of the Spirit until they are satisfied."¹⁸⁷ This reference to the gifts of the Spirit in a blessing is consistent with Smith's first recorded sermon in Nauvoo five years earlier. His teachings on the gifts of the Spirit are consistent throughout his life¹⁸⁸ and paralleled *The Book of Mormon's* charge: "I exhort you, my brethren, that ye deny not the gifts of God, for they are many; and they come from the same God. And there are different ways that these gifts are administered; but it is the same God who worketh all in all; and they are given by the manifestations of the Spirit of God unto men, to profit them."¹⁸⁹ Smith's revelations and teachings on the gifts of the Spirit agree with biblical accounts that the gifts of the Spirit are given to bless others.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ Smith, *History*, 6.266.

¹⁸⁸ Smith's historical record, sermons, editorials, and private discussions also speak of the gifts of the Spirit throughout his life. For example at a Sunday evening meeting at Smith's home on December 26, 1841, Patriarch Hyrum Smith and Apostle Brigham Young preached on the gifts of the Spirit. Then following their remarks Smith recalled "I read the 13th chapter of First Corinthians, also a part of the 14th chapter." Ibid., 4.486. While in Carthage jail, hours before his martyrdom, Smith prophesied to Dan Jones what was fulfilled a few years later. The account reads, "Joseph whispered to Dan Jones, 'are you afraid to die?' Dan said, 'Has that time come, think you? Engaged in such a cause I do not think that death would have many terrors.' Joseph replied, 'You will yet see Wales, and fulfill the mission appointed you before you die'" (Smith, *History*, 6.601; also 1.84-85; 3.571-581; 4.350; 4.603, 4.606; 4.486; 5.27-28; 6.266).; for other examples see; Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 81; Kent P. Jackson, ed., *Joseph Smith's Commentary on the Bible* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1994), 160, 164, 165, 167.

¹⁸⁹ *The Book of Mormon*, Moroni 10:8.

¹⁹⁰ According to 1 Corinthians 13:1-8, the ultimate means of blessing others is through the gift of charity. Similarly, *The Book of Mormon* includes "faith, hope, and charity," at the end of Moroni's section on the gifts of the Spirit. Yet the *Doctrine and Covenants* does not mention hope or charity in the list of spiritual

5. Holy Spirit of Promise

When Smith spoke of “the Holy Spirit of Promise,” he referred to a special Melchizedek Priesthood blessing that sealed ordinances and covenants in the life hereafter. For Smith, the Holy Spirit of Promise performed two types of sealings—one temporary, the other permanent. Temporarily, the Holy Spirit of Promise ratified ordinances when carried out with proper authority and proper commitment, but the sealing could be removed if the recipient broke his or her covenant. The temporary seal of baptism or any other ordinance was binding on earth and in heaven only if the person maintained a pure and repentant heart. Permanently, Smith believed that the Holy Spirit of Promise ensured exaltation in the highest heaven after one met all the needed trials in life to prove complete obedience to God.¹⁹¹ In this sense, the Holy Spirit of Promise became the guarantee of one’s “calling and election made sure.”¹⁹² Although the book of Ephesians cites the Holy Spirit of Promise (Eph 1:13), no one in antebellum America used the phrase as Smith did.¹⁹³

Smith received his understanding of the distinct role of the Spirit in February, 1832, as part of the powerful “vision” recorded in *Doctrine and Covenants* section seventy-

gifts. It puzzled me, so I looked for the triplicate of “faith, hope, and charity” and found it in four previous revelations (*D&C*, 4:5; 6:19; 12:8; 18:19). Not surprisingly, Smith includes “charity” twelve times in his sermons and ten times in his handwritten letters, but interestingly, he never references charity as a *gift* of the Spirit. (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 114, 273, 374-382, 389-399, 404, 423, 480, 576; Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 80, 104, 117-120, 123, 207, 371; Smith, *History*, 1.115; 2.129.) Most of the time that Smith mentioned hope and charity, they are listed with other virtues that are worthy of developing like patience, temperance, brotherly kindness, humility, and diligence. Perhaps because the gifts of the Spirit are gifts from God, while virtues can be acquired through diligence and self control, Smith emphasized the responsibility to develop hope and charity.

¹⁹¹ In a sermon on August 8, 1839, Smith issued the charge: “Obtain that Holy Spirit of promise—Then you can be sealed to Eternal Life” (Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 15).

¹⁹² Dahl and Cannon, *Encyclopedia of Joseph Smith's Teachings*, 97: “When the Lord has thoroughly proved him, and finds that the man is determined to serve Him at all hazards, then the man will find his calling and election made sure, then it will be his privilege to receive the other Comforter, which the Lord hath promised the Saints.”

¹⁹³ Both Ephesians and six of his seven references in the *D&C* describe the “Holy Spirit of promise” as *sealing* (*D&C*, 76:53; 88:3-5; 124:124; 131:5, 7, 18, 19, 26; also Smith, *History*, 4.266).

six.¹⁹⁴ He claimed to see the afterlife, and recorded a step-by-step outline of those who will receive the Holy Spirit of Promise:

They are they who received the testimony of Jesus, and believed on his name and were baptized after the manner of his burial, being buried in the water in his name, and this according to the commandment which he has given—That by keeping the commandments they might be washed and cleansed from all their sins, and receive the Holy Spirit by the laying on of the hands of him who is ordained and sealed unto this power; And who overcome by faith, and are sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise, which the Father sheds forth upon all those who are just and true.¹⁹⁵

After this revelation, Smith became deeply interested with the idea and elaborated on its meaning in at least six sermons. In addition, he received six other revelations that dealt with the subject.¹⁹⁶ One revelation linked the functioning of the Holy Spirit of Promise to the power of the Melchizedek Priesthood:

All covenants, contracts, bonds, obligations, oaths, vows, performances, connections, associations, or expectations, that are not made and entered into and sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise, of him who is anointed, both as well for time and for all eternity, and that too most holy, by revelation and commandment through the medium of mine anointed, whom I have appointed on the earth to hold this power [i.e. Melchizedek Priesthood]. . . are of no efficacy, virtue, or force in and after the resurrection from the dead; for all contracts that are not made unto this end

¹⁹⁴ *D&C*, 76:20-21. Smith describes meditating on John 5:29 when a vision opened to him and Rigdon: “We beheld the glory of the Son, on the right hand of the Father, and received of his fullness [*sic*]; And saw the holy angels, and them who are sanctified before his throne, worshipping God, and the Lamb, who worship him forever and ever.”

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 76:51-53. In addition to Smith’s revelations, he also added the phrase in his Inspired Version of the Bible: “Whosoever is born of God doth not continue in sin; for the Spirit of God remaineth in him; and he cannot continue in sin, because he is born of God, having received that holy Spirit of promise” (*JST* 1 John 3:9).

¹⁹⁶ From February 16, 1832, to January 19, 1841, Smith received instructions about the “Holy Spirit of Promise” seven times in his revelations. *D&C*, 76:53; 88:3; 124:124; 132:7, 18, 19, 26. The date July 12, 1843, is published in the *D&C* in connection with section 132, although the introductory notes added by historians, point out that many portions of that revelation were evident even a decade earlier. (For a treatise on the date of publication and authorship of this revelation, see B. H. Roberts’ introduction to Smith’s *History*.) Smith’s sermons are recorded in Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 4, 15, 190, 209, 284, 335. Smith expanded the meaning of “Holy Spirit of Promise” as a sealing of ordinances, to also include the specific ordinance of sealing one to return to the presence of God, or “Eternal Life.” The editors of Smith’s Sermons, Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon Cook, explained, “In a certain limited sense, a sense Joseph Smith used many times, the phrase ‘Holy Spirit of Promise’ has reference to the concept of ‘making your calling and election sure’ or ‘being sealed up unto eternal life’ (*D&C*, 88:3-5). Thus, when the Holy Spirit (who was the one appointed by the Father to give final sanctioning authority for all priesthood blessings) receives authorization from Jesus Christ to unmistakably ‘seal’ the promise of eternal life on a worthy individual, he is placing the seals on the highest gospel ordinances in his office as Holy Spirit of Promise (*D&C*, 132:7). The Prophet expressed this concept in his poetic rendition of *D&C*, 76:53” (*Words of Smith*, 26).

have an end when men are dead.¹⁹⁷

For Smith the Holy Spirit of Promise endorsed one's covenants made by proper authority and according to the principles of righteousness, which ensured their blessings in the resurrection. Smith believed that the Spirit had the power to seal because the Spirit knew one's heart and assessed the sincerity of the believer. In this way the Spirit acted as a judge, under the direction of God, to seal each covenant and ordinance based upon the faithfulness of each person.

Smith coupled one's calling and election with the Holy Spirit of Promise in his first recorded sermon: "St. Paul exhorts us to make our calling and election sure. This is the sealing power spoken of by Paul in other places. . . How is this to be done? It is to be done by this sealing power, and the other Comforter spoken of, which will be manifest by revelation."¹⁹⁸ According to Smith, the permanent sealing of the Holy Spirit of Promise became the sure sealing that 2 Peter 1:10 described as "calling and election":

This is the election that we believe in . . . in the words of the beloved Peter and Paul, we would exhort you to "work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of His good pleasure" (Phil. 2:12, 13); 'Giving all diligence to make your calling and election sure' (2 Peter 1:10); for this is that sealing power spoken of in Ephesians (1:13, 14)—"in whom ye also trusted, after that ye heard the word of truth; the gospel of your salvation, in whom also, after that ye believed ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of Promise,

¹⁹⁷ *D&C*, 132:7.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.379-380. The quote continues, "This principle ought (in its proper place) to be taught, for God hath not revealed anything to Joseph, but what He will make known unto the Twelve, and even the least Saint may know all things as fast as he is able to bear them." (For original spelling from Willard Richards' notes of Smith's sermon given June 27, 1839, see Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 4.) Smith explained what he meant by the "other Comforter" later in the same sermon (quoted here from Smith's *History of the Church*): "There are two Comforters spoken of. . . . The other Comforter spoken of is a subject of great interest, and perhaps understood by few of this generation. After a person has faith in Christ, repents of his sins, and is baptized for the remission of his sins and receives the Holy Ghost, (by the laying on of hands), which is the first Comforter, then let him continue to humble himself before God, hungering and thirsting after righteousness, and living by every word of God, and the Lord will soon say unto him, Son, thou shalt be exalted. When the Lord has thoroughly proved him, and finds that the man is determined to serve Him at all hazards, then the man will find his calling and his election made sure, then it will be his privilege to receive the other Comforter, which the Lord hath promised the Saints, as is recorded in the testimony of St. John, in the 14th chapter, from the 12th to the 27th verses" (3.380-381; for full quote see footnote 120).

which is the earnest of our inheritance, until the redemption of the purchased possession, until the praise of His glory” (2 Peter 1:11); “For so an entrance shall be ministered unto you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.” Amen.¹⁹⁹

Unlike those Calvinists who believed in an unconditional election, there was nothing unconditional about Smith’s perspective.²⁰⁰ He taught that through the grace of God, humans could receive their election through obediently submitting to God’s commands and revelation throughout their trials.²⁰¹ Receiving this permanent sealing became another of Smith’s ordinances administered to the living or vicariously to the dead—this one, though, was administered only under the direction of the prophet.

The Holy Spirit of Promise became the highest level of stimulus that Smith allocated to the Holy Spirit. Each degree of spiritual influence built on the previous level in crescendo to bring one closer and closer to Christ:

- 1) The inspiration of the Holy Spirit testifies in one’s heart of truth and witnesses that Jesus is the Christ through promptings, whisperings, and inspiration.
- 2) The *Gift* of the Holy Ghost is enjoyed subsequent to the ordinances of baptism and confirmation by the laying on of hands to cleanse one from sin and enjoy the constant companionship of the Holy Spirit and the gifts of the Spirit.

¹⁹⁹ Smith, *History* 4.266. Smith endorsed and published this article written by Brigham Young.

²⁰⁰ Smith, *History*, 6.252-253: “The doctrine [of election] that the Presbyterians and Methodists have quarreled so much about—once in grace, always in grace, or falling away from grace, I will say a word about. They are both wrong. Truth takes a road between them both, for while the Presbyterian says ‘once in grace, you cannot fall;’ the Methodist says: ‘You can have grace today, fall from it tomorrow, next day have grace again; and so follow on, changing continually.’ But the doctrine of the Scriptures and the spirit of Elijah would show them both false, and take a road between them both; for, according to the Scripture, if men have received the good word of God, and tasted of the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, it is impossible to renew them again, seeing they have crucified the Son of God afresh, and put Him to an open shame; so there is a possibility of falling away; you could not be renewed again, and the power of Elijah cannot seal against this sin, for this is a reserve made in the seals and power of the Priesthood.” (For original spelling see Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 334.)

²⁰¹ Smith differentiated predestination (without human control) and foreordination (allows human agency). Hillerbrand, *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, 655- 656. Biblical references include Isa 42:1; Rom 11:5, 7, 28; Eph 1:13; 1 Pet 1:2; 2 Pet 1:10

- 3) The Holy Spirit of Promise refers to a specific function of the Spirit to ratify or seal ordinances in heaven and earth, including sealing one's calling and election.

Smith never delineated three separate functions of the Spirit, but he introduced them chronologically, each building upon the previous doctrine. These divisions are helpful in understanding his doctrine of the Holy Spirit. After *The Book of Mormon* described the Spirit of Christ, as the means whereby mortals learn right from wrong, Smith taught that humans glean more truth through the witness and comfort of the Spirit. Baptized members received the Gift of the Holy Ghost through a Melchizedek Priesthood ordination and can enjoy the Spirit's companionship if they live worthy lives and follow its promptings. This ordinance was ratified by the Holy Spirit of Promise. After disciples prove themselves faithful by keeping their covenants and following the Spirit's promptings, the Holy Spirit of Promise seals them to return to the presence of God. This was Smith's view of the Spirit's ultimate role.

III. Smith's Experiences with the Holy Spirit

Now that we have examined Smith's sacred writings and teachings on the Spirit, we examine his experiences with the Holy Spirit. He spoke of seeing visions, prophesying, casting out devils, and healing the sick.²⁰² Smith's experiences with the gifts of the Spirit set him apart in the 1830s and 1840s, but his claims were not entirely unmatched.²⁰³ Others were

²⁰² Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 216. On March 1, 1842, Smith included experiences with the spirit in his historical sketch for John Wentworth: "On the 6th of April, 1830, the 'Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints,' was first organized in the town of Manchester, Ontario County, in the state of New York. Some few were called and ordained by the spirit of revelation, and prophesy, and began to preach as the spirit gave them utterance, and though weak, yet were they strengthened by the power of God, and many were brought to repentance, were immersed in the water, and were filled with the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands. They saw visions and prophesied, devils were cast out and the sick healed by the laying on of hands." This was not published in the *Chicago Democrat* nor in Mr. Bastow's history of New Hampshire as originally intended.

²⁰³ Mark Noll saw Pentecostalism of the twentieth century emerging from the holiness movement of the nineteenth. Even though Smith did not claim any part of the holiness movement, his teachings on perfection

visionaries and healers as well. However, Smith's admonition to practice all of the gifts of the Spirit regularly and to encourage their expression under the direction of the authority and apostolic priesthood was exceptional. This section highlights Smith's claim to the gifts of the Spirit with examples of his visions, healing and speaking in tongues—followed by the dedication of the Kirtland Temple that echoed the day of Pentecost in Acts 2.

Spirit-filled Visions in Conjunction with the Restored Apostolic Priesthood

Smith's demonstrations of the gifts of the Spirit often accompanied special events where the priesthood was present. For example, at the first conference of the church, two months after the organization of the church on June 9, 1830, Smith's journal recorded a display of visions and the gifts of prophecy and revelation: "Much exhortation and instruction was given, and the Holy Ghost was poured out upon us in a miraculous manner—many of our number prophesied, whilst others had the heavens opened to their view." Specifically, Brother Newel Knight (1800-1847) "felt his heart filled with love, with glory, and pleasure unspeakable, and could discern all that was going on in the room; when all of a sudden a vision of the future burst upon him. He saw there represented the great work which through my instrumentality was yet to be accomplished. He saw heaven opened, and beheld the Lord Jesus Christ, seated at the right hand of the majesty on high."²⁰⁴ From this first public outpouring, Smith linked the gifts of the Spirit to "the powers of the Priesthood."²⁰⁵

hint at similar ideas. Finney was a force in the movement that led to Pentecostalism. Noll outlines four major points in the Pentecostal message: "Stressing salvation in Christ, divine healing, the baptism or fullness of the Holy Spirit, and the imminent return of Christ." *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994), 116. Smith differed from this perspective by teaching a different manifestation of baptism by fire—rather than identifying it as the gift of tongues, screaming, or falling down as a clear sign of the "fire," Smith saw an inner burning bosom, a change of heart, or Spirit filled with peace as of the baptism of the Spirit. Nor did he teach that Christ would reign in his lifetime. Again we find a few similarities between Smith and his predecessors, but a closer look shows more of their differences.

²⁰⁴ Smith, *History*, 1.84–85. The date of this conference was recorded differently—either the first or ninth. See footnote 1 in *History*, 1.96.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.85–86.

This outpouring of the gifts of the Spirit overjoyed Smith. He believed the apostolic order had returned:

To find ourselves engaged in the very same order of things as observed by the holy Apostles of old; to realize the importance and solemnity of such proceedings; and to witness and feel with our own natural senses, the like glorious manifestations of the powers of the Priesthood, the gifts and blessings of the Holy Ghost, and the goodness and condescension of a merciful God unto such as obey the everlasting Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, combined to create within us sensations of rapturous gratitude, and inspire us with fresh zeal and energy in the cause of truth.²⁰⁶

Smith identified the Spirit's presence at his meeting as evidence that God's Spirit honored their work.²⁰⁷ He emphasized the restoration of the gifts used in God's *priesthood* order, not just a display of charismatic gifts, and questioned some of the contemporary spiritual demonstrations.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Ibid. Directly preceding this quote Smith wrote, "Such scenes as these were calculated to inspire our hearts with joy unspeakable, and fill us with awe and reverence for that Almighty Being, by whose grace we had been called to be instrumental in bringing about, for the children of men, the enjoyment of such glorious blessings as were now at this time poured out upon us."

²⁰⁷ Smith's ideas sound a little like the second century Montanists who believed in the gifts of the Spirit. Under the direction of Tertullian (c.155-220) they reacted against "cold orthodoxy" and believed in "progressive revelation" and spiritual gifts. Eusebius and other established church records denounced the Montanists as frenzied and attempted to quench further tendencies. Western Christianity did not revisit the gifts of the Spirit beyond a few isolated cases until after the Protestant Reformation with movements like George Fox's Quakers and John Wesley's Methodism. Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Press, 2004), 19-25.

²⁰⁸ Smith, *History*, 4.572, 580-581; Smith pointed out the questionable or incorrect claims and demonstrations of the Spirit in his day both in his church and in others: "The Shaker will whirl around on his heel, impelled by a supernatural agency or spirit, and think that he is governed by the Spirit of God; and the Jumper will jump and enter into all kinds of extravagances. A Primitive Methodist will shout under the influence of that spirit, until he will rend the heavens with his cries; while the Quakers (or Friends) moved as they think, by the Spirit of God, will sit still and say nothing. Is God the author of all this? If not of all of it, which does He recognize? Surely, such a heterogeneous mass of confusion never can enter into the kingdom of heaven. . . . At a subsequent period a Shaker spirit was on the point of being introduced, and at another time the Methodist and Presbyterian falling down power, but the spirit was rebuked and put down, and those who would not submit to rule and good order were disfellowshipped. We have also had brethren and sisters who have had the gift of tongues falsely; they would speak in a muttering unnatural voice, and their bodies be distorted like the Irvingites before alluded to; whereas, there is nothing unnatural in the Spirit of God." Smith's followers also expressed charismatic gifts, like the inspired dreams of Sister Knight a few weeks following the June 1830, conference. A week later, Emma received the Gift of the Holy Ghost: "The Spirit of the Lord was poured out upon us, we praise the Lord God, and rejoiced exceedingly" (Smith, *History*, 1:108). In the summary report of the winter of 1832 Smith included: "The gifts which follow them that believe and obey the Gospel, as tokens that the Lord is ever the same in His dealings with the humble lovers and followers of truth, began to be poured out among us, as in ancient days" (1:322).

Gift of Healing

Smith's journal records several experiences where he claimed to receive the gift of healing.²⁰⁹ The most miraculous event fell on July 22, 1839. Shortly after the mobs chased and expelled Mormons from Ohio and Missouri, thousands of refugees gathered in tents and old army barracks on either side of the Mississippi River where they began to build their "city beautiful," Nauvoo, Illinois.²¹⁰ The swampy lands bred malaria mosquitoes. Smith and the majority of the people, already destitute and immune-compromised, became deathly ill that first summer. Smith, "after being confined to his house several days, and while meditating upon his situation, . . . had a great desire to attend to the duties of his office."²¹¹ He rose from his sick-bed and received the power to heal hundreds. Wilford Woodruff recounted a day of miraculous healings:

[Smith] commenced to administer to the sick in his own house and door-yard, and he commanded them in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ to arise and be made whole; and the sick were healed upon every side of him. Many lay sick along the bank of the river; Smith walked along up to the lower stone house, occupied by Sidney Rigdon, and he healed all the sick that lay in his path. . . . After healing all that lay sick upon the bank of the river as far as the stone house, he called upon Elder Kimball and some others to accompany him across the river to visit the sick at Montrose.²¹²

In Iowa more miraculous healings occurred, beginning with Brigham Young and other leaders. They then joined Smith in calling upon God to heal many there. Wilford Woodruff's account adds his own involvement in the miracle:

After healing the sick in Montrose, all the company followed Joseph to the bank of the river, where he was going to take the boat to return home. While waiting for the boat, a man from the West, who had seen that the sick and dying were healed, asked Joseph if

²⁰⁹ A sampling of Smith's reception of the gift of healing includes *ibid.*, 1.272, 3.113, 2.328; 4.361, 5.308–309, 6.187.

²¹⁰ The population of the LDS church in December of 1838 was 17,881. After a year of persecution and illness the population fell to 16,460 by December 1839. This is one of two years of decline in the membership of the church; the other year was 1844, the year of Smith's death. For information on Kirtland mobs see Backman, *Regional Studies*, 148.

²¹¹ Smith, *History*, 4.18.

²¹² *Ibid.*

he would not go to his house and heal two of his children who were very sick. They were twins and were three months old. Joseph told the man he could not go, but he would send some one to heal them. He told Elder Woodruff to go with the man and heal his children. At the same time he took from his pocket a silk bandanna handkerchief, and gave to Brother Woodruff, telling him to wipe the faces of the children with it, and they should be healed . . . Elder Woodruff did as he was commanded, and the children were healed.²¹³

This miraculous day of healing reached all within Smith's path. Smith's gift of healing, however, was not available to heal his own infant twins who died years before, nor his three other children who also died in infancy.²¹⁴ He did not feel that he controlled the power, only exercised the gift when directed by the Spirit of God.

Another of Smith's journal entries dated March 14, 1843, described a different gift of healing which turned into a healing of both the body and the spirit:

Elder Jedediah M. Grant enquired of me the cause of my turning pale and losing strength last night while blessing children. I told him that I saw that Lucifer would exert his influence to destroy the children that I was blessing, and I strove with all the faith and spirit that I had to seal upon them a blessing that would secure their lives upon the earth; and so much virtue went out of me into the children, that I became weak, from which I have not yet recovered; and I referred to the case of the woman touching the hem of the garment of Jesus. . . . The virtue here referred to is the spirit of life; and a man who exercises great faith in administering to the sick, blessing little children, or confirming, is liable to become weakened.²¹⁵

In this example of the gift of healing, we find continuity with Smith's teaching that the gifts of the Spirit work through faith in Christ to profit others.

The Gift of Tongues

Smith spoke with the gift of tongues for the first time two years after the organization of the church, in the fall of 1832, shortly after he met Brigham Young for the first time. An

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Lucy Smith, *History of Joseph Smith*, 208, fn. "On Saturday, April 30, 1831, Emma had given birth to twins, a boy and a girl, who were named Thaddeus and Louisa. They lived but three hours and died." Smith and Emma also lost their firstborn, a son, and two other boys, Alvin and Ephraim who lived eleven days each.

²¹⁵ Smith, *History*, 5.303.

eye witness of the event, Heber C. Kimball, recorded,

Brothers Brigham and Joseph Young and myself went to Kirtland, Ohio. We saw Brother Joseph Smith and had a glorious time, during which Brother Brigham spoke in tongues, this being the first time Smith had heard the gift. The Prophet rose up and testified that it was from God. The gift then fell upon him, and he spoke in tongues himself.²¹⁶

Four years later at the dedication of the Kirtland Temple, Brigham Young again spoke in tongues. Smith's journal recorded, "President Brigham Young gave a short address in tongues, and David W. Patten interpreted, and gave a short exhortation in tongues himself, after which I blessed the congregation in the name of the Lord, and the assembly dispersed a little past four o'clock, having manifested the most quiet demeanor during the whole exercise."²¹⁷ It was crucial for Smith that the expressions of the gifts of the Spirit maintained a reverent, peaceful atmosphere identifying God's authorship.²¹⁸ (Smith later discouraged the use of tongues except in missionary work to foreign lands.²¹⁹) This incident in the Kirtland Temple was just part of a surge of gifts of the Spirit that overflowed as a spiritual endowment of power that came during the period surrounding the dedication of the Kirtland Temple in the spring of 1836.

Dedication of the Kirtland Temple

As part of Smith's restoration, and following the biblical pattern of dedicating

²¹⁶ Dahl and Cannon, *Encyclopedia of Smith's Teachings*: "Tongues, Gift of," 669-670.

²¹⁷ Smith, *History*, 2.428.

²¹⁸ Repeatedly Smith taught the need for serenity and reverence in their gatherings to foster the Spirit: "I therefore availed myself of this favorable opportunity to drop a few words upon this subject . . . that they might not incur the displeasure of heaven; that they should handle sacred things very sacredly, and with due deference to the opinions of others, and with an eye single to the glory of God" (2.318; see also 2.292; 2.428; 5.491).

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.141: "I have been thus particular in giving the history of this council, as the gift of tongues is so often made use of by Satan to deceive the Saints." Again from 2.162: "President Joseph Smith then gave an explanation of the gift of tongues, that it was particularly instituted for the preaching of the Gospel to other nations and languages, but it was not given for the government of the Church." A third example, "Speak not in the gift of tongues without understanding it, or without interpretation. The devil can speak in tongues; the adversary will come with his work; he can tempt all classes; can speak in English or Dutch. Let no one speak in tongues unless he interpret" (3.392). Even with all these warnings, years later he reported: "The gift of tongues is the smallest gift perhaps of the whole, and yet it is one that is the most sought after" (5.26).

Solomon's Temple (1 Kings 8:22-53), Smith received another revelation which instructed him to build and dedicate a temple, or an extraordinary meeting house, in Ohio. Even before the interior was finished, the building became associated with spiritual manifestations. Portions of the temple were completed sufficiently enough on January 21, 1836, for Smith to introduce another ordinance to a few of his leaders: "washings and anointing."²²⁰ Those present saw many visions, including a vision of the third heaven or Celestial Kingdom.²²¹ They learned that "all who had died without a knowledge of the gospel, but who would have accepted it if given an opportunity, were heirs of that kingdom" (which Smith later expanded on with vicarious baptism work).²²² Those experiencing the visions and revelation of knowledge felt they received gifts of the Spirit.²²³

After three years of sacrifice and labor, the Kirtland Temple dedication transpired March 27, 1836. During the days before and after the dedication, Smith and his followers experienced the gifts of faith, knowledge, revelation, prophecy, visions, tongues, and

²²⁰ The *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, describes "washings and anointing" as "preparatory or initiatory ordinances in the temple. They signify the cleansing and sanctifying power of Jesus Christ applied to the attributes of the person and to the hallowing of all life. They have biblical precedents (see Oil; Temples Through the Ages; Washing and Anointing). Women are set apart to administer the ordinances to women, and men are set apart to administer the ordinances to men. Latter-day Saints look forward to receiving these inspired and inspiring promises with the same fervent anticipation they bring to baptism. They come in the spirit of a scriptural command: "Cleanse your hands and your feet before me" (*D&C*, 88:74; cf. 1 John 2:27)" (Daniel Ludlow, 3.1444).

²²¹ *D&C*, 76:49-111 discusses three heavenly kingdoms of glory prepared as rewards for resurrected humans depending on how they lived their earthly lives. The kingdoms include the telestial, terrestrial, and celestial.

²²² Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3.145. Smith defined the Celestial Kingdom as the highest of Paul's three heavens where one can live in the presence of God. Part of Smith's vision was placed as section 137 in the *D&C*. The *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* further explains "This was the earliest latter-day revelation on the subject of salvation of the dead, a major doctrinal principle related to ordinances in LDS temples." Smith wrote on the subject of becoming exalted heirs through Christ also in *History*, 5.388-389, 424; 6.306, 478 (See also sermons on the topic in Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 246-247, 366-368, 382).

²²³ Oliver Cowdery's diary, dated January 21, 1836, reads, "At about three o'clock P. M. I assembled in our office garret, having all things prepared for the occasion, with presidents Joseph Smith, Jr. F.G. Williams, Sidney Rigdon Hyrum Smith, David Whitmer, John Whitmer and elder John Correll, and washed our bodies with pure water before the Lord, preparatory to the anointing [*sic*] with holy oil. After we were washed, our bodies were perfumed with a sweet smelling odorous [*sic*] wash . . . Those named in the first room were anointed with the same kind of oil and in the man[er] that were Moses and Aaron, and those who stood before the Lord in ancient days, and those in the other rooms with anointing oil prepared for them. The glorious scene is too great to be described in this book, therefore, I only say, that the heavens were opened to many, and great and marvelous things were shown" (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 665).

interpretation of tongues. Smith referred to the period of dedication in his journal as “a Pentecost.” At eight in the morning, the temple doors opened for the first dedicatory session. Nearly a thousand people filed in as the dedication unfolded with prayers, hymns, sermons, testimonies, sustaining of church leaders, the dedicatory prayer, and partaking of the Lord’s Supper. Notwithstanding the long day, 416 priesthood holders remained in the temple to experience the following spiritual outpouring as recorded in Smith’s journal:²²⁴

I met the quorums in the evening and instructed them respecting the ordinance of washing of feet, which they were to attend to on Wednesday following; and gave them instructions in relation to the spirit of prophecy, and called upon the congregation to speak, and not to fear to prophesy . . . Do not quench the Spirit, for the first one that opens his mouth shall receive the Spirit of prophecy. Brother George A. Smith arose and began to prophesy, when a noise was heard like the sound of a rushing mighty wind, which filled the temple, and all the congregation simultaneously arose, being moved upon by an invisible power; many began to speak in tongues and prophesy; others saw glorious visions; and I beheld the Temple was filled with angels, which fact I declared to the congregation. The people of the neighborhood came running together (hearing an unusual sound within, and seeing a bright light like a pillar of fire resting upon the Temple), and were astonished at what was taking place. This continued until the meeting closed at eleven p.m.²²⁵

The light-filled visionary experiences of Smith’s priesthood leaders are recorded with words from the day of Pentecost in Acts, chapter two. Smith interpreted the experience as a reenactment of the Spirit descending on the leaders of the primitive church. He saw himself retracing their steps under the same apostolic authority approved by the presence of the Spirit.

²²⁴ Forty percent of those attending the dedication were priests. Smith’s church organization included endowing all worthy male men with the priesthood. As lay clergy, everyone received callings to service.

²²⁵ Smith, *History*, 2.428. Joseph Smith’s *History* recorded the non-LDS neighbors’ reaction to the Kirtland Temple: “To show the Spirit of the public journals, such as the *Philadelphia Saturday Courier*, *New York Daily Advertiser*, *Sunday Morning News*, and the press generally, the past year, towards me and the cause of God, which I have fearlessly espoused, I quote the following, as a specimen of the whole, from M. M. Noah’s *New York Evening Star*: ‘That bold-faced imposter, Joe Smith, of Gold Bible and Mormon memory, has caused his poor fanatic followers to erect on the shores of Lake Erie, near Painesville, Ohio, a stone building, 58 by 78 feet, with dormer windows, denominating the same ‘The Temple of the Lord.’ We should think this work of iniquity extorted out of the pockets of his dupes, as it reflects its shadows over the blue Lake, would make the waters crimson with shame at the prostitution of its beautiful banks to such unhallowed purposes’” (2.351).

A second dedicatory service was held three days later on March 30th to accommodate those not able to fit into the temple for the opening Sunday service. Again Smith reported “the Holy Spirit rested down upon us, and we continued in the Lord's House all night, prophesying and giving glory to God.” Under the leadership of Smith that second night, the group “continued exhorting, prophesying, and speaking in tongues until five o'clock in the morning. The Savior made His appearance to some, while angels ministered to others, and it was a Pentecost and an endowment indeed, long to be remembered, for the sound shall go forth from this place into all the world, and the occurrences of this day shall be handed down upon the pages of sacred history, to all generations; as the day of Pentecost, so shall this day be numbered and celebrated as a year of jubilee, and time of rejoicing to the Saints of the Most High God.”²²⁶ More expressions of the gifts of the Spirit continued the following day, March 31st, and Smith's journal summarized: “the Spirit of God rested upon the congregation, and great solemnity prevailed.”²²⁷ In contrast to the uncontrolled flailing, screaming, jerking, and barking behaviors associated with the revivals of Smith's youth, the Kirtland experience of the Spirit arose in the midst of peace.

The next Sunday, April 3rd, the gift of revelation was received again in the temple. Smith and Oliver Cowdery both experienced a vision of the Lord accepting their temple. *Doctrine and Covenants* 110:1-3 and 7 describes it thus:

The veil was taken from our minds, and the eyes of our understanding were opened. We saw the Lord standing upon the breastwork of the pulpit, before us; and under his feet was a paved work of pure gold, in color like amber. His eyes were as a flame of fire; the hair of his head was white like the pure snow; his countenance shone above the brightness of the sun; and his voice was as the sound of the rushing of great waters even the voice of Jehovah, saying: . . . I have accepted this house, and

²²⁶ Ibid., 2.432–433.

²²⁷ Ibid., 2.433.

my name shall be here; and I will manifest myself to my people in mercy in this house.

Equally as momentous to Smith, the visions included a bestowal of further priesthood keys by Moses, Elias, and Elijah. This vision held additional significance as it fell during Passover—thus interpreted as a fulfillment of Malachi’s prophecy: “Behold, the time has fully come, which was spoken of by the mouth of Malachi—testifying that he [Elijah] should be sent, before the great and dreadful day of the Lord come—To turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the children to the fathers, lest the whole earth be smitten with a curse—of the return of Elijah” (*D&C*, 110:14-15).

In summary, the historical record of the Kirtland Temple dedication is saturated with marvelous descriptions of visions, revelations, prophecies, knowledge, faith, tongues, and interpretation of tongues—all in a spirit of reverent worship. In Smith’s history, no time before or after, compares to this climatic deluge of the gifts of the Spirit.

Conclusion

Smith surprised the world when he purported to reopen the Christian canon. In addition to the Bible, he claimed that his personal revelations could become new scripture. He maintained that *The Book of Mormon* (1830) and *Doctrine and Covenants* (1836) came through inspiration of the Holy Ghost and as such were canonized as additional testaments for his supporters. From the age of fourteen, he claimed to receive divine revelations through light-filled clear visions and inspired verbal directions. Unlike the majority of antebellum Christians, Smith placed the Holy Spirit in the Godhead of three ontologically separate personages and abandoned the doctrine of the Trinity. He referred to himself as a prophet using the biblical definition of one who depended on revelation from the Spirit of God for his teachings, received God’s authority, and spoke for God. His novel perspective

of eternal human spirits included a pre-mortal and post-mortal life that identified angels as glorified people who had lived or would live on the earth. In these ways he differed from most of his religious colleagues of his day.

He, too, had a much more expansive pneumatology than his contemporaries in other denominations. Of vital importance to Smith, the Gift of the Holy Ghost opened the window to receive divine revelation which he believed enabled him to restore the fullness of Christ's church to the earth again. He offered the Gift of the Holy Ghost as a God given ordinance through the laying on of hands by a special Melchizedek Priesthood authority. He taught that the Gift of the Holy Ghost could function as a constant companionship of the Spirit subsequent to faith, repentance, and baptism (offered at the age of accountability, or eight years old, *D&C* 68:25) to cleanse and sanctify disciples. The special gift empowered each member to overcome the instincts of "the natural man" and to live as a disciple or "a saint through the atonement of Christ the Lord."²²⁸ He enthusiastically embraced the gifts of the Spirit, but denounced uncontrolled dramatic displays as false spirits.²²⁹ The gift of discernment allowed him to detect counterfeit spirits.

Smith described a continuum of spiritual power emanating from the presence of God and communicated to humanity. He believed that the Spirit of Christ inspired all responsible humans, at the outset, with a sense of right and wrong. This influence, like all the influences of the Spirit, could be silenced through neglect and disobedience. He taught that a more explicit witness of truth came from the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, the third member of the Godhead. Even further along the continuum of spiritual influence is the

²²⁸ *The Book of Mormon*, Mosiah 3:19.

²²⁹ See notes 130 and 153 in this chapter.

constant companionship available through the Gift of the Holy Ghost. Finally, for Smith, the climactic spiritual connection with the divine came after the Holy Spirit of Promise sealed saints eternally in order for the “other Comforter” to witness and abide with them. Each of Smith’s degrees of spiritual stimulus depended on the recipient’s righteousness and conformity with the will of God. Superficially his ideas overlap with other Bible-based Christians, but a deeper analysis shows profound differences between Smith’s pneumatology and that of his Christian colleagues.

Chapter 8

Comparing and Contrasting Smith's Pneumatology with Those of Cartwright, Campbell, Hodge, and Finney

We now compare and contrast five major differences between Smith's teachings on the Spirit and the teachings of four contemporary religious leaders: Cartwright, Campbell, Hodge, and Finney. In evaluating their multiplicity, we find that Smith's teachings on the Spirit usually express the greatest diversity. His peers confined their pneumatologies to traditional biblical interpretations; in this, they represented a broad spectrum of religious attitudes about the Holy Spirit in antebellum American Protestantism. But the pneumatology of his day did not satisfy Smith, so he prayed to God for answers. His searching led to pneumatological beliefs that were not utterly a product of his environment; granted his culture stimulated religious thinking, but Smith's doctrines did not fall within the spectrum of the social, theological, and intellectual ideas of the day. He claimed his source of thought was revelation, while his enemies branded him as satanically deceived.

Before we examine the five men's pneumatological differences, it is helpful to point out their shared doctrines of the Holy Spirit. They all believed in the same Bible and shared biblical thought particularly in four areas: First, each man believed that God's Spirit took part in creating the earth and humanity. Second, they understood that the Spirit assisted in applying the atonement or cleansing of sins. Third, they also all warned against false spirits and the dangers of being deceived by satanic influences. Fourth, they felt the Lord's Spirit could commune with humanity, even though they differed on *how* that communication occurred.

On the other hand, the four religious leaders differed considerably from Smith in five major areas of pneumatology: Most notably, Smith did not limit the Spirit's revelation to the Bible and professed to offer the world "new scripture." Second, he did not believe in a Trinity that was ontologically one but viewed the Spirit in a Godhead of three separate personages. Third, he taught that obedient, baptized, church members could enjoy the constant companionship of the Spirit, termed: "the Gift of the Holy Ghost." Smith used this idiom to refer to a special gift received via an ordinance administered through the laying on of hands by those who held a special "Melchizedek priesthood" or apostolic authority. Fourth, he enthusiastically embraced the gifts of the Spirit and believed all of them had been restored to the earth again. Finally, he claimed that the Holy Spirit of Promise sealed baptism and other ordinances dependent upon the obedience of each participant. By placing these five elements of pneumatology side by side, one sees the contrast between Smith's ideas and those of his contemporaries and can isolate where their ideas converge and/or clash.

Revelation from the Spirit (including New Scripture)

All five men in this study believed that the Bible came as a revelation from God. Smith, Cartwright and Finney felt that they were called by the Holy Spirit to minister as servants of God. They each published their conversion accounts, which were filled with personal inspiration and witnesses of the Holy Spirit. Finney told of hearing words, feeling the Spirit as a "wave of electricity," and seeing a vision of Christ.¹ Cartwright described an impression on his "mind, as though a voice" of God spoke to him, and he was filled with "unspeakable joy."² All five men often mentioned feeling directed by the Spirit to

¹ Finney, *Autobiography*, 33; also 30, 32, and 35.

² Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 13.

know what to preach. Finney described being led by the Spirit to know what to ask in prayer and even called it revelation.³ Smith would agree that Cartwright and Finney experienced divine revelation. Hodge and Campbell may not have experienced a physical sensation, but as men of reason, they both felt divinely called to their mission.⁴ Nevertheless, revelation was a living concept to Hodge, albeit, “revelation itself is more inward and spiritual. What was then made known objectively, is now, to a greater extent, written on the heart.”⁵ Campbell did not refer to revelation outside of a biblical setting where he felt it belonged.

Smith, on the other hand, expressed a litany of dramatic physical encounters with supernatural beings that he referred to as revelations. He testified to seeing multiple visions of God and angels. He claimed to hear God’s word through His Spirit and received his mission call by way of a tangible stack of ancient plates. Different from his contemporaries, Smith felt compelled to record certain messages as divine revelations and canonized them as new scripture. Smith’s sense of compulsion came from a fear of offending God: “All they who receive the oracles of God, let them beware how they hold them lest they are accounted as a light thing, and are brought under condemnation.”⁶ He claimed to translate new scripture, which acted as the keystone for his new church.

Neither Cartwright, Finney, nor any other nineteenth century American preachers went so

³ Finney, *Revivals*, 51.

⁴ Hodge did not refer to his own conversion as a revelation, but he called Saint Paul’s conversion an “inward revelation.” Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 3.229-230: “It was this inward revelation of Christ by which Paul on his way to Damascus was instantly converted from a blasphemer into a worshipper and self-sacrificing servant of the Lord Jesus. It is not, however, only one object which the opened eye of the believer is able to discern. The Spirit enables him to see the glory of God as revealed in his works and in his word; the holiness and spirituality of the law; the exceeding sinfulness of sin All the great doctrines of the Bible concerning God, Christ, and things spiritual and eternal, are so revealed by this inward teaching of the Spirit, as to be not only rightly discerned, but to exert, in a measure, their proper influence on the heart and life. Thus the prayer of Christ (John xvii. 17), ‘Sanctify them through thy truth,’ is answered in the experience of his people.”

⁵ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 2.6

⁶ *D&C*, 90:5.

far as to suggest that the Spirit's or Christ's words to them should be new scripture—in fact, the very idea repulsed them.

Smith's addition of eight hundred pages to the scriptural canon attacked the sacred nature of the Bible and hundreds of years of Christian tradition. The Bible was the most sacred document in the world to Protestants and the centerpiece of their faith. Most held it as directly from the Holy Spirit, the source of their authority and endowment of power. Many Christians at that time, including Campbell and Hodge, felt the words of the Bible were God-given and therefore infallible. Campbell also believed that the Spirit came from the words of the Bible. Most Protestant preachers (including Campbell, Finney, Cartwright and Hodge) turned to the Bible to separate truth from error. Biblical words became the resource for their preaching and the guide to their living. The Bible offered them a link to the covenant. And the Bible provided unity among the sects of Christianity. By attempting to add to the scriptural canon, Smith alienated himself from and infuriated most Christians.

Joseph Smith never wanted the *Book of Mormon* to replace the Bible; nevertheless, his enemies referred to it as “the Gold Bible.” Instead of competing with the Bible, Smith envisioned the two books acting as a double witness that Jesus of Nazareth was the Savior and Redeemer of the world. He explained his view to the editor of the *Chicago Democrat*: “[*The Book of Mormon*] should come forth and be united with the Bible for the accomplishment of the purposes of God in the last days.”⁷ Smith hoped that the two books would work hand in hand and even called the *Book of Mormon* the “stick of Joseph” in fulfillment of Ezekiel 37:19. As early as two months after *The Book of Mormon* was published, Smith recorded in his journal:

⁷ Smith, *History*, 4.538.

The *Book of Mormon* (the stick of Joseph in the hands of Ephraim) had now been published for some time, and as the ancient prophet had predicted it, "It was accounted as a strange thing" [Hosea 8:12]. No small stir was created by its appearance. Great opposition and much persecution followed the believers of its authenticity . . . we feared not our opponents, knowing that we had both truth and righteousness on our side, that we had both the Father and the Son, because we had the doctrines of Christ, and abided in them; and therefore we continued to preach and to give information to all who were willing to hear.⁸

Smith "feared not" his opponents because he felt he had the Spirit on his side while he fulfilled God's errand. On the contrary, most saw Smith's claim as a violation of the Bible. Adding to the scriptural canon was not a practice that stemmed from the Second Great Awakening.⁹ On the contrary, Smith's claim of a modern revelation—especially revelation more accurate than the Bible—was not rooted in his environment, but came from his belief in the Holy Spirit's ongoing power to reveal the mind of God. The masses mocked his book, as well as his character.

Equally as offensive to some like Campbell and Hodge was Smith's charge that the Bible was not flawless. In contrast to mainstream nineteenth century American religious culture, Smith did not believe the Holy Spirit made a prophet infallible. The Spirit revealed perfect information, but humanity—even God's servants—were still mortal and succumbed to weaknesses. Smith believed that prophets spoke God's messages with their own words. He apologized, "I never told you I was perfect; but there is no error in the revelations which I have taught."¹⁰ From his perspective, *The Book of Mormon* and the *Doctrine and Covenants* were God's word, or dictated as divine revelation, and were

⁸ Smith, *History*, 1.84.

⁹ There are a few other examples of people who claimed to write scripture: Mother Ann Lee claimed that she spoke for Christ, but did not place her revelations above the Bible. Hillerbrand, *The Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, 3.54. J.J. Strange and the Zarahemlahites, were both splinter groups from Joseph Smith and claimed to write scripture.

¹⁰ Smith, *History*, 6.366. Smith's doctrine of agency played a large role in his understanding of the infallibility of man. He taught that God would not jeopardize humanity's agency, but gave humans the Holy Spirit, His love, choice, responsibility, and punishment as encouragement. See also Givens, *Hand of Mormon*, 82.

therefore completely trustworthy, while he as a man still had weaknesses. Smith's views that his sacred writings were more accurate than the Bible infuriated many American Christians and created a rift between him and his fellow Christians. By 1830 some European textual analyses of the Bible questioned the authenticity of the words of God, but the majority of Americans (especially the under-educated farmers) had no idea of the biblical criticism that was beginning to unfold. Even European-educated Hodge refused to accept the higher biblical criticism and held up the Bible as "the only infallible rule of faith and practice."¹¹ In the same vein, Campbell's appreciation for the original words of the Bible was evident by his publishing a new translation as "*Living Oracles: The Sacred Writings*." Similarly, Finney held up the Bible as "the true word of God."¹² Even Cartwright, who was barely literate when he began his preaching, learned to read and "searched the Bible for the true fulfillment of promise and prophecy."¹³ By questioning the veracity of the Bible as the infallible word of God, Smith stood closer to the Deists than to the Methodists, Presbyterians, or other Protestants—although he was not a Deist in any sense of the word. The point is that Smith's revolutionary definition of scripture did not emerge from his generation.

If Smith were a product of his environment, he would not have started a new church by presenting a new book of scripture—and then claiming that it was more accurate than the Bible. That was not the way new churches began in early America. New denominations were splintering off in record numbers in the early nineteenth century because of different opinions on baptism, regeneration, the depravity of man, the working

¹¹ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 3.334.

¹² Finney, *Autobiography*, 25.

¹³ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 22. Cartwright honored the Bible by basing his sermons on a "text of Scripture"(309).

of the Spirit, slavery, and other issues. No one but Smith started a new denomination by claiming that the Spirit inspired him to translate a new book of scripture. On the conservative end of the spectrum, Hodge and Campbell warned of the danger of listening to any spiritual voices associated with “prophecy” because “the Bible alone speaks the words of inspiration.”¹⁴ Plenty of people were interested in the history of the Native Americans and in finding treasure, but only Smith produced another book of scripture. Smith’s claim to reveal new scripture violated contemporary thought; it did not develop out of it.

Why did Smith claim to open the scriptural canon then? Some suggest a desire for notoriety, power, or insanity, but these allegations are not grounded in historical records.¹⁵ Smith’s own answer rests in his belief of personal divine inspiration. During the translating of *The Book of Mormon*, Smith recorded that God told him: “Deny not the Spirit of revelation nor the Spirit of prophecy, for woe unto him that denieth these things.”¹⁶ He felt compelled to honor what he thought was from God. Most labeled his inspiration as “imagination” and his revelation as “deluded,” yet a few claimed to receive

¹⁴ Campbell defended a closed canon: “The Bible alone speaks the words of inspiration. No other book, however high it has been lauded as a mighty work of genius, bears upon its pages the impression of the Mighty One . . . No other book, ancient or modern, whatever its pretensions may be, hold such sway over the minds of men as the Inspired Volume” (Campbell, *Millennial Harbinger*, 424). Hodge spoke for the conservative Protestants when he warned against listening to Spiritual voices: “It has been found, that the study of the Prophecies has proved dangerous to men of imaginative minds. By degrees, they come to see coincidences which are concealed from other minds; and , at length, fall into a degree of extravagance in their opinions, which clearly indicates, that the proper balance of the mind has been disturbed. In all such cases, there is contracted a certain degree of insanity in relation to the favorite object of pursuit; and it is the more important to give precautionary counsels to prevent this aberration of mind; because when it is once contracted, advice comes too late. It is one symptom of this disease, to adhere to the suggestions of a disordered imagination with confidence which no arguments can shake.” Hodge, *Biblical Repertory and Theological Review*, 4.2 (1832): 151.

¹⁵ Bushman, *Rough Stone*, 270; Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 1. Responding to the critics, Hugh Nibley summarized Brodie’s scholarship: “No Ma’am, That’s Not History” in 1946, see Hugh Nibley, *Tinkling Cymbals and Sounding Brass: The Art of Telling Tales About Joseph Smith and Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1991), 1-39. Dan Vogel claimed Smith was a “pious fraud” who deliberately deceived in God’s name. He selected a few “primary source documents” for his arguments, but I found he also ignored much evidence that opposed his argument. See *Making of a Prophet*, xviii.

¹⁶ D&C, 11:25; also 76:83; *The Book of Mormon*, Jacob 6:8; Moroni 10:8.

a witness from the Spirit that Smith was a prophet.¹⁷ He declared that he received direction from the Spirit, and he felt compelled to obey. In short, Smith claimed to write new scripture because he feared God more than man. And Smith had plenty of men to fear. When he began speaking of a sacred record at age seventeen, he may not have realized how many were seriously offended by his claim to introduce new scripture. However, before the book was published in March of 1830, Smith had received enough negative feed back that he certainly knew his “Gold Bible” was not wanted. His life and the lives of his loved ones were constantly at risk. His internal desire to enlarge the scriptural canon was driven by something stronger than the spirit of fear and rejection; he claimed he was driven by the Spirit of God. And he felt he substantiated his claim by exercising all the gifts of the Spirit.

Trinity

Cartwright, Campbell, Hodge, and Finney each believed in the Trinity, and each represented the large bodies of people they influenced. The concept of the Trinity was so ingrained in their thought that a definition was not needed. Even though Methodism supported the Trinity, Cartwright never discussed the underlying doctrine; as a simple itinerant preacher he focused on conversions, not the Spirit’s relationship to the Father and Son. His writings included only two uses of the word “Trinity”—first he denounced the Unitarians for not believing it, and second, he concluded a speech: “May the blessing of

¹⁷ *The Book of Mormon* concludes by asking its audience to seek an objective change of heart or witness of the Spirit: “And when ye shall receive these things, I would exhort you that ye would ask God, the Eternal Father, in the name of Christ, if these things are not true; and if ye shall ask with a sincere heart, with real intent, having faith in Christ, he will manifest the truth of it unto you, by the power of the Holy Ghost. And by the power of the Holy Ghost ye may know the truth of all things” (Moroni, 10:4-5). For Smith, a witness of the Spirit was objective. He also preached that he was God’s prophet by the evidence or manifestation of the gifts of the Spirit that followed him: “Faith cometh not by signs, but signs follow those that believe” (D&C, 63:9).

the eternal Trinity rest upon you all! Amen.”¹⁸ It is not surprising to find that Cartwright did not discuss the Trinity, given that he scarcely mentioned the Spirit or discussed any dogma. For him references to God sufficed.

In contrast, Finney regularly referred to the Spirit, but similar to Cartwright, he seldom spoke of the Trinity.¹⁹ Unexpectedly, one of his infrequent citations of the Trinity invoked the need for further revelation: “So little was known or knowable on the subject of the Trinity of God without revelation.”²⁰ Finney constantly sought more knowledge from the Spirit. His writings focused on the *Spirit’s work*, not the Spirit’s relationship to God—even though as a Congregationalist, his frame of reference was from the creedal definition of the Trinity.

In contrast to Cartwright and Finney, Campbell and Hodge regularly referred to the Trinity in their writings. Nevertheless, each preacher had his own distinctive use of the term. Campbell’s second article of faith defined his belief in the Trinity: “I believe in one God as manifested in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, who are therefore one in power, nature and volition.”²¹ In keeping with his desire to return to the primitive church, Campbell preferred the biblical word “Godhead.”²² He felt the word “Trinity” was man-made and not the ideology of a triune God. In the most striking example from that list, he denounced the word “Trinity” as non-biblical and included it among “unauthorized and Babylonish phraseology.”²³

¹⁸ Cartwright, *Fifty years*, 220, 96: “the Unitarians deny the Trinity.”

¹⁹ Finney, like Cartwright, denounced the Unitarians who “set aside the doctrine of the Trinity” (419), but Cartwright never systematically described the Trinity.

²⁰ Finney, *Systematic Theology*, 390.

²¹ Quoted in Richardson, *Memoirs of Campbell*, 2.615-616.

²² Campbell described the Spirit on pages 95-96; also *Christian System*, 11, 23.

²³ Campbell, *Christian Baptist*, 2 (Aug, 1824): 159.

Hodge, on the other hand, employed the word “Trinity” regularly and methodically. He carefully drew his doctrine of the Trinity from the traditional Nicene and Constantinople creeds and devoted the entire sixth chapter in his first volume of *Systematic Theology* to explaining the Trinity. He felt the need to explain and defend the traditional Trinity from attacks of his day. Understanding the Trinity was completely fundamental to him. For him, the scriptures presented God “as the proper object of worship” and as such should “bring the doctrine of the Trinity into constant remembrance as the fundamental truth of our religion.”²⁴ Certainly, Hodge clung to the Trinity more strongly than the other three Protestant theologians highlighted here. Yet, all of these men appreciated the Spirit as part of a triune God, whether they used specific or vague definitions of the Trinity with constant or intermittent verbal support.

Completely opposed to their views, Smith rejected the doctrine and philosophy of a Trinity. It had no part in his vocabulary or thoughts—nowhere in his sermons, personal writings, or history did he mention the word “Trinity.” Smith’s doctrine on the Godhead disconnected him from traditional Christianity. This split from traditional thought did not develop over time or as a reaction against Trinitarian philosophy; rather Smith’s first vision at age fourteen grounded him with his own distinct view of the Godhead when he saw the Father and Son before him as two separate persons. From that point on he denied any connection to Protestant or Catholic thought on the Trinity. Offending fellow ministers on all sides, Smith claimed his doctrine came independently from revelation.

Smith was not alone in his denial of the Trinity; several of his contemporaries denounced the fourth century philosophical definition. Universalists like John Murray (1741-1815), Unitarians like William Channing (1780-1842), and Deists like Thomas

²⁴ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1.528.

Jefferson all denied the doctrine. But their similarities ended there; Smith's rejection of the Trinity looked nothing like the others. No one else in his generation taught that the Godhead consisted of three separate beings of purified matter, being completely unified in their purpose to exalt humanity. Smith exclusively taught that all three had bodies that looked like men, but the Father and the Son had tangible, glorified bodies of flesh and bones while the Holy Spirit's body was not visible to unaided mortal eyes. Many Christians joined Smith in believing that Jesus was the literal offspring of God the Father, but Smith alone taught that both the Father and Son were now resurrected, glorified, separate persons of holiness. They were one in purpose but not in being or essence. They were eternally separate beings. Smith alone preached that the Spirit was the first comforter and that the glorified Jesus was the second or other comforter. Not only did Smith break away from the time-honored doctrine of the Trinity, but also he described a Godhead of three embodied Gods.

Smith was similar to Campbell, Hodge, and Finney in arguing his point of view from the Bible, although Smith's untraditional biblical interpretation contradicted his peers' perspective. He drew on the intercessory prayer to illustrate the separate nature of the Godhead where Jesus asked His Father if the Twelve might become one "as we are" (John 17:11). In a Sunday sermon in 1843 Smith used 1 Peter 3:22 and Stephen as witnesses that other prophets saw the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God (Acts 7:55-56). In the same sermon Smith condemned the concept of a triune God: "If I were to testify that the Christian world were [*sic*] wrong on this point, my testimony would be true."²⁵

²⁵ Smith, *History*, 5.426: "There is much said about God and the Godhead. . . Any person that had seen the heavens opened knows that there are three personages in the heavens who hold the keys of power, and one presides over all. . . . As the Father hath power in Himself, so hath the Son power in Himself, to lay down His life and take it again, so He has a body of His own. The Son doeth what He hath seen the Father do: then

Smith's expanded image of three separate Gods did not correspond to the historical precedent of Tritheism. The well-educated Campbell and Hodge would have superficially labeled Smith's beliefs as Arian or Gnostic. And it is true that Smith taught against a Trinity in which the "personages" were of one and the same nature, or consubstantial (*homoousion*), in favor of a Godhead in which they were only like (*homoiousion*) one another. However, unlike the Arians, Smith did not deny the divinity of Jesus as the Christ nor His eternal nature. Smith believed the aim of God's work and glory was "to bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of man," as stated in Moses 1:39. In other words, Smith taught that God's glory would increase as more righteous individuals became exalted heirs through Christ. Unlike the Gnostics, Smith believed that salvation came through Christ's atonement, not by knowledge. From either end of Christian history, Smith's Godhead did not neatly fit contemporary or historical creeds.

Why did Joseph Smith reject the historical view of the Trinity? The answer lies in his first vision and understanding of the Holy Spirit. He believed his visionary experiences showed him two glorified beings. Furthermore, the *Book of Mormon* and revelations in the *Doctrine and Covenants* also taught him that the Godhead was three separate beings. These experiences, as well as several others in his young life, had such an impact on him that he gave more allegiance to his Spiritual promptings than to his cultural mores. Whether he was right or wrong, he attributed the empowerment from the Spirit, as the source of his courage to preach against the Christian tradition of the Trinity.

the Father hath some day laid down His life and taken it again; so He has a body of His own; each one will be in His own body; and yet the sectarian world believe the body of the Son is identical with the Fathers" (for original scribal notes see: Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 213-214).

Gift of the Holy Ghost

The biblical phrase “Gift of the Holy Ghost” (Acts 2:38, 10:45) was used by three of the Protestant ministers studied here (Cartwright alone was an exception). However, none of them differentiated between the Gift of the Holy Ghost and the presence of the Spirit. Campbell emphasized “the Gift of the Holy Ghost” like the “gifts of the Spirit” as divine offerings associated with the biblical apostles alone. In his conservative view, he defined the Gift of the Holy Ghost as a special anointing exclusively held by Christ and his apostles and honored it as a strictly biblical phenomenon. Campbell wrote less and less on the “Gift of the Holy Ghost” as he steered away from the workings of the Spirit at large. In an early example from the *Christian Baptist*, he denied a universal application of 1 Corinthians 12:7: “the Holy Spirit given to every man to improve.”²⁶ Instead, he spoke of modern man using his reasoning and thereby completely avoided the debate over appropriate and inappropriate manifestations of the Spirit.

Like Campbell, Hodge identified the “Gift of the Holy Ghost” as a “characteristic blessing of the Messianic period.”²⁷ For him, Christ’s death secured the Gift of the Holy Ghost; and Christ alone offered the Gift of the Holy Ghost to His chosen children.²⁸ Hodge’s commentary identified the apostles ordaining others with the Gift of the Holy Ghost through the laying on of hands. He attributed the “Gift of the Holy Ghost” as the

²⁶ Campbell, *Christian Baptist*, 103. Interestingly, *The Book of Mormon* and *D&C* repeat this same biblical phrase three times—but with an exactly opposite interpretation. (Moroni 7:16: “. . . the Spirit of Christ is given to every man . . .” and *D&C*, 46:11, 16: “all have not every gift given unto them; for there are many gifts, and to every man is given a gift by the Spirit of God. . . . The manifestations of the Spirit may be given to every man to profit withal.”) Campbell rejected a modern application, while Smith heralded one.

²⁷ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1.493: “The Gift of the Holy Ghost is everywhere represented as the characteristic blessing of the Messianic period.”

²⁸ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 2.572: “He must have some one to appear before God in his stead to make expiation for sin, and to secure for him, independently of his own subjective state, the full pardon of all his offences, and the gift of the Holy Ghost.”

power that rendered the apostles “infallible in the communication of the truth.”²⁹ Unlike Campbell, though, Hodge extended the influence of the Spirit—to some degree at least—to those modern Christians “elected to salvation.”³⁰ He reserved the title “Gift of the Holy Ghost” for biblical characters, but spoke of the influence or “gift of the Spirit” available to all the elect. He did not elaborate on the difference between these two titles (which is a disappointing rarity). For Hodge, one might know that one was elect if one felt God’s gift of the Holy Spirit. This gift, however, was not affiliated with an ordination, and he described it as feeling the comfort or influence of the Spirit.

Finney grasped the Gift of the Holy Ghost as the Spirit’s personal inspiration in the modern world. He quoted Acts 2:38: “Ye shall receive the Gift of the Holy Ghost” and suggested that the passage “strongly impl[ies] that there is a certain connection of some sort between coming to Christ, receiving Christ, etc., and eternal life,” but elaborated no further.³¹ Finney, like Hodge and Campbell, made no distinction between the “Gift of the Holy Ghost” and Paul’s gifts of the Spirit. Finney encouraged his audience to seek the gift of God’s Spirit as an achievable goal, but he never identified “the Gift of the Holy Ghost” from Acts 2:38 and 10:45 as a specific apostolic ordination as Hodge did. Even though we assume that Finney knew of Acts 19:6, 2 Timothy 1:6, and Hebrews 6:2, 4, he never associated the “laying on of hands” and the Holy Ghost working together. Instead, he taught that prayer was the avenue to receiving the spirit, and he saw that as “the great gift of God.”³²

²⁹ Charles Hodge, *An Exposition of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (New York: Robert Carter, 1862), 291.

³⁰ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1.399: “God foresaw who would repent and believe, if they received the knowledge of the Gospel and the gift of the Spirit, and these He elected to salvation.” Also 1.543; 2.572; and *Essays and Reviews*, 190.

³¹ Finney, *Systematic Theology*, 529.

³² Finney, *Autobiography*, 279; *Revivals*, 51.

In contrast to his peers, Joseph Smith referred to the “Gift of the Holy Ghost” as a title for an essential ordinance, which like baptism, was a prerequisite for salvation. It was not the same as the gifts of the Spirit, or the inspiration of the Spirit, but rather a unique blessing associated with a priesthood endowment. Smith designated “*the Gift of the Holy Ghost*,” above and beyond the witness and working of the Spirit, as one of the unique dimensions of his restoration. For him, the Spirit always testified to truth, inspiring and directing sincere believers; while the “Gift of the Holy Ghost” was a special gift conferred, in response to a person’s willingness to be baptized, through the “laying on of hands” by men holding the Melchizedek priesthood.³³ His descriptions of this unique gift included the privilege of the constant companionship of the Spirit, experiencing other spiritual gifts, and the cleansing power of baptism of the Spirit.

Smith maintained this distinct definition of the Gift of the Holy Ghost throughout all of his preaching and writing. He described the “difference between the Holy Spirit and the Gift of the Holy Ghost” as availability and continuity. The witness of the Spirit God gives intermittently to all sincere seekers, while the Gift of the Holy Ghost is constantly available through righteousness and a priesthood ordinance by “the laying on of hands.”³⁴ Similar to his fellow religious leaders, Smith defended his interpretation by claiming continuity with the Bible. His distinctive definition, however, was absent from other Christian teachings in nineteenth century America.

The Gift of the Holy Ghost was the only point where Joseph Smith’s views were closer to Campbell’s than to anyone else’s. They both believed that the Gift of the Holy Ghost was a unique gift, different from the plural “gifts of the Spirit.” They both believed

³³ *Pearl*, Articles of Faith, 4.

³⁴ See Smith, *History*, 4.555, for quotation see chapter seven under 4) Gift of the Holy Ghost: “*Difference between the influence of the Holy Spirit and the Gift of the Holy Ghost*.”

it required an apostolic ordination, which was also the precise point of their separation. Campbell was repulsed by Smith's claim to receive the priesthood from apostles and thereby hold the necessary priesthood keys and power to confer the Gift of the Holy Ghost. But Smith asserted,

We believe that the holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and that holy men in these days speak by the same principle; we believe in its being a comforter and a witness bearer, that it brings things past to our remembrance, leads us into all truth, and shows us of things to come; we believe that "no man can know that Jesus is the Christ, but by the Holy Ghost." We believe in it [this Gift of the Holy Ghost] in all its fullness, and power, and greatness, and glory; but whilst we do this, we believe in it rationally, consistently, and scripturally, and not according to the wild vagaries, foolish notions and traditions of men.³⁵

While Smith exhorted his congregation to seek this divine gift, Campbell rejected any modern application. Although Hodge believed that some living Christians received "a gift" of the Holy Spirit, it was not associated with an ordination; and furthermore, he and Smith disagreed on who the elect recipients were. While Hodge believed that God predestined some to receive the gift of God's Spirit, Smith taught that all the meek could come unto Christ and receive the Gift of the Holy Ghost after baptism.

Smith further isolated himself from Campbell, Hodge, and Finney by introducing the "Gift of the Holy Ghost" as a priesthood "ordinance" required for exaltation. Protestants generally taught that the sacraments were not necessary for God's grace and limited them to baptism and the Lord's Supper. Smith's required ordinances placed him closer to the sacramental Catholics than to the Protestants. Unlike the Catholics, though, Smith taught that the Gift of the Holy Ghost should be received shortly after baptism (which was administered by immersion only to those who were responsible for knowing right from wrong). Smith also taught that the Gift of the Holy Ghost (in conjunction with baptism

³⁵ Smith, *History*, 5.25-26. For a continuation of the citation and further evidence see page 271.

and the authority of the Melchizedek priesthood) had been available to righteous humans since the days of Adam—further separating himself from both Catholics and Protestants. The gap between Smith’s ordinances and the Catholic sacraments widened as he introduced fifteen “ordinances” (most of which differ from the traditional seven sacraments).³⁶ Smith used the word “sacrament” only for the Lord’s Supper; all other required rites he referred to as “ordinances.”³⁷ The final separation came when Smith received a revelation recorded as *Doctrine and Covenants* 1:15, that asserted God censured both Catholic and Protestant sacraments: “They have strayed from mine ordinances, and have broken mine everlasting covenant.” Smith felt the power of priesthood and Gift of the Holy Ghost separated all his ordinances from those of others.

Claiming superior authority and a unique gift were only two components of Smith’s doctrinal separation from his peers on the subject of the Gift of the Holy Ghost. He also insisted on close timing between baptism and receiving the ordinance of the Gift of the Holy Ghost.³⁸ The timing was imperative to complete cleansing as he argued that the Gift

³⁶ The Council of Trent enumerated seven sacraments: “Baptism, Confirmation, Holy Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Holy Orders, and Matrimony” (Conde Pallen, John Wynne, eds, *The New Catholic Dictionary* (New York: Universal Knowledge Foundation, 1929), 844. Smith shared six of the seven (not penance), but each had his own doctrinal twist; in addition, Smith included as ordinances: the washing of feet, vicarious ordinances for the dead, eternal sealing of marriage, washing and anointing, endowment, and calling and election made sure; and as non-saving ordinances: naming of children, anointing the sick, patriarchal blessings, priesthood ordinations, consecration of holy oil, and dedicating the grave. In *D&C* 84:20-21, Smith taught, “in the ordinances thereof, the power of godliness is manifest. And without the ordinances thereof, and the authority of the priesthood, the power of godliness is not manifest unto men in the flesh.” Smith taught that the Gift of the Holy Ghost was the enabler of these ordinances. Smith, *History*, 5.23-26.

³⁷ An example of Smith’s use of “sacraments” is found in the *History of the Church*, 3.112: “Sunday, July 22. . . . [We] held public meeting at five p. m. Attended to offering our sacraments to the Most High, breaking bread for the first time on our journey. The first two Sabbaths after we started on our journey we were so circumstanced and thronged with visitors that we omitted attending to the ordinance of the Lord’s Supper. At our meeting in the afternoon the Lord blessed us by the outpouring of His Spirit, our hearts were comforted and most of the camp felt thankful for the blessings conferred upon us by our heavenly Father.”

³⁸ Smith was more like the Eastern churches who followed the patristic practice of allowing confirmation immediately after baptism. Hillerbrand, *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, 1.165. Smith recorded his own experience of being filled with the Spirit after his baptism: “Immediately on our coming up out of the water after we had been baptized, we experienced great and glorious blessings from our Heavenly Father. No

of the Holy Ghost was the key to the cleansing baptism by fire. Regeneration under the Reformed tradition changed the evil human into one capable of receiving the Holy Spirit. Smith did not associate the cleansing renewal of the Spirit or new birth with regeneration.³⁹ In fact, Smith never used the word “regeneration”—even in his “translation” of the Bible, he changed Matthew’s 19:28 use of “regeneration” to “resurrection.”⁴⁰ He spoke of Christ’s atonement covering sins and the Spirit cleansing each repentant person after they sinned, but he taught that infants were born innocent not needing regeneration. Unlike Hodge, Finney, and Campbell, Smith did not believe that people were punished for Adam’s and Eve’s sin. He concurred that humans are recipients of the consequences of the fall and are apt to sin, but he felt that everyone had the power to initiate repentance by changing their hearts and inviting the cleansing power of the Gift of the Holy Ghost to function.

Smith’s interpretation of the biblical phrase “the Gift of the Holy Ghost” is different enough from the interpretations of his contemporaries to enable one to question the theory that Smith’s ideas emerged from his environment. Campbell, Hodge, and Finney used the

sooner had I baptized Oliver Cowdery, than the Holy Ghost fell upon him, and he stood up and prophesied many things which should shortly come to pass. And again, so soon as I had been baptized by him, I also had the Spirit of prophecy, when, standing up, I prophesied concerning the rise of this Church, and many other things connected with the Church, and this generation of the children of men. We were filled with the Holy Ghost, and rejoiced in the God of our salvation” (*Pearl, JS-H*, 1:73). By Smith’s definition, the outpouring of the Spirit that Smith experienced at baptism was not the “gift of the Holy Ghost” as described on pages 284-285, but a witness from the Holy Spirit.

³⁹ Smith’s doctrine underlying the principle of regeneration is found in *The Book of Mormon*, Alma 42:8, 15, 23-24: “And now, ye see by this that our first parents were cut off both temporally and spiritually from the presence of the Lord; and thus we see they became subjects to follow after their own will. . . And now, the plan of mercy could not be brought about except an atonement should be made; therefore God himself atoneth for the sins of the world, to bring about the plan of mercy, to appease the demands of justice, that God might be a perfect, just God, and a merciful God also. . . . And mercy claimeth the penitent, and mercy cometh because of the atonement; and the atonement bringeth to pass the resurrection of the dead; and the resurrection of the dead bringeth back men into the presence of God; and thus they are restored into his presence, to be judged according to their works, according to the law and justice. For behold, justice exerciseth all his demands, and also mercy claimeth all which is her own; and thus, none but the truly penitent are saved.” Also *The Book of Mormon*, Moro 8:8, 11-14, and page 266.

⁴⁰ Smith, *JST*, Matt 19:28: “Ye who have followed me, shall, in the resurrection, when the Son of man shall come.”

phrase very differently from Smith. While there are minor differences in their own usage, only Joseph Smith perceived the Gift of the Holy Ghost as a restored “ordinance” or sacramental rite required for salvation that was only available through the Melchizedek priesthood. Only Smith saw it as the means to receiving the charismatic gifts of the Spirit, and the Holy Spirit of Promise.

Gifts of the Spirit

Campbell, Hodge, Finney, and Smith all discussed the “gifts of the Spirit” as outlined in 1 Corinthians 12. Each of the men agreed that the gifts of the Spirit acted as a witness of the special apostolic mission.⁴¹ Campbell and Hodge quoted page after page of biblical commentary on the gifts practiced in the Apostolic Age. None of these four men doubted the veracity of the gifts in the Bible; the question was whether the gifts of the Spirit were still practiced. According to Campbell, that was impossible—“the Holy Spirit was communicated by the apostle’s hands; consequently, when the apostles all died, these gifts were no longer conferred.”⁴² He believed that the only genuine place to find people exercising the gifts of the Spirit were in the pages of the Bible; in the post-biblical world, the Spirit worked differently: “Those gifts have ceased, the Holy Spirit now operates upon the minds of men only by the word.”⁴³

⁴¹ For example, Campbell wrote, “[Paul’s] mission was established by the gifts of the Spirit imparted to them, by the miracles wrought in their presence” (*Christian Baptist*, 103, see also 46, 47, 49). Hodge also believed in the miracles of the Old and New Testament (*Essays and Reviews*, 99, 124). And Finney taught, “The power to work miracles and the gift of tongues were given as signs to attest the reality of their divine commission” (*Autobiography*, 55).

⁴² Campbell, *Christian Baptist*, 104 continues, “[A]nd gradually all the converts who had those gifts died also; and therefore, those gifts did not long survive the apostles. A reason for their ceasing to be conferred will appear...the Holy Spirit vouchsafed to the testimony concerning Christ. Correct views of the office of the Holy Spirit in the salvation of men, are essential to our knowledge of the Christian religion, as also to our enjoyment of it.”

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 65. Campbell published a letter to the editor that quoted himself: “we are positive of one point, namely that the scriptures teach us not the doctrine of physical operations of the Divine Spirit in order to faith...we are not to look for any new revelations of the Spirit”(ibid). Later in the same volume Campbell explained how modern humanity can feel the Spirit: “Not only the unbelieving Jews and Gentile, but

Hodge, too, felt that a few gifts of the Spirit continued to work in the mind and heart. To justify this disparity with Paul's counsel to "covet earnestly the best gifts" (1 Cor 12:31), Hodge separated the ordinary and "extraordinary gifts of the Spirit."⁴⁴ The extraordinary gifts were given only to apostles (i.e. miracles, healing, tongues) and the ordinary (knowledge, faith, hope, and charity) to the elect.⁴⁵ For Hodge, even the "modern prelates do not claim to possess any one of these [extraordinary] gifts. Nor do they pretend to the credentials which authenticated the mission of the Apostles of Christ."⁴⁶ In short, the more miraculous gifts were manifested only by the biblical apostles and prophets.

Finney wrote less on the gifts of the Spirit than did Campbell, Hodge, and Smith; but when he did, he often cited biblical references: "Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights" (James 1:17).⁴⁷ He did not refer to more visible charismatic gifts, but when he referred to other "gifts," it was often associated with his favorite subjects—prayer and preaching.⁴⁸ However, he did not use Paul's word "gifts" for faith, hope, and charity. Instead, he referred to the latter three as

ourselves, who, by faith in Jesus, are become the sons of God, who have the chief and most exalted gifts of the Holy Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, anxiously waiting for the full adoption of the sons of God; naming the redemption of our bodies from the grave at the resurrection of the just" (192). Spiritual adoption for Campbell was resurrection.

⁴⁴ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1.154. In Hodge's commentary on *1 Corinthians* he further explained, "The extraordinary gifts of the Spirit were not confined to them or to any particular class, any member present who experienced the working of the Spirit in any of its extraordinary manifestations, was authorized to use and exercise his gift. Under such circumstances confusion could hardly fail to ensue" (300).

⁴⁵ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1.399; "God foresaw who would repent and believe, if they received the knowledge of the Gospel and the gift of the Spirit, and these He elected to salvation."

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.138.

⁴⁷ Finney, *Systematic Theology*, 509; see also *Lectures on Revivals*, 87, 98. Just like the phrase, "gift of the Holy Ghost," Finney never mentioned "gifts of the Spirit," in his *Autobiography* nor in *Systematic Theology*.

⁴⁸ Finney, *Lectures on Revivals*, 416: "A professor of religion may increase in gifts, that is, he may become more fluent in prayer, and more eloquent in preaching or more pathetic in exhortation, without being any more holy. We naturally increase in that which we exercise ourselves. . . . But he may do all this, and yet have no grace at all. . . . It is true, if he has grace, and exercises himself in these things, as he grows in grace he will grow in gifts" (see also 124, 127, 239, 240). For Finney the gift or presence of the Spirit was imperative to preaching. It frustrated him that "so little stress is laid upon this qualification for preaching." In his opinion, it was the influence of the Spirit that made preaching powerful and "without the direct teaching of the Holy Spirit, a man will never make much progress in preaching the Gospel" (*Autobiography*, 55; see also *Lectures on Revivals*, 416).

“Christian graces” that required human initiative: “Faith, repentance, love, and every Christian grace, properly so called, does and must consist in an act of will.”⁴⁹ He saw the “Christian graces” as “the gift and work of the Spirit” available to all mortals who sought them diligently. And therein was his key. The difference between Finney and most other theologians was his stress on the need for people to exert their own will to receive the gift of God’s Spirit. Humanity had the power to call upon God, repent, and seek these gifts of the Spirit as they functioned in the Old and New Testaments.

Cartwright tried to disassociate himself from radical groups by avoiding the subject of the gifts of the Spirit. The only reference he made to the “gifts of the Spirit” in his writings censured the “diabolical Mormons.”⁵⁰ It appears that he connected the gifts of the Spirit specifically with the Mormons and tried to remove himself from them as far as he could. It was clear, though, that he believed in some legitimate outpouring of the Spirit in conversion because he criticized a “Campbellite” man who did not: “He [the Campbellite] denied the operations of the Spirit, its testimony, bearing witness with our Spirits that we are the children of God, and that all those happy feelings professed by Christians were nothing but excitement; that there was no religion in it.”⁵¹ The main thrust of Cartwright’s *Autobiography* was to describe conversion stories. It is not unusual, therefore, to find words like “knowledge,” “faith,” “hope,” “charity,” and “visions” in the context of his conversions. Even though Paul attributed all of these points to the gifts of the Spirit, Cartwright never correlated them as such.⁵² When he described a woman who “had a

⁴⁹ Finney, *Systematic Theology*, 169. The quote continued, “...faith necessarily depends upon the clearness or obscurity of the intellectual apprehensions of truth. Faith, to be real or virtuous, must embrace whatever of truth is apprehended by the intelligence for the time being.”

⁵⁰ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 22, 198-199, 232.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 207.

⁵² An example of Cartwright’s use of knowledge: “The work broke out around the settlement, and scores were brought to a saving knowledge of the truth.” Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 59; see also 118, 162, 301,

dream or vision, in which she afterward declared she saw her Savior apparently in all his supreme glory,” his dialogue showed no sign of questioning the validity of this vision.⁵³ The reverse is true when Cartwright described Mormons who claimed to see a vision or receive other gifts of the Spirit. In his mind, Joseph Smith was an impostor, while the woman was sincere.

Each of the above theologians, and most Christians, agreed that the gifts of the Spirit witnessed to the New Testament apostles’ sacred mission. The problem came when Joseph Smith asked them to use the same benchmark to measure his mission. They concurred that spiritual gifts qualified the ancient prophets and apostles to teach truth, but they could not accept Smith as a modern prophet who allegedly exercised the same gifts. He asked Americans to judge him from the New Testament model, but they judged him from their traditions of the cessation of the charismata, and he did not fit.

In contrast to the preachers of his day, Joseph Smith discussed the gifts of the Spirit with alacrity, and they played a major role in his daily life. From the first church conference in June of 1830 to the last days of his life in June of 1844, Smith reported manifestations of the gifts of the Spirit. Smith positioned himself far apart from his generation by claiming to practice all the apostolic gifts of the Spirit. Scattered examples of tongues and healings are found in diaries, but no one claimed to practice the entire Pauline inventory.⁵⁴ Smith not only claimed the gifts himself, but also enthusiastically claimed their restoration and availability to others. Without referencing Campbell or Hodge, Smith often addressed their concerns regarding the link between the gifts and

etc.. Examples of faith: 9-10, 18-19, 32, 187, 230, 264-265, 300-301, 311-312; hope: 12, 233, 249, 257, 284, 291; charity: 271, “his conduct was characterized by that ‘charity which suffereth long and is kind.’”

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁵⁴ Cartwright denounced people who spoke in tongues or claimed miraculous healing. *Ibid.*, 38, 225-226, 260.

apostolic authority. From Smith's perspective, God "restored" the apostolic priesthood to him through the hands of the resurrected apostles that thereby enabled the return of the miraculous gifts of the Spirit. When Smith referred to "those in authority," he meant those called of God, who could utilize the Melchizedek Priesthood by keeping all of God's commandments. This was an important distinction for him as he interpreted all other churches functioning under an inadequate authority. He saw the power of "the restoration of the priesthood" as a conduit for men and women to practice the gifts of the Spirit. Once the authority was in place, Smith taught that the next two requirements for the practice of the gifts of the Spirit were God's will and motive to serve: "I would that ye should always remember, and always retain in your minds what those gifts are, that are given unto the church . . . that all may be profited thereby."⁵⁵ These powerful prerequisites were also joined by faith: "Thou shalt have a gift if thou wilt desire of [God] in faith, with an honest heart, believing in the power of Jesus Christ."⁵⁶ In Smith's mind, the gifts were available to all willing to apply these steps.

Smith often infuriated his fellow Christian neighbors (including specifically Campbell and Cartwright) by claiming to cast out devils, heal the sick, speak in tongues, discern spirits, and prophesy. To counter their attacks and defend his gifts, Smith often denounced the "apostasy" of those who did not believe and quoted Mark 16:17, "these signs shall follow them that believe." In 1842, a critic, Mr. Sollars, confronted Smith about the need to practice the gifts of the Spirit: "May I not repent and be baptized, and not pay any attention to dreams, visions, and other gifts of the Spirit?" Smith passionately

⁵⁵ *D&C*, 46:10, 12. Five times in the *D&C* 46, Smith mentioned that God gave the gifts of the Spirit to bless others, see 46:16, 18, 26, and 29.

⁵⁶ *D&C*, 11:10; also *The Book of Mormon*, Ether 12:9, 11: "Ye may also have hope, and be partakers of the gift, if ye will but have faith. . . . But in the gift of his Son hath God prepared a more excellent way; and it is by faith that it hath been fulfilled."

responded, “Suppose I am traveling and am hungry and meet with a man and tell him I am hungry, and he tells me to go yonder. . . . I go and knock, and ask for food, and sit down to the table, but do not eat, shall I satisfy my hunger? No. I must eat. The gifts are the food; and the graces of the Spirit are the gifts of the Spirit.”⁵⁷ Smith hungered after the gifts of the Spirit, preached on them, and exercised them often.

Many saw Smith as a fanatic in his claims of practicing the gifts of the Spirit. He, too, warned against extremist behaviors and insisted that the gifts of the Spirit were sacred and extraordinary. He carefully avoided irreverent displays to safeguard a reverent setting where the Spirit could dwell. Only when proper authority and divine purposes mandated their use did he believe that spiritual gifts were from God. As often as he spoke on this favorite topic of the gifts, he also warned that the devil deceived those unfamiliar with the Spirit of God with counterfeit gifts. One of Smith’s closest companions observed, “There was no point upon which the Prophet Joseph dwelt more than the discerning of Spirits.”⁵⁸ While Smith believed he had the gift to discern Spirits, many like Cartwright and Campbell were doubtful. Their fear of rampant forgeries drove them from acknowledging anything extraordinary. Unlike his contemporaries, Smith did not balk at charismatic gifts but insisted that they required another gift—the gift of discernment—to judge between God’s gifts and Satan’s deceptions.

⁵⁷ Smith, *History*, 5.219; appropriately, this conversation arose when Smith and Sollars traveled to Springville, IL.

⁵⁸ Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 21. The close companion was his cousin, George A. Smith. Joseph Smith similarly preached, “We may look for angels and receive their ministrations, but we are to try the Spirits and prove them, for it is often the case that men make a mistake in regard to these things. . . . Every Spirit, or vision, or singing, is not of God. The devil is an orator; he is powerful; he took our Savior on to a pinnacle of the Temple, and kept Him in the wilderness for forty days. The gift of discerning Spirits will be given to the Presiding Elder [or local leader of a congregation]. Pray for him that he may have this gift. Speak not in the gift of tongues without understanding it, or without interpretation.” (Smith, *History* 3.391-392).

The early nineteenth century was riddled with the complicated issue of spiritual gifts. The Second Great Awakening experimented with spiritual manifestations at a new level—from jerking and barking to healing and prophesying. On the other extreme, the same generation reacted against the bizarre religious manifestations by safeguarding reason and placing rational controls over the extraordinary biblical gifts. One of the most cautious, and simultaneously the most experimental of all, was Joseph Smith. *Doctrine and Covenants* 46:8 addresses these two extremes: “Beware lest ye are deceived” by seeking “earnestly the best gifts” of the Spirit. Smith preached the gifts of the Spirit as a favorite subject and claimed to practice all of the biblical gifts. On the surface he coincided with his society, but a closer look at his ideas on the gifts of the Spirit show that his expansive view is not entirely found in his culture; he asserted independent knowledge, authority, and commission to exercise the gifts of the Spirit.

Holy Spirit of Promise

The last major element in pneumatology that set Smith apart from his contemporaries was his doctrine of “the Holy Spirit of Promise.” The phrase is biblical (Eph 1:13), so theologians (including Hodge and Campbell) quoted it to describe Christ’s promise of the Spirit. Neither Cartwright nor Finney mentioned the phrase from Ephesians but speak of general promises of the Spirit.⁵⁹ Hodge briefly touched on it in his commentary on Ephesians as part of the promise of sanctification for the elect.⁶⁰ One step

⁵⁹ Finney, *Systematic Theology*, 962, explains that Abraham, Moses, and “Old Testament saints” did not “receive the promise of the Spirit, as it is poured out under the Christian dispensation.” Even though Cartwright does not mention the phrase in his *Autobiography*, the Methodist leader, John Wesley used it once, signifying the adoption of humanity to God: “We and you are sealed with one ‘spirit of promise’ the earnest [*sic*] of *your* and of *our* inheritance: the same Spirit bearing witness with your and with our spirit, “that we are the children of God.” *Sermons on Several Occasions* (New York: Carlton and Phillips, 1855), 1.158.

⁶⁰ Charles Hodge, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians* (New York: Robert Carter, 1878), 64; “It indicates those who belong to him; and it renders their salvation certain. This sealing is *by the Holy Spirit of*

further, Campbell saw the Holy Spirit of promise as instrumental in sanctification and regeneration.⁶¹ He also specified that the Holy Spirit of promise came after belief and was the “sole earnest or pledge” of being “sealed unto the day of redemption” without the need for any ordinance.⁶² While Campbell discussed the topic more than most of his colleagues did, he still used the common definition that Jesus’ promises of the Spirit would be fulfilled. Both Campbell and Hodge mentioned in their biblical commentaries that the Spirit acts as a seal or witness to God’s promises, yet they both stop short of explaining why it was needed and what the process involved.⁶³ Their vague references suggest that

Promise. That is, by the Spirit who was promised; or who comes in virtue of the promise. This promise was given frequently through the ancient prophets, who predicted that when the Messiah came and in virtue of his mediation, God would pour his Spirit on all flesh. Christ when on earth frequently repeated this promise; assuring his disciples that when he had gone to the Father, he would send them the Comforter.” Later in the same volume, after a section on baptism, Hodge again briefly alluded to the Spirit of Promise: “Sanctification by the Holy Spirit; and as a seal to God’s promise to grant him those blessings on the condition of the repentance and faith thus publically avowed. Whatever he may have experienced or enjoyed before this is the public conveyance to him of the benefits of the covenant, and his inauguration into the number of the redeemed. If he is sincere in his part of the service, baptism really applied to him in the blessings of which it is the symbol” (323-324). Smith did not build on Hodge’s ideas, as they were not published until 1856, over a decade after Smith’s death.

⁶¹ After a brief discussion on baptism, Campbell explained, “‘having put on Christ,’ it now became his duty and his happiness to ‘walk in him,’ and to bring forth in life and conduct the fruits of that Holy Spirit of promise which he received upon the obedience of faith. Thus the gospel was discovered to be of so simple a nature as to be perfectly adapted to the understanding of every creature” (quoted in Richardson, *Memoirs of Campbell*, 224). The link between regeneration and the Holy Spirit of promise is made in the *Christian Baptist* in an article endorsed by Campbell, though written by Mr. Brantly: “It is believed amongst us that there is a Holy Spirit of promise, by which Christians are sealed after they may have come to the exercise of faith; this same Spirit presides over, and produces every instance of regeneration which occurs in the world; and that he ordinarily employs the Word of God as the instrumental action in regeneration” (660).

⁶² Richardson, *Memoirs of Campbell*, 36-37. Campbell condemned the need for infant sprinkling and then quoted Eph 1:13 and summarized the Holy Spirit of promise to mean “1. That all believers, after believing the gospel, are sealed by the Holy Spirit. 2. That this seal or impression of the Spirit is their sole earnest or pledge until they enter into the enjoyment of the inheritance of the saints. 3. That this seal is a sufficient guarantee and earnest, and requires not any external ordinance to perfect it. This testimony is further confirmed by the same apostle and the same epistle (Eph iv.30): ‘Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption.’”

⁶³ Campbell, *Sacred Writings*, Ephesians, np. “After ye believed, ye were sealed with the spirit of promise, the Holy Spirit, who is the earnest of our inheritance, until the redemption of the purchased people, to praise of his glory.”

they understood the “Holy Spirit of Promise” to be the same concept as the “promises of the Spirit.”⁶⁴

Smith, on the other hand, introduced a pneumatological breakthrough with his new doctrine and handling of the phrase.⁶⁵ He did not interpret the “Holy Spirit of Promise” as intertwined with the process of regeneration, sanctification, adoption, or redemption.⁶⁶ Instead he used the complete idiom, “the Holy Spirit of Promise” as a special title (similar to the way he redefined the phrase, “the Gift of the Holy Ghost”). In his vernacular, “the Holy Spirit of Promise” signified a specific aspect of the Spirit’s power to seal or ratify certain “saving ordinances”⁶⁷ (dependent on the recipient’s faithfulness). Unlike some in the Reformed tradition, Smith included both human effort and the Spirit’s approval when he spoke of the work of the Holy Spirit of Promise. He taught that although God was in control, God did not control humans. Smith felt that the sealing performed by the Holy Spirit of Promise required a synergistic effort between human desires, actions, and the Spirit’s endorsement of those worthy of exaltation.

⁶⁴ Campbell used the promise of the Spirit to mean the same thing as the Holy Spirit of Promise (*Millennial Harbinger*, 319). In Hodge’s *Commentary on Ephesians* he explained that the elect “have obtained a portion in this inheritance, and, after having believed, have been sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise” (68). Similarly, I found two other publications from the nineteenth century that addressed the phrase from Eph 1 and 5. First, Rev. William G. Elliot, the pastor of the Church of the Messiah at St. Louis wrote, “The Holy Spirit or Spirit of God was ‘poured out’ or ‘shed forth’ both on Jews and Gentiles. Believers were ‘sealed’ with the Holy Spirit of promise. Jesus ‘breathed on them’ and said, ‘receive ye the Holy Spirit.’” *Discourses on the Doctrine of Christianity* (Cambridge, MA: American Unitarian Association, 1855), 33. Also Rev. William Guthrie explained that one “must first believe and . . . then look for the seal and witness of the Spirit: ‘In whom, after ye believed, ye were sealed with that holy Spirit of promise,’ &c. As long as people hold fast these principles, and the like, they can hardly [*sic*] come to the knowledge of their gracious state, which God hath warranted people to prove and clear up to themselves, other ways than by these foresaid things.” William Guthrie, *The Christian’s Great Interest* (Glasgow, Scotland: Wm Collins, 1828), 75.

⁶⁵ *D&C*, 88:3; 124: 124; 132:7, 18, 19, 26; Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 4, 15, 190, 209, 284, 335.

⁶⁶ Smith did not see baptism as a means to overcome the fallen state of man; nevertheless, it was essential in order to enter the kingdom of heaven. Baptism was needed to cleanse one from sin, but one was not born into sin. Without infant baptism, the ordinance included a covenant of living the laws of the gospel that promised the blessings of the Holy Spirit both in this life, and blessings of the Father and Son in the next.

⁶⁷ LDS define the saving ordinances as those required for exaltation (i.e. baptism, the gift of the Holy Ghost, washing and anointing, Temple Marriage, etc).

Smith used the Holy Spirit of Promise as a title for two related functions. The first was the Spirit's sealing power of priesthood ordinances contingent on the covenanters' righteousness. *Doctrine and Covenants* 132:7 states, "all covenants" and ordinances must be "sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise" to verify their "efficacy" and the sincerity of the covenanter.⁶⁸ In this preliminary role, the Holy Spirit of Promise acts like an on-and-off switch to seal covenants between God and mortals. Based on his revelations, Smith taught that each ordinance was attached to a covenant of obedience. God never fails on His side of the covenant, but Smith observed that humans often fell short—men and women (even prophets and prophetesses) were not infallible.⁶⁹ He saw no saving grace in a baptism that was followed by a hypocritical life of sin. Instead, he believed all covenants and ordinances were only efficacious when humans live worthily—God will not accept the vow of an unrepentant hypocrite. This is where Smith saw the Holy Spirit of Promise as invaluable. With perfect knowledge, the Spirit cannot be deceived, and therefore acts as the judge and sealer of ordinances. When a person upheld his or her covenant with God, the Holy Spirit of Promise ratified the ordinance; when a person did not, there was no eternal reward. Another deterrent to ratification by the Holy Spirit of Promise, according to Smith, was the need for proper order and *priesthood authority*.⁷⁰ He taught that each saving ordinance must be performed as God revealed it to his prophets with proper priesthood power.

⁶⁸ Also in a sermon Smith taught: "He that hath my commandments & keepeth them, he it is that loveth me &c.-I will manifest myself to him. if he does not he has not told the truth. I will put promises in your hearts, that will not leave you that will Seal you up." Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 214.

⁶⁹ The Holy Spirit of promise acted as a judge to ensure authorized priesthood authority and personal obedience. *D&C*, 76:53: "And who overcome by faith, and are sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise, which the Father sheds forth upon all those who are just and true."

⁷⁰ *D&C*, 107:18: "The power and authority of the higher, or Melchizedek Priesthood, is to hold the keys of all the spiritual blessings of the church."

The second role of the Holy Spirit of Promise included the ultimate or “sure” sealing which was never removed. Smith concurred with 2 Peter 1:10, that this conclusive operation of the Holy Spirit of Promise became the eternal confirmation of one’s calling and election made sure. Unlike Augustine and Calvin, Smith understood the biblical concept “election” as a conditional promise; one’s election depended on one’s choices as well as the Spirit’s sealing power. Smith taught that only when you worked “out your own salvation with fear and trembling” (Phil. 2:12), and applied the atonement of Christ for your cleansing, only then could the Holy Spirit of Promise seal God’s elect. In a sermon on 1 Peter 1:1-4, Smith explained that the Holy Spirit of Promise seals one’s calling and election. Even in his scribe’s cryptic notes it is evident that after one receives “the knowledge of God,” one is on the road to learn what is required to make one’s calling and election sure. Smith interpreted the ultimate sealing of “the Holy Spirit of Promise” as synonymous with one’s “calling and election made sure.”⁷¹ Elsewhere he elaborated on the sure sealing as an ordinance that took place only after “the Lord has thoroughly proved [one], and finds that the man is determined to serve Him at all hazards, then the man will find his calling and his election made sure.”⁷² (Even though the nineteenth century vernacular was “man,” the sealing ordinance was performed for women as well.)

Smith taught that all people will have the opportunity to learn and follow Christ and receive this sealing as elected heirs with Christ—whether in this life or the next. On earth, an ordinance administered only by the prophet in Temples (or if there were no Temple available, as in the early Nauvoo years, Smith used other sacred spaces) ultimately sealed

⁷¹ Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 26; also Smith, *History*, 5.267.

⁷² Ibid., 3.380. In the same vein, he said, “The Holy Spirit of Promise acted in this ultimate role as a witness to the “final sanctioning authority for all priesthood blessings.” Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 26.

the valiant to the third heaven.⁷³ Smith encouraged his members to seek for the Holy Spirit of promise to seal their calling and election, and he administered the ordinance to several.⁷⁴

No one else in the nineteenth century spoke of the Holy Spirit of promise as an ordinance for the living or the dead, nor did anyone use Ephesians 1:13 as a descriptive name for a specific function of the Spirit. Smith extended the scope of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit of promise. Those who claim Smith's religious thoughts were pieced together from ideas circulating around Vermont and the Burned-over District will find it difficult to explain his doctrine of the Holy Spirit of Promise, which is unique to him and not entirely from his cultural and religious milieu.

Conclusion

The subject of revelation was the major topic of debate in early nineteenth century American theology. Within that frame of reference, Joseph Smith and many of his contemporaries explored various aspects of the influence of the Holy Ghost. Cartwright, Campbell, Hodge, and Finney were all influential religious leaders, and their personal opinions on the Spirit represent a large segment of Protestant thought. Their published works indicate that interest in the Holy Spirit was central to antebellum American theological and religious movements. Although these men's ideas on the workings of the Spirit covered a wide spectrum of thought, their culture included an even greater mixture and range of opinions.

⁷³ 2 Corinthians 12:2 records Paul "caught up to the third heaven," and the *D&C* defined it as the "celestial kingdom" (88:4, 20, 22, 25; 137:1, 7). Smith understood this as the celestial kingdom where the resurrected righteous receive their exaltation and live in the presence of God.

⁷⁴ Smith, *History*, 4.284.

Smith's pneumatology is the only one of its kind during the Second Great Awakening. He charted a new course in his doctrine on the Spirit, and his doctrine does not arise entirely from his environment. Certainly his frontier mannerisms, work ethic, and religious curiosity developed from sources in his society; but his unique perspective on the Holy Spirit indicates that his pneumatology was not the effect of his upbringing. He shared the same KJV vocabulary with Christians, but he interpreted most pneumatological terms differently from his religious peers. His innovative opinions on the Spirit are not found within conventional Protestant teachings in nineteenth century America. Rooted in his scriptures and personal experiences, Smith had a more expansive view of the Holy Spirit's role, which reflected a more comprehensive appropriation of the biblical tradition than the views of Cartwright, Campbell, Hodge, or Finney, and demonstrated a restoration of primitive Christianity.

Significantly, Smith did not see himself as building another Protestant church. In his own words he claimed, "I never built upon any other man's ground."⁷⁵ He contended that the Mormon Church was an outgrowth of the revelations and "visions" he received from the Spirit of God, Christ, and angelic messengers. He did not build on his childhood Methodism, his father's Universalism, or his mother's Presbyterianism. Smith claimed exclusive reliance on the Spirit's revelations, which gave rise to his unique ideas. Smith stood alone in his thoughts on the Gift of the Holy Ghost, just as he told President Martin Van Buren in 1839.

This study of Joseph Smith's pneumatology refutes past analyses that exaggerated the impact of Smith's environment on his beliefs; the study thus opens the way to examine Smith's doctrine. Those historians who missed the significance of Smith's unique doctrine

⁷⁵ Smith, History, 6.410.

of the Spirit have missed a valuable piece from the puzzle of American religious history. When historians acknowledge that Smith's doctrine of revelation was not entirely a product of his environment, it will decrease prejudices and open the doorway for increased dialogue between Christian denominations. In light of the fact that The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has become one of the fastest growing international religions, it behooves religious historians to take a deeper look at its doctrine. By so doing, Christians can learn to appreciate Latter-day Saints as believers in Jesus as the Christ and Redeemer, even if they find other doctrinal differences. Smith's focus on revelation and inspiration brings to Christianity a religion that requires the sacrifice of all things—including one's will—in order to submit to all the Holy Spirit's promptings:

A religion that does not require the sacrifice of all things never has power sufficient to produce the faith necessary unto life and salvation; for, from the first existence of man, the necessary unto the enjoyment of life and salvation never could be obtained without the sacrifice of all earthly things. It was through this sacrifice, and this only, that God has ordained that men should enjoy eternal life; and it is through the medium of the sacrifice of all earthly things that men do actually know that they are doing the things that are well pleasing in the sight of God.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Dahl and Cannon, *Encyclopedia of Joseph Smith's Teachings*, 235.

**Appendix One:
Time Lines of
Peter Cartwright, Alexander Campbell, Charles Finney, Charles Hodge, and
Joseph Smith**

Peter Cartwright

1785	Sep 1	Born in Amherst County, Virginia
1791		Moved to Lincoln County, Kentucky
1793	Fall	Family moved to Logan County, Kentucky
1801	May	Converted at Red River Revival in Kentucky
	June	Joined the Methodist Episcopal Church
1802	May	Licensed to exhort
	Fall	Family moved to Lewiston County, KY; exhorted in new circuit
1803	Oct	Probationary circuit rider
1804	July	“Admitted on trial” to ride a new circuit
1806	Sep 15	Ordained a deacon by Bishop Asbury, with orders to baptize-marry
1808	Aug 18	Married Frances Gaines on her eighteenth birthday in Glasgow, Kentucky
	Oct 4	Appointed an elder of Methodist Episcopal Church by Bishop M’Kendree
1812	Fall	Appointed a Presiding Elder by Francis Asbury
1824	Nov	Moved family of wife and seven children to Sangamon Co, Illinois
1828		Elected to lower house of Illinois General Assembly
1832		Re-elected to lower house of Illinois General Assembly
1842?		Met Joseph Smith
1846		Lost as the candidate for Congress against Abraham Lincoln
1856		Published <i>Autobiography</i>
1868	Sept 22	Jubilee celebration for fifty years of service as a Presiding Elder
1871		Published <i>Fifty Years as a Presiding Elder</i>
1872	Sept 25	Died at home near Pleasant Plains Illinois—leaving his wife, 8 children, grandchildren, 37 great grandchildren, and 7 great-great-grandchildren

Alexander Campbell

1788	Sept 12	Born in Antrim County, Ireland to Thomas and Jane Corneigle
1805		Taught Greek, Latin, and Locke with his father at Ulster academy
1808		Studied French, Latin, Greek and logic at the Univ. of Glasgow
1809		Arrived in America; formed “Christian Association” with his father,
1811		Baptist ordination as a minister and began preaching
1811	March 12	Married Margaret Brown of Brooke County Virginia

1811	May 4	Organized the Brush Run Church with thirty members
1813		Joined the Redstone Association of Baptists
1816		Published <i>Sermon on the Law</i> undercutting Calvinism
1818		Opened Buffalo Seminary to teach biblical Christianity
1822		Closed Buffalo Seminary
1823		Published first <i>Christian Baptist</i> ; organized a second church of Reformers
1824		First meeting of Barton Stone and Alexander Campbell
1826		Published <i>Living Oracles</i> translation of the New Testament
1827		Death of Margaret leaving eight children; married Selina Bakewell
1828		Published <i>Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs</i>
1830		Collaborated on a new translation of the New Testament
1830	July 5	Last issue of <i>Christian Baptist</i> , First issue of <i>Millennial Harbinger</i>
1831	June	Visit to Kirtland, Ohio with possible contact with Mormons
1831		Published first anti-Mormon literature, <i>Delusions: An Analysis of the Book of Mormon</i> (1832)
1832		Union of Thomas and Alexander Campbell with Barton Stone and Walter Scott in Lexington, Kentucky, making 18,000 "Disciples of Christ."
1835		Published <i>Christianity Restored</i> (re-titled as <i>The Christian System</i>)
1836		Published <i>The Christian Preacher's Companion</i>
1839		Published <i>The Christian System</i> , a work of systematic theology
1840		Charter granted for Bethany College, opened a year later
1843		Published <i>The Christian Hymnbook</i>
1849		Elected president of Disciples at first national convention at Cincinnati
1851		Published <i>Christian Baptism—Its Antecedents and Consequents</i>
1858		Published a translation of <i>The Acts of the Apostles</i>
1861		Published <i>Memoirs of Elder Thomas Campbell</i>
1863		Published <i>Popular Lectures and Addresses</i>
1866	March 4	Death

Charles Finney

1792	August 29	Born in Warren CT as the seventh child of Sylvester and Rebecca
1806-08		Attended Hamilton Oneida Academy
1808-12		Taught district school
1812-14		Attended common school
1814		Taught in New Jersey while pursuing higher education
1818		Began studying Law at Adams College
1820		Admitted to the New York bar.
1821	Oct 10	Converted as a Christian, left practicing law to become a minister
1821-24		Studied theology and languages with Rev George Gale at Adams
1823	Dec 30	Licensed to preach by the Presbytery of St. Lawrence, New York.
1824	Oct	Married

1824-27		Conducted revival meetings across upstate New York
1827-32		Led revivals in eastern cities as well as Rochester New York
1832		Initiated as pastor of NYC Second Free Presbyterian Church
1835		Lecture series entitled, "Revivals of Religion," spontaneously delivered and published in weekly installments.
1835	Summer	Moved to Oberlin, Ohio to teach at the new Oberlin College
1836		Published <i>Sermons on Important Subjects</i>
1838	Oct	Help found the <i>Oberlin Evangelist</i>
1839		Sailed to Europe
1840		Published <i>Skeletons of a Course of Theological Lectures and Views of Sanctification</i>
1846		Published <i>Lectures on Systematic Theology</i>
1849-50		Traveled to England to conduct revival meetings
1851-1865		President of Oberlin College
1857		Conducted revival meetings in Boston and Providence
1859-60		2 nd trip England and 1 st to Scotland to conduct revivals
1868		Completed manuscript of <i>Memoirs</i>
1875	Aug 16	Died in Oberlin, Ohio

Charles Hodge

1797	Dec 27	Born in Philadelphia, PN to Dr. Hugh Hodge and Mary Blanchard
1798	July	His father died, leaving at home the youngest two boys and widow
1812		Entered College of New Jersey (Princeton) as a sophomore
1815	Jan 13	Joined the Presbyterian Church of Princeton
	Sept	Graduated from College
1816		Entered Princeton Seminary under auspices of Archibald Alexander
1819	Sept	Graduated from Princeton Theological Seminary
	Oct	Ordained by the Presbytery of Philadelphia
1820	May	Hired to teach Greek and Hebrew at Princeton
1821	Nov	Ordained by the Presbytery of New Brunswick
1822	May	Appointed Professor of oriental and biblical literature
		Established the periodical: "Biblical Repertory"
	June	Married Sarah Bache
	Sept	Delivered inaugural address at Princeton
1825		Instituted "Princeton Review" to defend confessional Presbyterian faith
1826-28		Studied German biblical scholarship and languages in Europe
1834		Received a Doctor of Divinity from Rutgers University
1835		Published commentary on <i>Romans</i>
1840		Assumed Princeton chair of Exegetical and Didactic Theology and Published <i>The Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States</i>
1841		Published <i>The Way of Life</i> describing his personal faith and piety
1846		Elected moderator of the Old School Presbyterian General Assemb.

1849	Dec 25	Wife Sarah Bache died
1851		Additional responsibility of Polemic Theology added to chair
1852		Married widow Mary Hunter Stockton
1856		Published commentary on <i>Ephesians</i>
1857		Published commentary on <i>First and Second Corinthians</i> and <i>Essays and Reviews: Selected from the Princeton Review</i> , and “Retrospect of the History of The <i>Princeton Review</i> ”
1870		Published biblical <i>Repertory and Princeton Review: Index Volume</i>
1871-73		Published three volumes of <i>Systematic Theology</i>
1874		Published <i>What is Darwinism?</i>
1878		Published <i>Discussions in Church Polity</i>
	June 19	Death
1879		Published posthumously <i>Conference Papers</i>
1880		Biography published son, AA Hodge, <i>The Life of Charles Hodge</i>

Joseph Smith

[Adapted from Dean Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 625]

1805	Dec 23	Born at Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont to Joseph and Lucy
1811		Family moved to Lebanon, New Hampshire
1813		Contracted typhus fever; leg operation
1816		Family moved to Palmyra, New York
1820	Spring	First Vision
1823	Sept 21	First Moroni visitation
	Nov 19	Death of brother Alvin
1827	Jan 18	Married Emma Hale at Bainbridge, New York
	Sept 22	Obtained Book of Mormon plates
	Dec	Moved to Harmony, Pennsylvania
1828		116 pages of Book of Mormon lost
	June 15	Son Alvin born; died same day
1829	April 7	Oliver Cowdery begins as scribe in translation the Book of Mormon
	May 13	Aaronic Priesthood received
	June	Finished Book of Mormon translation
1830	March	Book of Mormon published
	April 6	Church organized
	June	Visions of Moses revealed
	Dec	Writings of Moses revealed
1831	Jan	Moved to Kirtland, Ohio
	Spring	Commenced revision of the Bible
	April 30	Twins (Thadeus, Louisa) born; lived only three hours
	May 9	Adopted Murdock twins, Joseph and Julia
	June 19	Started for Jackson County, Missouri
	July	Revelation designating site for city of Zion (D&C 57)
	Sept 12	Moved to Hiram, Ohio

	Dec	Preached in area of Kirtland-Ravenna, Ohio, to counteract effects of anti-Mormon Ohio Star articles.
1832	Jan 25	Sustained as president of High Priesthood at Amherst, Ohio, conference
	Feb 16	Revelation of post-mortal state of mankind (D&C 76)
	Mar 24	Tarred and feathered by mob at Hiram, Ohio
	Mar 29	Adopted son, Joseph Murdock died
	April 1	Started for Missouri
	June	Arrived back at Kirtland after delay at Greenville, Indiana
	Oct	Traveled to Albany, New York City, and Boston, with Newel K. Whitney
	Nov 6	Returned to Kirtland. Son, Joseph Smith III, born
	Dec 25	Revelation prophesying Civil War (D&C 87)
1833	March 18	First Presidency organized
	July 23	Cornerstones for Kirtland Temple laid
	Oct 5	Left Kirtland on a proselytizing mission to Canada
	Nov 4	Returned to Kirtland
	Nov 22	News of expulsion of LDS from Jackson County
1834	Feb 17	High Council organized at Kirtland
	May 5	Left Kirtland to assist Missouri saints at head of Zion's Camp
	July 19	Arrived at Clay County, Missouri
	Aug 1	Returned to Kirtland
1835	Feb 14	Quorum of Twelve organized
	Feb 28	Quorum of Seventy organized
	July	Egyptian mummies and papyrus obtained
	Nov	Studying Hebrew and Greek
1836	March 27	Dedicated Kirtland Temple
	April 3	Vision of Savior in Kirtland Temple (D&C 110)
	May 17	Met grandmother, Mary Duty, at Fairport and escorted to Kirtland
	June 20	Son Frederick born
	July 25	Left Kirtland for East Coast, including New York City post fire
	Sept	Returned to Kirtland
	Nov 2	Kirtland Safety Society Bank established
1837	April 6	Solemn assembly at Kirtland Temple
	May 30	Acquitted in Grandison Newel case
	June	Seriously ill
	July 23	Revelation to the Twelve (D&C 112)
	August	Visited Saints in Canada
	Sept 3	Conference in Kirtland; Three of Twelve rejected
	Sept 27	Left Kirtland for Missouri
	Nov 7	Conference at far West, Missouri
	Dec	Returned to Kirtland, dissension in Church
1838	Jan 12	Left Kirtland to escape mob violence
	March 14	Arrived with family at Far West, Missouri
	April 30	Commenced writing history
	June 2	Son Alexander born

	Sept 4	Commenced study of law
	Oct 11	Led harassed Saints from DeWitt to far West
	Oct 27	Extermination order issued by Governor Boggs
	Oct 30	Haun's Mill massacre of Mormons
	Oct 31	Surrendered to Missouri militia at Far West; imprisoned
	Dec 1	Confined at Liberty Jail to await trial
1839	April 15	Started for Boone County on change of venue
	April 22	Reunite with family at Quincy, Illinois
	May 10	Moved to Commerce, Illinois
	June	Involved in resettlement of Saints at Nauvoo
	July 21-22	Administered to sick
	Oct 29	Left Nauvoo to present Mormon grievances to federal government
	Nov 28	Arrived at Washington, D.C.
	Nov 29	Visited President Martin Van Buren
	Dec	Visited LDS in Philadelphia and New Jersey
1840	Feb	Left Washington, D.C., for home
	March 4	Arrived at Nauvoo
	Sept 14	Death of father, Joseph Smith, Sr.
1841	Feb 1	Elected to Nauvoo city council.
	April 6	Laid cornerstone for Nauvoo Temple
	June 4	Arrested on old Missouri charges
	June 9-10	Trial before Jude Colas at Monmouth, Illinois; acquitted
	Nov 8	Dedicated baptism font in Nauvoo temple
1842	March 1	Commenced publication of Book of Abraham
	March 15	Became editor of Times and Seasons
	March 17	Organized female organization known as the Relief Society
	March 27	Began baptisms for the dead in Mississippi River
	May 4	Introduced temple endowment
	May 19	Elected Mayor of Nauvoo
	August 8	Arrested for complicity in Boggs assassination attempt; forced into hiding again
	Dec 26	Second arrest in Boggs case
1843	Jan 5	Acquitted of charges in Boggs case by Judge Nathaniel Pope
	Feb 3	Read proof on Doctrine and Covenants
	March 13	Blessed twenty-seven children in the evening
	May 28	Sealed to Emma for time and eternity
	July 12	Revelation of marriage recorded (D&C 132)
	Sept 28	Introduced fullness of priesthood ordinances
1844	Jan 29	Elected candidate for U.S. Presidency
	Feb 20	Instructed Twelve to investigate gathering in California or Oregon
	March 11	Council of Fifty organized
	April 5-7	Church Conference, King Follett discourse
	June 11	Arrested for destroying press
	June 25	Surrendered at Carthage to face riot charge
	June 27	Killed by mob at Carthage jail

Appendix Two:
Chronological References to the Spirit in the *Doctrine and Covenants*

I designed this table to determine how frequently Joseph Smith used specific pneumatological words that refer to the Holy Ghost/Spirit in his recorded revelations. The chronological listing points out his word choices, and also demonstrates that Smith's published "revelations" decreased in number as time went on. One explanation is that his "revelations" decreased as his sermons increased. Another reason for the decrease, according to believing Latter-day Saints (LDS), is that the church needed more heavenly direction to restore Christ's teachings; hence more revelation was received in the formative years. Regardless of the cause, the decrease in frequency did not have an effect on Smith's interest in the Holy Ghost. Even when his "revelations" became rarer after 1834, forty-four percent (eleven out of twenty-five) still referenced the Holy Spirit. Throughout the fourteen-years that Smith alleged to receive "revelation," his attraction to the Spirit did not wane. The table outlines the constant interest in the Spirit that permeated Smith's recorded and canonized revelations

Table Six:
Chronological References to the Spirit in the *Doctrine and Covenants*

DATE OF REVELATION	D&C REFERENCE	FREQUENCY	WORDS
September 1823	2:1	1	Reveal
March 1829	5:16	2	Spirit
April 1829	6:14, 15	2	Spirit of Truth
April 1829	8:1-3	4	Spirit, Holy Ghost, Spirit of Revelation
May 1829	11:12, 13, 18, 21, 25	7	Spirit, Spirit of Revelation, Sp. of Prophecy
June 1829	14:8	1	Holy Ghost
June 1829	18:2, 18, 32, 35, 47	5	Spirit, Holy Ghost
March 1830	19:20, 23, 31, 38	5	Spirit, Holy Ghost, Baptism by Fire
April 1830	20:11, 26-28, 35, 37, 41, 43, 45, 60, 73, 77, 79	14	Spirit, Spirit of Christ, Inspire, Holy Ghost, Gift of the Holy Ghost
April 1830	21:2, 9	3	Inspire, Holy Ghost, Comforter
July 1830	24:5	1	Comforter
July 1830	25:2, 7-8	3	Spirit, Holy Ghost, Revelation
August 1830	27:18	2	Spirit, Reveal
September 1830	28:1, 4	2	Comforter
September 1830	29:11, 30-31	3	Spirit, Reveal
September 1830	30:2	1	Spirit
September 1830	31:11	1	Comforter
October 1830	33:11, 15-16	4	Spirit, Holy Ghost, Gift of Holy Ghost, Baptism by Fire

November 1830	1:33, 39	2	Spirit
November 1830	34:10	1	Holy Ghost
December 1830	35:5, 6, 13, 19	5	Spirit, Holy Ghost, Comforter
December 1830	36:2	3	Spirit, Holy Ghost, Comforter
January 1831	39:6, 10, 23	5	Spirit, Holy Ghost, Comforter, Baptism by Fire
February 1831	42:5, 6, 13, 14, 16, 23, 61	9	Spirit, Comforter, Revelation
February 1831	43:15	1	Spirit
February 1831	44:2	3	Spirit
March 1831	45:57	1	Spirit
March 1831	46:2, 7, 11, 13, 15-17, 28, 30-32	13	Spirit, Spirit of God, Holy Ghost, Holy Spirit
March 1831	47:4	1	Comforter
March 1831	49:14	1	Gift of the Holy Ghost
May 1831	50:10, 17, 19, 21, 27, 31	10	Spirit, Spirit of Truth, Comforter
June 1831	52:1, 9	2	Spirit, Comforter
June 1831	53:3	1	Holy Spirit
June 1831	55:1, 3	2	Holy Spirit
July 1831	57:13	1	Spirit
July 1831	58:38, 50	2	Spirit
August 1831	59:24	1	Spirit
August 1831	61:27, 28	2	Spirit
August 1831	62:8	1	Spirit
August 1831	63:16, 32, 41, 55, 64, 65	7	Spirit
September 1831	64:12, 16	2	Spirit, Revelation
November 1831	67:11	1	Spirit of God
November 1831	68:1, 3, 4, 8, 21, 25	6	Spirit of the Living God, Holy Ghost, Gift of the Holy Ghost, Revelation
November 1831	70:13, 14	2	Spirit
November 1831	133:59	1	Spirit
December 1831	71:1	1	Spirit
December 1831	72:24	1	Spirit
January 1832	75:1, 10, 27	3	Spirit, Comforter
February 1832	76:7, 10-12, 18, 28, 35, 52-3, 80, 83, 86, 113, 115-116, 118	16	Spirit, Holy Spirit, Reveal, Enlighten, Holy Spirit of Promise
March 1832	79:2	1	Comforter
September 1832	84:1, 27, 33, 45-47, 61, 64, 74-75, 88, 106	16	Spirit, Holy Ghost, Revelation, Spirit of Prayer, Spirit of Jesus Christ, Enlighteneth
December 1832	88:3-4, 66, 108, 109, 137	10	Spirit, Comforter, Spirit of Truth, Reveal, Holy Spirit, HS of Promise
February 1833	89:2, 4	2	Revelation
March 1833	90:11, 14	4	Comforter, Revelation of Jesus

				Christ
March	1833	91:4-6	3	Spirit
March	1833	92:1	1	Revelation
May	1833	93:9, 11, 15, 23, 26, 32	8	Spirit, Spirit of Truth, Form of a Dove, Rev.
June	1833	95:4	1	Spirit
August	1833	97:1	1	Spirit
August	1833	99:2	1	Holy Spirit
October	1833	100:1	1	Holy Ghost
December	1833	101:23, 32	2	Reveal, Revelation
February	1834	102:2, 9, 23	3	Revelation
February	1834	103:1	1	Revelation
April	1834	104:36, 81	2	Spirit
June	1834	105:23, 36, 40	3	Spirit, Revealed
March	1835	107: 39, 56, 58, 71	4	Holy Ghost, Spirit of Truth, Revltn
March	1836	109:6, 15, 79	3	Spirit, Holy Ghost, Revelation
August	1836	111:8	1	Spirit
July	1837	112:22	1	Spirit
March	1838	113:10	1	Revelation
March	1839	121:26, 37 43, 46	6	Holy Spirit, Spirit of the Lord, Revealed, Holy Ghost, Gift of the Holy Ghost
January	1841	124:4, 5, 40, 41, 88, 97, 124	8	Spirit, Reveal, Holy Ghost, Comforter, Holy Spirit of Promise
September	1842	128:2 8, 9	3	Revelation
April	1843	130:22, 23	4	Spirit, Holy Ghost
May	1843	131:5,7	3	Spirit, Revelation, Spirit of Prophecy
July	1843	132:4, 7,18, 19, 26, 27, 29, 44, 66	10	Reveal, Revelation, Holy Ghost, Holy Spirit of Promise

Appendix Three:
Gifts of the Spirit as Described in Joseph Smith's Scriptural Canon

Table Seven:
 Gifts of the Spirit as found in 1 Corinthians, Moroni and the *Doctrine and Covenants*

1 Corinthian 12:1-11	Moroni 10:7-18	D&C 46:8-31	7th Article of Faith
Testify of Jesus		Know Jesus is the Son	Revelation
		Believe others' testimony	
Administrations		Administrations	
Operations		Operations	
Wisdom	Teach wisdom	Wisdom	
Knowledge	Teach knowledge	Knowledge	
Faith	Faith	Faith to be healed	
Healing	Healing	Faith to heal	Healings
Miracles	Miracles	Miracles	
Prophecy	Prophecy	Prophecy	Prophecy
Tongues	Tongues	Tongues	Tongues
Interpretation of Tongues	Interpretation of Tongues	Interpretation of Tongues	Interpretation of Tongue
Hope	Hope		
Charity	Charity		
Discerning of spirits	Ministering spirit	Discerning of spirits	
	Beholding of angels		Visions
		Head	

1 Corinthians 12:1-11, 28, 31, 13:13

Now concerning spiritual gifts, brethren, I would not have you ignorant. 2. Ye know that ye were Gentiles, carried away unto these dumb idols, even as ye were led. 3. Wherefore I give you to understand, that no man speaking by the Spirit of God calleth Jesus accursed: and that no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost. 4. Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. 5. And there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord. 6. And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all. 7. But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal. 8. For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit; 9. To another faith by the same Spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the same Spirit; 10. To another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues: 11. But all these worketh that one and the selfsame Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will. . . . 27. Ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular. 28. And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues. . . . 31. But covet earnestly the best gifts: and yet shew I unto you a more excellent way. . . . 13:13 And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity.

Moroni 10:7-18

And ye may know that he is, by the power of the Holy Ghost wherefore I would exhort you that ye deny not the power of God; for he worketh by power, according to the faith of the children of men, the same today and tomorrow, and forever. 8. And again, I exhort you, my brethren, that ye deny not the power of God for they are many; and they come from the same God. And there are different ways that these gifts are administered; but it is the same God who worketh all in all; and they are given by the manifestations of the Spirit of God unto men, to profit them. 9. For behold, to one is given by the Spirit of God, that he may teach the word of wisdom; 10. And to another, that he may teach the word of knowledge by the same Spirit; 11. And to another, exceedingly great faith; and to another, the gifts of healing by the same Spirit; 12. And again, to another, that he may work mighty miracles; 13. And again, to another, that he may prophesy concerning all things; 14. And again, to another, the beholding of angels and ministering spirits; 15. And again, to another, all kinds of tongues; 16. And again, to another, the interpretation of languages and of divers kinds of tongues. 17. And all these gifts come by the Spirit of Christ; and they come unto every man severally, according as he will. 18. And I would exhort you, my beloved brethren, that ye remember that every good gift cometh of Christ. 19. And I would exhort you, my beloved brethren, that ye remember that he is the same yesterday, today, and forever, and that all these gifts of which I have spoken, which are spiritual, never will be done away, even as long as the world shall stand, only according to the unbelief of the children of men. 20. Wherefore, there must be faith; and if there must be faith there must also be hope; and if there must be hope there must also be charity.

D&C 46:8-33

Wherefore, beware lest ye are deceived; and that ye may not be deceived seek ye earnestly the best gifts, always remembering for what they are given; 9. For verily I say unto you, they are given for the benefit of those who love me and keep all my commandments, and him that seeketh so to do; that all may be benefited that seek or that ask of me . . . 11. for there are many gifts, and to every man is given a gift by the Spirit of God. 12. To some is given one, and to some is given another, that all may be profited thereby. 13. To some it is given by the Holy Ghost to know that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and that he was crucified for the sins of the world. 14. To others it is given to believe on their words, that they also might have eternal life if they continue faithful. 15. And again, to some it is given by the Holy Ghost to know the differences of administration, as it will be pleasing unto the same Lord, according as the Lord will, suiting his mercies according to the conditions of the children of men. 16. And again, it is given by the Holy Ghost to some to know the diversities of operations, whether they be of God, that the manifestations of the Spirit may be given to every man to profit withal. 17. And again, verily I say unto you, to some is given, by the Spirit of God, the word of wisdom. 18. To another is given the word of knowledge, that all may be taught to be wise and to have knowledge. 19. And again, to some it is given to have faith to be healed; 20. And to others it is given to have faith to heal. 21. And again, to some is given the working of miracles; 22. And to others it is given to prophesy; 23. And to others the discerning of spirits. 24. And again, it is given to some to speak with tongues; 25. And to another is given the interpretation of tongues. 26. And all these gifts come from God, for the benefit of the children of God. 27. And unto the bishop of the church, and unto such as God shall appoint and ordain to watch over the church and to be elders unto the church, are to have it given unto them to discern all those gifts lest there shall be any among you professing and yet be not of God. 28. And it shall come to pass that he that asketh in Spirit shall receive in Spirit; 29. That unto some it may be given to have all those gifts, that there may be a head, in order that every member may be profited thereby. 30. He that asketh in the Spirit asketh according to the will of God; wherefore it is done even as he asketh. 31. And again, I say unto you, all things must be done in the name of Christ, whatsoever you do in the Spirit; 32. And ye must give thanks unto God in the Spirit for whatsoever blessing ye are blessed with. 33. And ye must practise [*sic*] virtue and holiness before me continually. Even so. Amen

Appendix Four:
References to the Holy Spirit as found in Joseph Smith's Canon:
The Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, Pearl of Great Price, and Bible

The following passages from Smith's four books of scripture attempts to isolate those passages that refer to the Holy Spirit. My efforts to determine which uses of "spirit" refer to the Spirit as a member of the Godhead was not an exact science. I distinguished all references by content, context, and how other scripture used the same titles for the Spirit. The words selected include: Spirit, Holy Ghost, Comforter, inspiration, reveal, revelation, whispering, whisper, baptism by fire, and form of a dove. This list does not include words that are affiliated with *a spirit* (i.e. spirit of courage) or a spiritual guide. A list of other "*possible*" references follows the "*probable*" lists. References to the Spirit are counted in [brackets,] and references to the Holy Ghost are counted in {parentheses}.

BOOK OF MORMON
Probable references to the Holy Spirit

[1] Title Page

Written by way of commandment, and also by the **Spirit of prophecy** and of **revelation** . . . Sealed by the hand of Moroni, and hid up unto the Lord, to come forth in due time by way of the Gentile--The interpretation thereof by the gift of God.

[2] 1 Nephi 1:7

And it came to pass that he returned to his own house at Jerusalem; and he cast himself upon his bed, being overcome with the **Spirit**

[3] 1 Nephi 1:8

And being thus overcome with the **Spirit**, he was carried away in a vision, even that he saw the heavens open, and he thought he saw God sitting upon his throne.

[4] 1 Nephi 1:12

And it came to pass that as he read, he was filled with the **Spirit of the Lord**.

[5] 1 Nephi 2:14

And it came to pass that my father did speak unto them in the valley of Lemuel, with power, being filled with the **Spirit**, until their frames did shake before him.

[6] 1 Nephi 2:17

And I spake unto Sam, making known unto him the things which the Lord had manifested unto me by his **Holy Spirit**. And it came to pass that he believed in my words.

[7] 1 Nephi 3:20

. . . that we may preserve unto them the words which have been spoken by the mouth of all the holy prophets, which have been delivered unto them by the **Spirit** and power of God, since the world began, even down unto this present time.

[8] 1 Nephi 4:6

And I was led by the **Spirit**, not knowing beforehand the things which I should do.

[9] 1 Nephi 4:10

And it came to pass that I was constrained by the **Spirit** that I should kill Laban; but I said in my heart: Never at any time have I shed the blood of man.

[10] 1 Nephi 4:11

And the **Spirit** said unto me again: Behold the Lord hath delivered him into thy hands. Yea, and I also knew that he had sought to take away mine own life . . .

[11] 1 Nephi 4:12

The **Spirit** said unto me again: Slay him, for the Lord hath delivered him into thy hands;

[12] 1 Nephi 4:18

Therefore I did obey the voice of the **Spirit**, and took Laban by the hair of the head, and I smote off his head with his own sword.

[13] 1 Nephi 5:17

. . . he was filled with the **Spirit**, and began to prophesy concerning his seed

[14] 1 Nephi 7:14

For behold, the **Spirit of the Lord** ceaseth soon to strive with them; for behold, they have rejected the prophets . . .

[15] 1 Nephi 7:15

. . . for thus the **Spirit of the Lord** constraineth me that I should speak.

{1} 1 Nephi 10:11

. . . after he had been slain he should rise from the dead, and should make himself manifest, by the **Holy Ghost**, unto the Gentiles.

{2, 3} 1 Nephi 10:17

. . . the things which he spake by the power of the **Holy Ghost**, which power he received by faith on the Son of God—and the Son of God was the Messiah who should come—I, Nephi, was desirous also that I might see, and hear, and know of these things, by the power of the **Holy Ghost**, which is the gift of God unto all those who diligently seek him, as well in times of old as in the time that he should manifest himself . . .

{4} 1 Nephi 10:19

For he that diligently seeketh shall find; and the mysteries of God shall be unfolded unto them, by the power of the **Holy Ghost**, as well in these times as in times of old . . .

{5} 1 Nephi 10:22

And the **Holy Ghost** giveth authority that I should speak these things, and deny them not.

[16] 1 Nephi 11:1

. . . after I had desired to know the things that my father had seen, and believing that the Lord was able to make them known unto me, as I sat pondering in mine heart I was caught away in the **Spirit of the Lord**, yea, into an exceedingly high mountain . . .

[17] 1 Nephi 11:2

And the **Spirit** said unto me: Behold, what desirest thou?

[18] 1 Nephi 11:4

The **Spirit** said unto me: Believeest thou that thy father saw the tree of which he hath spoken?

[19] 1 Nephi 11:6

And when I had spoken these words, the **Spirit** cried with a loud voice, saying: Hosanna to the Lord, the most high God; for he is God over all the earth, even above all

[20] 1 Nephi 11:8

. . . the **Spirit** said unto me: Look! And I looked and beheld a tree; and it was like unto the tree which my father had seen; and the beauty thereof was far beyond . . .

[21] 1 Nephi 11:9

I said unto the **Spirit** : I behold thou hast shown unto me the tree which is precious above all.

[22] 1 Nephi 11:11

And I said unto him: To know the interpretation thereof--for I spake unto him as a man speaketh; for I beheld that he was in the form of a man; yet nevertheless, I knew that it was the **Spirit of the Lord**; and he spake unto me as a man speaketh with another.

{6} 1 Nephi 11:27

And I looked and beheld the Redeemer of the world, of whom my father had spoken; and I also beheld the prophet who should prepare the way before him. And the Lamb of God went forth and was baptized of him; and after he was baptized, I beheld the heavens open, and the **Holy Ghost** come down out of heaven and abide upon him in the **form of a dove**.

{7} 1 Nephi 12:7

And I also saw and bear record that the **Holy Ghost** fell upon twelve others; and they were ordained of God, and chosen.

{8} 1 Nephi 12:18

. . . yea, even the word of the justice of the Eternal God, and the Messiah who is the Lamb of God, of whom the **Holy Ghost** beareth record, from the beginning of the world until this time, and from this time henceforth . . .

[23] 1 Nephi 13:12

I beheld the **Spirit of God**, that it came down and wrought upon the man; and he went forth upon the many waters, even unto the seed of my brethren, who were in the promised land.

[24] 1 Nephi 13:13

And it came to pass that I beheld the **Spirit of God**, that it wrought upon other Gentiles; and they went forth out of captivity, upon the many waters.

[25] 1 Nephi 13:15

And I beheld the **Spirit of the Lord**, that it was upon the Gentiles, and they did prosper and obtain the land for their inheritance . . .

{9} 1 Nephi 13:37

And blessed are they who shall seek to bring forth my Zion at that day, for they shall have the gift and the power of the **Holy Ghost**; and if they endure unto the end they shall be . . .

[26] 1 Nephi 15:12

. . . the house of Israel was compared unto an olive-tree, by the **Spirit of the Lord** which was in our father; and behold are we not broken off from the house of Israel

[27] 1 Nephi 17:47

Behold, I am full of the **Spirit of God**, insomuch that my frame has no strength.

[28] 1 Nephi 17:52

. . . Now they durst not do this lest they should wither before me, so powerful was the **Spirit of God**; and thus it had wrought upon them.

[29] 1 Nephi 19:12

. . . because of the groanings of the earth, many of the kings of the isles of the sea shall be wrought upon by the **Spirit of God**, to exclaim: The God of nature suffers.

[30] 1 Nephi 19:20

For behold, I have workings in the **Spirit**, which doth weary me even that all my joints are weak, for those who are at Jerusalem . . . have perished also.

[31] 1 Nephi 20:16

Come ye near unto me; I have not spoken in secret; from the beginning, from the time that it was declared have I spoken; and the Lord God, and his **Spirit**, hath sent me.

[32, 33] 1 Nephi 22:2

Behold they were manifest unto the prophet by the voice of the **Spirit**; for by the **Spirit** are all things made known unto the prophets, which shall come upon the children of men according to the flesh.

[34] 2 Nephi 1:6

Wherefore, I, Lehi, prophesy according to the workings of the **Spirit** which is in me, that there shall none come into this land save they shall be brought by the hand of the Lord.

[35] 2 Ne 3:5

. . . the Messiah should be made manifest unto them in the latter days, in the **Spirit of power**, unto the bringing of them out of darkness unto light--yea, out of hidden darkness and out of captivity unto freedom.

[36] 2 Nephi 1:27

And it must needs be that the power of God must be with him, even unto his commanding you that ye must obey. But behold, it was not he, but it was the **Spirit of the Lord** which was in him, which opened his mouth to utterance that he could not shut it.

[37] 2 Nephi 2:4

. . . for the **Spirit** is the same, yesterday, today, and forever. And the way is prepared from the fall of man, and salvation is free.

[38] 2 Nephi 2:8

no flesh that can dwell in the presence of God, save it be through the merits, and mercy, and grace of the Holy Messiah, who layeth down his life according to the flesh, and taketh it again by the power of the **Spirit**, that he may bring to pass the resurrection of the dead

[39] 2 Nephi 2:28

. . . look to the great Mediator, and hearken unto his great commandments; and be faithful unto his words, and choose eternal life, according to the will of his **Holy Spirit**;

[40] 2 Nephi 4:12

And it came to pass after my father, Lehi, had spoken unto all his household, according to the feelings of his heart and the **Spirit of the Lord** which was in him, he waxed old.

[41] 2 Nephi 4:25

And upon the wings of his **Spirit** hath my body been carried away upon exceedingly high mountains. And mine eyes have beheld great things,

[42, 43, 44, 45] Nephi 21:2 // Isa 11:2

And the **Spirit of the Lord** shall rest upon him, the **Spirit of wisdom** and understanding, the **Spirit of counsel** and might, the **Spirit of knowledge** and of the fear of the Lord;

[46, 47] 2 Nephi 25:4

. . . the words of Isaiah are not plain unto you, nevertheless they are plain unto all those that are filled with the **Spirit of prophecy**. But I give unto you a prophecy, according

to the **Spirit** which is in me; wherefore I shall prophesy according to the plainness which hath been with me from the time that I came out from Jerusalem with my father

[48] 2 Nephi 25:11

And now this I speak because of the **Spirit** which is in me. And notwithstanding they have been carried away they shall return again, and possess the land of Jerusalem; wherefore, they shall be restored again to the land of their inheritance.

[49, 50] 2 Nephi 26:11

For the **Spirit of the Lord** will not always strive with man. And when the **Spirit** ceaseth to strive with man then cometh speedy destruction, and this grieveth my soul.

{10} 2 Nephi 26:13

He manifesteth himself unto all those who believe in him, by the power of the **Holy Ghost**; yea, unto every nation, kindred, tongue, and people, working mighty miracles, signs, and wonders, among the children of men according to their faith.

[51] 2 Nephi 28:1

And now, behold, my brethren, I have spoken unto you, according as the **Spirit** hath constrained me; wherefore, I know that they must surely come to pass.

{11} 2 Nephi 28:4

And they shall contend one with another; and their priests shall contend one with another, and they shall teach with their learning, and deny the **Holy Ghost**, which giveth utterance.

{12} 2 Nephi 28:26

Yea, wo be unto him that hearkeneth unto the precepts of men, and denieth the power of God, and the gift of the **Holy Ghost**!

{13} 2 Nephi 28:31

Cursed is he that putteth his trust in man, or maketh flesh his arm, or shall hearken unto the precepts of men, save their precepts shall be given by the power of the **Holy Ghost**.

{14} 2 Nephi 31:8

Wherefore, after he was baptized with water the **Holy Ghost** descended upon him in the **form of a dove**.

{15} 2 Nephi 31:12

And also, the voice of the Son came unto me, saying: He that is baptized in my name, to him will the Father give the **Holy Ghost**, like unto me; wherefore, follow me, and do the things which ye have seen me do.

{16, 17} 2 Nephi 31:13

. . . I know that if ye shall follow the Son, with full purpose of heart, acting no hypocrisy and no deception before God, but with real intent, repenting of your sins,

witnessing unto the Father that ye are willing to take upon you the name of Christ, by baptism--yea, by following your Lord and your Savior down into the water, according to his word, behold, then shall ye receive the **Holy Ghost**; yea, then cometh the **baptism of fire** and of the **Holy Ghost**; and then can ye speak with the tongue of angels, and shout praises unto the Holy One of Israel.

{18} 2 Nephi 31:14

After ye have repented of your sins, and witnessed unto the Father that ye are willing to keep my commandments, by the baptism of water, and have received the **baptism of fire** and of the **Holy Ghost**, and can speak with a new tongue, yea, even with the tongue of angels, and after this should deny me, it would have been better for you that ye had not known me.

{19} 2 Nephi 31:17

... For the gate by which ye should enter is repentance and baptism by water; and then cometh a remission of your sins by fire and by the **Holy Ghost**.

{20} 2 Nephi 31:18

And then are ye in this strait and narrow path which leads to eternal life; yea, ye have entered in by the gate; ye have done according to the commandments of the Father and the Son; and ye have received the **Holy Ghost**, which witnesses of the Father and the Son, unto the fulfilling of the promise which he hath made, that if ye entered in by the way ye should receive.

{21} 2 Nephi 31:21

... there is none other way nor name given under heaven whereby man can be saved in the kingdom of God. And now, behold, this is the doctrine of Christ, and the only and true doctrine of the Father, and of the Son, and of the **Holy Ghost**, which is one God, without end. Amen.

{22, 23} 2 Nephi 32:2

Do ye not remember that I said unto you that after ye had received the **Holy Ghost** ye could speak with the tongue of angels? And now, how could ye speak with the tongue of angels save it were by the **Holy Ghost**?

{24} 2 Nephi 32:3

Angels speak by the power of the **Holy Ghost**; wherefore, they speak the words of Christ. Wherefore, I said unto you, feast upon the words of Christ; for behold, the words of Christ will tell you all things what ye should do.

{25} 2 Nephi 32:5

... again I say unto you that if ye will enter in by the way, and receive the **Holy Ghost**, it will show unto you all things what ye should do.

[52] 2 Nephi 32:7

And now I, Nephi, cannot say more; the **Spirit** stoppeth mine utterance, and I am left to mourn because of the unbelief, and the wickedness . . .

[53] 2 Nephi 32:8

For if ye would hearken unto the **Spirit** which teacheth a man to pray ye would know that ye must pray; for the evil **Spirit** teacheth not a man to pray . . .

{26, 27} 2 Nephi 33:1

. . . neither am I mighty in writing, like unto speaking; for when a man speaketh by the power of the **Holy Ghost** the power of the **Holy Ghost** carrieth it unto the hearts of the children of men.

[54] 2 Nephi 33:2

. . . there are many that harden their hearts against the **Holy Spirit**, that it hath no place in them; wherefore, they cast many things away which are written and esteem them as things of naught.

[55] Jacob 1:6

And we also had many revelations, and the **Spirit** of much prophecy; wherefore, we knew of Christ and his kingdom, which should come.

[56] Jacob 4:6

. . . we search the prophets, and we have many revelations and the **Spirit of prophecy**; and having all these witnesses we obtain a hope, and our faith becometh unshaken, insomuch that we truly can command in the name of Jesus and the very trees obey us, or the mountains, or the waves . . .

[57] Jacob 4:13

. . . he that prophesieth, let him prophesy to the understanding of men; for the **Spirit** speaketh the truth and lieth not. Wherefore, it speaketh of things as they really are, and of things as they really will be; wherefore, these things are manifested unto us plainly, for the salvation of our souls. But behold, we are not witnesses alone in these things; for God also spake them unto prophets of old.

[58, 59] Jacob 4:15

I, Jacob, am led on by the **Spirit** unto prophesying; for I perceive by the workings of the **Spirit** which is in me, that by the stumbling of the Jews they will reject the stone . . .

[60] Jacob 4:18

Behold, my beloved brethren, I will unfold this mystery unto you; if I do not, by any means, get shaken from my firmness in the **Spirit**, and stumble because of my over anxiety for you.

[61] {28} Jacob 6:8

. . . Will ye reject the words of the prophets; and will ye reject all the words which have been spoken concerning Christ, after so many have spoken concerning him; and deny

the good word of Christ, and the power of God, and the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, and quench the **Holy Spirit**, and make a mock of the great plan of redemption, which hath been laid for you?

[62] Jacob 7:8

... the Lord God poured in his **Spirit** into my soul, insomuch that I did confound him ...

{29} Jacob 7:12

... it also has been made manifest unto me by the power of the **Holy Ghost**; wherefore, I know if there should be no atonement made all mankind must be lost.

{30} Jacob 7:13

... he said unto me: Show me a sign by this power of the **Holy Ghost**, in the which ye know so much.

{31} Jacob 7:17

... he spake plainly unto them and denied the things which he had taught them, and confessed the Christ, and the power of the **Holy Ghost**, and the ministering of angels.

[63] Enos 1:10

And while I was thus struggling in the **Spirit**, behold, the voice of the Lord came into my mind again, saying: I will visit thy brethren according to their diligence in keeping my commandments.

[64] Jarom 1:4

And there are many among us who have many revelations, for they are not all stiffnecked. And as many as are not stiffnecked and have faith, have communion with the **Holy Spirit**, which maketh manifest unto the children of men, according to their faith.

[65] Words of Mormon 1:7

And I do this for a wise purpose; for thus it **whispereth** me, according to the workings of the **Spirit of the Lord** which is in me. And now, I do not know all things; but the Lord knoweth all things which are to come; wherefore, he worketh in me to do according to his will.

[66] Mosiah 2:33

For behold, there is a wo pronounced upon him who listeth to obey that **Spirit**; for if he listeth to obey him, and remaineth and dieth in his sins, the same drinketh damnation ...

[67] Mosiah 2:36

... if ye should transgress and go contrary to that which has been spoken, that ye do withdraw yourselves from the **Spirit of the Lord**, that it may have no place in you to guide you in wisdom's paths that ye may be blessed, prospered, and preserved--

[68] Mosiah 3:19

For the natural man is an enemy to God, and has been from the fall of Adam, and will be, forever and ever, unless he yields to the enticings of the **Holy Spirit**, and putteth off the natural man and becometh a saint through the atonement of Christ the Lord, and becometh as a child . . .

[69] Mosiah 4:3

And it came to pass that after they had spoken these words the **Spirit of the Lord** came upon them, and they were filled with joy, having received a remission of their sins, and having peace

[70] Mosiah 4:20

. . . ye have been calling on his name, and begging for a remission of your sins. And has he suffered that ye have begged in vain? Nay; he has poured out his **Spirit** upon you, and has caused that your hearts should be filled with joy . . .

[71] Mosiah 5:2

. . . we believe all the words which thou hast spoken unto us; and also, we know of their surety and truth, because of the **Spirit of the Lord** Omnipotent, which has wrought a mighty change in us, or in our hearts, that we have no more disposition to do evil, but to do good continually.

[72] Mosiah 5:3

. . . through the infinite goodness of God, and the manifestations of his **Spirit**, have great views of that which is to come; and were it expedient, we could prophesy of all things.

[73] Mosiah 12:25

And now Abinadi said unto them: Are you priests, and pretend to teach this people, and to understand the **Spirit** of prophesying, and yet desire to know of me what these things mean?

[74] Mosiah 13:5

Now it came to pass after Abinadi had spoken these words that the people of king Noah durst not lay their hands on him, for the **Spirit of the Lord** was upon him; and his face shone with exceeding luster, even as Moses' did while in the mount of Sinai, while speaking with the Lord.

[75] Mosiah 15:5

And thus the flesh becoming subject to the **Spirit**, or the Son to the Father, being one God, suffereth temptation, and yieldeth not to the temptation, but suffereth himself to be mocked, and scourged, and cast out, and disowned by his people.

[76] Mosiah 18:10

. . . if this be the desire of your hearts, what have you against being baptized in the name of the Lord, as a witness before him that ye have entered into a covenant with him, that ye will serve him and keep his commandments, that he may pour out his **Spirit** more abundantly upon you?

[77] Mosiah 18:12

Alma took Helam, he being one of the first, and went and stood forth in the water, and cried, saying: O Lord, pour out thy **Spirit** upon thy servant, that he may do this work with holiness of heart.

[78, 79] Mosiah 18:13

And when he had said these words, the **Spirit of the Lord** was upon him, and he said: Helam, I baptize thee, having authority from the Almighty God, as a testimony that ye have entered into a covenant to serve him until you are dead as to the mortal body; and may the **Spirit of the Lord** be poured out upon you; and may he grant unto you eternal life, through the redemption of Christ, whom he has prepared from the foundation of the world.

[80] Mosiah 18:14

And after Alma had said these words, both Alma and Helam were buried in the water; and they arose and came forth out of the water rejoicing, being filled with the **Spirit**.

[81] Mosiah 18:26

And the priests were not to depend upon the people for their support; but for their labor they were to receive the grace of God, that they might wax strong in the **Spirit**, having the knowledge of God, that they might teach with power and authority from God.

[82] Mosiah 21:34

. . . they did not at that time form themselves into a church, waiting upon the **Spirit of the Lord**.

[83] Mosiah 25:24

And they were called the people of God. And the Lord did pour out his **Spirit** upon them, and they were blessed, and prospered in the land.

[84] Mosiah 27:24

I have repented of my sins, and have been redeemed of the Lord; behold I am born of the **Spirit**.

[85] Mosiah 28:4

And thus did the **Spirit of the Lord** work upon them, for they were the very vilest of sinners. And the Lord saw fit in his infinite mercy to spare them; nevertheless they suffered much anguish of soul because of their iniquities, suffering much and fearing that they should be cast off forever.

[86] Alma 3:26

And in one year were thousands and tens of thousands of souls sent to the eternal world, that they might reap their rewards according to their works, whether they were good or whether they were bad, to reap eternal happiness or eternal misery, according to the **Spirit** which they listed to obey, whether it be a good **Spirit** or a bad one. (counted a similar one in OT, Neh 9:20)

[87] Alma 3:27

For every man receiveth wages of him whom he listeth to obey, and this according to the words of the **Spirit** of prophecy; therefore let it be according to the truth. And thus endeth the fifth year of the reign of the judges.

[88] Alma 4:13

. . . succoring those who stood in need of their succor, such as imparting their substance to the poor and the needy, feeding the hungry, and suffering all manner of afflictions, for Christ's sake, who should come according to the **Spirit** of prophecy;

[89] Alma 4:15

. . . the persecutions which were heaped upon them by the remainder of his people, and seeing all their inequality, began to be very sorrowful; nevertheless the **Spirit of the Lord** did not fail him.

[90] Alma 4:20

. . . Alma delivered up the judgment-seat to Nephihah, and confined himself wholly to the high priesthood of the holy order of God, to the testimony of the word, according to the **Spirit of revelation** and **prophecy**.

[91, 92, 93] Alma 5:46

. . . you they are made known unto me by the **Holy Spirit of God**. Behold, I have fasted and prayed many days that I might know these things of myself. And now I do know of myself that they are true; for the Lord God hath made them manifest unto me by his **Holy Spirit**; and this is the **Spirit** of revelation which is in me.

[94, 95] Alma 5:47

. . . it has thus been revealed unto me, that the words which have been spoken by our fathers are true, even so according to the **Spirit** of prophecy which is in me, which is also by the manifestation of the **Spirit of God**.

[96, 97] Alma 5:50

Yea, thus saith the **Spirit** : Repent, all ye ends of the earth, for the kingdom of heaven is soon at hand; yea, the Son of God cometh in his glory, in his might, majesty, power, and dominion. Yea, my beloved brethren, I say unto you, that the **Spirit** saith: Behold the glory of the King of all the earth; and also the King of heaven shall very soon shine forth among all the children of men.

[98] Alma 5:51

. . . the **Spirit** saith unto me, yea, crieth unto me with a mighty voice, saying: Go forth and say unto this people--Repent, for except ye repent ye can in nowise inherit the kingdom of heaven.

[99] Alma 5:52

... the **Spirit** saith: Behold, the ax is laid at the root of the tree; therefore every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit shall be hewn down and cast into the fire ... the Holy One hath spoken it.

[100] Alma 5:54

... having been sanctified by the **Holy Spirit**, and they do bring forth works which are meet for repentance--

[101] Alma 6:8

... according to the revelation of the truth of the word which had been spoken by his fathers, and according to the **Spirit of prophecy** which was in him, according to the testimony of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who should come to redeem his people from their sins ...

[102] Alma 7:5

And I trust, according to the **Spirit of God** which is in me, that I shall also have joy over you ...

[103] Alma 7:8

... I do not say that he will come among us at the time of his dwelling in his mortal tabernacle; for behold, the **Spirit** hath not said unto me that this should be the case. Now as to this thing I do not know; but this much I do know, that the Lord God hath power to do all things which are according to his word.

[104] Alma 7:9

... the **Spirit** hath said this much unto me, saying: Cry unto this people, saying-- Repent ye...

{32} Alma 7:10

... she being a virgin, a precious and chosen vessel, who shall be overshadowed and conceive by the power of the **Holy Ghost**, and bring forth a son, yea, even the Son of God.

[105] Alma 7:13

Now the **Spirit** knoweth all things; nevertheless the Son of God suffereth according to the flesh that he might take upon him the sins of his people ...

[106] Alma 7:14

... for the **Spirit** saith if ye are not born again ye cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven; therefore come and be baptized unto repentance, that ye may be washed from your sins, that ye may have faith on the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world, who is mighty to save and to cleanse from all unrighteousness.

[107] Alma 7:16

And whosoever doeth this, and keepeth the commandments of God from thenceforth, the same will remember that I say unto him, yea, he will remember that I have said unto him,

he shall have eternal life, according to the testimony of the **Holy Spirit**, which testifieth in me.

[108] Alma 7:17

... I know that ye believe them is by the manifestation of the **Spirit** which is in me. And now because your faith is strong concerning that, yea, concerning the things which I have spoken, great is my joy.

[109] Alma 7:26

... I have spoken these words unto you according to the **Spirit** which testifieth in me ...

[110, 111] Alma 8:10

Nevertheless Alma labored much in the **Spirit**, wrestling with God in mighty prayer, that he would pour out his **Spirit** upon the people who were in the city; that he would also grant that he might baptize them unto repentance.

[112] Alma 8:24

I have been called to preach the word of God among all this people, according to the **Spirit of revelation and prophecy** ...

{33} Alma 8:30

... to declare the words of God unto them; and they were filled with the **Holy Ghost**.

[113] Alma 8:32

... they went forth and began to preach and to prophesy unto the people, according to the **Spirit** and power which the Lord had given them.

[114, 115, 116] {34} Alma 9:21

Having been visited by the **Spirit of God**; having conversed with angels, and having been spoken unto by the voice of the Lord; and having the **Spirit** of prophecy, and the **Spirit** of revelation, and also many gifts, the gift of speaking with tongues, and the gift of preaching, and the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, and the gift of translation;

[117] Alma 10:12

... there was more than one witness who testified of the things whereof they were accused, and also of the things which were to come, according to the **Spirit of prophecy** which was in them.

[118, 119] Alma 11:22

... if it be according to the **Spirit of the Lord**, which is in me; for I shall say nothing which is contrary to the **Spirit of the Lord**.

[120] Alma 11:44

. . . every thing shall be restored to its perfect frame, as it is now, or in the body, and shall be brought and be arraigned before the bar of Christ the Son, and God the Father, and the **Holy Spirit**, which is one Eternal God, to be judged according to their works . . .

[121] Alma 12:3

. . . he knows all thy thoughts, and thou seest that thy thoughts are made known unto us by his **Spirit**;

[122] Alma 12:7

. . . power was given unto them that they might know of these things according to the **Spirit** of prophecy.

[123] Alma 13:4

. . . they have been called to this holy calling on account of their faith, while others would reject the **Spirit of God** on account of the hardness of their hearts and blindness of their minds, while, if it had not been for this they might have had as great privilege as their brethren.

{35} Alma 13:12

Now they, after being sanctified by the **Holy Ghost**, having their garments made white, being pure and spotless before God, could not look upon sin save it were with abhorrence;

[124] Alma 13:26

And it shall be made known unto just and holy men, by the mouth of angels, at the time of his coming, that the words of our fathers may be fulfilled, according to that which they have spoken concerning him, which was according to the **Spirit** of prophecy which was in them.

[125] Alma 13:28

. . . ye would humble yourselves before the Lord, and call on his holy name, and watch and pray continually, that ye may not be tempted above that which ye can bear, and thus be led by the **Holy Spirit**, becoming humble, meek, submissive, patient, full of love and all long-suffering;

[126] Alma 14:11

But Alma said unto him: The **Spirit** constraineth me that I must not stretch forth mine hand; for behold the Lord receiveth them up unto himself, in glory;

[127] Alma 16:5

. . . having heard that he had the **Spirit** of prophecy, therefore they went unto him and desired of him to know whither the Lord would that they should go into the wilderness . . .

[128] Alma 16:16

And there was no inequality among them; the Lord did pour out his **Spirit** on all the face of the land to prepare the minds of the children of men, or to prepare their hearts to receive the word. . .

[129, 130] Alma 17:3

But this is not all; they had given themselves to much prayer, and fasting; therefore they had the **Spirit of prophecy**, and the **Spirit of revelation**, and when they taught, they taught with power and authority of God.

[131] Alma 17:5

. . . they did suffer much, both in body and in mind, such as hunger, thirst and fatigue, and also much labor in the **Spirit**.

*(Three verses in the Book of Mormon use the words labor and **Spirit** the other two are clearly references to the **Spirit of the Lord**, so this one was also included. It is not found in the D&C or Bible)*

[132] Alma 17:9

. . . they journeyed many days in the wilderness, and they fasted much and prayed much that the Lord would grant unto them a portion of his **Spirit** to go with them, and abide with them, that they might be an instrument in the hands of God to bring, if it were possible, their brethren, the Lamanites, to the knowledge of the truth . . .

[133] Alma 17:10

. . . the Lord did visit them with his **Spirit**, and said unto them: Be comforted.

[134] Alma 18:16

And it came to pass that Ammon, being filled with the **Spirit of God**, therefore he perceived the thoughts of the king.

[135] Alma 18:34

Ammon said unto him: I am a man; and man in the beginning was created after the image of God, and I am called by his **Holy Spirit** to teach these things unto this people, that they may be brought to a knowledge of that which is just and true;

[136] Alma 18:35

And a portion of that **Spirit** dwelleth in me, which giveth me knowledge, and also power according to my faith and desires which are in God.

[137] Alma 19:13

and he sunk again with joy; and the queen also sunk down, being overpowered by the **Spirit**

[138] Alma 19:14

Now Ammon seeing the **Spirit of the Lord** poured out according to his prayers upon the Lamanites . . . was also overpowered with joy; and thus they all three had sunk to the earth.

[139] Alma 19:36

. . . the Lord did begin to pour out his **Spirit** upon them; and we see that his arm is extended to all people who will repent and believe on his name.

[140] Alma 21:16

And they went forth whithersoever they were led by the **Spirit of the Lord**, preaching the word . .

[141] Alma 22:1

. . . he was led by the **Spirit** to the land of Nephi, even to the house of the king which was over all the land save it were the land of Ishmael;

[142] Alma 22:4

And Aaron said unto the king: Behold, the **Spirit of the Lord** has called him another way;

[143] Alma 22:5

What is this that ye have said concerning the **Spirit of the Lord**? Behold, this is the thing which doth trouble me.

[144] Alma 22:15

And it came to pass that after Aaron had expounded these things unto him, the king said: What shall I do that I may have this eternal life of which thou hast spoken? Yea, what shall I do that I may be born of God, having this wicked **Spirit** rooted out of my breast, and receive his **Spirit**, that I may be filled with joy, that I may not be cast off at the last day? Behold, said he, I will give up all that I possess, yea, I will forsake my kingdom, that I may receive this great joy.

[145] Alma 23:6

. . . as many as were brought to the knowledge of the truth, through the preaching of Ammon and his brethren, according to the **Spirit** of revelation and of prophecy, and the power of God working miracles in them . . . were converted unto the Lord, never did fall away.

[146] Alma 24:8

And behold, I thank my great God that he has given us a portion of his **Spirit** to soften our hearts, that we have opened a correspondence with these brethren, the Nephites.

[147] Alma 24:30

. . . after a people have been once enlightened by the **Spirit of God**, and have had great knowledge of things pertaining to righteousness, and then have fallen away into sin and transgression, they become more hardened . . .

[148] Alma 25:16

. . . they did retain a hope through faith, unto eternal salvation, relying upon the **Spirit** of prophecy, which spake of those things to come.

Alma 26:22

Yea, he that repenteth and exerciseth faith, and bringeth forth good works, and prayeth continually without ceasing--unto such it is *given to know* the mysteries of God; yea, unto such it shall be given to **reveal** things which never have been revealed.

[149] Alma 30:42

. . . ye have put off the **Spirit of God** that it may have no place in you; but the devil has power over you, and he doth carry you about, working devices that he may destroy the children of God.

[150] Alma 30:46

And now it came to pass that Alma said unto him: Behold, I am grieved because of the hardness of your heart, yea, that ye will still resist the **Spirit** of the truth, that thy soul may be destroyed.

[151] Alma 31:36

Now it came to pass that when Alma had said these words, that he clapped his hands upon all them who were with him. And behold, as he clapped his hands upon them, they were filled with the **Holy Spirit**.

[152] Alma 32:28

. . . a seed may be planted in your heart, behold, if it be a true seed, or a good seed, if ye do not cast it out by your unbelief, that ye will resist the **Spirit of the Lord**, behold, it will begin to swell within your breasts; and when you feel these swelling motions, ye will begin to say within yourselves--It must needs be that this is a good seed, or that the word is good, for it beginneth to enlarge my soul; yea, it beginneth to enlighten my understanding . . .

[153] Alma 34:35

For behold, if ye have procrastinated the day of your repentance even until death, behold, ye have become subjected to the Spirit of the devil, and he doth seal you his; therefore, the **Spirit of the Lord** hath withdrawn from you, and hath no place in you, and the devil hath all power over you; and this is the final state of the wicked.

[154] {36} Alma 34:38

That ye contend no more against the **Holy Ghost**, but that ye receive it, and take upon you the name of Christ; that ye humble yourselves even to the dust, and worship God, in whatsoever place ye may be in, in **Spirit** and in truth; and that ye live in thanksgiving daily, for the many mercies and blessings which he doth bestow upon you.

{37} Alma 36:24

. . . I have labored without ceasing, that I might bring souls unto repentance; that I might bring them to taste of the exceeding joy of which I did taste; that they might also be born of God, and be filled with the **Holy Ghost**.

[155] Alma 37:15

I tell you by the **Spirit** of prophecy, that if ye transgress the commandments of God, behold, these things which are sacred shall be taken away from you by the power of God, and ye shall be delivered up unto Satan . . .

[156] Alma 38:6

. . . it is the **Spirit of God** which is in me which maketh these things known unto me; for if I had not been born of God I should not have known these things.

{38} Alma 39:5

Know ye not, my son, that these things are an abomination in the sight of the Lord; yea, most abominable above all sins save it be the shedding of innocent blood or denying the **Holy Ghost**?

{39} Alma 39:6

. . . if ye deny the **Holy Ghost** when it once has had place in you, and ye know that ye deny it, behold, this is a sin which is unpardonable; yea, and whosoever murdereth against the light and knowledge of God, it is not easy for him to obtain forgiveness;

[157] Alma 39:12

And now the **Spirit of the Lord** doth say unto me: Command thy children to do good,

[158] Alma 40:13

And then shall it come to pass, that the Spirits of the wicked, yea, who are evil--for behold, they have no part nor portion of the **Spirit of the Lord**; for behold, they chose evil works

[159] Alma 43:2

. . . they preached the word, and the truth, according to the **Spirit** of prophecy and revelation; and they preached after the holy order of God by which they were called.

[160] Alma 43:10

For they knew that if they should fall into the hands of the Lamanites, that whosoever should worship God in **Spirit** and in truth, the true and the living God, the Lamanites would destroy.

[161] Alma 45:10

And these are the words: Behold, I perceive that this very people, the Nephites, according to the **Spirit** of revelation which is in me, in four hundred years from the time that Jesus Christ shall manifest himself unto them, shall dwindle in unbelief.

[162, 163] Alma 61:15

. . . give unto them power to conduct the war in that part of the land, according to the **Spirit of God**, which is also the **Spirit** of freedom which is in them.

[164] Hel 4:12

... making a mock of that which was sacred, denying the **Spirit** of prophecy and of revelation ...

[165, 166] Hel 4:23

And because of their iniquity the church had begun to dwindle; and they began to disbelieve in the **Spirit** of prophecy and in the **Spirit** of revelation; and the judgments of God did stare them ...

[167, 168] Hel 4:24

And they saw that they had become weak, like unto their brethren, the Lamanites, and that the **Spirit of the Lord** did no more preserve them; yea, it had withdrawn from them because the **Spirit of the Lord** doth not dwell in unholy temples--

Hel 5:30

30 And it came to pass when they heard this voice, and beheld that it was not a voice of thunder, neither was it a voice of a great tumultuous noise, but behold, it was a still **voice of perfect mildness**, as if it had been a whisper, and it did *pierce even to the very soul*--

[169] Hel 5:45-46

And behold, the **Holy Spirit of God** did come down from heaven, and did enter into their hearts, and they were filled as if with fire, and they could speak forth marvelous words. And it came to pass that there came a voice unto them, yea, a pleasant voice, as if it were a whisper, saying

[170] Hel 6:35

And thus we see that the **Spirit of the Lord** began to withdraw from the Nephites, because of the wickedness and the hardness of their hearts.

[171] Hel 6:36

And thus we see that the Lord began to pour out his **Spirit** upon the Lamanites, because of their easiness and willingness to believe in his words.

[172] Hel 10:16

... the power of God was with him, and they could not take him to cast him into prison, for he was taken by the **Spirit** and conveyed away out of the midst of them.

[173] Hel 10:17

... he did go forth in the **Spirit**, from multitude to multitude, declaring the word of God, even until he had declared it unto them all, or sent it forth among all the people.

[174] Hel 13:8

Because of the hardness of the hearts of the people of the Nephites, except they repent I will take away my word from them, and I will withdraw my **Spirit** from them, and I will suffer them no longer, and I will turn the hearts of their brethren against them.

[175] Hel 16:2

But as many as there were who did not believe in the words of Samuel were angry with him; and they cast stones at him upon the wall, and also many shot arrows at him as he stood upon the wall; but the **Spirit of the Lord** was with him, insomuch that they could not hit him with their stones neither with their arrows.

[176] 3 Nephi 3:19

Now it was the custom among all the Nephites to appoint for their chief captains, (save it were in their times of wickedness) some one that had the **Spirit** of revelation and also prophecy; therefore, this Gidgiddoni was a great prophet among them, as also was the chief judge.

[177] 3 Nephi 7:21

. . . as many as were converted did truly signify unto the people that they had been visited by the power and **Spirit of God**, which was in Jesus Christ, in whom they believed.

[178] 3 Nephi 7:22

And as many as had devils cast out from them, and were healed of their sicknesses and their infirmities, did truly manifest unto the people that they had been wrought upon by the **Spirit of God**, and had been healed; and they did show forth signs also and did do some miracles among the people.

{40, 41} 3 Nephi 9:20

And ye shall offer for a sacrifice unto me a broken heart and a contrite **Spirit**. And whoso cometh unto me with a broken heart and a contrite **Spirit**, him will I baptize with fire and with the **Holy Ghost**, even as the Lamanites, because of their faith in me at the time of their conversion, were baptized with fire and with the **Holy Ghost**, and they knew it not.

{42} 3 Nephi 11:25

Having authority given me of Jesus Christ, I baptize you in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the **Holy Ghost**. Amen.

{43} 3 Nephi 11:27

. . . verily I say unto you, that the Father, and the Son, and the **Holy Ghost** are one; and I am in the Father, and the Father in me, and the Father and I are one.

{44} 3 Nephi 11:32

And this is my doctrine, and it is the doctrine which the Father hath given unto me; and I bear record of the Father, and the Father beareth record of me, and the **Holy Ghost** beareth record of the Father and me; and I bear record that the Father commandeth all men, everywhere, to repent and believe in me.

{45} 3 Nephi 11:35

Verily, verily, I say unto you, that this is my doctrine, and I bear record of it from the Father; and whoso believeth in me believeth in the Father also; and unto him will the Father bear record of me, for he will visit him with fire and with the **Holy Ghost**.

{46, 47} 3 Nephi 11:36

And thus will the Father bear record of me, and the **Holy Ghost** will bear record unto him of the Father and me; for the Father, and I, and the **Holy Ghost** are one.

{48} 3 Nephi 12:1

. . . unto them I have given power that they may baptize you with water; and after that ye are baptized with water, behold, I will baptize you with fire and with the **Holy Ghost**; therefore blessed are ye if ye shall believe in me and be baptized, after that ye have seen me and know that I am.

{49} 3 Nephi 12:2

And again, more blessed are they who shall believe in your words because that ye shall testify that ye have seen me, and that ye know that I am. Yea, blessed are they who shall believe in your words, and come down into the depths of humility and be baptized, for they shall be visited with fire and with the **Holy Ghost**, and shall receive a remission of their sins.

{50} 3 Nephi 12:6

And blessed are all they who do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled with the **Holy Ghost**.

{51} 3 Nephi 15:23

. . . and they understood me not that the Gentiles should not at any time hear my voice--that I should not manifest myself unto them save it were by the **Holy Ghost**.

{52} 3 Nephi 16:4

. . . if it so be that my people at Jerusalem, they who have seen me and been with me in my ministry, do not ask the Father in my name, that they may receive a knowledge of you by the **Holy Ghost**, and also of the other tribes whom they know not of, that these sayings which ye shall write shall be kept and shall be manifested unto the Gentiles . . .

{53} 3 Nephi 16:6

And blessed are the Gentiles, because of their belief in me, in and of the **Holy Ghost**, which witnesses unto them of me and of the Father.

[179] 3 Nephi 18:7

And this shall ye do in remembrance of my body, which I have shown unto you. And it shall be a testimony unto the Father that ye do always remember me. And if ye do always remember me ye shall have my **Spirit** to be with you.

[180] 3 Nephi 18:11

And this shall ye always do to those who repent and are baptized in my name; and ye shall do it in remembrance of my blood, which I have shed for you, that ye may witness unto the Father that ye do always remember me. And if ye do always remember me ye shall have my **Spirit** to be with you.

{54} 3 Nephi 18:37

And the multitude heard not the words which he spake, therefore they did not bear record; but the disciples bare record that he gave them power to give the **Holy Ghost**. And I will show unto you hereafter that this record is true.

{55} 3 Nephi 19:9

And they did pray for that which they most desired; and they desired that the **Holy Ghost** should be given unto them.

{56} 3 Nephi 19:13

13 And it came to pass when they were all baptized and had come up out of the water, the **Holy Ghost** did fall upon them, and they were filled with the **Holy Ghost** and with fire.

{57} 3 Nephi 19:20

Father, I thank thee that thou hast given the **Holy Ghost** unto these whom I have chosen; and it is because of their belief in me that I have chosen them out of the world.

{58} 3 Nephi 19:21

Father, I pray thee that thou wilt give the **Holy Ghost** unto all them that shall believe in their words.

{59} 3 Nephi 19:22

Father, thou hast given them the **Holy Ghost** because they believe in me; and thou seest that they believe in me because thou hearest them, and they pray unto me; and they pray unto me because I am with them.

[181] 3 Nephi 20:9

Now, when the multitude had all eaten and drunk, behold, they were filled with the **Spirit**; and they did cry out with one voice, and gave glory to Jesus, whom they both saw and heard.

{60} 3 Nephi 20:27

And after that ye were blessed then fulfilleth the Father the covenant which he made with Abraham, saying: In thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed--unto the pouring out of the **Holy Ghost** through me upon the Gentiles, which blessing upon the Gentiles shall make them mighty above all, unto the scattering of my people, O house of Israel.

{61} 3 Nephi 21:2

. . . by the power of the **Holy Ghost** which shall be given unto you of the Father, shall be made known unto the Gentiles that they may know concerning this people who are a remnant of the house of Jacob, and concerning this my people who shall be scattered by them;

{62} 3 Nephi 26:17

... the disciples whom Jesus had chosen began from that time forth to baptize and to teach as many as did come unto them; and as many as were baptized in the name of Jesus were filled with the **Holy Ghost**.

{63} 3 Nephi 27:20

Now this is the commandment: Repent, all ye ends of the earth, and come unto me and be baptized in my name, that ye may be sanctified by the reception of the **Holy Ghost**, that ye may stand spotless before me at the last day.

{64, 65} 3 Nephi 28:11

And the **Holy Ghost** beareth record of the Father and me; and the Father giveth the **Holy Ghost** unto the children of men, because of me.

{66} 3 Nephi 28:18

... they did go forth upon the face of the land, and did minister unto all the people, uniting as many to the church as would believe in their preaching; baptizing them, and as many as were baptized did receive the **Holy Ghost**.

{67} 3 Nephi 29:6

Yea, wo unto him that shall deny the revelations of the Lord, and that shall say the Lord no longer worketh by revelation, or by prophecy, or by gifts, or by tongues, or by healings, or by the power of the **Holy Ghost**!

{68} 3 Nephi 30:2

... and from all your wickedness and abominations, and come unto me, and be baptized in my name, that ye may receive a remission of your sins, and be filled with the **Holy Ghost**, that ye may be numbered with my people who are of the house of Israel.

{69} 4 Nephi 1:1

... as many as did come unto them, and did truly repent of their sins, were baptized in the name of Jesus; and they did also receive the **Holy Ghost**.

{70} 4 Nephi 1:48

And it came to pass that when three hundred and twenty years had passed away, Ammaron, being constrained by the **Holy Ghost**, did hide up the records which were sacred--

{71} Mormon i 1:14

And there were no gifts from the Lord, and the **Holy Ghost** did not come upon any, because of their wickedness and unbelief.

[182] Mormon i 2:26

... nevertheless the strength of the Lord was not with us; yea, we were left to ourselves, that the **Spirit of the Lord** did not abide in us; therefore we had become weak like unto our brethren.

[183]Mormon i 3:16

16 And it came to pass that I utterly refused to go up against mine enemies; and I did even as the Lord had commanded me; and I did stand as an idle witness to manifest unto the world the things which I saw and heard, according to the manifestations of the **Spirit** which had testified of things to come.

[184] Mormon i 3:20

And these things doth the **Spirit** manifest unto me; therefore I write unto you all. And for this cause I write unto you, that ye may know that ye must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, yea, every soul who belongs to the whole human family of Adam . . .

[185] Mormon i 5:16

16 For behold, the **Spirit of the Lord** hath already ceased to strive with their fathers; and they are without Christ and God in the world; and they are driven about as chaff before the wind.

{72} Mormon i 7:7

And he hath brought to pass the redemption of the world, whereby he that is found guiltless before him at the judgment day hath it given unto him to dwell in the presence of God in his kingdom, to sing ceaseless praises with the choirs above, unto the Father, and unto the Son, and unto the **Holy Ghost**, which are one God, in a state of happiness which hath no end.

{73} Mormon i 7:10

And ye will also know that ye are a remnant of the seed of Jacob; therefore ye are numbered among the people of the first covenant; and if it so be that ye believe in Christ, and are baptized, first with water, then with fire and with the **Holy Ghost**, following the example of our Savior . . .

[186] Ether 2:15

And the brother of Jared repented of the evil which he had done . . . I will forgive thee and thy brethren of their sins; but thou shalt not sin any more, for ye shall remember that my **Spirit** will not always strive with man; wherefore, if ye will sin until ye are fully ripe ye shall be cut off from the presence of the Lord.

[187, 188] Ether 4:11

But he that believeth these things which I have spoken, him will I visit with the manifestations of my **Spirit**, and he shall know and bear record. For because of my **Spirit** he shall know that these things are true; for it persuadeth men to do good.

{74} Ether 5:4

And in the mouth of three witnesses shall these things be established; and the testimony of three, and this work, in the which shall be shown forth the power of God and also his word, of which the Father, and the Son, and the **Holy Ghost** bear record--and all this shall stand as a testimony against the world at the last day.

[189] Ether 12:2

And Ether was a prophet of the Lord; wherefore Ether came forth in the days of Coriantumr, and began to prophesy unto the people, for he could not be restrained because of the **Spirit of the Lord** which was in him.

{75} Ether 12:14

Behold, it was the faith of Nephi and Lehi that wrought the change upon the Lamanites, that they were baptized with fire and with the **Holy Ghost**.

{76} Ether 12:23

And I said unto him: Lord, the Gentiles will mock at these things, because of our weakness in writing; for Lord thou hast made us mighty in word by faith, but thou hast not made us mighty in writing; for thou hast made all this people that they could speak much, because of the **Holy Ghost** which thou hast given them;

{77} Ether 12:41

And now, I would commend you to seek this Jesus of whom the prophets and apostles have written, that the grace of God the Father, and also the Lord Jesus Christ, and the **Holy Ghost**, which beareth record of them, may be and abide in you forever. Amen.

[190] Ether 15:19

But behold, the **Spirit of the Lord** had ceased striving with them, and Satan had full power over the hearts of the people; for they were given up unto the hardness of their hearts, and the blindness of their minds that they might be destroyed; wherefore they went again to battle.

{78} Moroni 2:2

And he called them by name, saying: Ye shall call on the Father in my name, in mighty prayer; and after ye have done this ye shall have power that to him upon whom ye shall lay your hands, ye shall give the **Holy Ghost**; and in my name shall ye give it, for thus do mine apostles.

{79} Moroni 2:3

Now Christ spake these words unto them at the time of his first appearing; and the multitude heard it not, but the disciples heard it; and on as many as they laid their hands, fell the **Holy Ghost**.

{80} Moroni 3:4

And after this manner did they ordain priests and teachers, according to the gifts and callings of God unto men; and they ordained them by the power of the **Holy Ghost**, which was in them.

[191] Moroni 4:3

O God, the Eternal Father, we ask thee in the name of thy Son, Jesus Christ, to bless and sanctify this bread to the souls of all those who partake of it; that they may eat in remembrance of the body of thy Son, and witness unto thee, O God, the Eternal Father, that they are willing to take upon them the name of thy Son, and always remember him, and keep

his commandments which he hath given them, that they may always have his **Spirit** to be with them. Amen.

[192] Moroni 5:2

O God, the Eternal Father, we ask thee, in the name of thy Son, Jesus Christ, to bless and sanctify this wine to the souls of all those who drink of it, that they may do it in remembrance of the blood of thy Son, which was shed for them; that they may witness unto thee, O God, the Eternal Father, that they do always remember him, that they may have his **Spirit** to be with them.

{81} Moroni 6:4

And after they had been received unto baptism, and were wrought upon and cleansed by the power of the **Holy Ghost**, they were numbered among the people of the church of Christ; and their names were taken, that they might be remembered and nourished by the good word of God, to keep them in the right way, to keep them continually watchful unto prayer, relying alone upon the merits of Christ, who was the author and the finisher of their faith.

[193] {79, 80} Moroni 6:9

And their meetings were conducted by the church after the manner of the workings of the **Spirit**, and by the power of the **Holy Ghost**; for as the power of the **Holy Ghost** led them whether to preach, or to exhort, or to pray, or to supplicate, or to sing, even so it was done.

[194] Moroni 7:16

For behold, the **Spirit** of Christ is given to every man, that he may know good from evil; wherefore, I show unto you the way to judge; for every thing which inviteth to do good, and to persuade to believe in Christ, is sent forth by the power and gift of Christ; wherefore ye may know with a perfect knowledge it is of God.

{82} Moroni 7:32

And by so doing, the Lord God prepareth the way that the residue of men may have faith in Christ, that the **Holy Ghost** may have place in their hearts, according to the power thereof; and after this manner bringeth to pass the Father, the covenants which he hath made unto the children of men.

{83} Moroni 7:36

Or have angels ceased to appear unto the children of men? Or has he withheld the power of the **Holy Ghost** from them? Or will he, so long as time shall last, or the earth shall stand, or there shall be one man upon the face thereof to be saved?

{84} Moroni 7:44

If so, his faith and hope is vain, for none is acceptable before God, save the meek and lowly in heart; and if a man be meek and lowly in heart, and confesses by the power of the **Holy Ghost** that Jesus is the Christ, he must needs have charity; for if he have not charity he is nothing; wherefore he must needs have charity.

{85} Moroni 8:7

For immediately after I had learned these things of you I inquired of the Lord concerning the matter. And the word of the Lord came to me by the power of the **Holy Ghost**, saying:

{86} Moroni 8:9

And after this manner did the **Holy Ghost** manifest the word of God unto me; wherefore, my beloved son, I know that it is solemn mockery before God, that ye should baptize little children.

[195] Moroni 8:23

But it is mockery before God, denying the mercies of Christ, and the power of his **Holy Spirit**, and putting trust in dead works.

{87} Moroni 8:26

And the remission of sins bringeth meekness, and lowliness of heart; and because of meekness and lowliness of heart cometh the visitation of the **Holy Ghost**, which **Comforter** filleth with hope and perfect love, which love endureth by diligence unto prayer, until the end shall come, when all the saints shall dwell with God.

[196] {88} Moroni 8:28

Pray for them, my son, that repentance may come unto them. But behold, I fear lest the **Spirit** hath ceased striving with them; and in this part of the land they are also seeking to put down all power and authority which cometh from God; and they are denying the **Holy Ghost**.

[197] Moroni 9:4

. . . when I speak the word of God with sharpness they tremble and anger against me; and when I use no sharpness they harden their hearts against it; wherefore, I fear lest the **Spirit of the Lord** hath ceased striving with them.

{89} Moroni 10:4

And when ye shall receive these things, I would exhort you that ye would ask God, the Eternal Father, in the name of Christ, if these things are not true; and if ye shall ask with a sincere heart, with real intent, having faith in Christ, he will manifest the truth of it unto you, by the power of the **Holy Ghost**.

{90} Moroni 10:5

And by the power of the **Holy Ghost** ye may know the truth of all things.

{91} Moroni 10:7

And ye may know that he is, by the power of the **Holy Ghost**; wherefore I would exhort you that ye deny not the power of God; for he worketh by power, according to the faith of the children of men, the same today and tomorrow, and forever.

[198] Moroni 10:8

. . . I exhort you, my brethren, that ye deny not the *gifts of God*, for they are many; and they come from the same God. And there are different ways that these gifts are administered; but it is the same God who worketh all in all; and they are given by the manifestations of the **Spirit of God** unto men, to profit them.

[199] Moroni 10:9

For behold, to one is given by the **Spirit of God**, that he may teach the word of wisdom;

[200] Moroni 10:10

And to another, that he may teach the word of knowledge by the same **Spirit**

[201] Moroni 10:11

To another, exceedingly great faith; and to another, the gifts of healing by the same **Spirit**

[202] Moroni 10:17

And all these gifts come by the **Spirit** of Christ; and they come unto every man severally, according as he will.

Possible references to the Holy Spirit in The Book of Mormon

1 Nephi 11:19

I beheld that she was carried away in the **Spirit**; and after she had been carried away in the **Spirit** for the space of a time the angel spake unto me, saying: Look!

1 Nephi 14:30

And now I make an end of speaking concerning the things which I saw while I was carried away in the **Spirit**; and if all the things which I saw are not written, the things which I have written are true.

1 Nephi 15:1

After I, Nephi, had been carried away in the **Spirit**, and seen all these things, I returned to the tent of my father.

1 Nephi 22:1

. . . are they to be understood according to things which are spiritual, which shall come to pass according to the **Spirit** and not the flesh?

2 Nephi 3:5

. . . be remembered in the covenants of the Lord that the Messiah should be made manifest unto them in the latter days, in the **Spirit** of power, unto the bringing of them out of darkness unto light

Alma 18:2

... he had learned of the faithfulness of Ammon in preserving his flocks, and also of his great power in contending against those who sought to slay him, he was astonished exceedingly, and said: Surely, this is more than a man. Behold, is not this the Great **Spirit** who doth send such great punishments upon this people, because of their murders?

Alma 18:3

And they answered the king, and said: Whether he be the Great **Spirit** or a man, we know not; but this much we do know, that he cannot be slain by the enemies of the king;

Alma 18:4

And now, when the king heard these words, he said unto them: Now I know that it is the Great **Spirit**; and he has come down at this time to preserve your lives, that I might not slay you as I did your brethren. Now this is the Great **Spirit** of whom our fathers have spoken.

Alma 18:5

Now this was the tradition of Lamoni, which he had received from his father, that there was a Great **Spirit**. Notwithstanding they believed in a Great **Spirit** they supposed that whatsoever they did was right; nevertheless, Lamoni began to fear exceedingly, with fear lest he had done wrong in slaying his servants;

Alma 18:11

... this is the Great **Spirit**, and I would desire him that he come in unto me, but I durst not.

Alma 18:16

And it came to pass that Ammon, being filled with the **Spirit of God**, therefore he perceived the thoughts of the king.

Alma 18:18

... king Lamoni did open his mouth, and said unto him: Who art thou? Art thou that Great **Spirit**, who knows all things?

Alma 18:26

And then Ammon said: Believest thou that there is a Great **Spirit** ?

Alma 18:28

And Ammon said: This is God. And Ammon said unto him again: Believest thou that this Great **Spirit**, who is God, created all things which are in heaven and in the earth?

Alma 19:25

And it came to pass that there were many among them who said that Ammon was the Great **Spirit**, and others said he was sent by the Great **Spirit**;

Alma 19:27

And there were some who said that Ammon was sent by the Great **Spirit** to afflict them because of their iniquities; and that it was the Great **Spirit** that had always attended the Nephites, who had ever delivered them out of their hands; and they said that it was this Great **Spirit** who had destroyed so many of their brethren, the Lamanites.

Alma 22:9

And the king said: Is God that Great **Spirit** that brought our fathers out of the land of Jerusalem?

Alma 22:10

And Aaron said unto him: Yea, he is that Great **Spirit**, and he created all things both in heaven and in earth. Believest thou this?

Alma 22:11

And he said: Yea, I believe that the Great **Spirit** created all things, and I desire that ye should tell me concerning all these things, and I will believe thy words.

Alma 31:15

Holy, holy God; we believe that thou art God, and we believe that thou art holy, and that thou wast a **Spirit**, and that thou art a **Spirit**, and that thou wilt be a **Spirit** forever.

Alma 45:19

. . . he was a righteous man; and the saying went abroad in the church that he was taken up by the **Spirit**, or buried by the hand of the Lord, even as Moses. But behold, the scriptures saith the Lord took Moses unto himself; and we suppose that he has also received Alma in the **Spirit** . . .

Ether 3:16

Behold, this body, which ye now behold, is the body of my **Spirit**; and man have I created after the body of my **Spirit**; and even as I appear unto thee to be in the **Spirit** will I appear unto my people in the flesh.

DOCTRINE AND COVENANTS

The *Doctrine and Covenant* references include all words refer to the Holy Spirit: Spirit, Holy Ghost, **Comforter**, reveal, revelation, inspiration, inspire. (Spelling taken from Smith's *History of the Church* edition)

Probable references to the Holy Spirit

[1] D&C 1:33

And he that repents not, from him shall be taken even the light which he has received; for my **Spirit** shall not always strive with man, saith the Lord of Hosts.

[2] D&C 1:39

For behold, and lo, the Lord is God, and the **Spirit** beareth record, and the record is true, and the truth abideth forever and ever. Amen.

[3, 4] D&C 5:16

And behold, whosoever believeth on my words, them will I visit with the manifestation of my **Spirit**; and they shall be born of me, even of water and of the **Spirit** --

[5] D&C 6:14

Verily, verily, I say unto thee, blessed art thou for what thou hast done; for thou hast inquired of me, and behold, as often as thou hast inquired thou hast received instruction of my **Spirit**. If it had not been so, thou wouldst not have come to the place where thou art at this time.

[6] D&C 6:15

15 Behold, thou knowest that thou hast inquired of me and I did enlighten thy mind; and now I tell thee these things that thou mayest know that thou hast been enlightened by the **Spirit** of truth;

[7] D&C 8:1

Oliver Cowdery, verily, verily, I say unto you, that assuredly as the Lord liveth, who is your God and your Redeemer, even so surely shall you receive a knowledge of whatsoever things you shall ask in faith, with an honest heart, believing that you shall receive a knowledge concerning the engravings of old records, which are ancient, which contain those parts of my scripture of which has been spoken by the manifestation of my **Spirit**.

{1} D&C 8:2

Yea, behold, I will tell you in your mind and in your heart, by the **Holy Ghost**, which shall come upon you and which shall dwell in your heart.

[8, 9] D&C 8:3

Now, behold, this is the **Spirit** of revelation; behold, this is the **Spirit** by which Moses brought the children of Israel through the Red Sea on dry ground.

[10, 11] D&C 11:12

And now, verily, verily, I say unto thee, put your trust in that **Spirit** which leadeth to do good--yea, to do justly, to walk humbly, to judge righteously; and this is my **Spirit**.

[12] D&C 11:13

Verily, verily, I say unto you, I will impart unto you of my **Spirit**, which shall enlighten your mind, which shall fill your soul with joy;

[13] D&C 11:18

Keep my commandments; hold your peace; appeal unto my **Spirit**;

[14] D&C 11:21

Seek not to declare my word, but first seek to obtain my word, and then shall your tongue be loosed; then, if you desire, you shall have my **Spirit** and my word, yea, the power of God unto the convincing of men.

[15, 16] D&C 11:25

Deny not the **Spirit** of revelation, nor the **Spirit** of prophecy, for wo unto him that denieth these things;

{2} D&C 14:8

8 And it shall come to pass, that if you shall ask the Father in my name, in faith believing, you shall receive the **Holy Ghost**, which giveth utterance, that you may stand as a witness of the things of which you shall both hear and see, and also that you may declare repentance unto this generation.

[17] D&C 18:2

Behold, I have manifested unto you, by my **Spirit** in many instances, that the things which you have written are true; wherefore you know that they are true.

{3} D&C 18:18

Ask the Father in my name, in faith believing that you shall receive, and you shall have the **Holy Ghost**, which manifesteth all things which are expedient unto the children of men.

{4} D&C 18:32

And, behold, you are they who are ordained of me to ordain priests and teachers; to declare my gospel, according to the power of the **Holy Ghost** which is in you, and according to the callings and gifts of God unto men;

[18] D&C 18:35

For it is my voice which speaketh them unto you; for they are given by my **Spirit** unto you, and by my power you can read them one to another; and save it were by my power you could not have them;

[19] D&C 18:47

Behold, I, Jesus Christ, your Lord and your God, and your Redeemer, by the power of my **Spirit** have spoken it. Amen.

[20] D&C 19:20

Wherefore, I command you again to repent, lest I humble you with my almighty power; and that you confess your sins, lest you suffer these punishments of which I have spoken, of which in the smallest, yea, even in the least degree you have tasted at the time I withdrew my **Spirit**.

[21] D&C 19:23

Learn of me, and listen to my words; walk in the meekness of my **Spirit**, and you shall have peace in me.

{5} D&C 19:31

And of tenets thou shalt not talk, but thou shalt declare repentance and faith on the Savior, and remission of sins by baptism, and by fire, yea, even the **Holy Ghost**.

[22] D&C 19:38

Pray always, and I will pour out my **Spirit** upon you, and great shall be your blessing--yea, even more than if you should obtain treasures of earth and corruptibleness to the extent thereof.

D&C 20:10

Which was *given by inspiration*, and is confirmed to others by the ministering of angels, and is declared unto the world by them-

D&C 20:11

Proving to the world that the holy scriptures are true, and that *God does inspire* men and call them to his holy work in this age and generation, as well as in generations of old;

{6} D&C 20:26

Not only those who believed after he came in the meridian of time, in the flesh, but all those from the beginning, even as many as were before he came, who believed in the words of the holy prophets, who spake as they were inspired by the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, who truly testified of him in all things, should have eternal life,

{7} D&C 20:27

As well as those who should come after, who should believe in the gifts and callings of God by the **Holy Ghost**, which beareth record of the Father and of the Son;

{8} D&C 20:28

Which Father, Son, and **Holy Ghost** are one God, infinite and eternal, without end. Amen.

{9} D&C 20:35

And we know that these things are true and according to the revelations of John, neither adding to, nor diminishing from the prophecy of his book, the holy scriptures, or the

revelations of God which shall come hereafter by the gift and power of the **Holy Ghost**, the voice of God, or the ministering of angels.

[23] D&C 20:37

And again, by way of commandment to the church concerning the manner of baptism--All those who humble themselves before God, and desire to be baptized, and come forth with broken hearts and contrite spirits, and witness before the church that they have truly repented of all their sins, and are willing to take upon them the name of Jesus Christ, having a determination to serve him to the end, and truly manifest by their works that they have received of the **Spirit** of Christ unto the remission of their sins, shall be received by baptism into his church.

{10} D&C 20:41

And to confirm those who are baptized into the church, by the laying on of hands for the baptism of fire and the **Holy Ghost**, according to the scriptures;

{11} D&C 20:43

And to confirm the church by the laying on of the hands, and the giving of the **Holy Ghost**;

{12} D&C 20:45

The elders are to conduct the meetings as they are led by the **Holy Ghost**, according to the commandments and revelations of God.

{13} D&C 20:60

Every elder, priest, teacher, or deacon is to be ordained according to the gifts and callings of God unto him; and he is to be ordained by the power of the **Holy Ghost**, which is in the one who ordains him.

{14} D&C 20:73

73 The person who is called of God and has authority from Jesus Christ to baptize, shall go down into the water with the person who has presented himself or herself for baptism, and shall say, calling him or her by name: Having been commissioned of Jesus Christ, I baptize you in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the **Holy Ghost**. Amen.

[24] D&C 20:77

O God, the Eternal Father, we ask thee in the name of thy Son, Jesus Christ, to bless and sanctify this bread to the souls of all those who partake of it, that they may eat in remembrance of the body of thy Son, and witness unto thee, O God, the Eternal Father, that they are willing to take upon them the name of thy Son, and always remember him and keep his commandments which he has given them; that they may always have his **Spirit** to be with them. Amen.

[25] D&C 20:79

. . . that they may witness unto thee, O God, the Eternal Father, that they do always remember him, that they may have his **Spirit** to be with them. Amen.

{15} D&C 21:2

Being inspired of the **Holy Ghost** to lay the foundation thereof, and to build it up unto the most holy faith.

D&C 21:9

For, behold, I will bless all those who labor in my vineyard with a mighty blessing, and they shall believe on his words, which are given him through me by the **Comforter**, which manifesteth that Jesus was crucified by sinful men for the sins of the world, yea, for the remission of sins unto the contrite heart.

D&C 24:5

And thou shalt continue in calling upon God in my name, and writing the things which shall be given thee by the **Comforter**, and expounding all scriptures unto the church.

[26] D&C 25:7

And thou shalt be ordained under his hand to expound scriptures, and to exhort the church, according as it shall be given thee by my **Spirit**.

{16} D&C 25:8

For he shall lay his hands upon thee, and thou shalt receive the **Holy Ghost**, and thy time shall be given to writing, and to learning much.

[27] D&C 27:18

And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of my **Spirit**, which I will pour out upon you, and my word which I reveal unto you, and be agreed as touching all things whatsoever ye ask of me, and be faithful until I come, and ye shall be caught up, that where I am ye shall be also. Amen.

D&C 28:1

Behold, I say unto thee, Oliver, that it shall be given unto thee that thou shalt be heard by the church in all things whatsoever thou shalt teach them by the **Comforter**, concerning the revelations and commandments which I have given.

D&C 28:4

And if thou art led at any time by the **Comforter** to speak or teach, or at all times by the way of commandment unto the church, thou mayest do it.

[28] D&C 29:30

But remember that all my judgments are not given unto men; and as the words have gone forth out of my mouth even so shall they be fulfilled, that the first shall be last, and that the last shall be first in all things whatsoever I have created by the word of my power, which is the power of my **Spirit**.

[29] D&C 29:31

For by the power of my **Spirit** created I them; yea, all things both **Spiritual** and temporal--

[30] D&C 30:2

But your mind has been on the things of the earth more than on the things of me, your Maker, and the ministry whereunto you have been called; and you have not given heed unto my **Spirit**, and to those who were set over you, but have been persuaded by those whom I have not commanded.

D&C 31:11

Go your way whithersoever I will, and it shall be given you by the **Comforter** what you shall do and whither you shall go.

{17} D&C 33:11

Yea, repent and be baptized, every one of you, for a remission of your sins; yea, be baptized even by water, and then cometh the baptism of fire and of the **Holy Ghost**.

{18} D&C 33:15

And whoso having faith you shall confirm in my church, by the laying on of the hands, and I will bestow the gift of the **Holy Ghost** upon them.

[31] D&C 33:16

And the Book of Mormon and the holy scriptures are given of me for your instruction; and the power of my **Spirit** quickeneth all things.

{19} D&C 34:10

Wherefore, lift up your voice and spare not, for the Lord God hath spoken; therefore prophesy, and it shall be given by the power of the **Holy Ghost**.

{20} D&C 35:5

Thou didst baptize by water unto repentance, but they received not the **Holy Ghost**;

{21} D&C 35:6

But now I give unto thee a commandment, that thou shalt baptize by water, and they shall receive the **Holy Ghost** by the laying on of the hands, even as the apostles of old.

[32] D&C 35:13

Wherefore, I call upon the weak things of the world, those who are unlearned and despised, to thrash the nations by the power of my **Spirit**

{22} D&C 35:19

Wherefore, watch over him that his faith fail not, and it shall be given by the **Comforter**, the **Holy Ghost**, that knoweth all things.

[33] {23} D&C 36:2

And I will lay my hand upon you by the hand of my servant Sidney Rigdon, and you shall receive my **Spirit**, the **Holy Ghost**, even the **Comforter**, which shall teach you the peaceable things of the kingdom;

{24} D&C 39:6

And this is my gospel--repentance and baptism by water, and then cometh the baptism of fire and the **Holy Ghost**, even the **Comforter**, which showeth all things, and teacheth the peaceable things of the kingdom.

[34] D&C 39:10

But, behold, the days of thy deliverance are come, if thou wilt hearken to my voice, which saith unto thee: Arise and be baptized, and wash away your sins, calling on my name, and you shall receive my **Spirit**, and a blessing so great as you never have known.

{25} D&C 39:23

And again, it shall come to pass that on as many as ye shall baptize with water, ye shall lay your hands, and they shall receive the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, and shall be looking forth for the signs of my coming, and shall know me.

[35] D&C 42:5

And I give unto them a commandment that they shall go forth for a little season, and it shall be given by the power of the **Spirit** when they shall return.

[36] D&C 42:6

And ye shall go forth in the power of my **Spirit**, preaching my gospel, two by two, in my name, lifting up your voices as with the sound of a trump, declaring my word like unto angels of God.

[37] D&C 42:13

And they shall observe the covenants and church articles to do them, and these shall be their teachings, as they shall be directed by the **Spirit**.

[38, 39] D&C 42:14

And the **Spirit** shall be given unto you by the prayer of faith; and if ye receive not the **Spirit** ye shall not teach.

D&C 42:16

And as ye shall lift up your voices by the **Comforter**, ye shall speak and prophesy as seemeth me good;

D&C 42:17

For, behold, the **Comforter** knoweth all things, and beareth record of the Father and of the Son.

[40] D&C 42:23

And he that looketh upon a woman to lust after her shall deny the faith, and shall not have the **Spirit**; and if he repents not he shall be cast out.

D&C 42:61

If thou shalt ask, thou shalt *receive revelation* upon *revelation*, knowledge upon knowledge, that thou mayest know the mysteries and peaceable things--that which bringeth joy, that which bringeth life eternal.

[41] D&C 43:15

Again I say, hearken ye elders of my church, whom I have appointed: Ye are not sent forth to be taught, but to teach the children of men the things which I have put into your hands by the power of my **Spirit**;

[42] D&C 44:2

And it shall come to pass, that inasmuch as they are faithful, and exercise faith in me, I will pour out my **Spirit** upon them in the day that they assemble themselves together.

[43] D&C 45:57

57 For they that are wise and have received the truth, and have taken the **Holy Spirit** for their guide, and have not been deceived--verily I say unto you, they shall not be hewn down and cast into the fire, but shall abide the day.

[44] D&C 46:2

But notwithstanding those things which are written, it always has been given to the elders of my church from the beginning, and ever shall be, to conduct all meetings as they are directed and guided by the **Holy Spirit**.

[45] D&C 46:7

But ye are commanded in all things to ask of God, who giveth liberally; and that which the **Spirit** testifies unto you even so I would that ye should do in all holiness of heart, walking uprightly before me, considering the end of your salvation, doing all things with prayer and thanksgiving, that ye may not be seduced by evil spirits, or doctrines of devils, or the commandments of men; for some are of men, and others of devils.

[46] D&C 46:11

For all have not every gift given unto them; for there are many gifts, and to every man is given a gift by the **Spirit of God**.

{26} D&C 46:13

To some it is given by the **Holy Ghost** to know that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and that he was crucified for the sins of the world.

{27} D&C 46:15

And again, to some it is given by the **Holy Ghost** to know the differences of administration, as it will be pleasing unto the same Lord, according as the Lord will, suiting his mercies according to the conditions of the children of men.

[47] {28} D&C 46:16

And again, it is given by the **Holy Ghost** to some to know the diversities of operations, whether they be of God, that the manifestations of the **Spirit** may be given to every man to profit withal.

[48] D&C 46:17

And again, verily I say unto you, to some is given, by the **Spirit of God**, the word of wisdom.

[49, 50] D&C 46:28

And it shall come to pass that he that asketh in **Spirit** shall receive in **Spirit**;

[51] D&C 46:30

He that asketh in the **Spirit** asketh according to the will of God; wherefore it is done even as he asketh.

[52] D&C 46:31

And again, I say unto you, all things must be done in the name of Christ, whatsoever you do in the **Spirit**;

[53] D&C 46:32

And ye must give thanks unto God in the **Spirit** for whatsoever blessing ye are blessed with.

D&C 47:4

Wherefore, it shall be given him, inasmuch as he is faithful, by the **Comforter**, to write these things. Even so. Amen.

{29} D&C 49:14

And whoso doeth this shall receive the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, by the laying on of the hands of the elders of the church.

[54] D&C 50:10

And now come, saith the Lord, by the **Spirit**, unto the elders of his church, and let us reason together, that ye may understand;

[55] D&C 50:14

To preach my gospel by the **Spirit**, even the **Comforter** which was sent forth to teach the truth.

[56, 57] D&C 50:17

Verily I say unto you, he that is ordained of me and sent forth to preach the word of truth by the **Comforter**, in the **Spirit** of truth, doth he preach it by the **Spirit** of truth or some other way?

[58] D&C 50:19

And again, he that receiveth the word of truth, doth he receive it by the **Spirit** of truth or some other way?

[59, 60] D&C 50:21

Therefore, why is it that ye cannot understand and know, that he that receiveth the word by the **Spirit** of truth receiveth it as it is preached by the **Spirit** of truth?

[61] D&C 50:27

Wherefore, he is possessor of all things; for all things are subject unto him, both in heaven and on the earth, the life and the light, the **Spirit** and the power, sent forth by the will of the Father through Jesus Christ, his Son.

[62] D&C 52:1

Behold, thus saith the Lord unto the elders whom he hath called and chosen in these last days, by the voice of his **Spirit** --

D&C 52:9

And let them journey from thence preaching the word by the way, saying none other things than that which the prophets and apostles have written, and that which is taught them by the **Comforter** through the prayer of faith.

[63] D&C 53:3

Take upon you mine ordination, even that of an elder, to preach faith and repentance and remission of sins, according to my word, and the reception of the **Holy Spirit** by the laying on of hands;

[64] D&C 55:1

Behold, thus saith the Lord unto you, my servant William, yea, even the Lord of the whole earth, thou art called and chosen; and after thou hast been baptized by water, which if you do with an eye single to my glory, you shall have a remission of your sins and a reception of the **Holy Spirit** by the laying on of hands;

[65] D&C 55:3

And on whomsoever you shall lay your hands, if they are contrite before me, you shall have power to give the **Holy Spirit**.

[66] D&C 57:13

And let my servant Oliver Cowdery assist him, even as I have commanded, in whatsoever place I shall appoint unto him, to copy, and to correct, and select, that all things may be right before me, as it shall be proved by the **Spirit** through him.

[67] D&C 58:38

And other directions concerning my servant Martin Harris shall be given him of the **Spirit**, that he may receive his inheritance as seemeth him good;

[68] D&C 58:50

And I give unto my servant Sidney Rigdon a commandment, that he shall write a description of the land of Zion, and a statement of the will of God, as it shall be made known by the **Spirit** unto him;

[69] D&C 59:24

I, the Lord, have spoken it, and the **Spirit** beareth record. Amen.

[70] D&C 61:27

Nevertheless, unto whom is given power to command the waters, unto him it is given by the **Spirit** to know all his ways;

[71] D&C 61:28

Wherefore, let him do as the **Spirit** of the living God commandeth him, whether upon the land or upon the waters, as it remaineth with me to do hereafter.

[72] D&C 62:8

These things remain with you to do according to judgment and the directions of the **Spirit**.

[73] D&C 63:16

And verily I say unto you, as I have said before, he that looketh on a woman to lust after her, or if any shall commit adultery in their hearts, they shall not have the **Spirit**, but shall deny the faith and shall fear.

[74] D&C 63:32

I, the Lord, am angry with the wicked; I am holding my **Spirit** from the inhabitants of the earth.

[75] D&C 63:41

Behold, I, the Lord, will give unto my servant Joseph Smith, Jun., power that he shall be enabled to discern by the **Spirit** those who shall go up unto the land of Zion, and those of my disciples who shall tarry.

[76] D&C 63:55

And now behold, verily I say unto you, I, the Lord, am not pleased with my servant Sidney Rigdon; he exalted himself in his heart, and received not counsel, but grieved the **Spirit**;

[77, 78] D&C 63:64

Remember that that which cometh from above is sacred, and must be spoken with care, and by constraint of the **Spirit**; and in this there is no condemnation, and ye receive the **Spirit** through prayer; wherefore, without this there remaineth condemnation.

[79] D&C 63:65

Let my servants, Joseph Smith, Jun., and Sidney Rigdon, seek them a home, as they are taught through prayer by the **Spirit**.

[80] D&C 64:16

16 They sought evil in their hearts, and I, the Lord, withheld my **Spirit**. They condemned for evil that thing in which there was no evil; nevertheless I have forgiven my servant Isaac Morley.

[81] D&C 67:11

For no man has seen God at any time in the flesh, except quickened by the **Spirit of God**.

[82] D&C 68:1

MY servant, Orson Hyde, was called by his ordination to proclaim the everlasting gospel, by the **Spirit** of the living God, from people to people, and from land to land, in the congregations of the wicked, in their synagogues, reasoning with and expounding all scriptures unto them.

{30} D&C 68:3

And this is the ensample unto them, that they shall speak as they are moved upon by the **Holy Ghost**.

{31} D&C 68:4

And whatsoever they shall speak when moved upon by the **Holy Ghost** shall be scripture, shall be the will of the Lord, shall be the mind of the Lord, shall be the word of the Lord, shall be the voice of the Lord, and the power of God unto salvation.

{32} D&C 68:8

Go ye into all the world, preach the gospel to every creature, acting in the authority which I have given you, baptizing in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the **Holy Ghost**.

{33} D&C 68:25

And again, inasmuch as parents have children in Zion, or in any of her stakes which are organized, that teach them not to understand the doctrine of repentance, faith in Christ the Son of the living God, and of baptism and the gift of the **Holy Ghost** by the laying on of the hands, when eight years old, the sin be upon the heads of the parents.

[83] D&C 70:13

Yea, even more abundantly, which abundance is multiplied unto them through the manifestations of the **Spirit**.

[84] D&C 70:14

Nevertheless, in your temporal things you shall be equal, and this not grudgingly, otherwise the abundance of the manifestations of the **Spirit** shall be withheld.

[85] D&C 71:1

. . . the time has verily come that it is necessary and expedient in me that you should open your mouths in proclaiming my gospel, the things of the kingdom, expounding the mysteries thereof out of the scriptures, according to that portion of **Spirit** and power which shall be given unto you, even as I will.

[86] D&C 72:24

24 A few words in addition to the laws of the kingdom, respecting the members of the church--they that are appointed by the **Holy Spirit** to go up unto Zion, and they who are privileged to go up unto Zion--

[87] D&C 75:1

Verily, verily, I say unto you, I who speak even by the voice of my **Spirit**, even Alpha and Omega, your Lord and your God--

D&C 75:10

Calling on the name of the Lord for the **Comforter**, which shall teach them all things that are expedient for them--

D&C 75:27

Let them ask and they shall receive, knock and it shall be opened unto them, and be made known from on high, even by the **Comforter**, whither they shall go.

D&C 76:7

And to them will *I reveal all mysteries*, yea, all the hidden mysteries of my kingdom from days of old, and for ages to come, will I make known unto them the good pleasure of my will concerning all things pertaining to my kingdom.

[88] D&C 76:10

For by my **Spirit** will I enlighten them, and by my power will I make known unto them the secrets of my will--yea, even those things which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor yet entered into the heart of man.

[89] D&C 76:11

We, Joseph Smith, Jun., and Sidney Rigdon, being in the **Spirit** on the sixteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two--

[90] D&C 76:12

By the power of the **Spirit** our eyes were opened and our understandings were enlightened, so as to see and understand the things of God--

[91] D&C 76:18

Now this caused us to marvel, for it was given unto us of the **Spirit**.

[92] D&C 76:35

Having denied the **Holy Spirit** after having received it, and having denied the Only Begotten Son of the Father, having crucified him unto themselves and put him to an open shame.

[93] D&C 76:52

That by keeping the commandments they might be washed and cleansed from all their sins, and receive the **Holy Spirit** by the laying on of the hands of him who is ordained and sealed unto this power;

[94] D&C 76:53

And who overcome by faith, and are sealed by the **Holy Spirit** of promise, which the Father sheds forth upon all those who are just and true.

[95] D&C 76:80

And now this is the end of the vision which we saw of the terrestrial, that the Lord commanded us to write while we were yet in the **Spirit**.

[96] D&C 76:83

These are they who deny not the **Holy Spirit**.

[97] D&C 76:86

These are they who receive not of his fulness in the eternal world, but of the **Holy Spirit** through the ministration of the terrestrial;

[98] D&C 76:113

This is the end of the vision which we saw, which we were commanded to write while we were yet in the **Spirit**.

[99] D&C 76:115

Which he commanded us we should not write while we were yet in the **Spirit**, and are not lawful for man to utter;

[100] D&C 76:116

Neither is man capable to make them known, for they are only to be seen and understood by the power of the **Holy Spirit**, which God bestows on those who love him, and purify themselves before him;

[101] D&C 76:118

That through the power and manifestation of the **Spirit**, while in the flesh, they may be able to bear his presence in the world of glory.

D&C 79:2

And I will send upon him the **Comforter**, which shall teach him the truth and the way whither he shall go;

{34} D&C 84:27

Which gospel is the gospel of repentance and of baptism, and the remission of sins, and the law of carnal commandments, which the Lord in his wrath caused to continue with the house of Aaron among the children of Israel until John, whom God raised up, being filled with the **Holy Ghost** from his mother's womb.

[102] D&C 84:33

For whoso is faithful unto the obtaining these two priesthoods of which I have spoken, and the magnifying their calling, are sanctified by the **Spirit** unto the renewing of their bodies.

[103, 104] D&C 84:45

For the word of the Lord is truth, and whatsoever is truth is light, and whatsoever is light is **Spirit**, even the **Spirit** of Jesus Christ

[105, 106, 107] D&C 84:46

And the **Spirit** giveth light to every man that cometh into the world; and the **Spirit** enlighteneth every man through the world, that hearkeneth to the voice of the **Spirit**.

[108] D&C 84:47

And every one that hearkeneth to the voice of the **Spirit** cometh unto God, even the Father.

{35} D&C 84:64

... I said unto mine apostles I say unto you again, that every soul who believeth on your words, and is baptized by water for the remission of sins, shall receive the **Holy Ghost**.

{36} D&C 84:74

Verily, verily, I say unto you, they who believe not on your words, and are not baptized in water in my name, for the remission of their sins, that they may receive the **Holy Ghost**, shall be damned, and shall not come into my Father's kingdom where my Father and I am.

[109] D&C 84:88

And whoso receiveth you, there I will be also, for I will go before your face. I will be on your right hand and on your left, and my **Spirit** shall be in your hearts, and mine angels round about you, to bear you up.

[110] D&C 84:106

And if any man among you be strong in the **Spirit**, let him take with him him that is weak, that he may be edified in all meekness, that he may become strong also.

[111] D&C 88:3

Wherefore, I now send upon you another **Comforter**, even upon you my friends, that it may abide in your hearts, even the **Holy Spirit** of promise; which other **Comforter** is the same that I promised unto my disciples, as is recorded in the testimony of John.

D&C 88:4

This **Comforter** is the promise which I give unto you of eternal life, even the glory of the celestial kingdom;

[112, 113] D&C 88:66

Behold, that which you hear is as the voice of one crying in the wilderness--in the wilderness, because you cannot see him--my voice, because my voice is **Spirit**; my **Spirit** is truth; truth abideth and hath no end; and if it be in you it shall abound.

[114, 115] D&C 88:137

And ye are called to do this by prayer and thanksgiving, as the **Spirit** shall give utterance in all your doings in the house of the Lord, in the school of the prophets, that it may become a sanctuary, a tabernacle of the **Holy Spirit** to your edification.

D&C 89:2

To be sent greeting; not by commandment or constraint, but *by revelation* and the *word of wisdom*, showing forth the order and will of God in the temporal salvation of all saints in the last days--

D&C 89:4

Behold, verily, thus saith the Lord unto you: In consequence of evils and designs which do and will exist in the hearts of conspiring men in the last days, *I have warned you*, and forewarn you, by giving unto you *this word of wisdom by revelation*--

D&C 90:11

For it shall come to pass in that day, that every man shall hear the fulness of the gospel in his own tongue, and in his own language, through those who are ordained unto this power, by the administration of the **Comforter**, shed forth upon them for the revelation of Jesus Christ.

D&C 90:14

And from time to time, as shall be manifested by the **Comforter**, receive revelations to unfold the mysteries of the kingdom;

[116] D&C 91:4

Therefore, whoso readeth it, let him understand, for the **Spirit** manifesteth truth;

[117] D&C 91:5

And whoso is enlightened by the **Spirit** shall obtain benefit therefrom;

[118] D&C 91:6

And whoso receiveth not by the **Spirit**, cannot be benefited. Therefore it is not needful that it should be translated. Amen.

[119] D&C 93:9

The light and the Redeemer of the world; the **Spirit** of truth, who came into the world, because the world was made by him, and in him was the life of men and the light of men.

[120] D&C 93:11

And I, John, bear record that I beheld his glory, as the glory of the Only Begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth, even the **Spirit** of truth, which came and dwelt in the flesh, and dwelt among us.

{37} D&C 93:15

And I, John, bear record, and lo, the heavens were opened, and the **Holy Ghost** descended upon him in the form of a dove, and sat upon him, and there came a voice out of heaven saying: This is my beloved Son.

[121, 122] D&C 93:23

Ye were also in the beginning with the Father; that which is **Spirit**, even the **Spirit** of truth;

[123, 124] D&C 93:26

The **Spirit** of truth is of God. I am the **Spirit** of truth, and John bore record of me, saying: He received a fulness of truth, yea, even of all truth;

[125] D&C 95:4

For the preparation wherewith I design to prepare mine apostles to prune my vineyard for the last time, that I may bring to pass my strange act, that I may pour out my **Spirit** upon all flesh--

[126] D&C 97:1

VERILY I say unto you my friends, I speak unto you with my voice, even the voice of my **Spirit**, that I may show unto you my will concerning your brethren in the land of Zion, many of whom are truly humble and are seeking diligently to learn wisdom and to find truth.

[127] D&C 99:2

And who receiveth you receiveth me; and you shall have power to declare my word in the demonstration of my **Holy Spirit**.

{38} D&C 100:8

And I give unto you this promise, that inasmuch as ye do this the **Holy Ghost** shall be shed forth in bearing record unto all things whatsoever ye shall say.

D&C 102:23

In case of difficulty respecting doctrine or principle, if there is not a sufficiency written to make the case clear to the minds of the council, the president may inquire and obtain the *mind of the Lord by revelation*.

D&C 103:1

VERILY I say unto you, my friends, behold, *I will give unto you a revelation and commandment*, that you may know how to act in the discharge of your duties concerning the salvation and redemption of your brethren, who have been scattered on the land of Zion;

[128] D&C 104:36

And it is my will that he should sell the lots that are laid off for the building up of the city of my saints, inasmuch as it shall be made known to him by the voice of the **Spirit**, and according to the counsel of the order, and by the voice of the order.

[129] D&C 104:81

Therefore write speedily to New York and write according to that which shall be dictated by my **Spirit**; and I will soften the hearts of those to whom you are in debt, that it shall be taken away out of their minds to bring affliction upon you.

D&C 105:23

And let all my people who dwell in the regions round about be very faithful, and prayerful, and humble before me, and reveal not the things which *I have revealed unto them*, until it is wisdom in me that they *should be revealed*.

[130] D&C 105:36

And it shall be manifest unto my servant, by the voice of the **Spirit**, those that are chosen; and they shall be sanctified;

[131] D&C 105:40

And make proposals for peace unto those who have smitten you, according to the voice of the **Spirit** which is in you, and all things shall work together for your good.

D&C 107:39

It is the duty of the Twelve, in all large branches of the church, to ordain evangelical ministers, as they shall be *designated unto them by revelation*--

{39} D&C 107:56

And Adam stood up in the midst of the congregation; and, notwithstanding he was bowed down with age, being full of the **Holy Ghost**, predicted whatsoever should befall his posterity unto the latest generation.

[132] D&C 107:71

Nevertheless, a high priest, that is, after the order of Melchizedek, may be set apart unto the ministering of temporal things, having a knowledge of them by the **Spirit** of truth;

D&C 109:6

And as *thou hast said in a revelation*, given to us, calling us thy friends, saying--Call your solemn assembly, as I have commanded you;

{40} D&C 109:15

And that they may grow up in thee, and receive a fulness of the **Holy Ghost**, and be organized according to thy laws, and be prepared to obtain every needful thing;

[133] D&C 109:79

And also this church, to put upon it thy name. And help us by the power of thy **Spirit**, that we may mingle our voices with those bright, shining seraphs around thy throne, with acclamations of praise, singing Hosanna to God and the Lamb!

[134] D&C 111:8

And the place where it is my will that you should tarry, for the main, shall be signalized unto you by the peace and power of my **Spirit**, that shall flow unto you.

[135] D&C 112:22

Inasmuch as they shall humble themselves before me, and abide in my word, and hearken to the voice of my **Spirit**.

D&C 113:10

We are to understand that the scattered remnants are exhorted to return to the Lord from whence they have fallen; which if they do, the promise of the Lord is that *he will speak* to them, or *give them revelation*. . . .

[136] {41} D&C 121:26

God shall give unto you knowledge by his **Holy Spirit**, yea, by the unspeakable gift of the **Holy Ghost**, that has not been revealed since the world was until now;

[137] D&C 121:37

That they may be conferred upon us, it is true; but when we undertake to cover our sins, or to gratify our pride, our vain ambition, or to exercise control or dominion or compulsion upon the souls of the children of men, in any degree of unrighteousness, behold, the heavens withdraw themselves; the **Spirit of the Lord** is grieved; and when it is withdrawn, Amen to the priesthood or the authority of that man.

{42} D&C 121:43

Reproving betimes with sharpness, when moved upon by the **Holy Ghost**; and then showing forth afterwards an increase of love toward him whom thou hast reproved, lest he esteem thee to be his enemy;

{43} D&C 121:46

The **Holy Ghost** shall be thy constant companion, and thy scepter an unchanging scepter of righteousness and truth; and thy dominion shall be an everlasting dominion, and without compulsory means it shall flow unto thee forever and ever.

{44} D&C 124:4

Let it be written in the spirit of meekness and by the power of the **Holy Ghost**, which shall be in you at the time of the writing of the same;

{45} D&C 124:5

For it shall be given you by the **Holy Ghost** to know my will concerning those kings and authorities, even what shall befall them in a time to come.

D&C 124:40

And verily I say unto you, let this house be built unto my name, that *I may reveal* mine ordinances therein unto my people;

D&C 124:41

For *I deign to reveal* unto my church things which have been kept hid from before the foundation of the world, things that pertain to the dispensation of the fulness of times.

[138] D&C 124:88

Let my servant William go and proclaim my everlasting gospel with a loud voice, and with great joy, as he shall be moved upon by my **Spirit**, unto the inhabitants of . . .

[139] D&C 124:97

Let my servant William Law also receive the keys by which he may ask and receive blessings; let him be humble before me, and be without guile, and he shall receive of my **Spirit**, even the **Comforter**, which shall manifest unto him the truth of all things, and shall give him, in the very hour, what he shall say.

[140] D&C 124:124

First, I give unto you Hyrum Smith to be a patriarch unto you, to hold the sealing blessings of my church, even the **Holy Spirit** of promise, whereby ye are sealed up unto the day of redemption, that ye may not fall notwithstanding the hour of temptation that may come upon you.

[141] {46} D&C 130:22

The Father has a body of flesh and bones as tangible as man's; the Son also; but the **Holy Ghost** has not a body of flesh and bones, but is a personage of **Spirit**. Were it not so, the **Holy Ghost** could not dwell in us.

{47} D&C 130:23

A man may receive the **Holy Ghost**, and it may descend upon him and not tarry with him.

[142] D&C 131:5

(May 17, 1843.) The more sure word of prophecy means a man's knowing that he is sealed up unto eternal life, by revelation and the **Spirit** of prophecy, through the power of the Holy Priesthood.

[143] D&C 131:7

There is no such thing as immaterial matter. All **Spirit** is matter, but it is more fine or pure, and can only be discerned by purer eyes;

D&C 132:4

For behold, *I reveal unto you* a new and an everlasting covenant; and if ye abide not that covenant, then are ye damned; for no one can reject this covenant and be permitted to enter into my glory.

[144] D&C 132:7

And verily I say unto you, that the conditions of this law are these: All covenants, contracts, bonds, obligations, oaths, vows, performances, connections, associations, or expectations, that are not made and entered into and sealed by the **Holy Spirit** of promise, of him who is anointed, both as well for time and for all eternity, and that too most holy, by revelation and commandment through the medium of mine anointed, whom I have appointed on the earth to hold this power (and I have appointed unto my servant Joseph to hold this power in the last days, and there is never but one on the earth at a time on whom this power and the keys of this priesthood are conferred), are of no efficacy, virtue, or force in and after the resurrection from the dead; for all contracts that are not made unto this end have an end when men are dead.

[145] D&C 132:18

And again, verily I say unto you, if a man marry a wife, and make a covenant with her for time and for all eternity, if that covenant is not by me or by my word, which is my law, and is not sealed by the **Holy Spirit** of promise, through him whom I have anointed and appointed unto this power, then it is not valid neither of force when they are out of the world, because they are not joined by me, saith the Lord, neither by my word; when they are out of the world it cannot be received there, because the angels and the gods are appointed there, by whom they cannot pass; they cannot, therefore, inherit my glory; for my house is a house of order, saith the Lord God.

[146] D&C 132:19

And again, verily I say unto you, if a man marry a wife by my word, which is my law, and by the new and everlasting covenant, and it is sealed unto them by the **Holy Spirit** of promise, by him who is anointed, unto whom I have appointed this power.

[147] D&C 132:26

Verily, verily, I say unto you, if a man marry a wife according to my word, and they are sealed by the **Holy Spirit** of promise, according to mine appointment, and he or she shall commit any sin or transgression of the new and everlasting covenant whatever, and all manner of blasphemies, and if they commit no murder wherein they shed innocent blood, yet they shall come forth in the first resurrection, and enter into their exaltation; but they shall be destroyed in the flesh, and shall be delivered unto the buffetings of Satan unto the day of redemption, saith the Lord God.

{48} D&C 132:27

The blasphemy against the **Holy Ghost**, which shall not be forgiven in the world nor out of the world, is in that ye commit murder wherein ye shed innocent blood, and assent unto my death, after ye have received my new and everlasting covenant, saith the Lord God; and he that abideth not this law can in nowise enter into my glory, but shall be damned, saith the Lord.

D&C 132:29

Abraham received all things, whatsoever he received, *by revelation* and commandment, by *my word*, saith the Lord, and hath entered into his exaltation and sitteth upon his throne.

D&C 132:44

And if she hath not committed adultery, but is innocent and hath not broken her vow, and she knoweth it, and *I reveal it unto you*, my servant Joseph, then shall you have power, by the power of my Holy Priesthood, to take her and give her unto him that hath not committed adultery but hath been faithful; for he shall be made ruler over many.

D&C 132:66

And now, as pertaining to this law, verily, verily, I say unto you, *I will reveal* more unto you, hereafter; therefore, let this suffice for the present. Behold, I am Alpha and Omega. Amen.

[148] D&C 133:59

And by the weak things of the earth the Lord shall thrash the nations by the power of his **Spirit**.

Possible references to the Holy Spirit in the Doctrine and Covenants

D&C 76:28

And while we were **yet in the Spirit**, the Lord commanded us that we should write the vision; for we beheld Satan, that old serpent, even the devil, who rebelled against God, and sought to take the kingdom of our God and his Christ—

D&C 76:113

This is the end of the vision which we saw, which we were commanded to write while we were **yet in the Spirit**.

D&C 76:115

Which he commanded us we should not write while we were **yet in the Spirit**, and are not lawful for man to utter

D&C 25:2

A **revelation** I give unto you concerning my will; and if thou art faithful and walk in the paths of virtue before me, I will preserve thy life, and thou shalt receive an inheritance in Zion

D&C 84:61

For I will forgive you of your sins with this commandment—that you remain steadfast in your minds in solemnity and the **Spirit** of prayer, in bearing testimony to all the world of those things which are communicated unto you.

D&C 128:9

It may seem to some to be a very bold doctrine that we talk of--a power which records or binds on earth and binds in heaven. Nevertheless, in all ages of the world, whenever the Lord has given a dispensation of the priesthood to any man by actual **revelation**, or any set of men, this power has always been given. Hence, whatsoever those men did in authority, in the name of the Lord, and did it truly and faithfully, and kept a proper and faithful record of the same, it became a law on earth and in heaven, and could not be annulled, according to the decrees of the great Jehovah. . . .

PEARL OF GREAT PRICE

BOOK OF MOSES

An extract from the translation of the Bible as revealed to Joseph Smith June 1830—Feb. 1831

[1] Moses 1:15

Blessed be the name of my God, for his **Spirit** hath not altogether withdrawn from me, or else where is thy glory, for it is darkness unto me? And I can judge between thee and God; for God said unto me: Worship God, for him only shalt thou serve.

{1} Moses 1:24

And it came to pass that when Satan had departed from the presence of Moses, that Moses lifted up his eyes unto heaven, being filled with the **Holy Ghost**, which beareth record of the Father and the Son;

[2] Moses 1:27

And it came to pass, as the voice was still speaking, Moses cast his eyes and beheld the earth, yea, even all of it; and there was not a particle of it which he did not behold, discerning it by the **Spirit of God**.

[3] Moses 1:28

And he beheld also the inhabitants thereof, and there was not a soul which he beheld not; and he discerned them by the **Spirit of God**; and their numbers were great, even numberless as the sand upon the sea shore.

Moses 2:1

And it came to pass that the Lord spake unto Moses, saying: Behold, *I reveal* unto you concerning this heaven, and this earth; write the words which I speak. I am the Beginning and the End, the Almighty God; by mine Only Begotten I created these things; yea, in the beginning I created the heaven, and the earth upon which thou standest.

[4] Moses 2:2

And the earth was without form, and void; and I caused darkness to come up upon the face of the deep; and my **Spirit** moved upon the face of the water; for I am God.

{2} Moses 5:9

And in that day the **Holy Ghost** fell upon Adam, which beareth record of the Father and the Son, saying: I am the Only Begotten of the Father from the beginning, henceforth and forever, that as thou hast fallen thou mayest be redeemed, and all mankind, even as many as will.

{3} Moses 5:14

And the Lord God called upon men by the **Holy Ghost** everywhere and commanded them that they should repent;

{4} Moses 5:58

And thus the Gospel began to be preached, from the beginning, being declared by holy angels sent forth from the presence of God, and by his own voice, and by the gift of the **Holy Ghost**.

[5] Moses 6:5

And a book of remembrance was kept, in the which was recorded, in the language of Adam, for it was given unto as many as called upon God to write by the **Spirit** of inspiration;

{5} Moses 6:8

Now this prophecy Adam spake, as he was moved upon by the **Holy Ghost**, and a genealogy was kept of the children of God. And this was the book of the generations of Adam, saying: In the day that God created man, in the likeness of God made he him;

[6] Moses 6:26

And it came to pass that Enoch journeyed in the land, among the people; and as he journeyed, the **Spirit of God** descended out of heaven, and abode upon him.

[7] Moses 6:34

Behold my **Spirit** is upon you, wherefore all thy words will I justify; and the mountains shall flee before you, and the rivers shall turn from their course; and thou shalt abide in me, and I in you; therefore walk with me.

{6} Moses 6:52

And he also said unto him: If thou wilt turn unto me, and hearken unto my voice, and believe, and repent of all thy transgressions, and be baptized, even in water, in the name of mine Only Begotten Son, who is full of grace and truth, which is Jesus Christ, the only name which shall be given under heaven, whereby salvation shall come unto the children of men, ye shall receive the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, asking all things in his name, and whatsoever ye shall ask, it shall be given you.

[8, 9] Moses 6:59

That by reason of transgression cometh the fall, which fall bringeth death, and inasmuch as ye were born into the world by water, and blood, and the **Spirit**, which I have made, and so became of dust a living soul, even so ye must be born again into the kingdom of heaven, of water, and of the **Spirit**, and be cleansed by blood, even the blood of mine Only Begotten; that ye might be sanctified from all sin, and enjoy the words of eternal life in this world, and eternal life in the world to come, even immortal glory;

[10] Moses 6:60

For by the water ye keep the commandment; by the **Spirit** ye are justified, and by the blood ye are sanctified;

Moses 6:61

Therefore it is given to abide in you; the record of heaven; the **Comforter**; the peaceable things of immortal glory; the truth of all things; that which quickeneth all things, which maketh alive all things; that which knoweth all things, and hath all power according to wisdom, mercy, truth, justice, and judgment.

[11] Moses 6:64

And it came to pass, when the Lord had spoken with Adam, our father, that Adam cried unto the Lord, and he was caught away by the **Spirit of the Lord**, and was carried down into the water, and was laid under the water, and was brought forth out of the water.

[12, 13] Moses 6:65

And thus he was baptized, and the **Spirit of God** descended upon him, and thus he was born of the **Spirit**, and became quickened in the inner man.

{7} Moses 6:66

And he heard a voice out of heaven, saying: Thou art baptized with fire, and with the **Holy Ghost**. This is the record of the Father, and the Son, from henceforth and forever;

{8} Moses 7:11

And he gave unto me a commandment that I should baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, which is full of grace and truth, and of the **Holy Ghost**, which beareth record of the Father and the Son.

{9} Moses 7:27

And Enoch beheld angels descending out of heaven, bearing testimony of the Father and Son; and the **Holy Ghost** fell on many, and they were caught up by the powers of heaven into Zion.

[14] Moses 8:17

And the Lord said unto Noah: My **Spirit** shall not always strive with man, for he shall know that all flesh shall die; yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years; and if men do not repent, I will send in the floods upon them.

{10} Moses 8:24

Believe and repent of your sins and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, even as our fathers, and ye shall receive the **Holy Ghost**, that ye may have all things made manifest; and if ye do not this, the floods will come in upon you; nevertheless they hearkened not.

[15] Moses 1:15

Blessed be the name of my God, for his **Spirit** hath not altogether withdrawn from me, or else where is thy glory, for it is darkness unto me? And I can judge between thee and God; for God said unto me: Worship God, for him only shalt thou serve.

THE BOOK OF ABRAHAM

The book of Abraham was translated between October 1835 and November 1837. It consists of the writings of Abraham while he was in Egypt (HC 2:524). The Church now has in its possession ten fragments of some of the papyri that Joseph Smith obtained from Michael Chandler. In particular, the original of Facsimile No. 1 of the book of Abraham survives. The writing on all these fragments is Egyptian, for the most part in the writing

system called hieratic, an abbreviated form of hieroglyphic used in writing on papyri (Encyclopedia of Latter-Day Saint History)

[1] Abr 4:2

And the earth, after it was formed, was empty and desolate, because they had not formed anything but the earth; and darkness reigned upon the face of the deep, and the **Spirit** of the Gods was brooding upon the face of the waters.

JOSEPH SMITH—HISTORY

{1} JS-H 1:70

He said this Aaronic Priesthood had not the power of laying on hands for the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, but that this should be conferred on us hereafter; and he commanded us to go and be baptized, and gave us directions that I should baptize Oliver Cowdery, and that afterwards he should baptize me.

[1] {2, 3} JS-H 1:73

Immediately on our coming up out of the water after we had been baptized, we experienced great and glorious blessings from our Heavenly Father. No sooner had I baptized Oliver Cowdery, than the **Holy Ghost** fell upon him, and he stood up and prophesied many things which should shortly come to pass. And again, so soon as I had been baptized by him, I also had the **Spirit** of prophecy, when, standing up, I prophesied concerning the rise of this Church, and many other things connected with the Church, and this generation of the children of men. We were filled with the **Holy Ghost**, and rejoiced in the God of our salvation.

JS-H 1:74 Our *minds being now enlightened*, we began to have the scriptures laid *open to our understandings*, and the true meaning and intention of their more mysterious passages revealed unto us in a manner which we never could attain to previously, nor ever before had thought of..

{4} The Articles of Faith :1

WE believe in God, the Eternal Father, and in His Son, Jesus Christ, and in the **Holy Ghost**.

{5} The Articles of Faith :4

We believe that the first principles and ordinances of the Gospel are: first, Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; second, Repentance; third, Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; fourth, Laying on of hands for the gift of the **Holy Ghost**.

The Articles of Faith :7

We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, and so forth

The Articles of Faith :9

We believe all that *God has revealed*, all that He does *now reveal*, and we believe that He will yet *reveal* many great and important things pertaining to the Kingdom of God.

BIBLE

OLD TESTAMENT

Probable References to *rûah* as the Holy Spirit

1. Gen 1:2

And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the **Spirit of God** moved upon the face of the waters.

2. Gen 6:3

And the LORD said, My **Spirit** shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years.

3. Gen 41:38

And Pharaoh said unto his servants, Can we find such a one as this is, a man in whom the **Spirit of God** is?

4. Ex 31:3

And I have filled him with the **Spirit of God**, in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship . . .

5. Ex 35:31

And he hath filled him with the **Spirit of God**, in wisdom, in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship;

6. Num 11:17

And I will come down and talk with thee there: and I will take of the **Spirit** which is upon thee, and will put it upon them; and they shall bear the burden of the people with thee, that thou bear it not thyself alone.

7. Num 11:25

And the LORD came down in a cloud, and spake unto him, and took of the **Spirit** that was upon him, and gave it unto the seventy elders: and it came to pass, that, when the **Spirit** rested upon them, they prophesied, and did not cease.

8. Num 11:26

But there remained two of the men in the camp, the name of the one was Eldad, and the name of the other Medad: and the **Spirit** rested upon them; and they were of them that were written, but went not out unto the tabernacle: and they prophesied in the camp.

9. Num 11:29

And Moses said unto him, Enviest thou for my sake? would God that all the LORD'S people were prophets, and that the LORD would put his **Spirit** upon them!

10. Num 24:2

And Balaam lifted up his eyes, and he saw Israel abiding in his tents according to their tribes; and the **Spirit of God** came upon him.

11. Num 27:18

And the LORD said unto Moses, Take thee Joshua the son of Nun, a man in whom is the **Spirit**, and lay thine hand upon him;

12. Judges 3:10

And the **Spirit of the Lord** came upon him, and he judged Israel, and went out to war: and the LORD delivered Chushanrishathaim king of Mesopotamia into his hand;

13. Judges 6:34

the **Spirit of the Lord** came upon Gideon, and he blew a trumpet

14. Judges 11:29 Then the **Spirit of the Lord** came upon Jephthah, and he passed over Gilead, and Manasseh, and passed over Mizpeh of Gilead . . .

15. Judges 13:25

And the **Spirit of the Lord** began to move him at times in the camp of Dan . . .

16. Judges 14:6

And the **Spirit of the Lord** came mightily upon him, and he rent him as he would have rent a kid, and he had nothing in his hand: but he told not his father or his mother what he had done.

17. Judges 14:19

And the **Spirit of the Lord** came upon him, and he went down to Ashkelon, and slew thirty men of them, and took their spoil . . .

18. Judges 15:14

And when he came unto Lehi, the Philistines shouted against him: and the **Spirit of the Lord** came mightily upon him, and the cords that were upon his arms became as flax that was burnt with fire, and his bands loosed from off his hands.

19. 1 Sam 10:6

And the **Spirit of the Lord** will come upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy with them, and shalt be turned into another man.

20. 1 Sam 10:10

And when they came thither to the hill, behold, a company of prophets met him; and the **Spirit of God** came upon him, and he prophesied among them.

21. 1 Sam 11:6

And the **Spirit of God** came upon Saul when he heard those tidings, and his anger was kindled greatly.

22. 1 Sam 16:13

Then Samuel took the horn of oil, and anointed him in the midst of his brethren: and the **Spirit of the Lord** came upon David from that day forward. So Samuel rose up, and went to Ramah.

23. 1 Sam 16:14

But the **Spirit of the Lord** departed from Saul, and an evil **Spirit** [which was not] from the LORD troubled him. [addition from the JST]

24. 1 Sam 19:20

And Saul sent messengers to take David: and when they saw the company of the prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as appointed over them, the **Spirit of God** was upon the messengers of Saul, and they also prophesied.

25. 1 Sam 19:23

And he went thither to Naioth in Ramah: and the **Spirit of God** was upon him also, and he went on, and prophesied, until he came to Naioth in Ramah.

26. 2 Sam 23:2

The **Spirit of the Lord** spake by me, and his word was in my tongue.

27. 1 Kgs 18:12 And it shall come to pass, as soon as I am gone from thee, that the **Spirit of the Lord** shall carry thee whither I know not . . .

28. 1 Kgs 22:24

But Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah went near, and smote Micaiah on the cheek, and said, Which way went the **Spirit of the Lord** from me to speak unto thee?

29. 2 Kgs 2:16

Behold now, there be with thy servants fifty strong men; let them go, we pray thee, and seek thy master: lest peradventure the **Spirit of the Lord** hath taken him up, and cast him upon some mountain, or into some valley. And he said, Ye shall not send.

30. 2 Chr 15:1

And the **Spirit of God** came upon Azariah the son of Oded

31. 2 Chr 18:23

Then Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah came near, and smote Micaiah upon the cheek, and said, Which way went the **Spirit of the Lord** from me to speak unto thee?

32. 2 Chr 20:14

Then upon Jahaziel the son of Zechariah, the son of Benaiah, the son of Jeiel, the son of Mattaniah, a Levite of the sons of Asaph, came the **Spirit of the Lord** in the midst of the congregation

33. 2 Chr 24:20

And the **Spirit of God** came upon Zechariah the son of Jehoiada the priest, which stood above the people, and said unto them, Thus saith God, Why transgress ye the commandments of the LORD, that ye cannot prosper? because ye have forsaken the LORD, he hath also forsaken you.

34. Neh 9:20

Thou gavest also thy good **Spirit** to instruct them, and withheldest not thy manna from their mouth, and gavest them water for their thirst.

35. Neh 9:30

Yet many years didst thou forbear them, and testifiedst against them by thy **Spirit** in thy prophets: yet would they not give ear: therefore gavest thou them into the hand of the people of the lands.

36. Job 26:13

By his **Spirit** he hath garnished the heavens; his hand hath formed the crooked serpent.

37. Job 27:3

All the while my breath is in me, and the **Spirit of God** is in my nostrils;

38. Job 33:4

The **Spirit of God** hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life.

39. Ps 51:11

Cast me not away from thy presence; and take not thy **Holy Spirit** from me.

40. Ps 104:30

Thou sendest forth thy **Spirit**, they are created: and thou renewest the face of the earth.

41. Ps 139:7

Whither shall I go from thy **Spirit**? or whither shall I flee from thy presence?

42. Ps 143:10

Teach me to do thy will; for thou art my God: thy **Spirit** is good; lead me into the land of uprightness.

43. Prov 1:23

Turn you at my reproof: behold, I will pour out my **Spirit** unto you, I will make known my words unto you.

44. Isa 11:2

the **Spirit of the Lord** shall rest upon him, the **Spirit** of wisdom and understanding, the **Spirit** of counsel and might, the **Spirit** of knowledge and of the fear of the LORD;

45. Isa 30:1

Woe to the rebellious children, saith the LORD, that take counsel, but not of me; and that cover with a covering, but not of my **Spirit**, that they may add sin to sin

46. Isa 32:15

Until the **Spirit** be poured upon us from on high, and the wilderness be a fruitful field, and the fruitful field be counted for a forest.

47. Isa 34:16

Seek ye out of the book of the LORD, and read: no one of these shall fail, none shall want her mate: for my mouth it hath commanded, and his **Spirit** it hath gathered them

48. Isa 40:7

The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: because the **Spirit of the Lord** bloweth upon it: surely the people is grass.

49. Isa 40:13

Who hath directed the **Spirit of the Lord**, or being his counsellor hath taught him?

50. Isa 42:1

Behold my servant, whom I uphold; mine elect, in whom my soul delighteth; I have put my **Spirit** upon him: he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles.

51. Isa 44:3

For I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground: I will pour my **Spirit** upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring

52. Isa 48:16

Come ye near unto me, hear ye this; I have not spoken in secret from the beginning; from the time that it was, there am I: and now the Lord GOD, and his **Spirit**, hath sent me.

53. Isa 59:19

So shall they fear the name of the LORD from the west, and his glory from the rising of the sun. When the enemy shall come in like a flood, the **Spirit of the Lord** shall lift up a standard against him.

54. Isa 59:21

As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the LORD; My **Spirit** that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the LORD, from henceforth and for ever.

55. Isa 61:1

The **Spirit of the Lord** GOD is upon me; because the LORD hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.

56. Isa 63:10

But they rebelled, and vexed his **Holy Spirit**: therefore he was turned to be their enemy, and he fought against them.

57. Isa 63:11

Then he remembered the days of old, Moses, and his people, saying, Where is he that brought them up out of the sea with the shepherd of his flock? where is he that put his **Holy Spirit** within him?

58. Isa 63:14

As a beast goeth down into the valley, the **Spirit of the Lord** caused him to rest: so didst thou lead thy people, to make thyself a glorious name.

59. Ezek 2:2

And the **Spirit** entered into me when he spake unto me, and set me upon my feet, that I heard him that spake unto me.

60. Ezek 3:24

Then the **Spirit** entered into me, and set me upon my feet, and spake with me, and said unto me, Go, shut thyself within thine house.

61. Ezek 11:5

And the **Spirit of the Lord** fell upon me, and said unto me, Speak; Thus saith the LORD; Thus have ye said, O house of Israel: for I know the things that come into your mind, every one of them.

62. Ezek 11:24 . . . by the **Spirit of God** into Chaldea, to them of the captivity.

63. Ezek 36:27

And I will put my **Spirit** within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them.

64. Ezek 37:14

And shall put my **Spirit** in you, and ye shall live, and I shall place you in your own land: then shall ye know that I the LORD have spoken it, and performed it, saith the LORD.

65. Ezek 39:29

Neither will I hide my face any more from them: for I have poured out my **Spirit** upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord GOD.

66. Joel 2:28

And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my **Spirit** upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions

67. Joel 2:29

And also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my **Spirit**.

68. Micah 2:7

O thou that art named the house of Jacob, is the **Spirit of the Lord** straitened? are these his doings? do not my words do good to him that walketh uprightly?

69. Micah 3:8

But truly I am full of power by the **Spirit of the Lord**, and of judgment, and of might, to declare unto Jacob his transgression, and to Israel his sin.

70. Hag 2:5

According to the word that I covenanted with you when ye came out of Egypt, so my **Spirit** remaineth among you: fear ye not.

71. Zech 4:6

Then he answered and spake unto me, saying, This is the word of the LORD unto Zerubbabel, saying, Not by might, nor by power, but by my **Spirit**, saith the LORD of hosts.

72. Zech 7:12

. . . the words which the LORD of hosts hath sent in his **Spirit** by the former prophets: therefore came a great wrath from the LORD of hosts.

Possible Old Testament References from *rûah* as the Holy Ghost:

1. Num 14:24

But my servant Caleb, because he had another **Spirit** with him, and hath followed me fully, him will I bring into the land where into he went;

2. 2 Sam 22:16

And the channels of the sea appeared, the foundations of the world were discovered, at the rebuking of the LORD, at the blast of the breath / *rûah* of his nostrils.

3. 2 Kgs 2:9

And Elisha said, I pray thee, let a double portion of thy **Spirit** be upon me.

4. 2 Kgs 2:15

. . . The **Spirit** of Elijah doth rest on Elisha. And they came to meet him, and bowed themselves to the ground before him.

5. Isa 4:4

When the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion, and shall have purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof by the **Spirit** of judgment, and by the **Spirit** of burning (similar repeat in 2 Nephi 14:4 not included).

6. Isa 42:5

Thus saith God the LORD, he that created the heavens, and stretched them out; he that spread forth the earth, and that which cometh out of it; he that giveth breath unto the people upon it, and **Spirit** to them that walk therein.

7. Job 4:9

By the blast of God they perish, and by the breath/ *rûah* of his nostrils are they consumed.

8. Job 34:14

If he set his heart upon man, if he gather unto himself his **Spirit** and his breath.

9. Ps 18:15

Then the channels of waters were seen, and the foundations of the world were discovered at thy rebuke, O LORD, at the blast of the breath [*rûah*] of thy nostrils.

10. Ezek 3:12

Then the **Spirit** took me up, and I heard behind me a voice of a great rushing, saying, Blessed be the glory of the LORD from his place.

11. Ezek 3:14

so the **Spirit** lifted me up, and took me away, and I went in bitterness, in the heat of my **Spirit**; but the hand of the LORD was strong upon me.

12. Ezek 8:3

And he put forth the form of an hand, and took me by a lock of mine head; and the **Spirit** lifted me up between the earth and the heaven, and brought me in the visions of God to Jerusalem

13. Ezek 11:1

Moreover the **Spirit** lifted me up, and brought me unto the east gate of the LORD'S house, which looketh eastward . . .

14. Ezek 11:24

Afterwards the **Spirit** took me up, and brought me in a vision . . .

15. Ezek 37:1

The hand of the LORD was upon me, and carried me out in the **Spirit of the Lord**, and set me down in the midst of the valley which was full of bones.

16. Ezek 43:5

So the **Spirit** took me up, and brought me into the inner court; and, behold, the glory of the LORD filled the house. (similar usage in 1 Nephi 11:29)

17. Dan 4:8

But at the last Daniel came in before me, whose name was Belteshazzar, according to the name of my god, and in whom is the **Spirit** of the holy gods

18. Dan 4:9

O Belteshazzar, master of the magicians, because I know that the **Spirit** of the holy gods is in thee, and no secret troubleth thee, tell me the visions of my dream that I have seen, and the interpretation thereof.

19. Dan 4:18

O Belteshazzar, declare the interpretation thereof, forasmuch as all the wise men of my kingdom are not able to make known unto me the interpretation: but thou art able; for the **Spirit** of the holy gods is in thee.

20. Dan 5:11

There is a man in thy kingdom, in whom is the **Spirit** of the holy gods; and in the days of thy father light and understanding and wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods, was found in him

21. Dan 5:14

I have even heard of thee, that the **Spirit** of the gods is in thee, and that light and understanding and excellent wisdom is found in thee.

22. Zech 12:10

And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the **Spirit** of grace and of supplications: and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his firstborn.

23. Mal 2:15

And did not he make one? Yet had he the residue of the **Spirit**

(There are several references to the *work* of the **Spirit** without the word *rûah*. For example in Exodus 13:21, And the LORD went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud, to lead them the way; and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light; to go by day and night. These are not included because this study has limited its scope to references of *rûah* that point to the third member of the Godhead.)

BIBLE

NEW TESTAMENT

Probable References to as the [Holy Spirit] and {Holy Ghost} using derivations of pneuma, parakletos (in italics) and XX

{1} Matt 1:18

. . . When as his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the **Holy Ghost**.

{2} Matt 1:20

Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that which is conceived in her is of the **Holy Ghost**.

{3} Matt 3:11

. . . he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptize you with the **Holy Ghost**, and with fire:

[1] Matt 3:16

And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water: and, lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the **Spirit of God** descending like a dove, and lighting upon him

[2] Matt 4:1

Then was Jesus led up of the **Spirit** into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil.

[3] Matt 10:20

For it is not ye that speak, but the **Spirit** of your Father which speaketh in you

[4] Matt 12:18

I will put **my spirit** upon him, and he shall shew judgment to the Gentiles

[5] Matt 12:28

If I cast out devils by the **Spirit of God**, then the kingdom of God is come unto you.

{4} Matt 12:31

. . . blasphemy against the **Holy Ghost** shall not be forgiven unto men

{5} Matt 12:32

And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but whosoever speaketh against the **Holy Ghost**, it shall not be forgiven him

{6} Matt 28:19

Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the **Holy Ghost**

{7} Mark 1:8

I indeed have baptized you with water: but he shall baptize you with the **Holy Ghost**

[6] Mark 1:10

And straightway coming up out of the water, he saw the heavens opened, and the **Spirit** like a dove descending upon him

[7] Mark 1:12

And immediately the **Spirit** driveth him into the wilderness

{8} Mark 3:29

But he that shall blaspheme against the **Holy Ghost** hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of eternal damnation:

{9} Mark 12:36

For David himself said by the **Holy Ghost**, The LORD said to my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool.

{10} Mark 13:11

. . . whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye: for it is not ye that speak, but the **Holy Ghost**.

{11} Luke 1:15

. . . he shall be filled with the **Holy Ghost**, even from his mother's womb.

{12} Luke 1:35

The **Holy Ghost** shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God

{13} Luke 1:41

. . . the babe leaped in her womb; and Elisabeth was filled with the **Holy Ghost**

{14} Luke 1:67

And his father Zacharias was filled with the **Holy Ghost**, and prophesied

{15} Luke 2:25

there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon; and the same man was just and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel: and the **Holy Ghost** was upon him

{16} Luke 2:26

And it was revealed unto him by the **Holy Ghost**, that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ

[8] Luke 2:27

And he came by the **Spirit** into the temple: and when the parents brought in the child

{17} Luke 3:16

I indeed baptize you with water; but one mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose: he shall baptize you with the **Holy Ghost** and with fire

{18} Luke 3:22

And the **Holy Ghost** descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him, and a voice came from heaven, which said, Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased

{19} [9] Luke 4:1

And Jesus being full of the **Holy Ghost** returned from Jordan, and was led by the **Spirit** into the wilderness

[10] Luke 4:14

And Jesus returned in the power of the **Spirit** into Galilee

[11] Luke 4:18

The **Spirit of the Lord** is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach

[13] Luke 11:13

If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children: how much more shall your heavenly Father give the **Holy Spirit** to them that ask him?

{20} Luke 12:10

And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but unto him that blasphemeth against the **Holy Ghost** it shall not be forgiven

{21} Luke 12:12

For the **Holy Ghost** shall teach you in the same hour what ye ought to say

[14] John 1:32

And John bare record, saying, I saw the **Spirit** descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon him

[15] {22} John 1:33

And I knew him not: but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the **Spirit** descending, and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the **Holy Ghost**

[16] John 3:5

Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and of the **Spirit**, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God

[17] John 3:6

That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the **Spirit** is spirit

[18] John 3:8

The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the **Spirit**

[19] John 3:34

For he whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God: for God giveth not the **Spirit** by measure unto him

[20] {22} John 7:39

(But this spake he of the **Spirit**, which they that believe on him should receive: for the **Holy Ghost** was not yet given; because that Jesus was not yet glorified)

(1) John 14:16

And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another **Comforter**, that he may abide with you for ever

[21] John 14:17

Even the **Spirit** of truth; whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him: but ye know him; for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you.

(2) {23} John 14:26

But the **Comforter**, which is the **Holy Ghost**, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you

(3) [22] John 15:26

But when the **Comforter** is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the **Spirit of truth**, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me:

(4) John 16:7

. . . for if I go not away, the **Comforter** will not come unto you

[23] John 16:13

Howbeit when he, the **Spirit of truth**, is come, he will guide you into all truth

{24} John 20:22

. . . he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the **Holy Ghost**

{25} Acts 1:2

Until the day in which he was taken up, after that he through the **Holy Ghost** had given commandments unto the apostles whom he had chosen

{26} Acts 1:5

For John truly baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the **Holy Ghost**

{27} Acts 1:8

But ye shall receive power, after that the **Holy Ghost** is come upon you

{28} Acts 1:16

Men and brethren, this scripture must needs have been fulfilled, which the **Holy Ghost** by the mouth of David spake before concerning Judas

{29} [24] Acts 2:4

And they were all filled with the **Holy Ghost**, and began to speak with other tongues, as the **Spirit** gave them utterance

[25] Acts 2:17

And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my **Spirit** upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams

[26] Acts 2:18

And on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my **Spirit**; and they shall prophesy:

{30} Acts 2:33

Therefore being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the **Holy Ghost**, he hath shed forth this, which ye now see and hear

{31} Acts 2:38

Then Peter said unto them, Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the **Holy Ghost**

{32} Acts 4:8

Then Peter, filled with the **Holy Ghost**, said unto them . . .

{33} Acts 4:31

And when they had prayed, the place was shaken where they were assembled together; and they were all filled with the **Holy Ghost**, and they spake the word of God with boldness.

{34} Acts 5:3

Peter said, Ananias, why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the **Holy Ghost**

[27] Acts 5:9

Then Peter said unto her, How is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the **Spirit** of the Lord? behold, the feet of them which have buried thy husband are at the door

{35} Acts 5:32

We are his witnesses of these things; and so is also the **Holy Ghost**, whom God hath given to them that obey him

{36} Acts 6:3

Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the **Holy Ghost** and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business

{37} Acts 6:5

And the saying pleased the whole multitude: and they chose Stephen, a man full of faith and of the **Holy Ghost**

[28] Acts 6:10

And they were not able to resist the wisdom and the **spirit** by which he spake

{38} Acts 7:51

Ye do always resist the **Holy Ghost**: as your fathers did

{39} Acts 7:55

But he, being full of the **Holy Ghost**, looked up stedfastly into heaven, and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God

{40} Acts 8:15

. . . prayed for them, that they might receive the **Holy Ghost**

{41} Acts 8:17

Then laid they their hands on them, and they received the **Holy Ghost**

{42} Acts 8:18

. . . through laying on of the apostles' hands the **Holy Ghost** was given

{43} Acts 8:19

Saying, Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I lay hands, he may receive the **Holy Ghost**

[29] Acts 8:29

Then the **Spirit** said unto Philip, Go near, and join thyself to this chariot

[30] Acts 8:39

And when they were come up out of the water, the **Spirit of the Lord** caught away Philip, that the eunuch saw him no more: and he went on his way rejoicing.

{44} Acts 9:17

Ananias went his way, and entered into the house; and putting his hands on him said, Brother Saul, the Lord, even Jesus, that appeared unto thee in the way as thou camest, hath sent me, that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the **Holy Ghost**

{45} Acts 9:31

. . . walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the **Holy Ghost**

[31] Acts 10:19

While Peter thought on the vision, the **Spirit** said unto him . . .

{46} Acts 10:38

How God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the **Holy Ghost** and with power: who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him

{47} Acts 10:44

While Peter yet spake these words, the **Holy Ghost** fell on all them which heard

{48} Acts 10:45

. . . on the Gentiles also was poured out the gift of the **Holy Ghost**.

{49} Acts 10:47

Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the **Holy Ghost** as well as we?

[32] Acts 11:12

And the **Spirit** bade me go with them, nothing doubting

{50} Acts 11:15

And as I began to speak, the **Holy Ghost** fell on them, as on us at the beginning

{51} Acts 11:16

Then remembered I the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the **Holy Ghost**

{52} Acts 11:24

For he was a good man, and full of the **Holy Ghost** and of faith:

[33] Acts 11:28

. . . signified by the **Spirit** that there should be great dearth throughout all the world

{53} Acts 13:2

As they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the **Holy Ghost** said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them

{54} Acts 13:4

So they, being sent forth by the **Holy Ghost**, departed . . .

{55} Acts 13:9

Then Saul, (who also [is called] Paul,) filled with the **Holy Ghost** . . .

{56} Acts 13:52

And the disciples were filled with joy, and with the **Holy Ghost**

{57} Acts 15:8

And God, which knoweth the hearts, bare them witness, giving them the **Holy Ghost**

{58} Acts 15:28

For it seemed good to the **Holy Ghost**, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden

{59} Acts 16:6

Now when they had gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia, and were forbidden of the **Holy Ghost** to preach the word in Asia

[34] Acts 16:7

. . . they assayed to go into Bithynia: but the **Spirit** suffered them not

[35] Acts 18:5

Paul was pressed in the **spirit**, and testified to the Jews that Jesus was Christ

{60, 61} Acts 19:2

He said unto them, Have ye received the **Holy Ghost** since ye believed? And they said unto him, We have not so much as heard whether there be any **Holy Ghost**

{62} Acts 19:6

And when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the **Holy Ghost** came on them; and they spake with tongues, and prophesied

{63} Acts 20:23

Save that the **Holy Ghost** witnesseth in every city, saying that bonds and afflictions abide me

{64} Acts 20:28

Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the **Holy Ghost** hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God

[36] Acts 21:4

. . . who said to Paul through the **Spirit**, that he should not go up to Jerusalem

{65} Acts 21:11

. . . Thus saith the **Holy Ghost**, So shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man that owneth this girdle, and shall deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles

{66} Acts 28:25

After that Paul had spoken one word, Well spake the **Holy Ghost** by Esaias . . .

[37] Rom 1:4

And declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the **spirit of holiness**, by the resurrection from the dead

{67} Rom 5:5

And hope maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the **Holy Ghost** which is given unto us

[38] Rom 8:1

. . . in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the **Spirit**

[39] Rom 8:4

. . . who walk not after the flesh, but after the **Spirit**

[40, 41] Rom 8:5

For they that are after the flesh do mind the things of the flesh; but they that are after the **Spirit** the things of the **Spirit**

[42, 43, 44] Rom 8:9

But ye are not in the flesh, but in the **Spirit**, if so be that the **Spirit of God** dwell in you. Now if any man have not the **Spirit of Christ**, he is none of his.

[45] Rom 8:10

And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin; but the **Spirit** is life because of righteousness.

[46, 47] Rom 8:11

But if the **Spirit** of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his **Spirit** that dwelleth in you

[48] Rom 8:13

For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die: but if ye through the **Spirit** do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live

[49] Rom 8:14

For as many as are led by the **Spirit of God**, they are the sons of God

[50] Rom 8:16

The **Spirit** itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God:

[51] Rom 8:23

. . . but ourselves also, which have the firstfruits of the **Spirit**, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body

[52, 53] Rom 8:26

Likewise the **Spirit** also helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for as we ought: but the **Spirit** itself maketh intercession for us . . .

[54] Rom 8:27

And he that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the **Spirit**, because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God

{67} Rom 9:1

. . . I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the **Holy Ghost**,

{68} Rom 14:17

For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the **Holy Ghost**

{69} Rom 15:13

Now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope, through the power of the **Holy Ghost**

{70} Rom 15:16

That I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the gospel of God, . . . being sanctified by the **Holy Ghost**

[55] Rom 15:19

Through mighty signs and wonders, by the power of the **Spirit of God**

[56] Rom 15:30

. . . for the love of the **Spirit**, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God

[57] 1 Cor 2:4

And my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the **Spirit** and of power:

[58, 59] 1 Cor 2:10

But God hath revealed them unto us by his **Spirit**: for the **Spirit** searcheth all things

[60] 1 Cor 2:11

For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the **Spirit of God**

[61] 1 Cor 2:12

Now we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the **spirit which is of**

{71} 1 Cor 2:13

Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the **Holy Ghost** teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual.

[62] 1 Cor 2:14

But the natural man receiveth not the things of the **Spirit of God**

[63] 1 Cor 3:16

Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the **Spirit of God** dwelleth in you

[64] 1 Cor 6:11

And such were some of you: but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the **Spirit of our God**

{72} 1 Cor 6:19

What? know ye not that your body is the temple of the **Holy Ghost** which is in you

[65] 1 Cor 7:40

. . . and I think also that I have the **Spirit of God**.

[66] {73} 1 Cor 12:3

. . . no man speaking by the **Spirit of God** calleth Jesus accursed: and that no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the **Holy Ghost**

[67] 1 Cor 12:4

Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same **Spirit**

[68] 1 Cor 12:7

But the manifestation of the **Spirit** is given to every man to profit withal.

[69, 70] 1 Cor 12:8

For to one is given by the **Spirit** the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same **Spirit**

[71, 72] 1 Cor 12:9

To another faith by the same **Spirit**; to another the gifts of healing by the same **Spirit**

[73] 1 Cor 12:11

But all these worketh that one and the selfsame **Spirit** . . .

[74, 75] 1 Cor 12:13

For by one **Spirit** are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one **Spirit**

[76, 77] 1 Cor 14:15

What is it then? I will pray with the **spirit**, and I will pray with the understanding also: I will **sing** with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also

[78] 1 Cor 14:16

Else when thou shalt bless with the **spirit**, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?

[79] 2 Cor 1:22

Who hath also sealed us, and given the earnest of the **Spirit** in our hearts

[80] 2 Cor 3:3

. . . written not with ink, but with the **Spirit** of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart

[81, 82] 2 Cor 3:6

Who also hath made us able ministers of the new testament; not of the letter, but of the **spirit**: for the letter killeth, but the **spirit** giveth life

[83] 2 Cor 3:8

How shall not the ministration of the **spirit** be rather glorious?

[84, 85] 2 Cor 3:17

Now the Lord is that **Spirit**: and where the **Spirit of the Lord** is, there is liberty

[86] 2 Cor 3:18

But we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the **Spirit of the Lord**

[87] 2 Cor 5:5

. . . God, who also hath given unto us the earnest of the **Spirit**

{73} 2 Cor 6:6

By pureness, by knowledge, by longsuffering, by kindness, by the **Holy Ghost**

{74} 2 Cor 13:14

The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the **Holy Ghost**, be with you all

[88] Gal 3:2

Received ye the **Spirit** by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?

[89] Gal 3:3

Are ye so foolish? having begun in the **Spirit**, are ye now made perfect by the flesh?

[90] Gal 3:5

He therefore that ministereth to you the **Spirit**, and worketh miracles among you

[91] Gal 3:14

That the we might receive the promise of the **Spirit** through faith

[92] Gal 4:6

And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the **Spirit** of his Son into your hearts

[93] Gal 4:29

But as then he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the **Spirit**, even so it is now

[95] Gal 5:5

For we through the **Spirit** wait for the hope of righteousness by faith

[95] Gal 5:16

Walk in the **Spirit**, and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh

[96, 97] Gal 5:17

For the flesh lusteth against the **Spirit**, and the **Spirit** against the flesh: and these are contrary the one to the other: so that ye cannot do the things that ye would

[98] Gal 5:18

But if ye be led of the **Spirit**, ye are not under the law

[99] Gal 5:22

But the fruit of the **Spirit** is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness

[100, 101] Gal 5:25

If we live in the **Spirit**, let us also walk in the **Spirit**

[102, 103] Gal 6:8

For he that soweth to his flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the **Spirit** shall of the **Spirit** reap life everlasting

[104] Eph 1:13

in whom also after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that **holy Spirit of promise**

[105] Eph 1:17

That the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give unto you the **spirit of wisdom and revelation** in the knowledge of him

[106] Eph 2:18

For through him we both have access by one **Spirit** unto the Father.

[107] Eph 2:22

In whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God through the **Spirit**

[108] Eph 3:5

. . . as it is now revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets by the **Spirit**

[109] Eph 3:16

. . . to be strengthened with might by his **Spirit** in the inner man

[110] Eph 4:3

Endeavouring to keep the unity of the **Spirit** in the bond of peace

[111] Eph 4:30

Grieve not the holy **Spirit of God**, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption

[112] Eph 5:9

(For the fruit of the **Spirit** is in all goodness and righteousness and truth)

[113] Eph 5:18

And be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but be filled with the **Spirit**

[114] Eph 6:17

Take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the **Spirit**, which is the word of God

[115] Eph 6:18

Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the **Spirit**

[115] Philip 1:19

For I know that this shall turn to my salvation through your prayer, and the supply of the **Spirit** of Jesus Christ

[117] Philip 2:1

. . . if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the **Spirit**, if any bowels and mercies

[118] Philip 3:3

. . . worship God in the **spirit**, and rejoice in Christ Jesus

{75} 1 Thes 1:5

For our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the **Holy Ghost**, and in much assurance; as ye know what manner of men we were among you

{76} 1 Thes 1:6

. . . having received the word in much affliction, with joy of the **Holy Ghost**

[119] 1 Thes 4:8

. . . God, who hath also given unto us his holy **Spirit**

[120] 1 Thes 5:19

Quench not the **Spirit**

[121] 2 Thes 2:13

God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the **Spirit** and belief of the truth

[122] 1 Tim 3:16

God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the **Spirit**, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory

[123] 1 Tim 4:1

NOW the **Spirit** speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils;

{77} 2 Tim 1:14

That good thing which was committed unto thee keep by the **Holy Ghost** which dwelleth in us

{78} Titus 3:5

Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the **Holy Ghost**

{79} Heb 2:4

God also bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the **Holy Ghost**, according to his own will

{80} Heb 3:7

As the **Holy Ghost** saith, To day if ye will hear his voice

{81} Heb 6:4

For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the . . .

{82} Heb 9:8

The **Holy Ghost** this signifying, that the way into the holiest of all was not yet made manifest, while as the first tabernacle was yet standing

[124] Heb 9:14

How much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal **Spirit** offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God?

{83} Heb 10:15

Whereof the **Holy Ghost** also is a witness to us: for after that he had said before . . .

[125] 1 Pet 1:2

. . . through sanctification of the **Spirit**, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ: Grace unto you, and peace, be multiplied

{84} 1 Pet 1:12

Unto whom it was **revealed**, . . . that have preached the gospel unto you with the **Holy Ghost** sent down from heaven; which things the angels desire to look into.

[126] 1 Pet 1:22

Seeing ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth through the **Spirit** unto unfeigned love of the brethren, see that ye love one another with a pure heart

[127] 1 Pet 3:18

For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the **Spirit**

[128] 1 Pet 4:14

If ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye; for the **spirit** of glory and of God resteth upon you . . . but on your part he is glorified

{85} 2 Pet 1:21

For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the **Holy Ghost**

[129] 1 Jn 3:24

. . . we know that he abideth in us, by the **Spirit** which he hath given us

[130] 1 Jn 4:2

Hereby know ye the **Spirit of God**: Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God

[131] 1 Jn 4:6

We are of God: he that knoweth God heareth us; he that is not of God heareth not us. Hereby know we the **spirit** of truth, and the spirit of error.

[132] 1 Jn 4:13

. . . we dwell in him, and he in us, because he hath given us of his **Spirit**

[133] 1 Jn 5:6

And it is the **Spirit** that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth.

{86} 1 Jn 5:7

For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the **Holy Ghost**: and these three are one

[134] 1 Jn 5:8

And there are three that bear witness in earth, the **Spirit**, and the water, and the blood: and these three agree in one

[135] Jude 1:19

These be they who separate themselves, sensual, having not the Spirit

{87} Jude 1:20

. . . building up yourselves on your most holy faith, praying in the **Holy Ghost**

[136] Rev 2:7

He that hath an ear, let him hear what the **Spirit** saith unto the churches

[137] Rev 2:11

He that hath an ear, let him hear what the **Spirit** saith unto the churches

[138] Rev 2:17

He that hath an ear, let him hear what the **Spirit** saith unto the churches

[139] Rev 2:29

He that hath an ear, let him hear what the **Spirit** saith unto the churches

[140] Rev 3:6

He that hath an ear, let him hear what the **Spirit** saith unto the churches

[141] Rev 3:13

He that hath an ear, let him hear what the **Spirit** saith unto the churches

[142] Rev 3:22

He that hath an ear, let him hear what the **Spirit** saith unto the churches

[143] Rev 14:13

Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the **Spirit**, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them

Possible references to pneuma in the New Testament

1. Mark 14:38

The **spirit** truly is ready, but the flesh is weak

2. Luke 2:40

And the child grew, and waxed strong in **spirit**, filled with wisdom: and the grace of God was upon him

3. Luke 10:21

In that hour Jesus rejoiced in **spirit**, and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven

4. John 4:24

God is a **Spirit** and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth.

5. John 6:63

It is the **spirit** that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing

6. Acts 18:25

This man was instructed in the way of the Lord; and being fervent in the **spirit**, he spake and taught diligently the things of the Lord, knowing only the baptism of John

7. Acts 19:21

After these things were ended, Paul purposed in the **spirit**

8. Acts 20:22

And now, behold, I go bound in the **spirit** unto Jerusalem

9. Rom 2:29

But he is a Jew, which is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the **spirit**, and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God

10. Rom 8:6

For to be carnally minded is death; but to be spiritually minded is life and peace

11. Rom 7:6

But now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held; that we should serve in newness of **spirit**, and not in the oldness of the letter

12. Rom 8:2

For the law of the **Spirit** of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin

13. Rom 12:11

Not slothful in business; fervent in **spirit**; serving the Lord

14. 1 Cor 14:12

Even so ye, forasmuch as ye are zealous of **spiritual gifts**, seek that ye may excel to the edifying of the church.

15. 2 Cor 4:13

We having the same **spirit** of faith, according as it is written, I believed, and therefore have I spoken; we also believe, and therefore speak;

16. Eph 4:4

There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling

17. Eph 4:23

And be renewed in the **spirit** of your mind

18. Philip 1:27

... stand fast in one **spirit**, with one mind striving together for the faith of the gospel

19. Col 1:8

Who also declared unto us your love in the **Spirit**

20. Col 2:5

For though I be absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in the **spirit**

21. 2 Thes 2:8

And then shall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the **spirit** of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming:

22. Heb 10:29

...he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the **Spirit of grace?**

23. 1 Pet 1:11

... what manner of time the **Spirit of Christ** which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow.

24. Rev 1:10

I was in the **Spirit** on the Lord's day, and heard behind me a great voice

25. Rev 4:2

And immediately I was in the **spirit**: and, behold, a throne was set in heaven

26. Rev 19:10

And I fell at his feet to worship him. And he said unto me, See thou do it not: I am thy fellowservant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus: worship God: for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of **prophecy**

Rev 21:10

10 And he carried me away in the **spirit** to a great and high mountain, and shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God

Appendix Five:
References to the Spirit Found in Joseph Smith's History of the Church
Divided by Topic

1. THE NATURE OF THE THIRD MEMBER OF THE GODHEAD
2. THE HOLY GHOST IN CONJUNCTION WITH BAPTISM
3. THE GIFT OF THE HOLY GHOST BY LAYING ON OF HANDS (CONFIRMATION)
4. FRUITS OF THE SPIRIT : TRUTH, REVELATION, INSPIRATION, INSTRUCTION, TESTIMONY, PEACE, ETC.
5. MIRACLES AND VISIONS THROUGH THE POWER OF THE SPIRIT
6. FUTURE REVELATION THROUGH THE HOLY SPIRIT
7. SPIRIT IN CONJUNCTION WITH PRIESTHOOD ORDINATIONS (Baptisms for the Dead)
8. NOT HEEDING THE SPIRIT
9. DISCERNING OF SPIRITS
10. HOW TO RECEIVE THE SPIRIT
11. REQUEST FOR THE HOLY SPIRIT
12. SIN AGAINST THE HOLY GHOST

1. THE NATURE OF THE 3 MEMBER OF THE GODHEAD
(Italics entries represent revelations canonized in the Doctrine and Covenants)

September, 1830

Revelation received in the presence of Six Elders, in Fayette, New York:

*. . . whatsoever I have created by the word of my power, which is the power of my **Spirit**. For by the power of my **Spirit** created I them; yea, all things both **Spiritual** and temporal (D&C 29: 30, 31; HC, 1:111).*

September 22, 23, 1832

Revelation on the Priesthood, given after the elders began returning from their missions:

*. . . For the word of the Lord is truth, and whatsoever is truth is light, and whatsoever is light is **Spirit**, even the **Spirit** of Jesus Christ. And the **Spirit** giveth light to every man that cometh into the world; and the **Spirit** enlighteneth every man through the world, that hearkeneth to the voice of the **Spirit**. (D&C 84:45; HC, 1:290).*

December 27, 1832

Revelation known as The Olive Leaf:

*. . . that which you hear is as the voice of one crying in the wilderness—in the wilderness, because you cannot see him—my voice, because my voice is **Spirit**; my **Spirit** is truth; truth abideth and hath no end . . . (D&C 88:66, HC, 1:306).*

May 6, 1833

Revelation, including a portion of lost scripture from John the Baptist:

*. . . . Ye were also in the beginning with the Father; that which is **Spirit**, even the **Spirit** of*

*truth . . . The **Spirit** of truth is of God. I am the **Spirit** of truth, and John bore record of me (D&C 93:23,26; HC, 1: 344).*

August 2, 1833

Revelation received shortly after the corner stones were laid for the Kirtland Temple:

*Verily I say unto you my friends, I speak unto you with my voice, even the voice of my **Spirit** (D&C 47:1; HC, 1:400).*

February, 1842

Book of Abraham:

*And the Lord said: Whom shall I send? And one answered like unto the Son of Man: Here am I, send me. and another answered and said: Here am I, send me. And the Lord said: I will send the first. And the second was angry, and kept not his first estate, and at that day many followed after him. And then the Lord said: Let us go down; and they went down at the beginning, and they (that is, the Gods), organized and formed the heavens and the earth. And the earth, after it was formed, was empty and desolate; because they had not formed anything but the earth; and darkness reigned upon the face of the deep, and the **Spirit** of the Gods was brooding upon the face of the waters. . . . (Abraham 3:27-4:2; HC, 4:531)*

March 1, 1842

Letter written at the request of John Wentworth, an editor and proprietor of the Chicago Democrat:

On the 6 of April, 1830, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was first organized . . . *We believe in God, the Eternal Father, and in His Son, Jesus Christ, and in the **Holy Ghost** . . . (Pearl of Great Price: The Articles of Faith :1; HC, 4:538, 541).*

April 2, 1843

Journal entry of evening meeting where Joseph discussed John's vision:

*The Father has a body of flesh and bones as tangible as man's; the Son also; but the **Holy Ghost** has not a body of flesh and bones, but is a personage of **Spirit**. Were it not so, the **Holy Ghost** could not dwell in us. A man may receive the **Holy Ghost**, and it may descend upon him and not tarry with him (D&C 130:22; HC, 5:325).*

May 17, 1843

Journal entry of corrections offered to Methodist preacher's lecture:

There is no such thing as immaterial matter. All **Spirit** is matter, but is more fine or pure, and can only be discerned by purer eyes. We cannot see it, but when our bodies are purified, we shall see that it is all matter (HC, 5:393).

August 27, 1843

Journal entry of remarks (sermon) on the Priesthood, recorded by Willard Richards:

. . . The **Holy Ghost** is God's messenger to administer in all those priesthoods (HC, 5: 555).

October 9, 1843

Sermon at the Funeral of James Adams:

The **Spirit**s of the just are exalted to a greater and more glorious work; hence they are

blessed in their departure to the world of **Spirit**s. Enveloped in flaming fire, they are not far from us, and know and understand our thoughts, feelings, and motions, and are often pained therewith. Flesh and blood cannot go there; but flesh and bones, quickened by the **Spirit of God**, can (HC, 6:52).

February 7, 1844

Journal record of *Views of the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States*:

. . . certainly there is a God in heaven to reveal secrets (HC, 6:204).

April 7, 1844

Funeral sermon for King Follett during the annual Conference of the Church (recorded in Wilford Woodruff Diary):

. . . There are but a very few beings in the world who understand rightly the character of God. The great majority of mankind do not comprehend anything, either that which is past, or that which is to come, as it respects their relationship to God. They do not know, neither do they understand the nature of that relationship; and consequently they know but little above the brute beast, or more than to eat, drink and sleep. This is all man knows about God or His existence, unless it is given by the inspiration of the Almighty. . . . unless we are able to comprehend by the inspiration of Almighty God. If men do not comprehend the character of God, they do not comprehend themselves. I want to go back to the beginning, and so lift your minds into more lofty spheres and a more exalted understanding than what the human mind generally aspires to. . . . (HC, 6:303).

My first object is to find out the character of the only wise and true, God, and what kind of a being He is; and if I am so fortunate as to be the man to comprehend God, and explain or convey the principles to your hearts, so that the **Spirit** seals them upon you . . . (HC, 6:304).

June 16, 1844

Sermon in the Grove on the Godhead (recorded by George Laub):

The **Holy Ghost** is yet a **Spiritual** body and waiting to take to himself a body, as the Savior did or as God did, or the gods before them took bodies (Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 305).

June 16, 1844

Sermon in the Grove, east of the Temple on the Godhead (recorded by Thomas Bullock):

I have always declared God to be a distinct personage, Jesus Christ a separate and distinct personage from God the Father, and that the **Holy Ghost** was a distinct personage and a **Spirit**: and these three constitute three distinct personages and three Gods. If this is in accordance with the New Testament, lo and behold! we have three Gods anyhow, and they are plural: and who can contradict it? . . . Paul says there are Gods many and Lords many; and that makes a plurality of Gods, in spite of the whims of all men. Without a revelation, I am not going to give them the knowledge of the God of heaven. You know and I testify that Paul had no allusion to the heathen gods. I have it from God, and get over it if you can. I have a witness of the **Holy Ghost**, and a testimony that Paul had no allusion to the heathen gods in the text. I will show from the Hebrew Bible that I am correct, and the first word shows a plurality of Gods. . . . Many men say there is one God; the Father, the Son and

the **Holy Ghost** are only one God! I say that is a strange God anyhow—three in one, and one in three! It is a curious organization. Father, I pray not for the world, but I pray for them which thou hast given me. Holy Father, keep through Thine own name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one as we are. All are to be crammed into one God, according to sectarianism. . . . I want to read the text to you myself—I am agreed with the Father and the Father is agreed with me, and we are agreed as one. The Greek shows that it should be agreed. Father, I pray for them which Thou hast given me out of the world, and not for those alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word, that they all may be agreed, as Thou, Father, art with me, and I with Thee, that they also may be agreed with us, and all come to dwell in unity, and in all the glory and everlasting burnings of the Gods; and then we shall see as we are seen, and be as our God and He as His Father (HC, 6:474,476).

2. THE HOLY GHOST IN CONJUNCTION WITH BAPTISM

March, 1829

Revelation regarding the Three Witness, received after Martin Harris' request:

*And behold, whosoever believeth on my words, them will I visit with the manifestation of my **Spirit**; and they shall be born of me, even of water and of the **Spirit** (D&C 6:16; Joseph Smith, HC, or *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 7 vols., introduction and notes by B. H. Roberts, 1:29).*

May 13, 1829

Historical account of Joseph and Oliver's baptism:

*Immediately on our coming up out of the water after we had been baptized, we experienced great and glorious blessings from our Heavenly Father. No sooner had I baptized Oliver Cowdery, than the **Holy Ghost** fell upon him, and he stood up and prophesied many things which should shortly come to pass. And again, so soon as I had been baptized by him, I also had the **Spirit** of prophecy, when standing up, I prophesied concerning the rise of this church, and many other things connected with the Church, and this generation of the children of men. We were filled with the **Holy Ghost**, and rejoiced in the God of our salvation (JS-H 1:73; HC, 1:42)*

May 25, 1829

Journal entry of conversion of Joseph's brother, Samuel H. Smith:

Oliver Cowdery baptized him; and he returned to his father's house, greatly glorifying and praising God, being filled with the **Holy Spirit** (HC, 1:44).

March, 1830

Revelation to Martin Harris in Manchester, New York:

*. . . confess your sins, lest you suffer these punishments of which I have spoken, of which in the smallest, yea, even in the least degree you have tasted at the time I withdrew my **Spirit**. . . . walk in the meekness of my **Spirit**, and you shall have peace in me . . . of tenets thou shalt not talk, but thou shalt declare repentance and faith on the Savior, and remission of sins by baptism and by fire, yea, even the **Holy Ghost** . . . Pray always, and I will pour out my **Spirit** upon you, and great shall be your blessing (D&C 19:20,23,31,38; HC 1:74),*

April, 1830

Revelation for the organization of the church:

*. . . Which was given by inspiration, and is confirmed to others by the ministering of angels . . . Proving to the world that the Holy Scriptures are true, and that God does inspire men and call them to the holy work in this age and generation, as well as in generations of old. . . the holy prophets, who spake as they were inspired by the gift of the **Holy Ghost** . . . believe in the gifts and callings of God by the **Holy Ghost**, which beareth record of the Father and of the Son; Which Father, Son, and **Holy Ghost** are one God, infinite and eternal, without end . . . we know that these things are true and according to the revelations of John, neither adding to, nor diminishing from the prophecy of his book, the holy scriptures, or the revelations of God which shall come hereafter by the gift and power of the **Holy Ghost**, the voice of God, or the ministering of angels . . . manifest by their works that they have received of the **Spirit** of Christ unto the remission of their sins, . . . baptism of fire and the **Holy Ghost**, according to the scriptures; . . . confirm the church by the laying on of the hands, and the giving of the **Holy Ghost**. . . The elders are to conduct the meetings as they are led by the **Holy Ghost**, . . . and he is to be ordained by the power of the **Holy Ghost**, which is in the one who ordains him. . . Having been commissioned of Jesus Christ, I baptize you in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the **Holy Ghost**. Amen. . . that they may always have his **Spirit** to be with them. . . that they do always remember him. That they may have his **Spirit** to be with them (D&C 20:10,11,26-28,35,37, 41,43, 45,60,73,77,79; HC, 1:65-69).*

December, 1830

Revelation of the Extracts of the Prophecy of Enoch:

*And he gave unto me a commandment that I should baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, which is full of grace and truth, and the **Holy Ghost**, which beareth record of the Father and the Son (Moses 7:11; JST Gen 7:34; HC, 1:135)*

November, 1831

Revelation to priesthood leaders--Orson Hyde, Luke Johnson, Lyman Johnson, William M'Lellin:

*. . . baptizing in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the **Holy Ghost**. . . (D&C 68:8; HC, 1:227-228).*

September 22, 23, 1832

Revelation on the Priesthood, given after the elders began returning from their missions:

*. . . I said unto mine apostles I say unto you again, that every soul who believeth on your words, and is baptized by water for the remission of sins, shall receive the **Holy Ghost** (D&C 84: 64; HC, 1:287, 291).*

May 6, 1833

Revelation, including a portion of lost scripture from John the Baptist:

*The light and the Redeemer of the world; the **Spirit** of truth, who came into the world . . . And I, John, bear record that I beheld his glory, as the glory of the Only Begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth, even the **Spirit** of truth And I, John, bear record, and lo, the heavens were opened, and the **Holy Ghost** descended upon him in the form of a dove, and sat upon him, and there came a voice out of heaven saying: This is my beloved Son. . . (D&C*

93:9,11,15; HC, 1: 344).

October 16, 1835

Journal entry began with daily events and ended with:

In the evening I baptized Ebenezer Robinson. The Lord poured out His **Spirit** upon us and we had a good time (HC, 2:290; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 64).

November, 1835

Letter published in the Messenger and Advocate, to the Elders of the Church:

. . . speak thus because I feel for my fellow men; I do it in the name of the Lord, being moved upon by the **Holy Spirit**. . . stand up boldly for the cause of Christ, and warn that people with one accord to repent and be baptized for the remission of sins, and for the **Holy Ghost** (HC, 263).

November 4, 1838

Journal entry the day after their march to Missouri river and crossing:

This answer so surprised the woman that she began to inquire into our doctrine, and I preached a discourse, both to her and her companions, and to the wondering soldiers, who listened with almost breathless attention while I set forth the doctrine of faith in Jesus Christ, and repentance, and baptism for remission of sins, with the promise of the **Holy Ghost**, as recorded in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles (HC, 3:201).

March 20, 1842

Sermon on Life and Death; the Resurrection and the Salvation of Children:

I will now, however say a few words upon baptism . . . for except ye are born of water and of the **Spirit** ye cannot enter into the kingdom of God, said the Savior. . . .

Baptism is a sign to God, to angels, and to heaven that we do the will of God, and there is no other way beneath the heavens whereby God hath ordained for man to come to Him to be saved, and enter into the kingdom of God, except faith in Jesus Christ, repentance, and baptism for the remission of sins, and any other course is in vain . . . At the close of this interesting scene [baptisms in the Mississippi river], the administrator lifted up his hands towards heaven, and implored the blessing of God to rest upon the people; and truly the **Spirit of God** did rest upon the multitude, to the joy and consolation of our hearts. (HC 4:554, 557).

January 29, 1843

Sunday Sermon on the Greatness and Mission of John the Baptist:

Whoever led the Son of God into the waters of baptism, and had the privilege of beholding the **Holy Ghost** descend in the form of a dove, or rather in the sign of the dove, in witness of that administration? The sign of the dove was instituted before the creation of the world, a witness for the **Holy Ghost**, and the devil cannot come in the sign of a dove. The **Holy Ghost** is a personage, and is in the form of a personage. It does not confine itself to the form of the dove, but in sign of the dove. The **Holy Ghost** cannot be transformed into a dove; but the sign of a dove was given to John to signify the truth of the deed, as the dove is an emblem or token of truth and innocence (HC, 5:260-61).

April 2, 1843

Journal entry of questions asked at evening meeting:

What is the meaning of the scripture . . . Also the conversation with Nicodemus, Except a man be born of water and of the **Spirit**? were questions put to me which I shall not answer at present (HC, 5, 325).

April 7, 1843

Sermon: Joseph began by asking his audience for their prayers and faith that he would speak with the **Holy Ghost** in order to witness of the truth of what he says:

. . . Baptism of water fire and **Holy Ghost** inseparably connected. Jesus comes with fire and baptism of **Holy Ghost** (Mt 3:11) . . . I thank God for the old Book but more for the **Holy Ghost** . . . John said his baptism was good for nothing without the Baptism of Jesus Christ . . . (Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 343, 345, 348).

May 24, 1843

Article in rebuttal to a slanderous article in the Boston Bee on, A Character Sketch of the Prophet-

His Doctrine of Inspiration:

. . . Who ever led the Son of God into the waters of baptism, beholding the **Holy Ghost** descend upon him in the sign of a dove? (HC, 5:407-408).

October 15, 1843

Sunday Sermon given east of the Temple, on the Constitution of the United States and the Bible—

Temporal Economies.

The first principles of the Gospel, as I believe, are, faith, repentance, baptism for the remission of sins, with the promise of the **Holy Ghost**. . . No man can receive the **Holy Ghost** without receiving revelations. The **Holy Ghost** is a revelator. I prophesy, in the name of the Lord God of Israel, anguish and wrath and tribulation and the withdrawing of the **Spirit of God** from the earth await this generation (HC 6:57,58).

March 10, 1844

Sunday Sermon given in Nauvoo on Elias, Elijah, Messiah (recorded in Wilford Woodruff Diary):

. . . I went into the woods to inquire of the Lord, by prayer, His will concerning me, and I saw an angel, and he laid his hands upon my head, and ordained me to a Priest after the order of Aaron, and to hold the keys of this Priesthood, which office was to preach repentance and baptism for the remission of sins, and also to baptize. But I was informed that this office did not extend to the laying on of hands for the giving of the **Holy Ghost**; that that office was a greater work, and was to be given afterward; but that my ordination was a preparatory work, or a going before, which was the **Spirit** of Elias. . . He told the people that his mission was to preach repentance and baptize with water; but it was He that should come after him that should baptize with fire and the **Holy Ghost**. . . John's mission was limited to preaching and baptizing; but what he did was legal; and when Jesus Christ came to any of John's disciples, He baptized them with fire and the **Holy Ghost**. . . In the case of Phillip when he went down to Samaria, when he was under the **Spirit** of Elias, he baptized both men and women.

When Peter and John heard of it, they went down and laid hands upon them, and they received the **Holy Ghost**. This shows the distinction between the two powers. When Paul came to certain disciples, he asked if they had received the **Holy Ghost**? They said, No. Who baptized you, then? We were baptized unto John's baptism. No, you were not baptized unto John's baptism, or you would have been baptized by John. And so Paul went and baptized them, for he knew what the true doctrine . . . (HC, 6:250; for comparison of other texts see Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 327-336).

. . . I will leave this subject here, and make a few remarks on the subject of baptism. The baptism of water, without the baptism of fire and the **Holy Ghost** attending it, is of no use; they are necessarily inseparably connected. An individual must be born of water and the **Spirit** in order to get into the kingdom of God. In the German, the text bears me out the same as the revelations which I have given and taught for the past fourteen years on that subject. I have the testimony to put in their teeth. My testimony has been true all the time. You will find it in the declaration of John the Baptist. (Reads from the German.) John says, I baptize you with water, but when Jesus comes, who has the power (or keys) He shall administer the baptism of fire and the **Holy Ghost**. . . . Alexander Campbell, how are you going to save people with water alone? For John said his baptism was good for nothing without the baptism of Jesus Christ [or baptism of the **Holy Ghost**] . . . (HC, 6:316,317; for a comparison of texts see Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 340-361).

May 12, 1844

Sunday Sermon at the Stand in Nauvoo (recorded by George Laub Journal)

. . . and if any other man preach any other gospel then this and the Baptism for the remission of sins and the laying on of hands for the reception of the **Holy Ghost** let him be anathemised or accursed (Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 370)

3. THE GIFT OF THE HOLY GHOST BY LAYING ON OF HANDS (CONFIRMATION)

May, 1829

Historical account of the Restoration of the Aaronic Priesthood:

*He [John the Baptist] said this Aaronic Priesthood had not the power of laying on hands for the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, but that this should be conferred on us hereafter (JS-H 1:70; HC, 1:39).*

Spring 1829

Directions for Organizing the Church:

the Melchizedek Priesthood, which holds the authority of the laying on of hands for the gift of the **Holy Ghost**. . . then call out such men as the **Spirit** should dictate, and ordain them; and then attend to the laying on of hands for the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, upon all those whom we had previously baptized, doing all things in the name of the Lord (HC, 1:61).

April 6, 1830

Journal entry on the Organization of the Church:

We then laid our hands on each individual member of the Church present, that they might receive the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, and be confirmed members of the Church of Christ. The **Holy Ghost** was poured out upon us to a very great degree—some prophesied, whilst we all praised the Lord, and rejoiced exceedingly (HC 1:78).

June (shortly after the 9), 1830

Journal account of Joseph's visit to Colesville, New York:

. . . the doctrine of repentance, baptism for the remission of sins, and laying on of hands for the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, etc. (HC, 1:86).

August, 1830

Historical commentary:

In obedience to the above commandment [D&C 27], we prepared some wine of our own making, and held our meeting, consisting only of five, viz., Newel Knight and his wife, myself and my wife, and John Whitmer. We partook together of the Sacrament, after which we confirmed these two sisters into the Church, and spent the evening in a glorious manner. The **Spirit of the Lord** was poured out upon us, we praise the Lord God, and rejoiced exceedingly (HC, 1:108).

October, 1830

Revelation to Ezra Thayre and Northrop Sweet:

. . . *be baptized even by water, and then cometh the baptism of fire and of the **Holy Ghost**. . . whoso having faith you shall confirm in my church, by the laying on of the hands, and I will bestow the gift of the **Holy Ghost** upon them. . . and the power of my **Spirit** quickeneth all things* (D&C 33:11,15,16; HC, 1:127).

December, 1830

Revelation to Joseph Smith, Jun., and Sidney Rigdon, at Fayette, New York:

*Thou didst baptize by water unto repentance, but they received not the **Holy Ghost**. But now I give unto thee a commandment, that thou shalt baptize by water, and they shall receive the **Holy Ghost** by the laying on of the hands, even as the apostles of old. . . I call upon the weak things of the world, those who are unlearned and despised, to thresh the nations by the power of my **Spirit**. . . shall be given by the **Comforter**, the **Holy Ghost**, that knoweth all things* (D&C 35:5,6,13,19; HC 1:129).

December, 1830

Revelation to Edward Partridge:

*I will lay my hand upon you by the hand of my servant Sidney Rigdon, and you shall receive my **Spirit**, the **Holy Ghost**, even the **Comforter**, which shall teach you the peaceable things of the kingdom* (D&C 36:2; HC, 1:131).

January 5, 1831

Revelation to James Covill:

*On as many as ye shall baptize with water, ye shall lay your hands, and they shall receive the gift of the **Holy Ghost*** (D&C 39:23).

March, 1831

Revelation to Parley P. Pratt, Sidney Rigdon, Leman Copley:

*Repent and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, according to the holy commandment, for the remission of sins; And whoso doeth this shall receive the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, by the laying on of the hands of the elders of the church (D&C 49:14).*

June, 1831

Revelation to Sidney Gilbert:

*Take upon you mine ordination, even that of an elder, to preach faith and repentance and remission of sins, according to my word, and the reception of the **Holy Spirit** by the laying on of hands (D&C 52:3; HC 1:180).*

June, 1831

Revelation to William W. Phelps:

*. . . after thou hast been baptized by water, which if you do with an eye single to my glory, you shall have a remission of your sins and a reception of the **Holy Spirit** by the laying on of hands . . . you shall have power to give the **Holy Spirit** (D&C 55:1,3; HC, 1:185).*

November, 1831

Revelation to priesthood leaders--Orson Hyde, Luke Johnson, Lyman Johnson, William M'Lellin:

*. . . parents have children in Zion, or in any of her stakes which are organized, that teach them not to understand the doctrine of repentance, faith in Christ the Son of the living God, and of baptism and the gift of the **Holy Ghost** by the laying on of the hands, when eight years old, the sin be upon the heads of the parents (D&C 68:25; HC, 1:228).*

March 26, 1833

Journal record of a Council of 21 High Priests:

*. . . claiming for themselves as much power by the authority of their Priesthood, and gift of the **Holy Ghost**, as those set apart and appointed to preside over the branches . . . (HC, 1:336).*

August 10, 18, 1833

Letter written in Kirtland to William Phelps, John Whitmer, Edward Partridge, Isaac Morley, John Corrill, and Sidney Gilbert (starting with almost a prayer followed by Dear Brothert):

*. . . give pl[a]ce for thy saints for thy **Spirit** will not always strive with man. . . we have Just received you[r] letter containing the bond with which our enemies bound themselves to distroy Zion and also the blessing <of> god in poreing out ~~upon~~ his **Spirit** upon you and we have had the word of the Lord that you shall [be] deliverd from you[r] dainger and <shall> again flourish in spite of hell [this] god has communicated to me by the gift of the **Holy Ghost** that this should be <the case> after much p[ayer] and supplication. . . (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 285-287).*

October 27, 1833

Hand written Diary from Sunday 26 [i.e., October 27, 1833]:

. . .held a meeting in Mount plesent to a large congregation twelve came forward and was

baptized . . . we broke bread laid on hands for the gift of the **Holy Spirit** had a good [p.15] meeting the **Spirit** was given in great ~~to~~ power ~~to~~ some and the rest had great ~~peace~~-peace may God carry on his work in this place till all shall know him Amen (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 19,20).

October 28, 1833

Printed Journal or daily events in route to Canada:

. . . **Monday, 28.**—In the evening, we broke bread, and laid on hands for the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, and for confirmation, having baptized two more. The **Spirit** was given in great power to some, and peace to others (HC, 1:422).

June, 1831

Revelation to William W. Phelps:

. . . *after thou hast been baptized by water, which if you do with an eye single to my glory, you shall have a remission of your sins and a reception of the **Holy Spirit** by the laying on of hands . . . you shall have power to give the **Holy Spirit*** (D&C 55:1,3; HC, 1:185).

September 1, 1835

Letter published in the *Messenger and Advocate*, to the Elders of the Church:

We shall commence with the first principles of the Gospel, which are faith, repentance, and baptism for the remission of sins, and the gift of the **Holy Ghost** by the laying on of the hands . . . Then Peter said unto them, Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the **Holy Ghost** . . . By this we learn that the promise of the **Holy Ghost** is made unto as many as those to whom the doctrine of repentance was to be preached . . . the gift of the **Holy Ghost** follows inevitably, for, says Peter, you shall receive the **Holy Ghost**. . . And if we believe in baptism for the remission of sins, we may expect a fulfillment of the promise of the **Holy Ghost**, for the promise extends to all whom the Lord our God shall call; and hath He not surely said, as you will find in the last chapter of Revelation—And the **Spirit** and the bride say, Come . . . ([Rev. 22:17](#)) . . . we are His witnesses of these things; and so is also the **Holy Ghost**, whom God hath given to them that obey Him ([Acts 5:31-2](#)) . . . they sent unto them Peter and John: who, when they were come down, prayed for them, that they might receive the **Holy Ghost**: (for as yet he was fallen upon none of them, only they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus.) Then laid they their hands on them, and they received the **Holy Ghost**. . . the **Spirit of the Lord** caught away Philip . . . (Acts 8:12-17, 36-40) . . . While Peter yet spake these words, the **Holy Ghost** fell on all them which heard the word . . . on the Gentiles also was poured out the gift of the **Holy Ghost** . . . received the **Holy Ghost** as well as we? ([Acts 10:44-48](#)) . . . Have ye received the **Holy Ghost** since ye believed? And they said unto him, we have not so much as heard whether there be any **Holy Ghost** . . . when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the **Holy Ghost** came on them. (Acts 19:1-6) . . . and were made partakers of the **Holy Ghost** (Heb 6:1-6) . . . These quotations are so plain, in proving the doctrine of repentance and baptism for the remission of sins, I deem it unnecessary to enlarge this letter (HC, 2: 256-259).

September, 1835

Letter published in the *Messenger and Advocate*, to the Elders of the Church:

. . . John's disciples, but had not so much as heard there was a **Holy Ghost**—to repent and be baptized for the remission of sins, by those who have legal authority, and under their hands you shall receive the **Holy Ghost**. Then laid they *their* hands upon them, and they received the **Holy Ghost**. ([Acts 8:17](#)) . . . when Paul had laid his hands upon them the **Holy Ghost** came on them and they spake with tongues and prophesied ([Acts 19:6](#)) (HC, 269).

January 21, 1836

Journal entry of meeting with a visitor, John W. Olived:

He replied that he did not realize it to be his duty. But when I laid before him the principles of the Gospel, viz: faith and repentance; baptism, for the remission of sins; and the laying on of hands, for the reception of the **Holy Ghost**, he manifested much surprise . . . (HC, 2:379; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 145).

February 14, 1836

Journal entry of Sunday meetings:

. . . the **Spirit of God** rested upon the congregation. Administered the Sacrament, and confirmed a number that had been baptized (HC, 2:395; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 159).

March 20, 1839

Letter to the Church of Latter-day Saints at Quincy, Illinois, and Scattered Abroad, and to Bishop Partridge in Particular:

<then> the voice of inspiration steals along and whispers my son peace be unto thy soul thine adversity and thy afflictions shall be but a small moment and then if thou endure it well God shall exalt the[e] on high thou shalt triumph over all thy foes thy friends do stand by the[e] and they shall hail the[e] again <n> with warm hearts and friendly hands thou art not yet as Job thy friends do not contend against the[e] neither charge the[e] with transgression as they did Job . . . and now Brethren after your tribulations if you do these things, and exercise fervent prayer, and faith in the sight of God Always he shall give unto you knowledge[p. 13] by his **Holy Spirit** yea by the unspeakable gift of the holy-Ghost that has not been revealed since the world was until now which our fathers have waited with anxious expectation to be revealed in the last times which their minds were pointed to by the Angels as held in reserve for the fullness of their glory a time to come in the which nothing shall be withheld (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 399).

May 8, 1838

Answers to questions frequently asked to Joseph while journeying from Kirtland to Missouri:

The testimony of Jesus is the **Spirit** of prophecy.—Revelation, 19:10 verse . . . The fundamental principles of our religion are the testimony of the Apostles and Prophets, concerning Jesus Christ, that He died, was buried, and rose again the third day, and ascended into heaven; and all other things which pertain to our religion are only appendages to it. But in connection with these, we believe in the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, the power of faith, the enjoyment of the **Spiritual** gifts according to the will of God, the restoration of the house of Israel, and the final triumph of truth (HC, 3:28, 30).

March 20, 1839

Revelation received in Liberty jail, Missouri:

*God shall give unto you knowledge by his **Holy Spirit**, yea, by the unspeakable gift of the **Holy Ghost**, that has not been revealed since the world was until now . . . when we undertake to cover our sins, or to gratify our pride, our vain ambition, or to exercise control or dominion or compulsion upon the souls of the children of men, in any degree of unrighteousness, behold, the heavens withdraw themselves; the **Spirit of the Lord** is grieved; and when it is withdrawn, Amen to the priesthood or the authority of that man. . . . Reproving betimes with sharpness, when moved upon by the **Holy Ghost**; and then showing forth afterwards an increase of love toward him whom thou hast reproved, lest he esteem thee to be his enemy. . . . The **Holy Ghost** shall be thy constant companion, and thy scepter an unchanging scepter of righteousness and truth; and thy dominion shall be an everlasting dominion, and without compulsory means it shall flow unto thee forever and ever (D&C 121:26,37,43, 46).*

March 22, 1839

Letter to Mr. Isaac Galland:

These sentiments we most cordially embrace, and consider them binding on us because they are adapted to our circumstances. We believe that we have a right to revelations, visions, and dreams from God, our heavenly Father; and light and intelligence, through the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, in the name of Jesus Christ, on all subjects pertaining to our **Spiritual** welfare; if it so be that we keep his commandments, so as to render ourselves worthy in his sight. . . . And again we believe in the doctrine of faith, and of repentance. and of baptism for the remission of sins, and the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, by the laying on of hands, and of resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment. . . . Now all these are the doctrines set forth by the apostles . . . Acts 2 chap. 28 verse, Then Peter said unto them repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the **Holy Ghost**. Hear you see the doctrine of repentance and baptism for the remission of sins, and the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, connected by the promise inseparably. Now I want you to consider the high standing of Peter; he was now being endowed with power from on high and held the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Mathew 16 chap. 19 verse, and I will give unto you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. This was the character, Sir, that made the glorious promise of the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, predicated upon the baptism for the remission of sins: and he did not say that it was confined to that generation, but see further: Act 2 chap. 39 verse. for the promise is unto you, and your children, and to all who are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 421-23; also published in the *Times and Seasons* 1, February 1840: 51-56).

June 27, 1839

Sermon given at a conference of the Twelve Apostles (recorded by Willard Richards Pocket Companion):

FAITH comes by hearing the word of God, through the testimony of the servants of God; that testimony is always attended by the **Spirit** of prophecy and revelation. . . . BAPTISM is a holy ordinance preparatory to the reception of the **Holy Ghost**; it is the channel and key by which the **Holy Ghost** will be administered. THE GIFT OF THE **HOLY GHOST** by the

laying on of hands, cannot be received through the medium of any other principle than the principle of righteousness, for if the proposals are not complied with, it is of no use, but withdraws. . . . (HC, 3:380).

The other **Comforter** spoken of is a subject of great interest, and perhaps understood by few of this generation. After a person has faith in Christ, repents of his sins, and is baptized for the remission of his sins and receives the **Holy Ghost**, (by the laying on of hands), which is the first **Comforter**, then let him continue to humble himself before God, hungering and thirsting after righteousness, and living by every word of God, and the Lord will soon say unto him, Son, thou shalt be exalted. When the Lord has thoroughly proved him, and finds that the man is determined to serve Him at all hazards, then the man will find his calling and his election made sure, then it will be his privilege to receive the other **Comforter**, which the Lord hath promised the Saints, as is recorded in the testimony of St. John, in the 14 chapter, from the 12 to the 27 verses (HC, 3:380).

Dec 5, 1839

Letter to Hyrum and the Council, written from Washington City, Corner Missouri and 3 Sts, signed by Joseph and Elias Higbee, distinguishing the gift of the **Holy Ghost** as a unique feature of the Church:

In our interview with the President [Van Buren], he interrogated us wherein we differed in our religion from the other religions of the day. Brother Joseph said we differed in mode of baptism, and the gift of the **Holy Ghost** by the laying on of hands. We considered that all other considerations were contained in the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, and we deemed it unnecessary to make many words in preaching the Gospel to him. Suffice it to say he has got our testimony (HC, 4:42).

February 16, 1841

Article written by English missionaries on the difference between the Baptists and the Latter-day Saints, that was later published under Joseph's direction (?) in the *Times and Seasons*:

After baptism, the Former-day Saints prayed for, and laid hands on the disciples in the name of Jesus, and professed to give them the **Holy Ghost**, [Acts 8:17](#), also [Acts 19](#); The Baptists say, They regard such mummary with as much disgust as all Christians do. Having, as they supposed, the extraordinary gifts of the **Spirit**, the Former-day Saints consistently pretended to have the power of working wonders, and professed to heal the sick with holy oil; [James 5:14](#), [15](#). Also to the power of prophecy; First Corinthians from 12 to 14 chapter. It need not be added that the Baptists stand far removed from such conceits, and have no part in them; nor in anything pertaining to the gifts and power of God: or, to use the Apostle's own words, they have a form of godliness, denying the power (Baptists & Latter-Day Saints, *Times and Seasons*, (November 1841-October 1842), Vol. 3 No. 23 October 1, 1842, p.933; HC, 4:350).

March 9, 1841

Sermon on the Gift of the **Holy Ghost** (recorded in McIntire Minute Book):

1 on the Gospel By father Cole he Said that Some thought that He Difered from president Smith Concerning the time of the Giving of the **Holy Ghost**—as teach that all men receive the **Holy Ghost** before Baptizem—Joseph said we Do not take Notice of things as they Read them—or they might know things as they Read them—he quotes rather 2d Repent & be Baptized &c—& ye Shall Receive the Gift of the Holly Ghost—Now said he (taking up his

Cap & presenting to Prd Law) in Giveing you this Gift is not giving myself. However there is a prist-Hood with the **Holy Ghost** & Key—the **Holy Ghost** over shadows you & witness unto you of the authority & the Gifts of the Holly Ghost—he said was the provence of the Father to preside as the Chief or President—Jesus as the Mediator & **Holy Ghost** as the testator or witness —the Son Had a Tabernicle & so had the father But the Holly Ghost is a personage of **Spirit** without tabernicle (Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 64).

December 16, 1841

Sermon as published in the *Times and Seasons*:

. . . None ever were perfect but Jesus; and why was He perfect? Because He was the Son of God, and had the fullness of the **Spirit**, and greater power than any man. . . . He then briefly stated the principles of faith, repentance, and baptism for the remission of sins, these were believed by some of the righteous societies of the day, but the doctrine of laying on of hands for the gift of the **Holy Ghost** was discarded by them (HC, 4:359).

March 1, 1842

Historical Sketch for John Wentworth:

. . . and though weak, yet were they strengthened by the power of God, and many were brought to repentance, were immersed in the water, and were filled with the **Holy Ghost** by the laying on of hands. They saw visions and prophesied, devils were cast out and the sick healed by the laying on of hands (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 216).

March 1, 1842

Letter written at the request of John Wentworth, an editor and proprietor of the Chicago Democrat:

On the 6 of April, 1830, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was first organized . . . and though weak, yet were they strengthened by the power of God, and many were brought to repentance, were immersed in the water, and were filled with the **Holy Ghost** by the laying on of hands. . . . *We believe that the first principle and ordinances of the Gospel are: (1) Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; (2) Repentance; (3) Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; (4) Laying on of hands for the gift of the **Holy Ghost** (Pearl of Great Price: The Articles of Faith :1,4; HC, 4:538, 541).*

March 20, 1842

Sermon on Life and Death; the Resurrection and the Salvation of Children:

I will now, however say a few words upon baptism . . . for except ye are born of water and of the **Spirit** ye cannot enter into the kingdom of God, said the Savior. . . .

Baptism is a sign to God, to angels, and to heaven that we do the will of God, and there is no other way beneath the heavens whereby God hath ordained for man to come to Him to be saved, and enter into the kingdom of God, except faith in Jesus Christ, repentance, and baptism for the remission of sins, and any other course is in vain; then you have the promise of the gift of the **Holy Ghost**. . . . What if we should attempt to get the gift of the **Holy Ghost** through any other means except the signs or way which God hath appointed—would we obtain it? Certainly not. . . .

There are certain key words and signs belonging to the Priesthood which must be observed in order to obtain the blessing. The sign of Peter was to repent and be baptized for

the remission of sins, with the promise of the gift of the **Holy Ghost**; and in no other way is the gift of the **Holy Ghost** obtained.

There is a difference between the **Holy Ghost** and the gift of the **Holy Ghost**. Cornelius received the **Holy Ghost** before he was baptized, which was the convincing power of God unto him of the truth of the Gospel, but he could not receive the gift of the **Holy Ghost** until after he was baptized. Had he not taken this sign or ordinance upon him, the **Holy Ghost** which convinced him of the truth of God, would have left him. Until he obeyed these ordinances and received the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, by the laying on of hands, according to the order of God, he could not have healed the sick or commanded an evil **Spirit** to come out of a man, and it obey him (HC 4:554, 555).

June 15, 1842

Journal entry Wednesday . . . Issued an editorial on the Gift of the **Holy Ghost** as follows:

Various and conflicting are the opinions of men in regard to the gift of the **Holy Ghost**. Some people have been in the habit of calling every supernatural manifestation the effects of the **Spirit of God**, whilst there are others that think there is no manifestation connected with it at all; and that it is nothing but a mere impulse of the mind, or an inward feeling, impression, or secret testimony or evidence, which men possess, and that there is no such a thing as an outward manifestation (HC, 5:26).

It is not to be wondered at that men should be ignorant, in a great measure, of the principles of salvation, and more especially of the nature, office, power, influence, gifts, and blessings of the gift of the **Holy Ghost**; when we consider that the human family have been enveloped in gross darkness and ignorance for many centuries past, without revelation, or any just criterion [by which] to arrive at a knowledge of the things of God, which can only be known by the **Spirit of God**. Hence it not infrequently occurs, that when the elders of this Church preach to the inhabitants of the world, that if they obey the Gospel they shall receive the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, that the people expect to see some wonderful manifestation, some great display of power, or some extraordinary miracle performed; and it is often the case that young members of this Church, for want of better information, carry along with them their old notions of things, and sometimes fall into egregious errors. We have lately had some information concerning a few members that are in this dilemma, and for their information make a few remarks upon the subject.

We believe in the gift of the **Holy Ghost** being enjoyed now, as much as it was in the Apostles' days; we believe that it [the gift of the **Holy Ghost**] is necessary to make and to organize the Priesthood, that no man can be called to fill any office in the ministry without it; we also believe in prophecy, in tongues, in visions, and in revelations, in gifts, and in healings; and that these things cannot be enjoyed without the gift of the **Holy Ghost**. We believe that the holy men of old spake as they were moved by the **Holy Ghost**, and that holy men in these days speak by the same principle; we believe in its being a **Comforter** and a witness bearer, that it brings things past to our remembrance, leads us into all truth, and shows us of things to come; we believe that 'no man can know that Jesus is the Christ, but by the **Holy Ghost**.' We believe in it [this gift of the **Holy Ghost**] in all its fulness, and power, and greatness, and glory; but whilst we do this, we believe in it rationally, consistently, and scripturally, and not according to the wild vagaries, foolish notions and traditions of men.

The human family are very apt to run to extremes, especially in religious matters, and hence people in general, either want some miraculous display, or they will not believe in the

gift of the **Holy Ghost** at all. If an Elder lays his hands upon a person, it is thought by many that the person must immediately rise and speak in tongues and prophesy; this idea is gathered from the circumstance of Paul laying his hands upon certain individuals who had been previously (as they stated) baptized unto John's baptism; which when he had done, they spake in tongues and prophesied. Philip also, when he had preached the Gospel to the inhabitants of the city of Samaria, sent for Peter and John, who when they came laid their hands upon them for the gift of the **Holy Ghost**; for as yet he was fallen upon none of them; and when Simon Magus saw that through the laying on of the Apostles' hands the **Holy Ghost** was given, he offered them money that he might possess the same power. (Acts 8.) These passages are considered by many as affording sufficient evidence for some miraculous, visible manifestation, whenever hands are laid on for the gift of the **Holy Ghost** (HC, 5:27).

We believe that the **Holy Ghost** is imparted by the laying on of hands of those in authority, and that the gift of tongues, and also the gift of prophecy are gifts of the **Spirit**, and are obtained through that medium; but then to say that men always prophesied and spoke in tongues when they had the imposition of hands, would be to state that which is untrue, contrary to the practice of the Apostles, and at variance with holy writ; for Paul says, To one is given the gift of tongues, to another the gift of prophecy, and to another the gift of healing; and again: Do all prophesy? do all speak with tongues? do all interpret? evidently showing that all did not possess these several gifts; but that one received one gift, and another received another gift—all did not prophesy, all did not speak in tongues, all did not work miracles; but all did receive the gift of the **Holy Ghost**; sometimes they spake in tongues and prophesied in the Apostles' days, and sometimes they did not. The same is the case with us also in our administrations. . . . But suppose the gifts of the **Spirit** were immediately, upon the imposition of hands, enjoyed by all, in all their fullness and power; the skeptic would still be as far from receiving any testimony except upon a mere casualty as before, for all the gifts of the **Spirit** are not visible to the natural vision, or understanding of man; indeed very few of them are. We read that Christ ascended into heaven and gave gifts unto men; and He gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers. ([Eph. 4](#)) (HC, 5:27-28).

These, then, are all gifts; they come from God; they are of God; they are all the gifts of the **Holy Ghost**; they are what Christ ascended into heaven to impart; and yet how few of them could be known by the generality of men. Peter and John were Apostles, yet the Jewish court scourged them as impostors. Paul was both an Apostle and Prophet, yet they stoned him and put him into prison. The people knew nothing about it, although he had in his possession the gift of the **Holy Ghost**. Our Savior was anointed with the oil of gladness above his fellows, yet so far from the people knowing Him, they said He was Beelzebub, and crucified Him as an impostor. Who could point out a Pastor, a Teacher, or an Evangelist by their appearance, yet had they the gift of the **Holy Ghost**?

But to come to the other members of the Church, and examine the gifts as spoken of by Paul, and we shall find that the world can in general know nothing about them, and that there is but one or two that could be immediately known, if they were all poured out immediately upon the imposition of hands. In I. Cor. 12., Paul says, 'There are diversities of gifts yet the same **Spirit**, and there are differences of administrations but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all. But the manifestations of the **Spirit** is given unto every man to profit withal. For to one is given, by

the **Spirit**, the word of wisdom, to another, the word of knowledge by the same **Spirit**; to another faith, by the same **Spirit**; to another the gifts of healing, by the same **Spirit**; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another the discerning of **Spirit**s; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues. But all these worketh that one and the self same **Spirit**, dividing to each man severally as he will' (HC, 5:29).

. . . So that according to the testimony of Scripture and the manifestations of the **Spirit** in ancient days, very little could be known about it by the surrounding multitude, except on some extraordinary occasion, as on the day of Pentecost . . . we had the testimony of the Scribes and Pharisees concerning the outpouring of the **Spirit** on the day of Pentecost, they would have told us that it was no gift, but that the people were drunken with new wine, and we shall finally have to come to the same conclusion that Paul did—No man knows the things of God but by the **Spirit of God**; for with the great revelations of Paul when he was caught up into the third heaven and saw things that were not lawful to utter, no man was apprised of it until he mentioned it himself fourteen years after; and when John had the curtains of heaven withdrawn, and by vision looked through the dark vista of future ages, and contemplated events that should transpire throughout every subsequent period of time, until the final winding up scene—while he gazed upon the glories of the eternal world, saw an innumerable company of angels and heard the voice of God—it was in the **Spirit**, on the Lord's day, unnoticed and unobserved by the world.

The manifestations of the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, the ministering of angels, or the development of the power, majesty or glory of God were very seldom manifested publicly, and that generally to the people of God . . . (HC, 5:30-31).

August 16, 1842

Journal account of blessing given to Erastus H. Derby

. . . In the name of the Lord, I feel in my heart to bless them, and to say in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, that these are the ones that shall inherit eternal life. I say it by virtue of the Holy Priesthood, and by the ministering of holy angels, and by the gift and power of the **Holy Ghost** (HC, 5:107).

July 9, 1843

Sunday Sermon in the grove in Nauvoo on, The Cause for the Prophet's Success--Love for Fellow

Man (reported by Willard Richards):

So far we are agreed with other Christian denominations. They all preach faith and repentance. The gospel requires baptism by immersion for the remission of sins, which is the meaning of the word in the original language—namely, to bury or immerse. We ask the sects, Do you believe this? They answer, No. I believe in being converted. I believe in this tenaciously. So did the Apostle Peter and the disciples of Jesus. But I further believe in the gift of the **Holy Ghost** by the laying on of hands. Evidence by Peter's preaching on the day of Pentecost, [Acts 2:38](#). You might as well baptize a bag of sand as a man, if not done in view of the remission of sins and getting of the **Holy Ghost**. Baptism by water is but half a baptism, and is good for nothing without the other half—that is, the baptism of the **Holy Ghost**.

The Savior says, Except a man be born of water and of the **Spirit**, he cannot enter

into the kingdom of God. Though we or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed, according to [Galatians 1:8](#) (HC, 5:499-500).

November 13, 1843

Letter written in Nauvoo, to James Arlington Bennett:

If, then, the hand of God in all these things that I have accomplished towards the salvation of a priest-ridden generation, in the short space of twelve years, through the boldness of the plan of preaching the Gospel, and the boldness of the means of declaring repentance and baptism for the remission of sins, and a reception of the **Holy Ghost** by laying on of the hands, agreeably to the authority of the Priesthood . . . (HC, 6:74).

November 29, 1843

Journal record of an appeal to Joseph's native state, the Green Mountain Boys:

Must we, because we believe in the fullness of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the administration of angels, and the communion of the **Holy Ghost**, like the Prophets and Apostles of old,—must we be mobbed with impunity, be exiled from our habitations and property without remedy, murdered without mercy, and Government find the weapons and pay the vagabonds for doing the jobs, and give them the plunder into the bargain? Must we, because we believe in enjoying the constitutional privilege and right of worshiping Almighty God according to the dictates of our own consciences, and because we believe in repentance, and baptism for the remission of sins, the gift of the **Holy Ghost** by the laying on of hands, the resurrection of the dead, the millennium, the day of judgment, and the Book of Mormon as the history of the aborigines of this continent,—must we be expelled from the institutions of our country, the rights of citizenship (HC, 6:92).

April 7, 1844

Funeral sermon for King Follett during the annual Conference of the Church (recorded in Wilford

Woodruff Diary):

. . . I feel disposed to speak on the subject in general, and offer you my ideas, so far as I have ability, and so far as I shall be inspired by the **Holy Spirit** to dwell on this subject. I want your prayers and faith that I may have the instruction of Almighty God and the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, so that I may set forth things that are true and which can be easily comprehended by you, and that the testimony may carry conviction to your hearts and minds of the truth of what I shall say. . . . (HC, 6:302).

. . . Oh, ye lawyers, ye doctors, and ye priests, who have persecuted me, I want to let you know that the **Holy Ghost** knows something as well as you do . . . The doctors (I mean doctors of law, not physic) say, If you preach anything not according to the Bible, we will cry treason. How can we escape the damnation of hell, except God be with us and reveal to us? . . . I thank God that I have got this old book {New Testament}; but I thank him more for the gift of the **Holy Ghost**. I have got the oldest book in the world; but I have got the oldest book in my heart, even the gift of the **Holy Ghost**. . . . (HC, 6:304,307-308).

Now, I ask all who hear me, why the learned men who are preaching salvation, say that God created the heavens and the earth out of nothing? The reason is, that they are unlearned in the things of God, and have not the gift of the **Holy Ghost** . . . and know more

than all the world put together. The **Holy Ghost** does, anyhow, and he is within me, and comprehends more than all the world; and I will associate myself with him (HC, 6:308).

May 12, 1844

Sunday Sermon at the Stand in Nauvoo (recorded by Samuel W. Richards)

. . . The sectarians have no Charity for me but I have for them. I intend to send men to prison to preach to them, and this is all on the Principle of entering in by Water and **Spirit**. Then you must not only be baptized for them but they must receive the **Holy Ghost** by Proxy and be sealed by it unto the day of their redemption as all the other ordinances by proxy). All persons who have been Baptized and who have received the **Holy Ghost** may be baptized for their ancestors or near relatives (Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 371-372)

4. FRUITS OF THE SPIRIT : TRUTH, REVELATION, INSPIRATION, INSTRUCTION, TESTIMONY, PEACE, ETC.

April, 1829

Revelation to Oliver Cowdery and Joseph Smith, Jun:

. . . *as often as thou hast inquired, thou hast received instruction of my **Spirit**. . . Behold, thou knowest that thou hast inquired of me and I did enlighten thy mind; and now I tell thee these things that thou mayest know that thou hast been enlightened by the **Spirit** of truth (D&C 6:14,15; HC, 1:34).*

April, 1829

Revelation received in answer to Oliver Cowdery's desire to translate:

. . . *the engravings of old records, which are ancient, which contain those parts of my scripture of which has been spoken by the manifestation of my **Spirit**. Yea, behold, I will tell you in your mind and in your heart, by the **Holy Ghost**. . . this is the **Spirit** of revelation; behold, this is the **Spirit** by which Moses brought the children of Israel through the Red Sea on dry ground. (D&C 8:1,2,3; HC, 1:37).*

May, 1829

Revelation, given to Hyrum Smith, Harmony, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania:

*I say unto thee, put your trust in that **Spirit** which leadeth to do good—yea, to do justly, to walk humbly, to judge righteously, and this is my **Spirit**. Verily, verily, I say unto you, I will impart unto you of my **Spirit**, which shall enlighten your mind, which shall fill your soul with joy; . . . Keep my commandments; hold your peace; appeal unto my **Spirit**. . . Seek not to declare my word, but first seek to obtain my word, and then shall your tongue be loosed; then, if you desire, you shall have my **Spirit**. . . Deny not the **Spirit** of revelation nor the **Spirit** of prophecy (D&C 11:12,13,18,21,25; HC, 1:46).*

June, 1829

Journal recounting of early persecution of neighboring priests:

However, the Lord continued to pour out upon us His **Holy Spirit**, and as often as we had need, He gave us in that moment what to say; so that although unlearned and inexperienced in religious controversies, yet we were able to confound those learned priests of the day;

whilst at the same time we were enabled to convince the honest in heart that we had obtained, through the mercy of God, the true and ever lasting Gospel of Jesus Christ; and occasionally we administered the ordinance of baptism for the remission of sins to such as believed (HC, 1:59).

June, 1829

Revelation to Joseph Smith, Jun., Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer, making known the calling

of Twelve Apostles in these last days:

*I have manifested unto you, by my **Spirit** in many instances, that the things which you have written are true; wherefore you know that they are true. . . . Ask the Father in my name, in faith believing that you shall receive, and you shall have the **Holy Ghost**, which manifesteth all things which are expedient unto the children of men. . . . you are they who are ordained of me to ordain priests and teachers; to declare my gospel; according to the power of the **Holy Ghost** which is in you, and according to the callings and gifts of God unto men. . . . given by my **Spirit** unto you . . . your Redeemer, by the power of my **Spirit** have spoken it. Amen (D&C 18:2,18,32,35,47; HC, 1:62).*

Late 1829 or Early 1830

Instructions for the Church:

*. . . by the **Spirit** of prophecy and revelation; which not only gave us much information, but also pointed out to us the precise day upon which, according to His will and commandment, we should proceed to organize His Church once more here upon the earth (HC, 1:64).*

April 6, 1830

Revelation received while gathered for the Organization of the Church in Fayette, New York:

*Being inspired of the **Holy Ghost** to lay the foundation thereof. . . I will bless all those who labor in my vineyard with a mighty blessing, and they shall believe on his words, which are given him through me by the **Comforter**, which manifesteth that Jesus was crucified by sinful men for the sins of the world, yea, for the remission of sins unto the contrite heart (D&C 21:2,9; HC 1:78).*

July, 1830

Revelation given to Emma Smith at Harmony, Pennsylvania:

*. . . exhort the church, according as it shall be given thee by my **Spirit**. For he shall lay his hands upon thee, and thou shalt receive the **Holy Ghost**, and thy time shall be given to writing, and to learning much (D&C 25:7-8; HC, 103).*

September, 1830

Revelation to Oliver Cowdery, given at Fayette, New York:

*Oliver, that it shall be given unto thee, that thou shalt be heard by the church in all things whatsoever thou shalt teach them by the **Comforter**, concerning the revelations and commandments which I have given . . . if thou art led at any time by the **Comforter** to speak or teach or at all times by the way of commandment unto the Church, thou mayest do it . . . (D&C 28:1,4; HC, 1:110).*

September 26, 1830

Summary of Conferenc:

. . . two following days of the conference, during which time we had much of the power of God manifested amongst us; the **Holy Ghost** came upon us, and filled us with joy unspeakable; and peace, and faith, and hope, and charity abounded in our midst (HC, 1: 115).

September, 1830

Revelation to Thomas B. Marsh:

*Go your way withersoever I will, and it shall be given you by the **Comforter** what you shall do (D&C 31:11 ; HC, 1:117)*

November, 1830

Revelation to Orson Pratt (19 year old):

*. . . lift up your voice and spare not, for the Lord God hath spoken; therefore prophesy, and it shall be given by the power of the **Holy Ghost** (D&C 34:10; HC, 1: 128).*

February, 1831

Revelation giving the Law of the Church:

*. . . it shall be given by the power of the **Spirit** when they shall return. And ye shall go forth in the power of my **Spirit**, preaching my gospel, two by two . . . And they shall observe the covenants and church articles to do them, and these shall be their teachings, as they shall be directed by the **Spirit**. And the **Spirit** shall be given unto you by the prayer of faith; and if ye receive not the **Spirit**, ye shall not teach . . . And as ye shall lift up your voices by the **Comforter**, ye shall speak and prophesy as seemeth me good; For, behold, the **Comforter** knoweth all things, and beareth record of the Father and of the Son. . . he that looketh upon a woman to lust after her shall deny the faith, and shall not have the **Spirit**. . . (D&C 42:5,6, 13,14,16,17,23; HC, 1:148).*

February, 1831

Revelation received at Kirtland:

*. . . teach the children of men the things which I have put into your hands by the power of my **Spirit**. . . (D&C 43:6; HC, 1:155)*

June, 1831

Revelation following a conference at Kirtland held June 3-5:

*Unto the elders whom he hath called and chosen in these last days, by the voice of his **Spirit**. . . preaching the word by the way, saying none other things than that which the prophets and apostles have written, and that which is taught them by the **Comforter** through the prayer of faith (D&C 52:1, 9; HC, 1:177).*

August 4, 1831

Journal entry during First Conference in Zion:

On the 4 I attended the first conference in the land of Zion. It was held at the house of Brother Joshua Lewis, in Kaw township, in the presence of the Colesville branch of the Church. The **Spirit of the Lord** was there (HC, 1:199).

August 7, 1831

Revelation received in Zion:

*But learn that he who doeth the works of righteousness shall receive his reward, even peace in this world, and eternal life in the world to come. I, the Lord, have spoken it, and the **Spirit** beareth record. Amen (D&C 59:23,24; HC, 1:201).*

August 13, 1831

Revelation giving direction while traveling from Independence to Kirtland:

*Unto whom it is given power to command the waters, unto him it is given by the **Spirit** to know all his ways; Wherefore, let him do as the **Spirit** of the living God commandeth him (D&C 61:27,28; HC, 1:206).*

August 13, 1831

Revelation received after a chance meeting of other Elders in route to Zion:

*These things remain with you to do according to judgment and the directions of the **Spirit** (D&C 62:8; HC, 1:206).*

November 1, 1831

Revelation received at a conference in Hiram regarding compilation of the Book of Commandments:

*. . . the Lord is God, and the **Spirit** beareth record (D&C 1:39; HC, 1:224)*

November, 1831

Revelation recorded as, Testimony (to correct William E. M'Lellin):

*. . . the Lord has borne record to our souls, through the **Holy Ghost** (HC, 1:226--not in D&C).*

November, 1831

Revelation to priesthood leaders--Orson Hyde, Luke Johnson, Lyman Johnson, William M'Lellin:

*. . . called by his ordination to proclaim the everlasting gospel, by the **Spirit** of the living God . . . they shall speak as they are moved upon by the **Holy Ghost**. . . And whatsoever they shall speak when moved upon by the **Holy Ghost** shall be scripture, shall be the will of the Lord, shall be the mind of the Lord, shall be the word of the Lord, shall be the voice of the Lord, and the power of God unto salvation. . . (D&C 68:1,4-5; HC, 1:227).*

November, 1831

Revelation in answer to an inquiry:

*. . . abundance is multiplied unto them through the manifestations of the **Spirit**. Nevertheless, in your temporal things you shall be equal, and this not grudgingly, otherwise the abundance of the manifestations of the **Spirit** shall be withheld (D&C 70:13,14; HC, 1:237).*

December 1, 1831

Revelation to Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon:

*. . . proclaiming my gospel, the things of the kingdom, expounding the mysteries thereof out of the scriptures, according to that portion of **Spirit** and power which shall be given unto you*

... (D&C 71:1 ; HC, 1:238).

December 1, 1831

Revelation received in Kirtland for members assembled to learn their duty:

... *they that are appointed by the **Holy Spirit** to go up unto Zion* (D&C 72:24 ; HC, 1:241).

January, 1832,

Revelation at Amherst Conference:

... *who speak even by the voice of my **Spirit**, even Alpha and Omega, your Lord and your God. . . . Calling on the name of the Lord for the **Comforter**, which shall teach them all things that are expedient for them . . .* (D&C 75:1,10; HC, 1:243).

February 16, 1832

Revelation known as the Vision of the Glories received while translating John 14:

*And to them will I reveal all mysteries, yea, all the hidden mysteries of my kingdom from days of old . . . For by my **Spirit** will I enlighten them, and by my power will I make known unto them the secrets of my will—yea, even those things which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor yet entered into the heart of man. We, Joseph Smith, Jun., and Sidney Rigdon, being in the **Spirit** on the sixteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two--By the power of the **Spirit** our eyes were opened and our understandings were enlightened, so as to see and understand the things of God-- . . . this caused us to marvel, for it was given unto us of the **Spirit**. . . . And while we were yet in the **Spirit**, the Lord commanded us that we should write the vision . . . Having denied the **Holy Spirit** after having received it . . . by keeping the commandments they might be washed and cleansed from all their sins, and receive the **Holy Spirit** by the laying on of the hands of him who is ordained . . . who overcome by faith, and are sealed by the **Holy Spirit** of promise . . . These are they who receive not of his fulness in the eternal world, but of the **Holy Spirit** through the ministration of the terrestrial. . . . for they are only to be seen and understood by the power of the **Holy Spirit**, which God bestows on those who love him, and purify themselves before him . . . through the power and manifestation of the **Spirit** (D&C 76:7,10,11,12,18, 35, 52,53, 86,116,118; HC, 1:245-250,252,).*

March, 1832

Revelation to Jared Carter:

*I will send upon him the **Comforter**, which shall teach him the truth and the way whither he shall go* (D&C 79:2; HC, 1: 257).

July 31, 1832

Handwritten letter to William W. Phelps:

... true you have expressed fellowship, but the **Spirit** which I possess enjoy, the feeling of my soul enquires does this letter give me the important information which I stood in need of at the present . . . I went to Kirtland last week and held a meeting on the Lord[s] day and found the brethren strong in the faith and enjoying the sweet influence of the **Holy Spirit** cheering there hearts and enlarging there understandings and binding there souls to gethe[r] that nothing but death can break asunder (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 243,250{269}).

August, 1832

Letter to the Brethren, published in second publishing of the Missouri periodical, The Evening and Morning Star:

. . . you are to set an example of meekness and humility before Saints and sinners, as did the Savior; and when reviled you are not to revile again; you are to reason with men, as in days of old to bear patiently and answer as the **Spirit** of truth shall direct, allowing all credit for every item of good (HC, 1:280).

September 22, 23, 1832

Revelation on the Priesthood, given after the elders began returning from their missions:

. . . and the **Spirit** enlighteneth every man through the world, that hearkeneth to the voice of the **Spirit**. And every one that hearkeneth to the voice of the **Spirit** cometh unto God, even the Father. . . I will be on your right hand and on your left, and my **Spirit** shall be in your hearts, and mine angels round about you, to bear you up. . . And if any man among you be strong in the **Spirit**, let him take with him that is weak, that he may be edified in all meekness, that he may become strong also (D&C 84:46-47,88,106; HC, 1:290-293).

October 13, 1832

To Emma Smith:

I prefer reading and praying and holding comunion with the **Holy Spirit** and writing to <you> then walking the streets and beholding the distraction of man . . . Brother Whitney is received with great kindness by all his old acquaintance[s] he is faithful in prayr and fervant in **Spirit**. . . (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 253).

December 27, 1832

Revelation known as The Olive Leaf:

*I now send upon you another **Comforter**, even upon you my friends, that it may abide in your hearts, even the **Holy Spirit** of promise; which other **Comforter** is the same that I promised unto my disciples, as is recorded in the testimony of John. This **Comforter** is the promise which I give unto you of eternal life, even the glory of the celestial kingdom . . . And the **Spirit** and the body are the soul of man . . . do this by prayer and thanksgiving, as the **Spirit** shall give utterance in all your doings in the house of the Lord, in the school of the prophets, that it may become a sanctuary, a tabernacle of the **Holy Spirit** to your edification (D&C 88:3,4,15,137 HC, 1:302-311).*

January 22, 1833

Journal entry of Conference with accompanying **Spiritual** Gifts:

. . . the Lord poured out His **Spirit** in a miraculous manner, until all the Elders spake in tongues, and several members, both male and female, exercised the same gift. Great and glorious were the divine manifestations of the **Holy Spirit**. Praises were sung to God and the Lamb; speaking and praying, all in tongues, occupied the conference until a late hour at night . . . Frederick G. Williams, being moved upon by the **Holy Ghost**, washed my feet in token of his fixed determination to be with me in suffering . . . wash ye, therefore, one another's feet; and by the power of the **Holy Ghost** I pronounced them all clean from the blood of this generation (HC, 1:323).

February 6, 1833

Letter from First Presidency (Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Frederick G. Williams):

It has seemed good unto the **Holy Spirit** and unto us, to send this our epistle (HC, 1:324).

March 8, 1833

Revelation received as a Word of Comfort to the Prophet:

*. . . every man shall hear the fulness of the gospel in his own tongue, and in his own language, through those who are ordained unto this power, by the administration of the **Comforter**, shed forth upon them for the revelation of Jesus Christ . . . And from time to time, as shall be manifested by the **Comforter**, receive revelations to unfold the mysteries of the kingdom (D&C 90:11,14; HC, 1:330).*

March, 1833

Revelation on the Apocrypha:

*Whoso readeth it, let him understand, for the **Spirit** manifesteth truth; and whoso is enlightened by the **Spirit** shall obtain benefit there from, and whoso receiveth not by the **Spirit**, cannot be benefited (D&C 91:4-6; HC, 1:332).*

June 25, 1833

Published Letter from Kirtland to Brother W. W. Phelps, and others in Zion:

*. . . Respecting the Apocrypha, the Lord said to us that there were many things in it which were true, and there were many things in it which were not true, and to those who desire it, should be given by the **Spirit** to know the true from the false (HC 1:363).*

August 2, 1833

Revelation received shortly after the corner stones were laid for the Kirtland Temple:

*Verily I say unto you my friends, I speak unto you with my voice, even the voice of my **Spirit** (D&C 47:1; HC, 1:400).*

August 10, 18, 1833

Letter written in Kirtland to William Phelps, John Whitmer, Edward Partridge, Isaac Morley, John Corry, and Sidney Gilbert (starting with almost a prayer followed by Dear Brother):

*. . . give pl[a]ce for thy saints for thy **Spirit** will not always strive with man. . . we have Just received you[r] letter containing the bond with which our enemies bound themselves to destroy Zion and also the blessing <of> god in poreing out ~~upon~~ his **Spirit** upon you and we have had the word of the Lord that you shall [be] deliverd from you[r] dainger and <shall> again flourish in spite of hell [this] god has communicated to me by the gift of the **Holy Ghost** that this should be <the case> after much p[ayer] and supplication. . . (Jesse, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 285-287)*

September 4, 1833

Handwritten Letter to Vienna Jacques:

Remember her in all thy prayers and also by letter for she oftentimes calleth on the Lord saying O Lord inspire thy servant Joseph to communicate by letter some word to thine unworthy handmaid . . . I have often felt a whispering since I received your letter . . . sister

this seems to be the whisperings of a **Spirit** and Judge ye what **Spirit** it is (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 294; also subsequently printed in HC, 1:407).

October 10, 1833

Journal account of Joseph's journey to begin mission in Canada:

. . . we met the brethren according to previous appointment, and spoke to them as the **Spirit** gave utterance (HC 1:417).

October 12, 1833

Revelation received at the home of Father Nickerson's, at Perrysburg, New York:

*I give unto you this promise, that inasmuch as ye do this the **Holy Ghost** shall be shed forth in bearing record unto all things whatsoever ye shall say (D&C 100:8; HC, 1:420).*

October 13, 1833

Diary:

held a meeti=ng at freeman Nicker=son['s] had a large congregation Brother Sidney preached & I bear record to the people the Lord gave his **Spirit** in [a] marvilous maner for which I am thankful to the God of Ab[r]aham . . . (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 18).

October 13, 1833

Journal entry of the day spent at Freeman Nickerson's home:

Elder Rigdon preached to a large congregation, at Freeman Nickerson's, and I bore record while the Lord gave His **Spirit** in a remarkable manner (HC, 1:421).

October 20, 1833

Diary:

this afternoon at Mr Pattricks exp=ect to hold a Meeting this Evening &c—peop=le very superstitious Oh God esta[b]lish thy word among this people held a meeting this even=ing had an attentive con=ngregation the **Spirit** gave utterance (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 19).

November 19, 1833

Published Letter, written from Kirtland, to Moses C. Nickerson, Mount Pleasant, Canada:

I pray that the Lord may enable you to treasure these things in your mind, for I know that His **Spirit** will bear testimony to all who seek diligently after knowledge from Him (HC, 1:442; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 304).

January 22, 1834

Letter to the Brethren in Missouri:

We take the sacred writings into our hands, and admit that they were given by direct inspiration for the good of man . . . we must admit that by His direct inspiration He has taught man that law is necessary . . . the voice of *reason*, the language of *inspiration*, and the **Spirit** of the living God, our Creator, teaches us . . . we (the apostles) are His witnesses of these things, and so is the **Holy Ghost**, whom God had given to them that obey Him (see [Acts 5](#)). So that after the testimony of the Scriptures on this point, the assurance is given by the **Holy Ghost**, bearing witness to those who obey Him . . . unless they have speedily

repented, have sooner or later fallen into the snares of the wicked one, and have been left destitute of the **Spirit of God** . . . the apostate is left naked and destitute of the **Spirit of God** (HC, 2:11,12,13,18,22,).

February 12, 1834

Sermon at New Portage for High Priests and Elders: Order of Ancient Councils:

. . . the voice of the Lord, by revelation, or the voice of the council by the **Spirit**, was obtained (HC, 2:25).

February 19, 1834

Journal entry on the High Council assembled:

I urged the necessity of prayer, that the **Spirit** might be given, that the things of the **Spirit** might be judged thereby, because the carnal mind cannot discern the things of God . . .

After giving such instruction as the **Spirit** dictated, I laid my hands upon the heads of the two assistant Presidents severally and blessed them . . . We all raised our hands to heaven in token of the everlasting covenant, and the Lord blessed us with His **Spirit**. I then declared the council organized according to the ancient order, and also according to the mind of the Lord (HC, 2:31, 32, 33).

February 20, 1834

Minutes from the High Council meeting:

The President then asked if there were any Elders present who would go to Canada, and preach the Gospel to that people; for they have written a number of letters for help. And the whole Council felt as though the **Spirit** required the Elders to go there (HC, 2:35).

March 4, [5] 1834

Diary from journey Westfield, New York:

<accompanied By Br Gould> rode 33 miles arrived in **Vilanova** s<t>aid all night with a Brother Mc Bride, next morning went 4 m;s to Br Nicisons [Nickerson's] found him and his house hold full of faith and of the **Holy Spirit** we cald the church together and Related unto them what had hapened to our Brethren in Zion opened to them the prophesyes and revelations concerning the order of the gethering of Zion and the means of her Redemtion and Brother Joseph Prophesyed to them and the **Spirit of the Lord** came mightily upon them and with all redyness the yo[u]ng and midle aged volenteered for Zion same evening held 2 meetin<gs> 3 or 4 miles Apart (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 28-29).

March 5, 1834

Journal entry recounting journey through western New York:

. . . we went to Brother Nickerson's, and found him and his household full of faith and of the **Holy Spirit**. . . prophesied to them, and the **Spirit of the Lord** came mightily upon me, and with all readiness the young and middle-aged volunteered for Zion (HC, 2:41).

April 19, 1836

Journal entry continuing on journey stop for the laying on of hands:

Those present then laid their hands upon the head of Elder Rigdon, and confirmed upon him the blessings of wisdom and knowledge to preside over the Church in my absence, also to

have the **Spirit** to assist Elder Cowdery in conducting the *Star*, in arranging the Book of Covenants. . . . Our hearts rejoiced, and we were comforted with the **Holy Spirit** (HC, 2:51; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 34).

April 21, 1834

Minutes of the conference in Norton, Medina County, Ohio for a conference:

The President then gave a relation of obtaining and translating the Book of Mormon, the revelation of the Priesthood of Aaron, the organization of the Church in 1830, the revelation of the High Priesthood, and the gift of the **Holy Ghost** poured out upon the Church (HC, 2:52).

April 23, 1834

Revelation concerning the Order of the Church for the benefit of the poor:

*And it is my will that he should sell the lots that are laid off for the building up of the city of my Saints, inasmuch as it shall be made known to him by the voice of the **Spirit**, and according to the counsel of the order, and by the voice of the order. . . . and write according to that which shall be dictated by my **Spirit**, and I will soften the hearts of those to whom you are in debt (D&C 104:36,81; HC, 2:54-5).*

June 22, 1834

Revelation received on Fishing River, Missouri:

*. . . be very faithful, and prayerful, and humble before me, and reveal not the things which I have revealed unto them . . . And it shall be manifest unto my servant, by the voice of the **Spirit**, those that are chosen, and they shall be sanctified. . . . make proposals for peace unto those who have smitten you, according to the voice of the **Spirit** which is in you, and all things shall work together for your good (D&C 105:23,36; HC, 2:108).*

August 16, 1834

To Lyman Wight, Edward Partridge, John Corrill, Isaac Morley, and Others of the High Council:

I shall now procede to give you such council as the **Spirit of the Lord** may dictate . . . (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 329; also published form in HC 2:144).

February 14, 1835

Minutes of the meeting where the Twelve Apostles were called, their ordination and instruction:

. . . The president also said many things; such as the weak things, even the smallest and weakest among us, shall be powerful and mighty, and great things shall be accomplished by you from this hour; and you shall begin to feel the whisperings of the **Spirit of God** (HC, 2:182).

September 23, 1835

Journal entry; rejoicing with Saints journeying to Missouri:

[David Whitmer] prayed in the **Spirit**, and a glorious time succeeded his prayer; joy filled our hearts and we blessed them and bid them God speed, and promised them a safe journey, and took them by the hand and bid them farewell for a season (HC 2:281; (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 58).

September 24, 2835

Journal entry re. High Council meeting at Joseph's house to consider the redemption of Zion:
And it was the voice of the **Spirit of the Lord** that we petition the Governor (HC, 2: 281).

September 27, 1835

Journal entry of Sunday morning meeting:

Elders Thomas B. Marsh, David W. Patten, Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball preached and broke bread. The Lord poured out His **Spirit** and my soul was edified (HC, 2: 283; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 59).

October 25, 1835

Journal entry of Sunday prayer meeting:

In the evening I attended prayer meeting, opened it, and exhorted the brethren and sisters about one hour. The Lord poured out His **Spirit**, and some glorious things were spoken in the gift of tongues and interpreted concerning the redemption of Zion (HC, 2:292; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 64-65).

November 12, 1835

Journal entry including remarks given to the Twelve Apostles at an evening meeting:

I am happy in the enjoyment of this opportunity of meeting with this Council on this occasion. I am satisfied that the **Spirit of the Lord** is here (HC, 2: 308; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 80).

November 16, 1835

Journal entry on the Council Concerning Brethren Going to Missouri:

President David Whitmer arose and said, the **Spirit** manifested to him that it was Brother Beaman's duty to go. Others bore the same testimony (HC, 2:316).

December 18, 1835

Letter to his Brother William:

. . . for the purpose of obtaining information, and with the idea of imparting the same, through the assistance of the **Spirit of the Lord** (HC, 2:340; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 112).

December 26, 1835

Handwritten Journal:

Lyman Sher=man came in and requested to have the word of the lord through me for said he I have been wrought upon to make known to you my feelings and desires and was promised ~~to have~~ that I should have a revelation ~~and~~ which should make known my duty (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 118).

January 1, 1836

Journal account of family meeting to reconcile Brother William:

. . . the **Spirit of God** rested down upon us in mighty power, and our hearts were melted (HC, 2:353; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 122).

January 6, 1836

Council to fill the vacancies in the Twelve Apostles:

... that happy time when Jacob shall go up to the house of the Lord, to worship Him in **Spirit** and in truth (HC, 2:357).

January 13, 1836

Journal of several council meetings:

This has been one of the best days that I ever spent; there has been an entire union of feeling expressed in all our proceedings this day; and the **Spirit** of the God of Israel has rested upon us in mighty power (HC, 2:368; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 130).

January 15, 1836

Minutes of Priesthood Meeting held in the Kirtland Temple recording Joseph's remarks:

... applying themselves closely to study the mind and will of the Lord, whose **Spirit** always makes manifest and demonstrates the truth to the understanding of all who are in possession of the **Spirit** (HC, 2:370; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 131).

January 16, 1836

Journal entry of council meeting:

... their was a perfect unison of feeling on this occasion, and our hearts over flowed with blessings, which were pronounced upon each others heads as the **Spirit** gave us utterance (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 138-139).

January 17, 1836

Journal entry of Sunday meeting:

The Lord poured out His **Spirit** upon us, and the brethren began to confess their faults one to the other, and the congregation was soon overwhelmed in tears, and some of our hearts were too big for utterance. The gift of tongues came on us also, like the rushing of a mighty wind, and my soul was filled with the glory of God (HC, 2:376; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 139).

January 23, 1836

Journal entry on the continuation of **Spiritual** manifestations:

Attended at the school room, as usual, and we came together filled with the **Spirit**, as on the past evening, and did not feel like studying, but commenced conversing upon heavenly things (HC, 2:384; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 149).

January 24, 1836

Journal entry of Sunday meetings:

... confess their sins, as they might be directed by the **Spirit**, and they occupied the first part of the day, and confessed and exhorted as the **Spirit** led (HC, 2:384; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 149).

February 2, 1836

Journal entry of Tuesday evening meeting in the Kirtland school house:

It was an interesting meeting, the **Spirit** bore record that the Lord was well pleased (HC 2:390; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 155).

February 6, 1836

Journal entry regarding the meeting of councils:

. . . the Seventy enjoyed a great flow of the **Holy Spirit**. Many arose and spoke, testifying that they were filled with the **Holy Ghost**, which was like fire in their bones, so that they could not hold their peace, but were constrained to cry hosanna to God and the Lamb, and glory in the highest. . . . saw a vision of the Lord's host. And others were filled with the **Spirit**, and spake with tongues and prophesied. This was a time of rejoicing long to be remembered (HC, 2:392; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 156-157).

February 19, 1836

Journal entry mentioning visit from Professor Seixas:

I believe the Lord is striving with him, by His **Holy Spirit**, and that he will eventually embrace the new and everlasting covenant (HC, 2:397; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 161-162).

March 22, (27) 1836

Revelation received as a prayer and given for dedication of the Kirtland Temple March 29:

*And do thou grant, holy Father, that all those who shall worship in this house, may be taught words of wisdom out of the best books, and that they may seek learning, even by study, and also by faith, as thou hast said; And that they may grow up in Thee, and receive a fullness of the **Holy Ghost**, and be organized according to thy laws, and be prepared to obtain every needful thing and that this house may be a house of prayer, a house of fasting, a house of faith, a house of glory, and of God, even thy house . . . help us by the power of Thy **Spirit**, that we may mingle our voices with those bright, shining seraphs around Thy throne, with acclamations of praise, singing hosanna to God and the Lamb (D&C 109:14-16, 79; HC, 2:421,428).*

March 22, 1836

Journal entry of church meetings in preparation of the dedication of the Kirtland Temple:

I met the quorums in the evening and instructed them respecting the ordinance of washing of feet, which they were to attend to on Wednesday following; and gave them instructions in relation to the **Spirit** of prophecy, and called upon the congregation to speak, and not to fear to prophesy good concerning the Saints, for if you prophesy the falling of these hills and the rising of the valleys, the downfall of the enemies of Zion and the rising of the kingdom of God, it shall come to pass. Do not quench the **Spirit**, for the first one that opens his mouth shall receive the **Spirit** of prophecy (HC, 2:428).

March 29, 1836

Journal entry of meeting with Church leaders in the Temple:

After uniting in prayer, the voice of the **Spirit** was that we should come into this place three times, and also call the other presidents, the two Bishops and their counselors, each to stand in his place, and fast through the day and also the night, and that during this, if we would humble ourselves, we should receive further communications from Him . . . were then washed, after which we partook of the bread and wine. The **Holy Spirit** rested down upon us, and we continued in the Lord's House all night, prophesying and giving glory to God. . . .

preach Jesus Christ and Him crucified; not to contend with others on account of their faith, or systems of religion, but pursue a steady course. This I delivered by way of commandment; and all who observe it not, will pull down persecution upon their heads, while those who do, shall always be filled with the **Holy Ghost**; this I pronounced as a prophecy (HC, 2:429,430,431; in Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 181 the date is March 28, 1836).

March 31, 1836

Journal entry recording the second day of dedication of the Kirtland Temple:

The **Spirit of God** rested upon the congregation, and great solemnity prevailed (HC, 2:433; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 184).

August 6, 1836

Revelation received in Salem, Massachusetts:

*And the place where it is my will that you should tarry, for the main, shall be signalized unto you by the peace and power of my **Spirit**, that shall flow unto you (D&C 111:8; HC, 2:466).*

November 16, 1835

Letter to Harvey Whitlock:

Be not surprised when I declare unto you, as the **Spirit** will bear record that my faith is firm and unshaken in the things of the everlasting gospel as it is proclaimed by the servants of the latter-day saint[s] (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 5).

November 16, 1835

. . . I had previously told him that the Lord had said that he had better go to the Missouri, next Spring: however he wished a council, called, the council met President David Whitmer arose and said the **Spirit** manifested to him that it was his duty to go; also others bore the same testimony (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 89).

January 1837

Publication from the Messenger and Advocate on the Kirtland Safety Society:

It is wisdom and according to the mind of the **Holy Spirit**, that you should call at Kirtland, and receive counsel and instruction upon those principles that are necessary to further the great work of the Lord, and to establish the children of the kingdom, according to the oracles of God; as they are had among us: and further, we invite the brethren from abroad, to call on us, and take stock in our Safety Society (HC, 2:473).

April 6, 1837

Sermon given at Priesthood meeting in Kirtland Temple:

All are to preach the Gospel, by the power and influence of the **Holy Ghost**; and no man can preach the Gospel without the **Holy Ghost**. . . if a Priest understands his duty, his calling, and ministry, and preaches by the **Holy Ghost**, his enjoyment is as great as if he were one of the Presidency (HC, 2:477,478).

June 1, 1837,

Journal record of Heber C. Kimball's mission call to England, the first foreign mission:

. . . one of the Twelve, was set apart by the **Spirit** of prophecy and revelation, prayer and

laying on of hands, of the First Presidency, to preside over a mission (HC, 2:490).

July 7, 1837

Letter written with Journal style dates and happenings in Far West, Missouri:

Monday, the 3 of July, was a great and glorious day in Far West, more than fifteen hundred Saints assembled at this place, and at half-past eight in the morning, after prayer, singing, and an address, they proceeded to break the ground for the Lord's House. The day was beautiful; the **Spirit of the Lord** was with us. An excavation for this great edifice, one hundred and ten feet long by eighty feet broad was nearly finished (HC, 1:496).

July 23, 1837

Revelation received at Kirtland, Ohio to Thomas B. Marsh, concerning the Twelve Apostles:

*. . . the Twelve, duly recommended and authorized by you, shall have power to open the door of my kingdom unto any nation whithersoever ye shall send them--Inasmuch as they shall humble themselves before me, and abide in my word, and harken to the voice of my **Spirit** (D&C 112:22; HC, 2:501).*

March, 1838

Journal entry remembering a meeting on the 13 of March:

The **Spirit** bore record of the truth of his assertions for it rested down on the assembly in power, insomuch that all present were satisfied that it was the will of God that the quorum should go up in a company together to the land of Zion. . . . At the time appointed in the afternoon the quorum met according to adjournment. Several of the High Council and High Priests attended the meeting. The **Spirit of God** was manifested as before (HC, 3:89-90).

March (after the 20), 1838

Journal entry from Kirtland:

In these meetings for counsel and prayer God truly verified His promises; for when His servants asked they received, and His **Spirit** was poured out upon them abundantly, from time to time manifesting the will of the Lord (HC, 3:98).

May 10, 1838

Journal entry recapping Sidney Rigdon's Thursday address:

Although President Rigdon was suffering under a severe cold and great hoarseness, yet being assisted by the **Spirit of God**, he was enabled clearly to elucidate the policy of the Federal and Democratic parties from their rise in our country to the present time, to the understanding of all present, giving an impartial review to both sides of the question (HC, 3: 30).

July 20, 1838

Journal entry from the Kirtland Camp consisting of 529 men women and children:

The camp was accordingly called together and such instructions given them as the **Spirit of the Lord** dictated (HC, 3:111).

July 26, 1838

Journal entry from Kirtland Camp:

The camp was called together in the evening and a timely lecture was given by Elder

Pulsipher, on our situation, and all were exhorted to be united in heart and hand in order to join together. The **Spirit of the Lord** was manifested and we returned to our tents feeling thankful for the blessings of the Lord upon us (HC, 3:115).

July 29, 1838

Journal of Sabbath meeting with the administration of the Lord's Supper on the camp grounds:

Elder Duncan McArthur . . . bore testimony of the truth of the revelations of the Lord in these last days to the numerous spectators who were present, and in a brief way made known unto them some of those things that the Lord was doing in the earth; and others that would shortly come to pass among the inhabitants thereof. The **Spirit of God** attended his testimony and we had a joyful meeting (HC, 3:117).

August 3, 1838

Journal entry from Kirtland Camp, Friday:

The men and boys in camp were called together in the evening and instructed by the Council as the **Spirit of the Lord** manifested unto them concerning cleanliness and decency and the importance of being industrious in laboring with their hands to procure means to go on our way (HC, 3:121).

August 26, 1838

Journal entry of Sunday meetings:

As usual a public meeting was held in the forenoon and a sacrament meeting in the afternoon. The **Spirit of the Lord** was poured out on the assembly and some were convinced of the truth of what was declared unto them (HC, 3:131).

August 28, 1838

Journal entry of the Kirtland camp:

The **Spirit of God** rested down upon the camp with power, and after singing the hymn, The **Spirit of God** like a fire is burning, we concluded by a song, Hosanna to God and the Lamb, and retired with joyful hearts to our tents (HC, 3:132).

September 16, 1838

Journal entry of Sunday meetings:

We held a meeting in the afternoon and attended to communion. We had but few spectators in the camp during the day. A **Spirit** of union rarely manifested was felt at the meeting, and our souls rejoiced in the Holy One of Israel (HC, 3:140).

March 15, 1839

Letter written while in Liberty Jail, to Mrs. Norman Bull:

I think it would be better for Brother Bull to leave and go with the rest of the brethren, if he keep the faith, and at any rate, thus speaketh the **Spirit** concerning him (HC, 3:285).

March 15, 1839

Handwritten letter while in Liberty Jail, to Presendia Huntington Buell:

I think it would be better for brother Buel to leave and go with the rest of the Brethren if he keep the faith and at any rate for thus speaketh the **Spirit** concerning him I want him and you

to know that I am your true friend I was glad to see you no tongue can tell what inexpressible Joy it gives a man to see the face of one who has been a friend after having been inclosed in the walls of a prison for five months it seems to me that my heart will always be more tender after this (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 386 or 387)

March 21, 1839

Letter written while in Liberty Jail to The Church of Latter-day Saints at Quincy, Illinois, and Scattered Abroad, and to Bishop Partridge

. . . For there seems to be a whispering that the angels <of he<a>ven> who have been intrusted with the council of these matters for the last days . . . (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 400).

March 25, 1839

Letter written while in Liberty Jail, to the Church of Latter-day Saints at Quincy, Illinois, and Scattered Abroad, and to Bishop Partridge in Particular:

. . . and when the heart is sufficiently contrite, then the voice of inspiration steals along and whispers, [My son, peace be unto thy soul; thine adversity and thine afflictions shall be but a small moment; and then if thou endure it well, God shall exalt thee on high, etc.] . . . And now, brethren, after your tribulations, if you do these things, and exercise fervent prayer and faith in the sight of God always, [He shall give unto you knowledge by His **Holy Spirit**, yea by the unspeakable gift of the **Holy Ghost**, that has not been revealed since the world was until now; which our forefathers have waited with anxious expectation to be revealed in the last times . . . let thy bowels also be full of charity towards all men, and to the household of faith, and virtue garnish thy thoughts unceasingly, then shall thy confidence wax strong in the presence of God, and the doctrine of the Priesthood shall distill upon thy soul as the dews from heaven. The **Holy Ghost** shall be thy constant companion, and thy sceptre an unchanging sceptre of righteousness and truth, and thy dominion shall be an everlasting dominion, and without compulsory means it shall flow unto thee forever and ever] (HC, 3:295,296,298, 299,300; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 399-- dated March 20 1839).

April 9, 1839

Journal Entry, Liberty Jail:

Judge Morin arrived from Mill Port, and was favorable to our escape from the persecution we were enduring, and spent the evening with us in prison, and we had as pleasant a time as such circumstances would permit, for we were as happy as the happiest; the **Spirit** buoyed us above our trials, and we rejoiced in each other's society (HC, 3:310).

June 27, 1839

Sermon given at a conference of the Twelve Apostles (recorded by Willard Richards Pocket Companion):

FAITH comes by hearing the word of God, through the testimony of the servants of God; that testimony is always attended by the **Spirit** of prophecy and revelation. . . . it is not necessary for tongues to be taught to the Church particularly, for any man that has the **Holy Ghost**, can speak of the things of God in his own tongue as well as to speak in another; for faith comes not by signs, but by hearing the word of God. . . . ye were sealed with that **Holy Spirit** of promise Ephesians 1 chapter . . . How is this to be done? It is to be done by this

sealing power, and the other **Comforter** spoken of, which will be manifest by revelation (HC, 3:379).

There are two **Comforters** spoken of. One is the **Holy Ghost**, the same as given on the day of Pentecost, and that all Saints receive after faith, repentance, and baptism. This first **Comforter** or **Holy Ghost** has no other effect than pure intelligence. It is more powerful in expanding the mind, enlightening the understanding, and storing the intellect with present knowledge, of a man who is of the literal seed of Abraham, than one that is a Gentile, though it may not have half as much visible effect upon the body; for as the **Holy Ghost** falls upon one of the literal seed of Abraham, it is calm and serene; and his whole soul and body are only exercised by the pure **Spirit** of intelligence; while the effect of the **Holy Ghost** upon a Gentile, is to purge out the old blood, and make him actually of the seed of Abraham. That man that has none of the blood of Abraham (naturally) must have a new creation by the **Holy Ghost**. In such a case, there may be more of a powerful effect upon the body, and visible to the eye, than upon an Israelite, while the Israelite at first might be far before the Gentile in pure intelligence (HC, 3:380).

The other **Comforter** spoken of is a subject of great interest, and perhaps understood by few of this generation. After a person has faith in Christ, repents of his sins, and is baptized for the remission of his sins and receives the **Holy Ghost**, (by the laying on of hands), which is the first **Comforter**, then let him continue to humble himself before God, hungering and thirsting after righteousness, and living by every word of God, and the Lord will soon say unto him, Son, thou shalt be exalted. When the Lord has thoroughly proved him, and finds that the man is determined to serve Him at all hazards, then the man will find his calling and his election made sure, then it will be his privilege to receive the other **Comforter**, which the Lord hath promised the Saints, as is recorded in the testimony of St. John, in the 14 chapter, from the 12 to the 27 verses (HC, 3:380).

. . . . The **Spirit** of revelation is in connection with these blessings. A person may profit by noticing the first intimation of the **Spirit** of revelation; for instance, when you feel pure intelligence flowing into you, it may give you sudden strokes of ideas, so that by noticing it, you may find it fulfilled the same day or soon; (i.e.) those things that were presented unto your minds by the **Spirit of God**, will come to pass; and thus by learning the **Spirit of God** and understanding it, you may grow into the principle of revelation, until you become perfect in Christ Jesus (HC, 3:381; also Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, has a shorter text from Wilford Woodruff Diary without any record of the highlighted words).

June 27, 1839

Instructions to the Twelve given in Commerce (Nauvoo) as recorded by Willard Richards:

. . . exhorts us to make our Calling & Election shure. This is that sealing power spoken of by Paul in other places (See Eph I. 13.14. In whom ye also trusted, that after ye heard the word of truth; the gospel of your salvation, in whom also after that ye believed ye were sealed with that **Holy Spirit** of promise. Which is the earnest of our inheritance, until the redemption of the purchased possession unto the praise of his glory.) That we may be sealed up unto the day of redemption, this principle ought (in its proper place) to be taught, for God hath not revealed any thing to Joseph, but what he will make known unto the Twelve & even the least Saint may know all things as fast as he is able to-bear them. for the day must come when no man need say to his neighbor know ye the Lord for all shall know him (who Remain) from the least to the greatest, How is this to be done? It is to be done by this sealing

power & the other **Comforter** spoken of which will be manifest by Revelation. There is two **Comforters** spoken of is the **Holy Ghost** the same as given on the day of pentecost and that all Saints receive after faith. Repentance & Baptism. This first **Comforter** or **Holy Ghost** has no other effect than pure intelligence. It is more powerful in expanding the mind enlightening the understanding & storing (sic) the intellect with present knowledge of a man who is of the literal Seed of Abraham than one that is a gentile though it may not have half as much visible effect upon the body for as the **Holy Ghost** falls upon one of the Literal Seed of Abraham it is calm & serene & his whole soul & body are only exercised by the pure **Spirit** of Intelligence; while the effect of the **Holy Ghost** upon a Gentile is to purge out the old blood & make him actually of the seed of Abraham. That man that has none of the blood of Abraham (naturally) must have a new creation by the **Holy Ghost**, in such a case there may be more of a powerful effect upon the body & visible to the eye than upon an Israelite . . .

The other **Comforter** spoken of is a subject of great interest & perhaps understood by few of this generation, After a person hath faith in Christ, repents of his sins & is Baptized for the remission of his sins & received the **Holy Ghost** (by the laying on of hands) which is the first **Comforter** then let him continue to humble himself before God, hungering & thirsting after Righteousness. & living by every word of God & the Lord will soon say unto him Son thou shalt be exalted. 11 &c When the Lord has thoroughly proved him & finds that the man is determined to serve him at all hazard. then the man will find his calling & Election made sure 12 then it will be his privilege to receive the other **Comforter** which the Lord hath promised the saints as is recorded in the testimony of St John in the XIV ch from the 12 to the 27 verses Note the 16. 17. 18. 21. 23. verses. (16.vs) & I will pray the father & he shall give you another **Comforter**, that he may abide with you forever; (17) Even the **Spirit** of Truth; 13 whom the world cannot receive because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but ye know him; for he dwelleth with you & shall be in you. 14 (18) I will not leave you comfortless. I will come to you (21) He that hath my commandments & keepeth them, he it is that loveth me. & he that loveth me shall be loved of my father. & I will love him & will manifest myself to him (23) If a man Love me he will keep my words. & my Father will love him. & we will come unto him, & make our abode with him (Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 4, 5).

July 2, 1839

Sermon to the Twelve in Commerce, Illinois:

When the Twelve or any other witnesses stand before the congregations of the earth, and they preach in the power and demonstration of the **Spirit of God**, and the people are astonished and confounded at the doctrine, and say, That man has preached a powerful discourse, a great sermon, then let that man or those men take care that they do not ascribe the glory unto themselves, but be careful that they are humble, and ascribe the praise and glory to God and the Lamb; for it is by the power of the Holy Priesthood and the **Holy Ghost** that they have power thus to speak. What art thou, O man, but dust? And from whom receivest thou thy power and blessings, but from God? . . . Salvation cannot come without revelation; it is in vain for anyone to minister without it. . . . No man is a minister of Jesus Christ without being a Prophet. No man can be a minister of Jesus Christ except he has the testimony of Jesus; and this is the **Spirit** of prophecy . . . Being born again, comes by the **Spirit of God** through ordinances (HC, 3:384,385,389,392).

April 6, 1840

Minutes of the General Conference of the Church, including Joseph's direction:

the privilege of the Saints to occupy the lands in Iowa, or wherever the **Spirit** might lead them. That he did not wish to have any political influence, but wished the Saints to use their political franchise to the best of their knowledge (4:108).

April, 1840

Article in the *Times and Seasons* (a monthly paper/periodical at Nauvoo) recorded Joseph's supporting

Orson Hyde's credentials for his call as a missionary to Palestine:

And feeling it to be our duty to employ the most efficient means in our power to save the children of men from the abomination that maketh desolate, we have, by the counsel of the **Holy Spirit**, appointed Elder Orson Hyde, the bearer of these presents, a faithful and worthy minister of Jesus Christ, to be our Agent and Representative in foreign lands, to visit the cities of London, Amsterdam, Constantinople, and Jerusalem; and also other places that he may deem expedient.

May 14, 1840

Letter to Orson Hyde and John E. Page from Nauvoo, Hancock County, Illinois:

Those engaged in seeking the outcasts of Israel, and the dispersed of Judah, cannot fail to enjoy the **Spirit of the Lord** and have the choicest blessings of Heaven rest upon them in copious effusions (HC, 4:128).

October 5, 1840

Report of the Presidency:

In conclusion . . . and by and by we will have to exclaim, in the language of inspiration, The Lord has brought again Zion,—the Lord hath redeemed his people Israel (HC, 4:214; also published in the *Times and Seasons*, November 1839-October 1840, Vol. 1 No. 12 October, 1840, p.188).

October, 1840

Letter to the Twelve Apostles and traveling High Council and Elders of the Church of Jesus Christ of

Latter-day Saints in Great Britain:

Let the Saints remember that great things depend on their individual exertion, and that they are called to be co-workers with us and the **Holy Spirit** in accomplishing the great work of the last days . . . Another thing—there have been whisperings of the **Spirit** that there will be some agitations, excitements, and trouble in the land in which you are now laboring. . . . as far as I have been made acquainted with your movements, I am perfectly satisfied that they have been in wisdom; and I have no doubt, but that the **Spirit of the Lord** has directed you; and this proves to my mind that you have been humble, and your desires have been for the salvation of your fellow man, and not for your own aggrandizement, and selfish interests (HC, 4:227,228,230 - 231).

December 15, 1840

Letter to the Twelve Apostles:

. . . Another thing, there has been some whisperings of the **Spirit**; that there will be some agitation, some excitement, and some trouble in the land in which you are now laboring. I . . . I have been made acquainted with your movements, I have been perfectly satisfied that they have been in wisdom, and I have no doubt but the **Spirit of the Lord** has directed you and this proves to my mind that you have been humble, and your desires have been for the salvation of your fellow man, and not your own aggrandizement and selfish interest . . .

Let the saints remember that great things depend on their individual exertion, and that they are called to be co-workers with us and with the **Holy Spirit** in accomplishing the great works of the last days, and in consideration of the extent, the blessings, and the glories of the same let every selfish feeling be not only buried, but annihilated, and let love to God and man, predominate and reign triumphant in every mind. . . . The saints have the privilege of being baptised for those of their relatives who are dead, who they feel to believe would have embraced the gospel if they had been privileged with hearing it, and who have received the gospel in the **Spirit** through the instrumentality of those who may have been commissioned to preach to them while in prison (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 431, 485-486).

January 19, 1841

Revelation given to Joseph Smith at Nauvoo:

*Let it be written in the **Spirit** of meekness and by the power of the **Holy Ghost**, which shall be in you at the time of the writing of the same. For it shall be given you by the **Holy Ghost** to know my will concerning those kings and authorities . . . Let my servant William go and proclaim my everlasting Gospel with a loud voice, and with great joy, as he shall be moved upon by my **Spirit**, unto the inhabitants of . . . let him [William Law] be humble before me, and be without guile, and he shall receive of my **Spirit**, even the **Comforter**, which shall manifest unto him the truth of all things, and shall give him in the very hour what he shall say. . . . First, I give unto you Hyrum Smith, to be a Patriarch unto you, to hold the sealing blessings of my church, even the **Holy Spirit** of promise, whereby ye are sealed up unto the day of redemption, that ye may not fall, notwithstanding the hour of temptation that may come upon you. . . . let this house be built unto my name, that I may reveal mine ordinances therein unto my people; For I deign to reveal unto my church things which have been kept hid from before the foundation of the world . . . (D&C 124:4,5,40-41; HC, 3:275).*

January 26, 1841

Letter to Oliver Granger:

. . . I was very much gratified to hear of your success in redeeming the Lords House &c I hope Dear Brother that success will attend all your efforts for the prosperity of the cause, so dear to the saints and that you will be abundantly rewarded by that God whose has called us to be co-workers with him and his **Holy Spirit** in these last days (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 490).

March 23, 1841

Article written by Elder Richards, Mission To England and later published under Joseph's direction (?) in the *Times and Seasons* as, History of the British Mission:

About the first of June, 1837, Elder Heber C. Kimball was called by the **Spirit** of Revelation, and set apart by the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, then at Kirtland, Ohio, North America, to preside over a mission to England (HC, 4:313; Times

and Seasons, Mission To England, (November 1841-October 1842), Vol. 3 No. 19, p.879;).

December 26, 1841

Sunday evening Sermon on the purpose of the gift of tongues:

The public meeting of the Saints was at my house this evening, and after Patriarch Hyrum Smith and Elder Brigham Young had spoken on the principles of faith, and the gifts of the **Spirit**, I read the 13 chapter of First Corinthians, also a part of the 14 chapter, and remarked that the gift of tongues was necessary in the Church; but that if Satan could not speak in tongues, he could not tempt a Dutchman, or any other nation, but the English, for he can tempt the Englishman, for he has tempted me, and I am an Englishman; but the gift of tongues by the power of the **Holy Ghost** in the Church, is for the benefit of the servants of God to preach to unbelievers, as on the day of Pentecost (HC, 4:486).

February 1, 1842

Editorial from the *Millennial Star*, entitled: Emigration:

. . . in the midst of society where God is worshiped in the **Spirit** of truth and union, and where nearly all are agreed in religious principles. . . . (HC, 4:511).

March 1, 1842

Historical Sketch for John Wentworth:

On the 6 of April, 1830, the 'Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints,' was first organized in the town of Manchester, Ontario co., state of New York. Some few were called and ordained by the **Spirit** of revelation, and prophesy, and began to preach as the **Spirit** gave them utterance, and though weak, yet were they strengthened by the power of God, and many were brought to repentance, were immersed in the water, and were filled with the **Holy Ghost** by the laying on of hands. They saw visions and prophesied, devils were cast out and the sick healed by the laying on of hands (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 216).

April 28, 1842

Eliza R. Snow's minutes from the Female Relief Society:

President Smith arose and called the attention of the meeting to the 12 chapter 1 Corinthians- Now concerning **Spiritual** gifts, I would not have you ignorant. Said that the passage in the third verse, which reads, no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the **Holy Ghost**, should be translated no man can know that Jesus is the Lord, but by the **Holy Ghost** . . .

The **Spirit of the Lord** was poured out in a very powerful manner, never to be forgotten by those present on this interesting occasion (HC, 4:602-603,607).

May 2, 1842

Editorial in the Times and Seasons on the Temple:

. . . the dispensation of the fullness of times, when God will gather together all things that are in heaven, and all things that are upon the earth, even in one, when the Saints of God will be gathered in one from every nation, and kindred, and people, and tongue, when the Jews will be gathered together into one, the wicked will also be gathered together to be destroyed, as spoken of by the prophets; the **Spirit of God** will also dwell with His people, and be withdrawn from the rest of the nations, and all things whether in heaven or on earth will be in one, even in Christ. The heavenly Priesthood will unite with the earthly, to bring about those

great purposes; and whilst we are thus united in the one common cause, to roll forth the kingdom of God, the heavenly Priesthood are not idle spectators, the **Spirit of God** will be showered down from above, and it will dwell in our midst (HC, 4:610).

June 15, 1842

Journal entry Wednesday . . . Issued an editorial on the Gift of the **Holy Ghost** as follows:

But to come to the other members of the Church, and examine the gifts as spoken of by Paul, and we shall find that the world can in general know nothing about them, and that there is but one or two that could be immediately known, if they were all poured out immediately upon the imposition of hands. In I. Cor. 12., Paul says, There are diversities of gifts yet the same **Spirit**, and there are differences of administrations but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all. But the manifestations of the **Spirit** is given unto every man to profit withal. For to one is given, by the **Spirit**, the word of wisdom, to another, the word of knowledge by the same **Spirit**; to another faith, by the same **Spirit**; to another the gifts of healing, by the same **Spirit**; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another the discerning of **Spirit** s; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues. But all these worketh that one and the self same **Spirit**, dividing to each man severally as he will (HC, 5:29).

. . . So that according to the testimony of Scripture and the manifestations of the **Spirit** in ancient days, very little could be known about it by the surrounding multitude, except on some extraordinary occasion, as on the day of Pentecost . . . we had the testimony of the Scribes and Pharisees concerning the outpouring of the **Spirit** on the day of Pentecost, they would have told us that it was no gift, but that the people were drunken with new wine, and we shall finally have to come to the same conclusion that Paul did—No man knows the things of God but by the **Spirit of God**; for with the great revelations of Paul when he was caught up into the third heaven and saw things that were not lawful to utter, no man was apprised of it until he mentioned it himself fourteen years after; and when John had the curtains of heaven withdrawn, and by vision looked through the dark vista of future ages, and contemplated events that should transpire throughout every subsequent period of time, until the final winding up scene—while he gazed upon the glories of the eternal world, saw an innumerable company of angels and heard the voice of God—it was in the **Spirit**, on the Lord's day, unnoticed and unobserved by the world.

The manifestations of the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, the ministering of angels, or the development of the power, majesty or glory of God were very seldom manifested publicly, and that generally to the people of God . . . (HC, 5:30-31).

June 28, 1842

Journal entry of prayer at the closing of a council meeting:

. . . and that Brother Richards might be prospered according to the desire of his heart, in all things in relation to his household, and the Church, and that the **Spirit of God** might rest upon him continually, so that he may act according to the wisdom of heaven (HC, 5:46).

August 16, 1842

Personal Reflections

How good and glorious, it has seemed unto me, to find pure and holy friends, who are

faithful, just and true, and whose hearts fail not; and whose knees are confirmed and do not falter; while they wait upon the Lord, in administering to my necessities; [p.135] in the day when the wrath of mine enemies was poured out upon me. In the name of the Lord, I feel in my heart to bless them, and to say in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth that these are the ones that shall inherit eternal life. I say it by virtue of the Holy Priesthood, and by the ministering of Holy Angels, and by the gift and power of the **Holy Ghost**. How glorious were my feelings when I met that faithful and friendly band . . . (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 530).

August 29, 1842

Journal entry of surprise appearance and speech after three weeks in hiding:

We don't want or mean to fight with the sword of the flesh, but we will fight with the broad sword of the **Spirit**. Our enemies say our charter and writs of habeas corpus are worth nothing. We say they came from the highest authority in the state, and we will hold to them (HC, 5:138).

August 31, 1842

Minutes of Relief Society Meeting:

President Joseph Smith arose and said . . . The Female Relief Society have taken a most active part in my welfare against my enemies, in petitioning to the governor in my behalf. These measures were all necessary. Do you not see that I foresaw what was coming, beforehand, by the **Spirit** of prophecy? All these movements had an influence in my redemption from the hand of my enemies (HC, 5:140).

January 1, 1843

Journal entry of conversation with Judge Douglas and others during trial in Springfield, Illinois:

If any person should ask me if I were a prophet, I should not deny it, as that would give me the lie; for, according to John, the testimony of Jesus is the **Spirit** of prophecy; therefore if I profess to be a witness or teacher, and have not the **Spirit** of prophecy, which is the testimony of Jesus, I must be a false witness; but if I be a true teacher and witness, I must possess the **Spirit** of prophecy, and that constitutes a prophet; and any man who says he is a teacher or preacher of righteousness, and denies the **Spirit** of prophecy, is a liar, and the truth is not in him; and by this key false teachers and imposters may be detected (HC, 5:215).

January 2, 1842

Journal entry of an evening conversation with Mr. Sollars while at the trial in Springfield, Illinois:

. . . said Mr. Sollars, May I not repent and be baptized, and not pay any attention to dreams, visions, and other gifts of the **Spirit** ? I replied: Suppose I am traveling and am hungry and meet with a man and tell him I am hungry, and he tells me to go yonder, there is a house of entertainment, go and knock, and you must conform to all the rules of the house, or you cannot satisfy your hunger; knock, call for food, sit down and eat;—and I go and knock, and ask for food, and sit down to the table, but do not eat, shall I satisfy my hunger? No. I must eat. The gifts are the food; and the graces of the **Spirit** are the gifts of the **Spirit** (HC, 5:219).

January 22, 1843

Sunday Sermon delivered from the Temple on the Kingdom of God (as recorded by Wilford Woodruff):

. . . An angel of God also appeared unto Zacharias while in the Temple, and told him that he should have a son, whose name should be John, and he should be filled with the **Holy Ghost**. . . . Again he says. Except a man be born of water and of the **Spirit**, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God; and, heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away. If a man is born of water and of the **Spirit**, he can get into the kingdom of God. It is evident the kingdom of God was on the earth, and John prepared subjects for the kingdom, by preaching the Gospel to them and baptizing them, and he prepared the way before the Savior, or came as a forerunner, and prepared subjects for the preaching of Christ; and Christ preached through Jerusalem on the same ground where John had preached; and when the apostles were raised up, they worked in Jerusalem, and Jesus commanded them to tarry there until they were endowed with power from on high. Had they not work to do in Jerusalem? They did work, and prepared a people for the Pentecost. The kingdom of God was with them before the day of Pentecost, as well as afterwards; and it was also with John, and he preached the same Gospel and baptism that Jesus and the apostles preached after him. The endowment was to prepare the disciples for their missions unto the world (HC, 5:257, 258, 259).

February 2, 1843

Journal entry of scriptural correction:

The **Spirit** maketh intercession for us with groanings and cannot be uttered. It would be better thus:—The **Spirit** maketh intercession for us with striving which cannot be expressed (HC, 5:264).

March 14, 1843

Journal entry of answer to question:

Elder Jedediah M. Grant enquired of me the cause of my turning pale and losing strength last night while blessing children. I told him that I saw that Lucifer would exert his influence to destroy the children that I was blessing, and I strove with all the faith and **Spirit** that I had to seal upon them a blessing that would secure their lives upon the earth; and so much virtue went out of me into the children, that I became weak, from which I have not yet recovered; and I referred to the case of the woman touching the hem of the garment of Jesus. (Luke, 8 chapter). The virtue here referred to is the **Spirit** of life; and a man who exercises great faith In administering to the sick, blessing little children, or confirming, is liable to become weakened (HC, 5:303).

April 6, 1843

Minutes from General Conference

The coming of the Son of Man never will be—never can be till the judgments spoken of for this hour are poured out: which judgments are commenced. Paul says, Ye are the children of the light, and not of the darkness, that that day should overtake you as a thief in the night. It is not the design of the Almighty to come upon the earth and crush it and grind it to powder, but he will reveal it to His servants the prophets (HC, 5:336-337).

April 13, 1843

Journal entry of meeting held for newly arrived immigrants from England:

... I am your servant, and it is only through the **Holy Ghost** that I can do you good. God is able to do His own work (HC, 5:355).

April 16, 1843

Sunday Funeral Sermon on the Resurrection, recorded by Willard Richards and Wilford Woodruff:

We should cultivate sympathy for the afflicted among us. If there is a place on earth where men should cultivate the **Spirit** and pour in the oil and wine in the bosoms of the afflicted, it is in this place; and this **Spirit** is manifest here; and although a stranger and afflicted when he arrives, he finds a brother and a friend ready to administer to his necessities.

... God has revealed His Son from the heavens and the doctrine of the resurrection also; and we have a knowledge that those we bury here God will bring up again, clothed upon and quickened by the **Spirit** of the great God (HC, 5:360,362).

May 20, 1843

Article for the *Times and Seasons* on the definition of the word, *Mormon*:

Paul said, The world by wisdom know not God; so the world by speculation are destitute of revelation; and as God in His superior wisdom has always given His Saints, wherever he had any on the earth, the same **Spirit**, and that **Spirit**, as John says, is the true **Spirit** of prophecy, which is the testimony of Jesus (HC, 5:400).

May 22, 1843

Article for the *Times and Seasons* on the forming of Temperance Societies:

Dear Brother:—In answer to yours of May 4, concerning the Latter-day Saints' forming a temperance society, we would say, as Paul said—Be not unequally yoked with unbelievers, but contend for the faith once delivered to the Saints; and as Peter advises, so say we, Add to your knowledge, temperance. As Paul said he had to become all things to all men, that he might thereby save some, so must the elders of the last days do; and, being sent out to preach the Gospel and warn the world of the judgments to come, we are sure, when they teach as directed by the **Spirit**, according to the revelations of Jesus Christ, that they will preach the truth and prosper without complaint. Thus we have no new commandment to give, but admonish elders and members to live by every word that proceedeth forth from the mouth of God, lest they come short of the glory that is reserved for the faithful (HC, 5: 404).

June 30, 1843

Journal account of afternoon remarks given in Nauvoo in relation to Joseph's arrest at Dixon:

... The day before I was taken at Inlet Grove, I rode with my wife through Dixon to visit my friends, and I said to her, here is a good people. I felt this by the **Spirit of God**. The next day I was a prisoner in their midst, in the hands of Reynolds, of Missouri, and Wilson, of Carthage (HC, 5: 469).

July 2, 1843

Journal entry of the return of the *Maid of Iowa* Relief Expedition:

I then took off my hat and related to them how I was brought home to the midst of my friends, and how I regained my liberty. I feel, by the **Spirit of the Lord**, that if I had fallen

into your hands that you would either have brought me safe home, or that we should all have died in a heap together (HC, 5:481).

July 23, 1843

Sunday Sermon on the stand in Nauvoo on friendship:

But I do say that I bear the testimony of Jesus, which is the **Spirit** of prophecy (HC, 5:516).

August 13, 1843

Sermon given at Funeral of Judge Higbee:

Had I inspiration, revelation, and lungs to communicate what my soul has contemplated in times past, there is not a soul in this congregation but would go to their homes and shut their mouths in everlasting silence on religion till they had learned something (HC, 5:530).

October 9, 1843

Sermon at the Funeral of James Adams:

The **Spirit**s of the just are exalted to a greater and more glorious work; hence they are blessed in their departure to the world of **Spirit**s. Enveloped in flaming fire, they are not far from us, and know and understand our thoughts, feelings, and motions, and are often pained therewith. Flesh and blood cannot go there; but flesh and bones, quickened by the **Spirit of God**, can (HC, 6:52).

October 10, 1843

Journal entry:

My brother Hyrum was appointed, by the voice of the **Spirit**, one of the Temple Committee (HC, 6:53).

October 23, 1843

Journal entry:

This morning President Hyrum Smith entered upon the duties of his office, having previously been appointed by the voice of the **Spirit** to supply the place of the late Elias Higbee (HC, 6:61).

November 13, 1843

Letter written in Nauvoo, to James Arlington Bennett:

. . . and the still more bold measures of receiving direct revelation from God, through the **Comforter**, as promised, and by which means all holy men from ancient times till now have spoken and revealed the will of God to men, . . . one man empowered from Jehovah has more influence with the children of the kingdom than eight hundred millions led by the precepts of men. God exalts the humble and debases the haughty. . . . The **Spirit** of prophecy is the testimony of Jesus. . . .

Shall I, who have witnessed the visions of eternity, and beheld the glorious mansions of bliss, and the regions and the misery of the damned,—shall I turn to be a Judas? Shall I, who have heard the voice of God, and communed with angels, and spake as moved by the **Holy Ghost** for the renewal of the everlasting covenant, and for the gathering of Israel in the last days . . . shall I stoop from the sublime authority of Almighty God, to be handled as a

monkey's cat-paw, and pettify myself into a clown to act the farce of political demagoguery? No—verily no! (HC, 6:77,78).

February 2, 1844

Journal entry of a prophetic dream (recorded by Wilford Woodruff):

The storms were raging and the waters rough. I said to my friends that if they did not understand the signs of the times and the **Spirit** of prophecy, they would be apt to be lost (HC, 6: 194).

March 15, 1844

Journal entry of a blessing given to John Wilkie:

May the Lord grant his **Spirit** and peace to abide upon Brother Wilkie and his companion through the remainder of their days; may their hearts expand and become enlarged to receive the fullness of the blessings of the kingdom of heaven; may they have the light of eternal truth continually springing up in them like a well of living water; may they be shielded from the powers of Satan and the influence of designing men, and their faith increase from day to day until they shall have power to lay hold on the blessings of God and the gifts of the **Spirit** until they are satisfied (HC, 6:266).

April 5, 1844

Journal entry of General Conference Report starting with the President's message:

. . . The Great Jehovah has ever been with me, and the wisdom of God will direct me in the seventh hour. I feel in closer communion and better standing with God than ever I felt before in my life, and I am glad of this opportunity to appear in your midst. I thank God for the glorious day that He has given us (HC, 6:288).

April 7, 1844

Funeral sermon for King Follett during the annual Conference of the Church (recorded in Wilford

Woodruff Diary):

. . . I feel disposed to speak on the subject in general, and offer you my ideas, so far as I have ability, and so far as I shall be inspired by the **Holy Spirit** to dwell on this subject. I want your prayers and faith that I may have the instruction of Almighty God and the gift of the **Holy Ghost**, so that I may set forth things that are true and which can be easily comprehended by you, and that the testimony may carry conviction to your hearts and minds of the truth of what I shall say. . . . (HC, 6:302).

. . . I am authorized to say, by the authority of the **Holy Ghost**, that you have no occasion to fear; for he [Follett] is gone to the home of the just. Don't mourn, don't weep. I know it by the testimony of the **Holy Ghost** that is within me; and you may wait for your friends to come forth to meet you in the morn of the celestial world (HC, 6:315).

May 12, 1844

Sunday Sermon at the Stand in Nauvoo (recorded by Thomas Bullock):

God Almighty Himself dwells in eternal fire; flesh and blood cannot go there, for all corruption is devoured by the fire. Our God is a consuming fire. When our flesh is quickened by the **Spirit**, there will be no blood in this tabernacle. Some dwell in higher glory than

others. Those who have done wrong always have that wrong gnawing them. Immortality dwells in everlasting burnings. I will from time to time reveal to you the subjects that are revealed by the **Holy Ghost** to me. All the lies that are now hatched up against me are of the devil, and the influence of the devil and his servants will be used against the kingdom of God. . . . we can there hail our lovely infants with the same glory—the same loveliness in the celestial glory, where they all enjoy alike. They differ in stature, in size, the same glorious **Spirit** gives them the likeness of glory and bloom; the old man with his silvery hairs will glory in bloom and beauty. No man can describe it to you—no man can write it (HC, 6:366; Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 365-372).

May 23, 1844

Journal entry of visit from Indians:

. . . They complained that they had been robbed of their lands by the whites, and cruelly treated. told them I knew they had been wronged, but that we had bought this land and paid our money for it. I advised them not to sell any more land, but to cultivate peace with the different tribes and with all men, as the Great **Spirit** wanted them to be united and to live in peace. The Great **Spirit** has enabled me to find a book [showing them the Book of Mormon], which told me about your fathers, and Great **Spirit** told me, 'You must send to all the tribes that you can, and tell them to live in peace;' and when any of our people come to see you, I want you to treat them as we treat you. (HC, 6:402).

June 4, 1844

Letter written to Mr. Tewkesbury:

. . . in the sincerity of men of God, advise you to be rebaptized by Elder Nickerson, one of the servants of God, that you may again receive the sweet influences of the **Holy Ghost**, and enjoy the fellowship of the Saints (HC, 6:427; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 580).

June 18, 1844

Journal account of Joseph's Last Speech to the Nauvoo Legion:

It is thought by some that our enemies would be satisfied with my destruction; but I tell you that as soon as they have shed my blood they will thirst for the blood of every man in whose heart dwells a single spark of the **Spirit** of the fullness of the Gospel (HC, 6:498).

5. MIRACLES AND VISIONS THROUGH THE POWER OF THE SPIRIT

April, 1830

Journal account of the first Miracle of the Church:

. . . This was the first miracle which was done in the Church, or by any member of it; and it was done, not by man, nor by the power of man, but it was done by God, and by the power of godliness; therefore, let the honor and the praise, the dominion and the glory, be ascribed to the Father, Son, and **Holy Spirit**, for ever and ever . . . as the devil had departed from our friend, his countenance became natural, his distortions of body ceased, and almost immediately the **Spirit of the Lord** descended upon him, and the visions of eternity were opened to his view. . . . All this was witnessed by many, to their great astonishment and

satisfaction, when they saw the devil thus cast out, and the power of God, and His **Holy Spirit** thus made manifest (HC, 1:82-83).

June, 1830

Revelation to Joseph Smith, Jun. while translating the book of Genesis:

*Moses lifted up his eyes unto heaven, being filled with the **Holy Ghost**, which beareth record of the Father and the Son . . . Moses cast his eyes and beheld the earth, yea, even all of it; and there was not a particle of it which he did not behold, discerning it by the **Spirit of God**. And he beheld also the inhabitants thereof, and there was not a soul which he beheld not; and he discerned them by the **Spirit of God** (Pearl of GP, Moses 1:24,27-28; HC, 1:100).*

June 9, 1830

Journal account of the first Conference of the Church:

. . . Much exhortation and instruction was given, and the **Holy Ghost** was poured out upon us in a miraculous manner—many of our number prophesied, whilst others had the heavens opened to their view. . . and rehearsed the glorious things which they had seen and felt, whilst they were yet in the **Spirit**. . . glorious manifestations of the powers of the Priesthood, the gifts and blessings of the **Holy Ghost**, and the goodness and condescension of a merciful God unto such as obey the everlasting Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ (HC, 1:85).

December, 1830

Revelation of the Extracts of the Prophecy of Enoch:

*and Enoch beheld angels descending out of heaven, bearing testimony of the Father and Son; and the **Holy Ghost** fell on many, and they were caught up by the powers of heaven into Zion (Moses 7:27; JST Gen 7:33; HC, 1:135)*

1832

Hand written History:

<firstly> he receiving the testamony from on high secondly the min=istering of Angels thirdly the reception of the holy Priesthood by the ministring of Aangels to adminster the letter of the Gospel—<—the Law and commandments as they were given unto him—>and the ordinencs, forthly a confirmation and reception of the high Priesthood after the holy order of the son of the living God pow=er and ordinance from on high to preach the Gospel in the administration and demonstra=tion of the **Spirit**. . . while in <the> attitude of calling upon the Lord <in the 16 year of my age> a pillar of fire light above the brightness of the sun at noon day come down from above and rested upon me and I was filled with the **Spirit of God** and the <Lord> opened the heavens upon me and I saw the Lord. . . (Dean C. Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 4, 11-12).

February 16, 1832

Revelation known as the Vision of the Glories received while translating John 14:

*. . . We, Joseph Smith, Jun., and Sidney Rigdon, being in the **Spirit**. . . By the power of the **Spirit** our eyes were opened and our understandings were enlightened, so as to see and understand the things of God . . . this caused us to marvel, for it was given unto us of the **Spirit**. . . Having denied the **Holy Spirit** after having received it . . . by keeping the commandments they might be washed and cleansed from all their sins, and receive the **Holy***

***Spirit** by the laying on of the hands of him who is ordained . . . who overcome by faith, and are sealed by the **Holy Spirit** of promise . . . Lord commanded us to write while we were yet in the **Spirit**. . . . These are they who deny not the **Holy Spirit**. . . . receive not of his fulness in the eternal world, but of the **Holy Spirit** through the ministration of the terrestrial. . . . This is the end of the vision which we saw, which we were commanded to write while we were yet in the **Spirit** (D&C 76:11,12,18, 35, 52,53,80,83, 86,113); HC, 1:245-250,252.).*

Between summer and late November, 1832

History--partly written by Joseph and partly dictated by him to Frederick G. Williams:

. . . when I considered upon these things my heart exclaimed well hath the wise man Said the it is a fool that Saith in his heart there is no God my heart exclaimed all all these bear testimony and bespeak an omnipotent and omnipreasant power a being who makith Laws and decreeeth and bindeth all things in their bounds who filleth Eternity who was and is and will be from all Eternity to Eternity and when I considered all these things and that that being Seeketh such to worship him as worship him in **Spirit** and in truth therefore I cried unto the Lord for mercy for there was none else to whom I could go and to obtain mercy and the Lord heard my cry in the wilderness and while in the attitude of calling upon the Lord in the 16 year of my age a pillar of light above the brightness of the Sun at noon day come down from above and rested upon me and I was filld with the **Spirit of God** and the Lord opened the heavens upon me and I Saw the Lord and he Spake unto me Saying Joseph my Son thy Sins are forgiven thee (Milton V. Backman, Jr., *Joseph Smith's First Vision*, pp. 155-57; also Joseph Smith, *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2 vols. 1:7).

March 18, 1833

Journal account of school of the prophets meeting:

. . . with a promise that the pure in heart should see a heavenly vision; and after remaining a short time in secret prayer, the promise was verified; for many present had the eyes of their understanding opened by the **Spirit of God**, so as to behold many things (HC, 1: 334).

June 1, 1834

Journal entry of Zion's Camp: Finding of Zelph's bones:

. . . subsequently the visions of the past being opened to my understanding by the **Spirit** of the Almighty, I discovered that the person whose skeleton was before us (HC, 2:80).

February 14, 1835

Minutes of the meeting where the Twelve Apostles were called, their ordination and instruction:

President Smith then stated that the meeting had been called, because God had commanded it; and it was made known to him by vision and by the **Holy Spirit** (HC, 2:182).

January 21, 1836

Journal entry of meeting in the Kirtland Temple:

The visions of heaven were opened to them also. Some of them saw the face of the Savior, and others were ministered unto by holy angels, and the **Spirit** of prophecy and revelation was poured out in mighty power; and loud hosannas, and glory to God in the highest, saluted the heavens, for we all communed with the heavenly host. And I saw in my vision all of the Presidency in the celestial kingdom of God (HC 2:382; also Jessee, *Personal Writings of*

Smith, 147-148).

January 22, 1836

Journal entry of meeting in the Kirtland Temple for the anointing of the Apostles and Seventy:

We accordingly closed our interview and returned home at about two o'clock in the morning, and the **Spirit** and visions of God attended me through the night (HC, 2:382; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 148).

January 28, 1836

Journal entry continuing to record the outpourings of the **Spirit** :

After these quorums were dismissed, I retired to my home, filled with the **Spirit**, and my soul cried hosanna to God and the Lamb, through the silent watches of the night; and while my eyes were closed in sleep, the visions of the Lord were sweet unto me, and His glory was round about me. Praise the Lord (HC, 2:387; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 150-155?).

February 6, 1836

Journal entry regarding the meeting of councils:

. . . saw a vision of the Lord's host. And others were filled with the **Spirit**, and spake with tongues and prophesied. This was a time of rejoicing long to be remembered (HC, 2:392; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 157).

March 30, 1836

Journal entry of the deluge of **Spiritual** gifts referred to as, The Day:

. . . The Savior made His appearance to some, while angels ministered to others, and it was a Pentecost and an endowment indeed, long to be remembered, for the sound shall go forth from this place into all the world, and the occurrences of this day shall be handed down upon the pages of sacred history, to all generations; as the day of Pentecost, so shall this day be numbered and celebrated as a year of jubilee, and time of rejoicing to the Saints of the Most High God (HC, 2:432-3).

August 5, 1838

Journal entry on the journey of Kirtland camp:

. . . the **Spirit** had borne witness to him for some time that it was the will of the Lord that he should be ordained (HC, 3:123).

June 27, 1839

Sermon given at a conference of the Twelve Apostles (recorded by Willard Richards Pocket Companion):

(Quotes John 14:16-21 with reference to the **Comforter** and **Spirit** of Truth) Now what is this other **Comforter**? It is no more nor less that the Lord Jesus Christ Himself; and this is the sum and substance of the whole matter; that when any man obtains this last **Comforter**, he will have the personage of Jesus Christ to attend him, or appear unto him from time to time, and even He will manifest the Father unto him . . . The **Spirit** of revelation is in connection with these blessings (HC, 3:381; also Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, has a shorter text from Wilford Woodruff Diary without any record of the highlighted words).

March 1, 1842

Historical Sketch for John Wentworth:

On the 6 of April, 1830, the 'Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints,' was first organized . . . They saw visions and prophesied, devils were cast out and the sick healed by the laying on of hands (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 216).

6. FUTURE REVELATION THROUGH THE HOLY SPIRIT

September 21, 1823

Revelation from angel Moroni in Manchester, New York:

Behold, I will reveal unto you the Priesthood, by the hand of Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord (D&C 2:1; HC 1:12).

June, 1829

Revelation, given to David Whitmer, at Fayette, Seneca County, New York:

*. . . if you shall ask the Father in my name, in faith believing, you shall receive the **Holy Ghost**, which giveth utterance, that you may stand as a witness of the things of which you shall both hear and see, and also that you may declare repentance unto this generation. (D&C 14:8; HC, 1:50).*

August, 1830

Revelation received at Harmony, Pennsylvania:

*. . . with Moroni, whom I have sent unto you to reveal the Book of Mormon, containing the fulness of my everlasting gospel, to whom I have committed the keys of the record of the stick of Ephraim. . . take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of my **Spirit**, which I will pour out upon you, and my word which I reveal unto you (D&C 27:5,18; HC, 1:107).*

November 3, 1831

Revelation came when Preparing to publish the Revelations thus far received:

*. . . by the weak things of the earth the Lord shall thrash the nations by the power of his **Spirit** (D&C 133:59; HC, 1:229).*

June 1, 1833

Revelation received in Kirtland:

*. . . design to prepare mine apostles to prune my vineyard for the last time, that I may bring to pass my strange act, that I may pour out my **Spirit** upon all flesh (D&C 95:4; HC, 1:351).*

March 28, 1835

Revelation on the Priesthood:

*And Adam stood up in the midst of the congregation, and notwithstanding he was bowed down with age, being full of the **Holy Ghost**, predicted whatsoever should befall his posterity unto the latest generation . . . unless he is a literal descendant of Aaron he cannot hold the keys of that priesthood. Nevertheless, a High Priest, that is, after the order of Melchizedek, may be set apart unto the ministering of temporal things, having a knowledge of them by the*

Spirit of truth (D&C 107:56, 71; HC 2:210).

October 4, 1838

Journal entry reporting something someone else in the Kirland Camp said:

This is the place where Adam blessed his posterity, when they rose up and called him Michael, the Prince, the Arch-angel, and he being full of the **Holy Ghost** predicted what should befall his posterity to the latest generation (HC, 3:148).

February, 1839

Minutes of a Conference of the Church Held at Quincy, Illinois:

President William Marks observed that he was altogether in favor of making the purchase, providing that it was the will of the Lord that we should again gather together; but from the circumstances of being driven from the other places, he almost was led to the conclusion that it was not wisdom that we should do so, but hoped that the brethren would speak their minds; the Lord would undoubtedly manifest His will by His **Spirit** (HC, 3:260).

December 16, 1841

Sermon as published in the *Times and Seasons*:

He commenced his observations by remarking that the kindness of our Heavenly Father called for our heartfelt gratitude. He then observed that Satan was generally blamed for the evils which we did, but if he was the cause of all our wickedness, men could not be condemned. The devil could not compel mankind to do evil; all was voluntary. Those who resisted the **Spirit of God**, would be liable to be led into temptation, and then the association of heaven would be withdrawn from those who refused to be made partakers of such great glory. God would not exert any compulsory means, and the devil could not . . . (HC, 4:358).

December 22, 1841

Revelation received at the request of Elder Amos B. Fuller, of Zarahemla, who desired to know the will of God concerning him:

Verily thus saith the Lord unto my servants the Twelve, let them appoint unto my servant A. B. Fuller a mission to preach my Gospel unto the children of men, as it shall be manifested unto them by my **Holy Spirit**. Amen (HC, 4:483).

January 28, 1842

Revelation regarding the *Times and Seasons*:

Verily thus saith the Lord unto you, my servant Joseph, go and say unto the Twelve, that it is my will to have them take in hand the editorial department of the *Times and Seasons*, according to that manifestation which shall be given unto them by the power of my **Holy Spirit** in the midst of their counsel, saith the Lord. Amen (HC, 4:503)

7. SPIRIT IN CONJUNCTION WITH PRIESTHOOD ORDINATIONS (including Baptisms for the Dead)

April 6, 1830

Journal record of the proceedings of the day:

We now proceeded to call out and ordain some others of the brethren to different offices of the Priesthood, according as the **Spirit** manifested unto us: and after a happy time spent in witnessing and feeling for ourselves the powers and blessings of the **Holy Ghost** (HC, 1:79).

September 22, 23, 1832

Revelation on the Priesthood, given after the elders began returning from their missions:

*. . . John, whom God raised up, being filled with the **Holy Ghost** from his mother's womb. . . . Whoso is faithful unto the obtaining these two priesthoods of which I have spoken, and the magnifying their calling, are sanctified by the **Spirit** unto the renewing of their bodies . . . (D&C 84:27,33, HC, 1:287, 289).*

Between summer and late November, 1832

History--this section written by Joseph and partly:

*. . . forthly a confirmation and reception of the high Priesthood after the holy order of the son of the living God power and ordinance from on high to preach the Gospel in the administration and demonstration of the **Spirit** the Keys of the Kingdom of God conferred upon him and the continuation of the blessings of God to him. . . (Joseph Smith, *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2 vols. 1:7).*

March 26, 1833 {repeat from gift of HG}

Journal record of a Council of 21 High Priests:

*. . . claiming for themselves as much power by the authority of their Priesthood, and gift of the **Holy Ghost**, as those set apart and appointed to preside over the branches . . . (HC, 1:336).*

July 2, 1833

Published First Presidency Letter to the troubled branch of Eugene:

*. . . but you did not manifest that degree of humility to the brethren that was required, but remained obstinate; for that reason God withdrew His **Spirit** from you, and left you in darkness (HC, 1:370).*

July 23, 1833

History of treatment in Missouri:

*the mob again assembled, armed with weapons of war, and bearing a red flag; whereupon the Elders, led by the **Spirit of God** . . . entered into a treaty (HC, 1:394).*

July 1833

Letter to the Elders Stationed in Zion & Churches Abroad, in Love & Greeting published in the Evening and Morning Star:

*. . . that you may be enabled to deliver His message in the demonstration of His **Spirit**. . .*

ordained according to the gifts and callings of God unto them, by the power of the **Holy Ghost** which is in the one who ordains them (HC, 1:385, 388).

June 23, 1834

Journal account of the conclusion of Zion's Camp:

The following individuals were called and chosen, as they were made manifest unto me by the voice of the **Spirit** and revelation, to receive their endowments (HC, 2:112).

December 5, 1834

Handwritten Journal entry recording the ordination of Oliver Cowdery as assistant-president:

According to the direction of the **Holy Spirit** brethren Joseph Smith Jr. Sidney, Frederick G. Williams, and Oliver Cowdery, assembled to converse upon the welfare of the Church, when brother Oliver Cowdery was ordained an assistant President of the High and Holy Priesthood. . . . The voice of the **Spirit** is, that brother Sidney speak to the congregation this day, first, Brother Joseph next, bro. Oliver [next?] and if time bro Zebedee [Coltrin]. . . (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 38; HC, 2:176).

August 17, 1835

Article on marriage read at a General Assemble of the Church at Kirtland

Marriage should be celebrated with prayer and thanksgiving, and at the solemnization, the persons to be married, standing together, the man on the right and the woman on the left, shall be addressed by the person officiating as he shall be directed by the **Holy Spirit** (HC, 2:247).

March 20, 1836

Journal entry of Sunday meetings:

In the afternoon administered the Lord's Supper, as we are wont to do on every Sabbath, and the Lord blessed our souls with the outpouring of His **Spirit**, and we were made to rejoice in His goodness (HC, 2:408; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 170).

May 1, 1839

Journal entry from Quincy Illinois, reporting news from the British mission:

Elder Kimball said the **Spirit** signified to him that Russell was secretly trying to lead away the Church at Alston, England, and wished the Elders to see to it. The **Spirit** had manifested the same thing to Elder Richards. . . . Elder Richards being led by the **Spirit of God**, soon unfolded the sophistry and falsehood of this letter to the convincing of the Saints at Alston and Brampton (HC, 3:342, 344).

July 2, 1839

Sermon to the Twelve in Commerce, Illinois:

. . . Being born again, comes by the **Spirit of God** through ordinances. . . . Every **Spirit**, or vision, or singing, is not of God (HC, 3:392).

February, 1842

Book of Abraham:

Fig. 7. Represents God sitting upon his throne, revealing through the heavens the grand Key-

*words of the Priesthood; as, also, the sign of the **Holy Ghost** unto Abraham, in the form of a dove (Pearl of Great Price: Abraham Facsimile #2; HC 4:521).*

March 1, 1842

Historical Sketch for John Wentworth:

On the 6 of April, 1830, the 'Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints,' was first organized in the town of Manchester, Ontario co., state of New York. Some few were called and ordained by the **Spirit** of revelation, and prophesy, and began to preach as the **Spirit** gave them utterance, and though weak, yet were they strengthened by the power of God, and many were brought to repentance, were immersed in the water, and were filled with the **Holy Ghost** by the laying on of hands. They saw visions and prophesied, devils were cast out and the sick healed by the laying on of hands (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 216).

March 27, 1842

Sermon on baptism for the dead (After speaking to the Saints for some time . . . I baptized one hundred and seven individuals), notes from Elder Woodruff's journal:

Again; if we can, by the authority of the Priesthood of the Son of God, baptize a man in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the **Holy Ghost**, for the remission of sins, it is just as much our privilege to act as an agent, and be baptized for the remission of sins for and in behalf of our dead kindred, who have not heard the Gospel, or the fullness of it (HC, 4:569).

May 16, 1843

Journal entry of conversation with William Clayton on—Lives that are Hid with God in Christ—Importance of the Eternity of the Marriage Covenant:

. . . those who are married by the power and authority of the priesthood in this life, and continue without committing the sin against the **Holy Ghost**, will continue to increase and have children in the celestial glory (HC, 5:391).

May 17, 1843

Journal entry of meeting held in Fountain Green:

The more sure word of prophecy means a man's knowing that he is sealed up into eternal life by revelation and the **Spirit** of prophecy, through the power of the holy priesthood. It is impossible for a man to be saved in ignorance (HC, 5:392).

June 11, 1843

Sermon on the Purpose of the Gathering of Israel--points out Christian view of **Spirit** :

The main object was to build unto the Lord a house whereby He could reveal unto His people the ordinances of His house and the glories of His kingdom, and teach the people the way of salvation; for there are certain ordinances and principles that, when they are taught and practiced, must be done in a place or house built for that purpose. . . . So far God may reveal and I will believe (HC, 5:423-424).

July 12, 1843

Revelation on the marriage covenant, recorded here, though may have been received earlier:

Therefore prepare thy heart to receive and obey the instructions which I am about to give unto you; for all those who have this law revealed unto them must obey the same; for,

*behold, I reveal unto you a new and an everlasting covenant . . . All covenants, contracts, bonds, obligations, oaths, vows, performances, connections, associations, or expectations that are not made and entered into and sealed by the **Holy Spirit** of promise, of him who is anointed, both as well for time and for all eternity, and that too most holy, by revelation and commandment, through the medium of mine anointed, whom I have appointed on the earth to hold this power, (and I have appointed unto my servant Joseph to hold this power in the last days, and there is never but one on the earth at a time on whom this power and the keys of this Priesthood are conferred) . . . (D&C 132:3-4,7; HC, 5:601);*

*If a man marry a wife, and make a covenant with her for time and for all eternity, if that covenant is not by me or by my word, which is my law, and is not sealed by the **Holy Spirit** of promise, through him whom I have anointed and appointed unto this power, then it is not valid, neither of force, when they are out of the world, because they are not joined by me, saith the Lord, neither by my word . . . And again, verily I say unto you, If a man marry a wife by my word, which is my law, and by the new and everlasting covenant, and it is sealed unto them by the **Holy Spirit** of promise, by him who is anointed, unto whom I have appointed this power and the keys of this Priesthood, and it shall be said unto them, Ye shall come forth in the first resurrection (D&C 132:18,19; HC, 5:502).*

*. . . If a man marry a wife according to my word, and they are sealed by the **Holy Spirit** of promise, according to mine appointment, and he or she shall commit any sin or transgression . . . The blasphemy against the **Holy Ghost**, which shall not be forgiven in the world, nor out of the world (D&C 132:26,27; HC, 5:503).*

. . . I reveal it unto you, my servant Joseph, then shall you have power, by the power of my Holy Priesthood to take her and give her unto him that hath not committed adultery, but hath been faithful; for he shall be made ruler over many; for I have conferred upon you the keys and power of the Priesthood, wherein I restore all things, and make known unto you all things in due time. . . . I will reveal more unto you hereafter; therefore let this suffice for the present. Behold, I am Alpha and Omega. Amen (D&C 132:44,66; HC, 5:505, 507).

October 9, 1843

Sermon at the Funeral of James Adams:

What is the object of our coming into existence, then dying and falling away, to be here no more? It is but reasonable to suppose that God would reveal something in reference to the matter, and it is a subject we ought to study more than any other. We ought to study it day and night, for the world is ignorant in reference to their true condition and relation. If we have any claim on our Heavenly Father for anything, it is for knowledge on this important subject. Could we read and comprehend all that has been written from the days of Adam, on the relation of man to God and angels in a future state, we should know very little about it. Reading the experience of others, or the revelation given to *them*, can never give *us* a comprehensive view of our condition and true relation to God. Knowledge of these things can only be obtained by experience through the ordinances of God set forth for that purpose. Could you gaze into heaven five minutes, you would know more than you would by reading all that ever was written on the subject . . . (HC, 6:50).

8. NOT HEEDED THE SPIRIT

September, 1830

Revelation to David Whitmer, Peter Whitmer, Jun., and John Whitmer:

*... you have not given heed unto my **Spirit**, and to those who were set over you (D&C 30:2 ; HC, 1:116)*

September 22, 23, 1832

Revelation on the Priesthood, given after the elders began returning from their missions:

*... they who believe not on your words and are not baptized in water in my name, for the remission of their sins, that they may receive the **Holy Ghost**, shall be damned, and shall not come into my Father's kingdom where my Father and I am. . . (D&C 84:74; HC, 1:291-292).*

January 4, 1833

Dear Mr. Editor:

I have been carefully viewing the state of things as now appear throug[h]out our christian Land and have looked at it with feelings of the most painful anxiety while upon the one hand beholding the manifeste withdrawal of Gods **Holy Spirit**. . . Has not the pride highmindedness and unbelief of the Gentiles provoked the holy one of Israel to withdraw his **Holy Spirit** from them and send forth his Judgments . . . The Lord has declared to his servants some Eighteen months since that he was then withdrawing his **Spirit** (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 270; spelling corrected in HC, 1:312-313).

January 14, 1833

From a Conference in Kirtland of Twelve High Priests, to the Bishop, his Council and the Inhabitants of Zion:

*... have failed to bring to us that satisfactory confession and acknowledgment, which the **Spirit** of our Master requires. . . let him purge out all the old leaven, and do his business in the **Spirit of the Lord**, and then the Lord will bless him . . . we want to see a **Spirit** in Zion, by which the Lord will build it up; that is the plain, solemn, and pure **Spirit** of Christ (HC, 1:317-318).*

July 2, 1833

Published First Presidency Letter to the troubled branch of Eugene:

*... but you did not manifest that degree of humility to the brethren that was required, but remained obstinate; for that reason God withdrew His **Spirit** from you, and left you in darkness (HC, 1:370).*

February 19, 1834

Journal entry on the High Council assembled in the evening for the trial of Curtis Hodges:

*... if he had the **Spirit of the Lord** at the meetings, where he hollowed, he must have abused it, and grieved it away (HC, 2:34).*

March 2, 1835

Journal notes on Joseph's Sermon to the newly called Seventy:

Several who had recently been baptized, were confirmed, and the sacrament was administered to the Church. Previous to the administration, I spoke of the propriety of this

institution in the Church, and urged the importance of doing it with acceptance before the Lord, and asked, How long do you suppose a man may partake of this ordinance unworthily, and the Lord not withdraw His **Spirit** from him? How long will he thus trifle with sacred things (HC, 2:204).

August 31, 1835

Letter to Hezekiah Peck:

The Presiding of Kirtland and Zion say that the Lord has manifested by revelation of his **Spirit** : that the high priest[s], Teachers, Priests and deacons, or in other words all the officers in the land of Clay Co. Mo. belonging to the church are more or less in transgression, because they have not enjoyed the **Spirit of God** sufficiently to be able to comprehend their duties . . . (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 345).

September 19, 1835

Minutes of a High Council held in Kirtland, where Joseph spoke at the trial of Jared Carter: . . . not being sufficiently humble to deliver just the message that was required, and so he stumbled and could not get the **Spirit**, and the brethren were not edified (HC, 2:280).

December 22, 1837

Journal outlining persecution of Brigham Young:

. . . apostates who had threatened to destroy him because he would proclaim publicly and privately that he knew by the power of the **Holy Ghost** that I was a Prophet of the Most High God (HC, 2:529).

December 16, 1838

Letter written to the Church from Liberty Jail, Clay county, Missouri:

. . . denied the new and everlasting covenant by which he was sanctified, calling it an unholy thing, and doing despite to the **Spirit** of grace (HC, 3:232).

March 25, 1839

Letter written while in Liberty Jail, to the Church of Latter-day Saints at Quincy, Illinois, and Scattered Abroad, and to Bishop Partridge in Particular:

. . . We have a fervent desire that in your general conferences everything should be discussed with a great deal of care and propriety, lest you grieve the **Holy Spirit**, which shall be poured out at all times upon your heads, when you are exercised with those principles of righteousness that are agreeable to the mind of God . . . if there are any among you who aspire after their own aggrandizement, and seek their own opulence, while their brethren are groaning in poverty, and are under sore trials and temptations, they cannot be benefited by the intercession of the **Holy Spirit**, which maketh intercession for us day and night with groanings that cannot be uttered. . . . when we undertake to cover our sins, or to gratify our pride, our vain ambition, or to exercise control, or dominion, or compulsion, upon the souls of the children of men, in any degree of unrighteousness, behold, the heavens withdraw themselves; the **Spirit of the Lord** is grieved; and when it is withdrawn, *Amen to the Priesthood*, or the authority of that man. . . . No power or influence can or ought to be maintained by virtue of the Priesthood, only by persuasion, by long-suffering, by gentleness, and meekness, and by love unfeigned; by kindness, and pure knowledge, which shall greatly

enlarge the soul without hypocrisy, and without guile, reproving betimes with sharpness, when moved upon by the **Holy Ghost**, and then showing forth afterwards an increase of love toward him whom thou hast reproved . . . (HC, 3:296, 298, 299; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 399—dated March 20 1839).

July 2, 1839

Sermon to the Twelve in Commerce, Illinois:

. . . What art thou, O man, but dust? And from whom receivest thou thy power and blessings, but from God? . . . All other sins are not to be compared to sinning against the **Holy Ghost**, and proving a traitor to the brethren. (HC, 3:384,385).

April 15, 1842

Editorial from the *Times and Seasons*:

. . . our Savior says, that all manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven men wherewith they shall blaspheme; but the blasphemy against the **Holy Ghost** shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in the world to come . . . those who were disobedient in the days of Noah were visited by our Savior (who possessed the everlasting Melchisedek Priesthood) and had the Gospel preached to them, by Him in prison; and in order that they might fulfill all the requisitions of God, living friends were baptized for their dead friends, and thus fulfilled the requirement of God, which says, Except a man be born of water and of the **Spirit**, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God, they were baptized of course, not for themselves, but for their dead (HC, 4:596,598).

February 10, 1843

Journal entry of mayor's court for robbery:

. . . shall not be cut off the Church; for if they are the **Spirit** of the living God will depart from them, and they may be left to a worse **Spirit** of delusion and wickedness (HC, 5:269).

9. DISCERNING OF SPIRIT S

September 4, 1833

Handwritten Letter to Vienna Jacques:

Remember her in all thy prayers and also by letter for she oftentimes calleth on the Lord saying O Lord inspire thy servant Joseph to communicate by letter some word to thine unworthy handmaid . . . I have often felt a whispering since I received your letter . . . sister this seems to be the whisperings of a **Spirit** and Judge ye what **Spirit** it is (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 294; also subsequently printed in HC, 1:407).

April 18, 1834

Journal entry of trip from Kirtland to New Portage to attend a conference:

. . . continuing our journey, after dark, we were hailed by a man who desired to ride. We were checked by the **Spirit**, and refused. He professed to be sick, but in a few minutes was joined by two others, who followed us hard, cursing and swearing; but we were successful in escaping their hands (HC, 2:50; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 33 - 34).

August 1, 1834

Letter written by the High Council to those who had been driven from their land in Missouri:

We are sure if the Saints are very humble, very watchful, and very prayerful, that few will be deceived by those who have not authority to teach, or who have not the **Spirit** to teach according to the power of the **Holy Ghost** (HC, 2:138-9).

September 27, 1835

Journal entry regarding the afternoon trial of Lorenzo Lewis for adultery:

. . . his name to be taken off the Church records, or dispose of him according to the mind of the **Spirit**. . . being satisfied that the charge preferred is substantiated by evidence, and the **Spirit of the Lord**; but if he repent, and humble himself to the satisfaction of the Church, he should be received into it again and receive his license (HC, 2: 283,285).

November 10, 1835

Journal entry of discussion with Jewish imposter, Joshua/Matthias:

I told him that his doctrine was of the devil, that he was in reality in possession of a wicked and depraved **Spirit**, although he professed to be the **Spirit** of truth itself (HC, 2:307).

December 6, 1835

Journal account of Sunday communion service and interactions with Brother Draper:

Today he attempted to make a confession, but it was not satisfactory to me, and I was constrained by the **Spirit** to deliver him over to the . . . (HC, 2:326; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 98).

February 6, 1836

Journal entry regarding the meeting of councils:

I felt, by the **Spirit**, that something was wrong in the quorum of Elders in the west room . . . This caused the **Spirit of the Lord** to withdraw . . . (HC, 2:392; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 156).

June 11, 1837

Journal of council for missionaries to Great Britain:

. . . until such time as the work was fully established, and it should be clearly made manifest by the **Spirit** to do otherwise (HC, 2:492).

March 17, 1838

Journal entry recounting the meeting to leave the persecution in Kirtland:

Much of the **Spirit of God** was manifested on this occasion and the hearts of all made glad in anticipation of their deliverance from Kirtland. . . . [Hyrum] had done according to his own judgment without reference to the testimony of the **Spirit of God**; that he had recommended that course and had advised the High Council and High Priests to adopt that measure, acting solely by his own wisdom, for it had seemed to him that the whole body of the Church in Kirtland could be removed with less expense in the way he had proposed than in any other. He said further that the Saints had to act often times upon their own responsibility without any reference to the testimony of the **Spirit of God** in relation to temporal affairs. He then

declared that he knew by the **Spirit of God** that the movements that were making by the quorum of the Seventies for their removal and the plan of their journeying was according to the will of the Lord. . . . Elder Redfield spoke . . . and the **Spirit** testified to him that the movements were in righteousness and according to the will of God (HC, 3:94, 96-97).

July 2, 1839

Sermon to the Twelve in Commerce, Illinois:

. . . The devil may appear as an angel of light. Ask God to reveal it; if it be of the devil, he will flee from you: if of God, He will manifest Himself, or make it manifest. We may come to Jesus and ask Him; He will know all about it; if He comes to a little child, He will adapt himself to the language and capacity of a little child. Every **Spirit**, or vision, or singing, is not of God (HC, 3:392).

July, 1840

Letter to Oliver Granger:

If the Saints in Kirtland deem me unworthy of their prayers when they assemble together, and neglect to bear me up at the throne of heavenly grace, it is a strong and convincing proof to me that they have not the **Spirit of God**. If the revelations we have received are true, who is to lead the people? If the keys of the Kingdom have been committed to my hands, who shall open out the mysteries thereof? . . . stand forth in defense of righteousness and truth, and attend to every duty enjoined upon them; and who will have wisdom to direct them against any movement or influence calculated to bring confusion and discord into the camp of Israel, and to discern between the **Spirit** of truth and the **Spirit** of error (HC, 4:165-166; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 474, 475, 476).

April 1, 1842

Editorial in the Times and Seasons (with Joseph's introduction, Recent occurrences that have transpired amongst us render it an imperative duty devolving upon me to say something in relation to

the **Spirit** s by which men are actuated):

It is evident from the Apostles' writings, that many false **Spirit** s existed in their day, and had gone forth into the world, and that it needed intelligence which God alone could impart to detect false **Spirit** s, and to prove what **Spirit** s were of God. The world in general have been grossly ignorant in regard to this one thing, and why should they be otherwise—for no man knows the things of God, but by the **Spirit of God**. . . . The Shaker will whirl around on his heel, impelled by a supernatural agency or **Spirit**, and think that he is governed by the **Spirit of God**; and the Jumper will jump and enter into all kinds of extravagances. A Primitive Methodist will shout under the influence of that **Spirit**, until he will rend the heavens with his cries; while the Quakers (or Friends) moved as they think, by the **Spirit of God**, will sit still and say nothing. Is God the author of all this? If not of all of it, which does He recognize? Surely, such a heterogeneous mass of confusion never can enter into the kingdom of heaven. . . . We answer that no man can do this without the Priesthood, and having a knowledge of the laws by which **Spirit** s are governed; for as no man knows the things of God, but by the **Spirit of God** . . . for nothing is a greater injury to the children of men than to be under the influence of a false **Spirit** when they think they have the **Spirit of God** . . . if it requires the **Spirit of God** to know the things of God; and the **Spirit** of the devil can only

be unmasked through that medium, then it follows as a natural consequence that unless some person or persons have a communication, or revelation from God, unfolding to them the operation of the **Spirit**, they must eternally remain ignorant of these principles; for I contend that if one man cannot understand these things but by the **Spirit of God** . . . A man must have the discerning of **Spirit** s, as we before stated, to understand these things, and how is he to obtain this gift if there are no gifts of the **Spirit** ? And how can these gifts be obtained without revelation? Christ ascended into heaven, and gave gifts to men; and He gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers. And how were Apostles, Prophets, Pastors, Teachers and Evangelists chosen? By prophecy (revelation) and by laying on of hands:—by a divine communication, and a divinely appointed ordinance—through the medium of the Priesthood, organized according to the order of God, by divine appointment. . . . ([1 Corinthians 12](#)), To one is given the gift of tongues, to another the interpretation of tongues, to another the working of miracles, to another prophecy, to another the discerning of **Spirit** s. All these proceeded from the same **Spirit of God**, and were the gifts of God. The Ephesian church were enabled by this principle, to try those that said they were apostles, and were not, and found them liars ([Revelation 2:2](#).) . . . 3. Mr. Baxter received the **Spirit** on asking for it, without attending to the ordinances, and began to prophesy, whereas the scriptural way of attaining the gift of the **Holy Ghost** is by baptism, and by laying on of hands . . . many ridiculous things were entered into, calculated to bring disgrace upon the Church of God, to cause the **Spirit of God** to be withdrawn . . . there is nothing unnatural in the **Spirit of God** (HC, 3:571-581).

May 7, 1842

Journal entry of the parade and sham battle of the Nauvoo Legion:

And if General Bennett's true feelings toward me are not made manifest to the world in a very short time, then it may be possible that the gentle breathings of that **Spirit**, which whispered me on parade, that there was mischief concealed in that sham battle, were false; a short time will determine the point (HC, 5:4).

June 15, 1842

Journal entry Wednesday . . . Issued an editorial on the Gift of the **Holy Ghost** as follows:

Various and conflicting are the opinions of men in regard to the gift of the **Holy Ghost**. Some people have been in the habit of calling every supernatural manifestation the effects of the **Spirit of God**, whilst there are others that think there is no manifestation connected with it at all; and that it is nothing but a mere impulse of the mind, or an inward feeling, impression, or secret testimony or evidence, which men possess, and that there is no such a thing as an outward manifestation (HC, 5:26).

January 5, 1842

Journal entry of conversation with Judge Pope while at the trial in Springville, Illinois:

. . . the testimony of Jesus is the **Spirit** of prophecy; and gave the judge a brief but general view of my principles. Esquire Butterfield asked me to prophesy how many inhabitants would come to Nauvoo. I said, I will not tell how many inhabitants will come to Nauvoo; but when I went to Commerce, I told the people I would build up a city, and the old inhabitants replied We will be damned if you can. So I prophesied that I would build up a city, and the inhabitants prophesied that I could not; and we have now about 12,000 inhabitants. I will

prophesy that we will build up a great city; for we have the stakes and have only to fill up the interstices (HC, 5:232).

February 2, 1843

Journal entry of scriptural correction:

The **Spirit** maketh intercession for us with groanings and cannot be uttered. It would be better thus:—The **Spirit** maketh intercession for us with striving which cannot be expressed (HC, 5:264).

May 24, 1843

Article in rebuttal to a slanderous article in the Boston Bee on, A Character Sketch of the Prophet-

His Doctrine of Inspiration:

To be a minister of Jesus, a man must testify of Jesus; and to testify of Jesus, a man must have the **Spirit** of prophecy; for, according to John, the testimony of Jesus is the **Spirit** of prophecy. If a man professes to be a minister of Jesus and has not the **Spirit** of prophecy, he must be a false witness, for he is not in possession of that gift which qualifies him for that office; and the difference between him and the clergy of this generation is, he claims to be in possession of that **Spirit** of prophecy which qualifies him to testify of Jesus and the Gospel of salvation; and the clergy deny that **Spirit**, even the **Spirit** of prophecy, which alone could constitute them true witnesses or testators of the Lord Jesus, and yet claim to be true ministers of salvation. In this, said he, I am honest, and they are dishonest, and that is the difference between us. Were they true and honest witnesses of Jesus Christ, they would acknowledge they have the testimony of Him, and that is the **Spirit** of prophecy; and every man who possesses that **Spirit** is a prophet. . . . (HC, 5:407-408).

June 11, 1843

Sermon on the Purpose of the Gathering of Israel--points out Christian view of **Spirit** :

. . . I will now turn linguist. There are many things in the Bible which do not, as they now stand, accord with the revelations of the **Holy Ghost** to me. . . . A man of God should be endowed with wisdom, knowledge, and understanding, in order to teach and lead the people of God. The sectarian priests are blind, and they lead the blind, and they will all fall into the ditch together. They build with hay, wood, and stubble, on the old revelations, without the true priesthood or **Spirit** of revelation. (HC, 5:425,426);

. . . There is much said about God and the Godhead. The scriptures say there are Gods many and Lords many, but to us there is but one living and true God, and the heaven of heavens could not contain him; for he took the liberty to go into other heavens. The teachers of the day say that the Father is God, the Son is God, and the **Holy Ghost** is God, and they are all in one body and one God. Jesus prayed that those that the Father had given him out of the world might be made one in them, as they were one; [one in **Spirit**, in mind, in purpose]. If I were to testify that the Christian world were wrong on this point, my testimony would be true (HC, 5:426);

These things are revealed in the most holy place in a Temple prepared for that purpose. Many of the sects cry out, Oh, I have the testimony of Jesus; I have the **Spirit of God**; but away with Joe Smith; he says he is a prophet; but there are to be no prophets or revelators in the last days. Stop, sir: The Revelator says that the testimony of Jesus is the

Spirit of prophecy; so by your own mouth you are condemned (HC, 5:427).

10. HOW TO RECEIVE THE SPIRIT

February, 1831

Revelation to Joseph Smith, Jun., and Sidney Rigdon, given at Kirtland:

*... inasmuch as they are faithful, and exercise faith in me, I will pour out my **Spirit** upon them in the day that they assemble themselves together (D&C 44:2, HC, 1:157).*

August, 1831

Revelation received in Kirtland:

*... if any shall commit adultery in their hearts, they shall not have the **Spirit**. . . I, the Lord, am angry with the wicked; I am holding my **Spirit** from the inhabitants of the earth. . . he exalted himself in his heart, and received not counsel, but grieved the **Spirit** that which cometh from above is sacred, and must be spoken with care, and by constraint of the **Spirit**; and in this there is no condemnation, and ye receive the **Spirit** through prayer . . . as they are taught through prayer by the **Spirit** (D&C 63:16,32,55,64,65; HC, 1:208, 210, 211).*

September 11, 1831

Revelation received in Kirtland regarding the preparations to go to Zion:

*They sought evil in their hearts, and I, the Lord, withheld my **Spirit** (D&C 64:16; HC, 1:212).*

January, 1832,

Revelation at Amherst Conference:

*Calling on the name of the Lord for the **Comforter**, which shall teach them all things that are expedient for them . . . ask and they shall receive, knock and it shall be opened unto them, and be made known from on high, even by the **Comforter** . . . (D&C 75:10,27; HC, 1:246).*

February 16, 1832

Revelation known as the Vision of the Glories received while translating John chapter fourteen:

*... for they are only to be seen and understood by the power of the **Holy Spirit**, which God bestows on those who love him, and purify themselves before him . . . through the power and manifestation of the **Spirit** (D&C 76:118; HC, 1:252,).*

August, 1832

Letter to the Honorable Men of the World, published in the third edition of The Evening and Morning Star:

Search the Scriptures—search the revelations which we publish, and ask your Heavenly Father, in the name of His Son Jesus Christ, to manifest the truth unto you, and if you do it with an eye single to His glory, nothing doubting, He will answer you by the power of His **Holy Spirit**. You will then know for yourselves and not for another. . . but he can never see the celestial kingdom of God without being born of the water and the **Spirit**. . . unless he

becomes as a little child, and is taught by the **Spirit of God** (HC, 1:283).

January 4, 1833

Dear Mr. Editor:

I will proceed to tell you what the Lord requires of all people high and low, rich and poor, male and female, ministers & people professors of religion, and nonprofessors in order that they may enjoy the **Holy Spirit of God** to a fulness, and escape the Judgments of God, which are almost ready to burst upon the nations of the earth—Repent of all your sins and be baptized in water for the remission of them, in the name of the father, and of the son, and of the **Holy Ghost**, and receive the ordinance of the laying on of the hands of him who is ordained and sealed unto this power, that ye may receive the **Holy Spirit of God**, and this according to the holy scriptures (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 270-73; spelling corrected in HC, 1:312-16).

October 12, 1833

Revelation received at the home of Father Nickerson's, at Perrysburg, New York:

*. . . a commandment I give unto you, that ye shall declare whatsoever thing ye declare in my name, in solemnity of heart, in the **Spirit** of meekness, in all things. I give unto you this promise, that inasmuch as ye do this the **Holy Ghost** shall be shed forth in bearing record unto all things whatsoever ye shall say (D&C 100:7-8; HC, 1:420).*

March 30, 1836

Journal entry of the first day of dedication of the Kirtland Temple:

The bread and the wine were then brought in, and I observed that we had fasted all the day, and lest we faint, as the Savior did so shall we do on this occasion; we shall bless the bread, and give it to the Twelve, and they to the multitude. While waiting, I made the following remarks: that the time that we were required to tarry in Kirtland to be endowed, would be fulfilled in a few days, and then the Elders would go forth, and each must stand for himself, as it was not necessary for them to be sent out, two by two, as in former times, but to go in all meekness, in sobriety, and preach Jesus Christ and Him crucified; not to contend with others on account of their faith, or systems of religion, but pursue a steady course. This I delivered by way of commandment; and all who observe it not, will pull down persecution upon their heads, while those who do, shall always be filled with the **Holy Ghost**; this I pronounced as a prophecy, and sealed with hosanna and amen (HC, 2:431; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 182 - 183).

March 20, 1839

Revelation received in Liberty jail, Missouri:

*. . . when we undertake to cover our sins, or to gratify our pride, our vain ambition, or to exercise control or dominion or compulsion upon the souls of the children of men, in any degree of unrighteousness, behold, the heavens withdraw themselves; the **Spirit of the Lord** is grieved; and when it is withdrawn, Amen to the priesthood or the authority of that man. . . . (D&C 121:37).*

March 25, 1839

Letter written while in Liberty Jail, to the Church of Latter-day Saints at Quincy, Illinois, and

Scattered Abroad, and to Bishop Partridge in Particular:

. . . the **Holy Spirit**, which shall be poured out at all times upon your heads, when you are exercised with those principles of righteousness that are agreeable to the mind of God . . . if there are any among you who aspire after their own aggrandizement, and seek their own opulence, while their brethren are groaning in poverty, and are under sore trials and temptations, they cannot be benefited by the intercession of the **Holy Spirit**, which maketh intercession for us day and night with groanings that cannot be uttered. . . . when we undertake to cover our sins, or to gratify our pride, our vain ambition, or to exercise control, or dominion, or compulsion, upon the souls of the children of men, in any degree of unrighteousness, behold, the heavens withdraw themselves; the **Spirit of the Lord** is grieved; and when it is withdrawn, *Amen to the Priesthood*, or the authority of that man. . . . No power or influence can or ought to be maintained by virtue of the Priesthood, only by persuasion, by long-suffering, by gentleness, and meekness, and by love unfeigned; by kindness, and pure knowledge, which shall greatly enlarge the soul without hypocrisy, and without guile, reproving betimes with sharpness, when moved upon by the **Holy Ghost**, and then showing forth afterwards an increase of love toward him whom thou hast reproved . . . let thy bowels also be full of charity towards all men, and to the household of faith, and virtue garnish thy thoughts unceasingly, then shall thy confidence wax strong in the presence of God, and the doctrine of the Priesthood shall distill upon thy soul as the dews from heaven. The **Holy Ghost** shall be thy constant companion, and thy sceptre an unchanging sceptre of righteousness and truth, and thy dominion shall be an everlasting dominion, and without compulsory means it shall flow unto thee forever and ever] (HC, 3:296,298, 299,300; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 399—dated March 20 1839).

July 2, 1843

Journal entry of Interview with Pottawattamie Chiefs (as recorded by Wilford Woodruff):

The Indian orator arose . . . He then said—We as a people have long been distressed and oppressed. We have been driven from our lands many times. We have been wasted away by wars, until there are but few of us left. The white man has hated us and shed our blood, until it has appeared as though there would soon be no Indians left. We have talked with the Great **Spirit**, and the Great **Spirit** has talked with us. We have asked the Great **Spirit** to save us and let us live; and the Great **Spirit** has told us that he had raised up a great Prophet, chief, and friend, who would do us great good and tell us what to do; and the Great **Spirit** has told us that you are the man (pointing to the Prophet Joseph). We have now come a great way to see you, and hear your words, and to have you to tell us what to do. Our horses have become poor traveling, and we are hungry. We will now wait and hear your word.

The **Spirit of God** rested upon the Lamanites, especially the orator. Joseph was much affected and shed tears. He arose and said unto them: I have heard your words. They are true. The Great **Spirit** has told you the truth. I am your friend and brother, and I wish to do you good. Your fathers were once a great people. They worshiped the Great **Spirit**. The Great **Spirit** did them good. He was their friend; but they left the Great **Spirit**, and would not hear his words or keep them. The Great **Spirit** left them, and they began to kill one another, and they have been poor and afflicted until now.

The Great **Spirit** has given me a book, and told me that you will soon be blessed again. The Great **Spirit** will soon begin to talk with you and your children. This is the book which your fathers made. I wrote upon it (showing them the Book of Mormon). This tells

what you will have to do. I now want you to begin to pray to the Great **Spirit**. want you to make peace with one another, and do not kill any more Indians: it is not good. Do not kill white men; it is not good; but ask the Great **Spirit** for what you want, and it will not be long before the Great **Spirit** will bless you, and you will cultivate the earth and build good houses like white men. We will give you something to eat and to take home with you.

When the Prophet's words were interpreted to the chiefs, they all said it was good. The chief asked, How many moons would it be before the Great **Spirit** would bless them? He [Joseph] told them, Not a great many (HC, 5: 480-481).

11. REQUEST FOR THE HOLY SPIRIT

December 10, 1833

Hand written letter to Edward Partridge, William W. Phelps, John Whitmer, Algernon Sidney Gilbert,

John Corrill, Isaac Morley and All the Saints Whom It May Concern:

I cannot learn from any communication by the **Spirit** to me that Zion has forfeited her claim to a celestial crown . . . O my God! . . . give thy **Holy Spirit** unto my brethren: unto whom I write . . . (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 308,312).

December 10, 1833

Letter in published form to the Exiled Saints in Missouri (above):

I cannot learn from any communication by the **Spirit** to me, that Zion has forfeited her claim to a celestial crown . . . O my God! . . . Give Thy **Holy Spirit** unto my brethren, unto whom I write (HC, 1:453,458).

September (between the 19 and 23) 1835

Journal entry:

I labored in obtaining blessings, which were written by Oliver Cowdery. We were thronged with company, so that our labor in this thing was hindered; but we obtained many precious things, and our souls were blessed. O Lord, may Thy **Holy Spirit** be with Thy servants forever (HC2: 281).

September 22, 1835.

Diary (see above):

This day Joseph Smith, jr. labored with Oliver Cowdery, in obtaining and writing blessings. We were thronged a part of the time with company, so that our labor, in this thing, was hindered; but we obtained many precious things, and our souls were blessed. O Lord, may thy **Holy Spirit** be with thy servants forever. Amen (Jessee, *Personal Writings of Smith*, 58).

October 6, 7 and 8, 1839

Minutes of Conference at Commerce, Illinois:

President proceeded to give instruction to the Elders respecting preaching the Gospel, and pressed upon them the necessity of getting the **Spirit**, so that they might preach with the **Holy Ghost** sent down from heaven; to be careful in speaking on those subjects which are

not clearly pointed out in the word of God, which lead to speculation and strife (HC 4:13).

April 8, 1843

Minutes from General Conference Saturday morning sermon:

I have three requests to make of the congregation: The first is, that all who have faith will exercise it and pray the Lord to calm the wind; for as it blows now, I cannot speak long without seriously injuring my health; the next is that I may have your prayers that the Lord will strengthen my lungs, so that I may be able to make you all hear; and the third is, that you will pray for the **Holy Ghost** to rest upon me, so as to enable me to declare those things that are true (HC, 5: 339).

March 10, 1844

Sunday Sermon given in Nauvoo on Elias, Elijah, Messiah (recorded in Wilford Woodruff Diary):

There are some important things concerning the office of the Messiah in the organization of the world which I will speak of hereafter, May God Almighty bless you and pour out His **Spirit** upon you, is the prayer of your unworthy servant. Amen (HC, 6:254; for comparison of other texts see Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 327-336).

March 24, 1844

Sunday Sermon delivered from the stand near the Temple on the Conspiracies in Nauvoo (recorded by Wilford Woodruff):

. . . May the Lord give you more and more of His **Spirit**, light and intelligence, until you are cemented together in union and love. Amen (HC, 6:273).

Between February 1846 and spring of 1848

Posthumous accounts of Joseph's visitations from heaven. Wilford Woodruff's records a conversation with Brigham Young about a visitation he had from Joseph at Winter Quarters as well as one of his own visitation's from Joseph:

Brigham said, 'Joseph told him to tell the people to labor to obtain the **Spirit of God**. That they needed that to sustain them and to give them power to go through their work in the earth. Then Wilford Woodruff recorded he had many visitations from Joseph, and shared one of his own visitations after a storm on the sea in route to his last mission. The prophet laid before me to get the **Spirit of God**, that all of us needed it (Mark McConkie, *Remembering Joseph*, Salt Lake City, Deseret Book, 2003, 215).

12. SIN AGAINST THE HOLY GHOST

April 7, 1844

Funeral sermon for King Follett during the annual Conference of the Church (recorded in Wilford

Woodruff Diary):

I know the scriptures and understand them. I said, no man can commit the unpardonable sin after the dissolution of the body, nor in this life, until he receives the

Holy Ghost; but they must do it in this world. . . . All sins shall be forgiven, except the sin against the **Holy Ghost**; for Jesus will save all except the sons of perdition. What must a man do to commit the unpardonable sin? He must receive the **Holy Ghost**, have the heavens opened unto him, and know God, and then sin against him. After a man has sinned against the **Holy Ghost**, there is no repentance for him. . . . When a man begins to be an enemy to this work, he hunts me, he seeks to kill me . . . the same **Spirit** that sins against the **Holy Ghost**. . . . The best men bring forth the best works. The man who tells you words of life is the man who can save you. I warn you against all evil characters who sin against the **Holy Ghost** (HC, 6:314-315).

. . . I say that those who sin against the **Holy Ghost** cannot be forgiven in this world or in the world to come; they shall die the second death (HC, 6:317; for a comparison of texts see Ehat and Cook, *Words of Smith*, 340-361).

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