

that on occasion, Mormons resorted to extra-legal measures to punish or kill seducers. (See Kenneth L. Cannon's perceptive essay, "Mountain Common Law: The Extralegal Punishment of Seducers in Early Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 51 (Fall 1983): 308-27.) While hardly justifiable, the motivation for such deeds was rooted not in any conception of blood atonement but rather an acceptance of mountain justice.

Perhaps the most common conception of blood atonement holds that those who commit serious sin can obtain full remission only by shedding their blood. Theoretically, this would include (1) church members who would voluntarily have their blood shed and (2) apostates who naturally would be unwilling to have their blood shed. I have seen no hard evidence that anyone, be it remorseful sinner or bitter apostate, was "blood atoned" during the Reformation.

67. At the same time Young was publicly telling Saints that some were deserving death, he was privately instructing Mormon stake and ward leaders to show mercy to repentant Saints who had committed heinous sins. I have given examples of such instruction in section III. Interestingly, biographer Leonard J. Arrington concluded that Brigham was nonviolent, suggesting that his "verbal ferocity masked a tender, softhearted person who was ashamed to admit his compassion out of fear that people would think him weak and cowardly." See Arrington, *Brigham Young*, p. 407.

68. More and more, historians are learning "there was little bite accompanying Young's celebrated bark." See Ronald W. Walker and Ronald K. Esplin, "Brigham Himself: An Autobiographical Recollection," *Journal of Mormon History*, 4 (1977): 27-28; Ronald W. Walker, "Raining Pitchforks—Brigham Young as Preacher," *Sunstone*, 8 (May-June 1983): 5-9.

69. I am not attempting to justify Brigham Young's rhetorical devices. Obviously there were those who could not easily make a distinction between rhetoric and reality. As I have indicated earlier, Saints who lived in rural areas away from the stabilizing influence of Wilford Woodruff and other church leaders were especially prone to fanaticism. Certainly Juanita Brooks's contention that the Reformation aggravated existing tension in southern Utah and her implication that it was one of many factors that contributed to the war hysteria that resulted in the Mountain Meadows Massacre cannot be dismissed. See, Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950), p. 13.

70. *Deseret News*, October 1, 1856.

71. *Deseret News*, October 8, 1856.

72. *Deseret News*, October 8, 1856; PBMB, October 7, 1856. On November 1, a group of home missionaries held a special conference at Bountiful at which between two and three hundred were rebaptized. See *Deseret News*, November 19, 1856.

73. *Deseret News*, October 22, 29, 1856; November 12, 1856.

74. *Ibid.*

75. Michael Quinn, "The Practice of Rebaptism at Nauvoo," *BYU Studies*, (Winter 1978): 226-28.

76. Woodruff Journal, October 2, 1856.

77. *Ibid.*, October 5, 1856.

78. *Ibid.*, October 6, 1856; Manuscript History of Brigham Young, pp. 865-68. Woodruff recorded that some sixty-five were rebaptized and confirmed on this occasion.

79. Woodruff Journal, October 9, 1856; PBMB, October 8, 9, 1856.

80. Heber C. Kimball sermon, November 9, 1856, *JD* 4:80-82. The sacrament was completely withdrawn from all communicants about this time.

81. Brigham Young to Welcome Chapman, November 13, 1856, Letterbooks.

82. Salt Lake Stake High Priest Quorum Minutes, 1848-1860, October 6, 1856, Ms., Church Archives.

83. *Ibid.*, November 1, 1856.

84. Woodruff Journal, October 7, 1856.

85. PBMB, September 30, 1856.

86. Minutes of General Conference, October 7, 1856, Manuscript History of Brigham Young, p. 768.

87. Woodruff Journal, October 27, 1856.

88. John Powell Autobiography, November 3, 1856, Ms., Church Archives.

89. Woodruff Journal, November 3, 1856.

90. *Ibid.*, November 4, 1856.

91. Latter-day Saints were but one of many nineteenth-century denominations who used cate-