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Should the case come into Court I greatly fear the result, as the Church is bound to be exposed in some manner, and the result may be a confiscation of stock." Quite a chat on mine matters followed. Notice has been served on the Western Union Telegraph Co. for all dispatches which have passed between California people and us, and as there was much Church business connected therewith, no telling what trouble may ensue. John W. Taylor thought that if the trouble in the west had its origin with any person in this city the matter could be checked. Moses Thatcher felt that all business rivalries should cease among the brethren.

About 4:45 p.m. we took an adjournment till tomorrow at 11 a.m.

Thursday, January 29, 1891:

At 11 a.m. our meeting convened and we all attended without having broken our fast. In addition to those present yesterday A. H. Lund was here. Prayer by Joseph F. Smith.

Lorenzo Snow asked that the Apostles have the privilege of expressing their feelings towards each other and the Presidency. This opportunity was given.

F. M. Lyman said his feelings towards all of the brethren were of the very best. He loved them all and knew the power of God accompanied them.

J. H. Smith: “If the Brethren have anything against me they have never said so, and if I had anything against them I would have said so.”

H. J. Grant: “I have none but the best of feelings now for all the brethren, though a short time since I felt hard towards Pres. Cannon because I thought he was the cause of a number of humiliations which I received in the Quorum. I also was hurt deeply by remarks which Moses Thatcher made about me, but he has made ample apology for all these. I have felt at times that the brethren have misunderstood my business motives and intentions, but I can truly say that my greatest ambition has been and is to see Zion prosper and all her institutions flourish. Any success I have had either here or on my recent trip east was due alone to the blessings of God upon me.”

George Q. Cannon said the remarks of Bro. Grant were a great revelation to him. He had not been conscious of injuring him in any way, and as for failing to confide fully in his brethren if he failed to tell them many things it was because he thought it Pres. Woodruff’s place to say what he felt led to do to the brethren. “Why,” he asked, “should I be blamed for keeping secrets, when Pres. Woodruff knows them and could tell if he desired.” He said he had perfect confidence in the brethren.

Moses Thatcher explained away the differences which had existed between him and others. Now he was in full accord with all the brethren.²

F. D. Richards, John W. Taylor, A. H. Lund and myself expressed our perfect harmony with all the Quorum and First Presidency.

Pres. L. Snow: It has been the rule of the past with me to honor and reverence the Priesthood. I may and do see things in the leaders which are not in exact harmony with my views, but that does not affect my faith in the least. I may criticize the actions of our leaders, but never do I question their authority. I saw Joseph the Prophet do, and heard him say, things which I never expected to see and hear in a Prophet of God, yet I was always able to throw the mantle of charity over improper things. I feel like David of old who would not raise his hand against the anointed of God even though Saul had sought to take his life. We have got to submit to things that do not agree with

² These occasions of full accord seemed to last but a short time. As the months and years passed, Elder Thatcher’s position became increasingly tenuous, until by early 1896 the Brethren concluded to drop him from the Quorum. He suffered politically from the First Presidency; his stomach ulcers caused him acute pain whenever he ate until he became addicted to the morphiae he took for the pain; and he largely quit attending his quorum council meetings, basically becoming inactive in the Apostleship. Upon losing his position, he used the newspapers to justify his conduct. This became known as the “Thatcher Episode,” and these events were written up by Charles W. Penrose and published under that title by the Church. See The Thatcher Episode: A Concise Statement of the Facts of the Case (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1896). After being dropped from the Quorum of the Twelve, Elder Thatcher came very close to excommunication by his stake’s high council. See Kenneth W. Godfrey, “Moses Thatcher in the Dock: His Trials, the Aftermath, and His Last Days,” Journal of Mormon History 24 (spring 1998): 55-88.
our ideas if we remain true to God, and Bro. Grant will yet live to see the day when his name will be honored among men, and again when he will be cursed to his face because of failures which will follow his enterprises. Thus will the Lord teach him and all of us to rely on Him.

Joseph F. Smith: "I have sometimes felt that Presidents Woodruff and Snow have not shown me that confidence and love which I was entitled to receive, but I often felt that I was to blame, and hence I determined to try and be worthy of their esteem. I feel that there is not the humility and contrition shown by the apostles which once characterized them, nor is proper reverence for the Priesthood and sacred things always shown. Personally I have no complaints to make, for no matter what course a man takes or however much he may injure me, if he will keep the faith and be true to the brethren I can forgive him. I love and honor men who are true to God and I look upon Franklin D. Richards and George Q. Cannon with love and admiration because they were faithful when the devil seemed determined to kick them out of the Church; when their brethren turned upon them and sought occasion against them they were true to God and their religion."

"I believe that John D. Lee who in his fanaticism committed murder will receive a far greater glory than some of those who executed him, because he paid the penalty of his crime, and was true to God and his brethren." Pres. Smith closed with the motion that "we seek to live so humbly before the Lord that we may get the Spirit, so that we may place His will uppermost and make everything subservient thereto, and that His kingdom may be first and foremost with us. We also agree to bury all ill feelings and past differences and henceforth be united in all things and forgiving to each other. If we will do this all our troubles will sink into insignificance and we will accomplish all we desire." This motion was unanimously carried.

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Presidents Woodruff and Snow expressed their love for and confidence in Pres. Smith.

We now partook of the Sacrament after the bread and wine had been blessed by Lorenzo Snow. Bro. George Reynolds, our secretary, took part with us in this blessing.

Sunday, March 15, 1891:

At 2 p.m. I attended the Tabernacle services. Heber J. Grant was the first speaker. He occupied about a half an hour in speaking about union and the causes thereof among the Saints. Father then spoke for 40 minutes in relation to our duty in sending abroad the printed word and in warning those whom we meet of the restoration of the gospel and the judgments which are to follow its proclamation.

Monday, March 30, 1891:

I then went with Father and all my brothers down to Willard, over to Savage's photograph gallery where we had our picture taken in a group. Father, John Q., Frank and myself also had ours taken together. I had mine taken alone at the request of the photographer as he desired to keep it on sale....

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Wednesday, April 1, 1891:

I posted the office cash book in the morning, and then wa running around considerable to try and arrange a loan for Father to pay his Cannon & Sons stock debt. At noon I assisted F. D. Richard set apart four young ladies to act as midwives. They have studied and graduated under Dr. Ellis R. Shipp.

At 2 p.m. I attended the meeting of the Twelve in the prayer room of the Gardo House. Present: Lorenzo Snow, F. D. Richards, F. M. Lyman, J. H. Smith, H. J. Grant (he came in a little late) J. N. Taylor, M. W. Merrill, A. H. Lund and myself. Moses Thatch could not be present today.

Opened by singing three verses of "Oh my Father," prayer by W. Merrill. Pres. Snow felt glad to meet again in this capacity.

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3 John D. Lee was a central figure in the Mountain Meadows Massacre, which is considered one of the most tragic incidents in Mormon history. He was later executed by the state for his part in the slaying of troublesome California-bound immigrants passing through Southern Utah. See also AHC journals, 11 and 13 June 1895.

4 Charles R. Savage was perhaps the most famous photographer of early Mormonism.
An Apostle's Record

The Journals of Abraham H. Cannon

Edited by Dennis B. Horne

Abraham Hoagland Cannon, 30 March 1891
The Juvenile Instructor.

GEORGE Q. CANNON, - - - EDITOR.

SALT LAKE CITY, DECEMBER 1, 1885.

EDITORIAL THOUGHTS.

ROBALLY no event that has happened since the death of President Brigham Young has produced so profound a sensation among the Latter-day Saints as the excommunication from the Church of Elder Albert Carrington. A man of high authority, venerable in years and long and intimately associated with the leaders of Zion, the news of his fall shocks every one who entertains respect for the Priesthood or who offers prayers for those who bear it. Had it been the announcement of his death, the news would have produced sorrow for his loss, but it would have been heavenly joy compared with the feeling caused by the publication of his severance from the Church.

There are many events which may happen to men that are far worse than death. We mourn for the dead; but if they died faithfully to the truth, there is mingled with our grief a sweet satisfaction, a heavenly consolation, that the separation is but for a little while. But what ray of hope can penetrate the sombre gloom of the abyss into which one falls, when cut off from the Church, who occupied so exalted a station as did Albert Carrington!

Perhaps it is not too much to say that no man in the Church has had better advantages in many respects for the time he has been a member than has Albert Carrington. He was a college graduate, and he joined the Church at a time when men possessing such advantages were not so common as now. He came here with the Pioneers, and his education enabled him to take a prominent part in public affairs. President Young showed him great confidence, and their association was long and intimate. He cannot, therefore, plead ignorance as an excuse for his wrong-doing. The acts for which he has been dealt with were the deliberate violations on his part of principles and laws which he has heard taught by the lips of inspiration ever since he gathered with the Saints, and in direct conflict with every example which he has seen on the part of the leaders of Israel.

We do not think it necessary to dwell at any length in this article upon his case; but there are a few thoughts which it suggests. The Church has been taught from the beginning that no amount of talent, no number of gifts, no eminence in the Priesthood were sufficient to save a man, or to keep him in the Church, without personal purity. The case of Oliver Cowdery illustrated in the most striking manner this great and important truth. Chosen to be one of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon, he beheld an holy angel, who turned over the metal leaves of the record in his presence, and bore testimony in his bearing to their truthfulness. After this, in company with the Prophet Joseph, he was visited by John the Baptist and ordained under his hands to the Aaronic Priesthood; and, subsequently, was ordained, with the Prophet Joseph, under the hands of Peter, James and John to the Apostleship. Again, in company with the prophet he beheld the Lord Jesus, and directly afterwards beheld the prophets Elias, Moses and Elijah.

It might be thought that after receiving the ministration of heavenly messengers and beholding the face of the Redeemer, there would be no danger of his falling; but, alas! he transgressed the law of God; he committed adultery; the Spirit of God withdrew from him, and he, the second elder in the Church, was excommunicated from the Church.

After such an example who could expect any transgressor of the laws of God to stand? Can any one imagine a stronger illustration of the damming effects of impurity than this case of Oliver Cowdery's furnishes? Ought it not to be a warning to all? But from his day down to the present there have been innumerable instances of the same character. Eloquent men, strong men, prominent men—men who have been the means of bringing many souls into the Church of God, and who seemed so entrenched in good works that they would be sure to endure to the end, have, through unchastity, disastrously and ignominiously fallen and lost their standing in the Church. They transgressed the laws of God, and like a flinty plant smitten by a blighting frost, they withered and died.

Men may conceal their wrong-doing; it may be so covered up that no human being, except those who are guilty, knows anything about it; but God knows it all. His all-piercing eye penetrates the hidden recesses of every heart, and His Holy Spirit shrinks from the touch or the thought of defilement. Sooner or later the sins of the transgressor will be brought to light. But suppose he should die in his sins and as a nominal member of the Church of Christ, will that help his case? Can sinners escape the just punishment of an offended God? He who thinks so deceives himself. For it is an eternal truth, that for every sin which man commits, and of which he does not repent and obtain forgiveness, he will be brought to judgment.

Readers of the Juvenile Instructor, profit by the lessons these cases furnish you. Never allow yourselves to be deluded into thinking that you can be Latter-day Saints and sinners at the same time. God's Spirit will not dwell in unholy tabernacles. If, therefore, you would stand in the Church of Christ, you must be pure in thought, word and deed. Those who are impure are like salt that has lost its savour.

President G. Q. Cannon.

Rockville, Oct. 17, 1885.

Dear Brother,—Will you be kind enough to give your views to the public, either through the Juvenile Instructor or some other way, on the policy of pleading guilty to the charge of unlawful cohabitation, now almost universally adopted by our brethren who are indicted. It seems to me that to plead guilty takes off the blame from the Grand Jury, who finds the indictment and from the Judge who passes sentence (except in the exercise of his discretionary power), for when a man says he is guilty the trial jury can only indict and the Judge pronounce sentence, unless they violate their oaths.

Now as it is not right for our brethren to be incarcerated for obeying the commandments of God, there must be blame somewhere; on whom does it fall?

Then, again, if the reason of the plea of guilty is, that our brethren are anxious to save their wives from insult in the Courts, although very considerate and tender of them, does it not deprive their wives of the opportunity of proving to heaven and earth their integrity and faithfulness to the principle they have acted upon? If a man has passed through life faithfully and has stood every test, will it not greatly enhance his pleasure and satisfaction
conventionalities as to make an apology necessary for a good rump with the children in the nursery, which is what our artist has represented in such a spirited manner. Young and old can understand everything about it; it would be difficult to tell which would be most delighted, the children or the father.

"Happy is the man who hath his quiver full of them," says the Psalmist, alluding to the blessing of children. This is the ruling sentiment with us as a people: to raise up families in the fear of the Lord; that is, to teach our children the principles of eternal truth, that they may have faith in God, so that when that time comes that they shall become parents, they may train their children "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."

Can any one doubt that the father in the picture is beloved by his children? No; the very manner of the little ones is proof of their love. Such a rump with the children may not accord with some people's ideas of dignity, but it is better to rule by love than fear. It is better for a man to win a hearty welcome from his children at the expense of dignity, than to have them tremble with dread at the sound of his footsteps.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

(Continued from page 290).

A NUMBER of persons had worked in the pines of Wisconsin Territory, under the direction of Lyman Wight and George Miller, in cutting timber and sawing lumber for the temple at Nauvoo, and were, therefore, called the Pine Company.

This company, Lyman Wight and George Miller had the privilege granted to them of taking away; and these were the only ones of the Saints who had liberty from President Young and the Twelve to leave the city.

President Young told them publicly from the stand that if they (Lyman Wight and George Miller) took a course contrary to the counsel of the Twelve, and would not act in concert with them, they would be damned and go to destruction.

At the same time he said that if men would not stop striving to be great and exalted, and would persist in leading away parties from the place of gathering, thereby weakening his and his brethren's hands, they would fall and not rise again.

These predictions were fulfilled to the very letter. Lyman Wight did not act in concert with the Twelve; he led the people into difficulty and apostasy; he lost his apostleship, and another took his place.

George Miller afterwards took the same course, and with the same results. He lost his office and standing in the Church, and, like Lyman Wight, died in apostasy.

President Young and the other Apostles knew that the Church would have to leave Nauvoo, and go into the wilderness. The Prophet Joseph had predicted this, and he had talked and counselled freely with them before his death respecting the Rocky Mountains, and the Saints finding a home and an abiding place in their valleys, where they could dwell in peace, far removed from mobs.

It was well known by many that the Saints would move there, probably at no distant day; and some appeared to think that they could go into the wilderness at once. In this they made a great mistake. It would have been better for them if they had remained in ignorance, for awhile at least, of the design of the Lord respecting His people; for then they might have been content to have dwelt with the Saints, and helped to complete the temple, and finish up the work which had to be done at Nauvoo.

These people, who were desirous to go into the wilderness, seemed to think that, because it had been revealed that the Saints would go there at some time, they were justified in going there then.

But in the work of God there is a right time at which to perform works of this kind, and if they are not performed, then they are wrong. Men should wait the time of the Lord.

For instance, the Lord revealed to the Prophet Joseph in an early day, some points connected with the doctrine of celestial marriage. He was told that it was to obey God's will that His ancient servants had taken more wives than one; and he probably learned, also, that His servants in these days would be commanded to carry out this principle.

The Prophet Joseph, however, took no license from this. He was content to await the pleasure and command of the Lord, knowing that it was as sinful to enter upon the practice of a principle like this before being commanded to do so, as it would be to disobey it when required to carry it into effect.

Not so with Oliver Cowdery. He was eager to have another wife. Contrary to the remonstrances of Joseph, and in utter disregard of his warnings, he took a young woman and lived with her as a wife, in addition to his legal wife.

Had Oliver Cowdery waited until the Lord commanded His people to obey this principle, he could have taken this young woman, had her sealed to him as his wife, and lived with her without condemnation. But taking her as he did was a grievous sin, and was doubtless the cause of his losing the Spirit of the Lord, and of being cut off from the Church.

The Lord will be honored by His people, and if they desire his blessings, they must not run before they are sent.

Thus it was in regard to these people who were eager to go into the wilderness; when the Lord wanted them to go He would reveal it to His servant Brigham, and he could give the necessary counsel; until then, they had no right to move a step.

The Pine Company, as it was called, had the privilege of going with Lyman Wight; but not another soul. He wanted to go south; but at a council of the Twelve Apostles, held on August 24th, he was counseled to go north. He was a headstrong man and was determined to carry out his own views, regardless of the counsel of the President of the Church and his council; and as we proceed with this history, you will see with what results.

At the same council Elder Wilford Woodruff was set apart for a mission to England. He was accompanied by Elders Dan Jones and Hiram Clark.

Sidney Rigdon could no longer conceal the spirit of which he was possessed. He had talked and plotted for some time in secret with those over whom he had influence. His works had been in the dark, and he thought they were not known.

But by President Young and the faithful Apostles his spirit and conduct were easily read. They knew that he had the spirit of apostasy, and that he was doing what he could to injure the work.

In a conversation which he had with President Young, on the 3rd of September, he said he had power and authority above the Twelve Apostles, and did not consider himself amenable to their counsel. The evening of the same day the
Twelve had an interview with him, and they found him in such a condition that they felt it to be their duty to demand his license.

He would not give this up. He said the Church had not been led by the Lord for a long time, and he should come out and expose the secrets of the Church. In this he showed the traitorous spirit of which he was possessed.

The Prophet Joseph, during his lifetime, was satisfied that he was a secret enemy and traitor, and had told the congregations of Saints that he would carry him no longer; but afterwards Rigdon had cried and begged to be restored; some of the Elders had also entreated the Prophet to take him back, and he was suffered to remain nominally as counselor to Joseph.

When he reached Nauvoo after the death of the Prophet, he had put himself forward as the man who ought to preside over the Church, or, as he termed it, to be the guardian for the Church. There was no hint given in public to convey the idea to the people that they thought Joseph had gone astray; this, he knew, would not serve his purpose.

But now that he had been baffled in his schemes, and had failed to obtain the object of his ambition, he revealed the true feelings of his heart respecting Joseph, and exhibited in the clearest light his own hypocritical and traitorous character.

"The Church has not been led by the Lord for a long time," no apostate, not even William Law, who had been accessory to the murder of Joseph and Hyrum, could say any more than this.

On the next Sunday, the 8th of September, the High Council was organized, with Bishop Newel K. Whitney, the presiding Bishop, at its head, and the case of Sidney Rigdon was brought before it.

After hearing all the evidence, it was moved that he should be cut off from the Church. This vote of the High Council was unanimous. The same motion was then made to the Church there assembled. The vote was unanimous with the exception of ten persons; and as they voted to receive him as their leader, they were, on motion, also cut off.

From that hour Sidney Rigdon went down. It is true that he did not sink without a struggle. He chose apostles; he framed some sort of an organization; he sent out his missionaries, many of whom labored zealously; he published a paper, and fought the Twelve Apostles and the Church with all his power. But all his efforts, which made such a noise at the time, had but one effect—they gathered out some of the hypocrites and wicked from the Church, and helped to cleanse it.

Thus it always is with apostates; they can do nothing against the work of God to injure it, but their works are over-ruled for its good.

(To be Continued.)

Plutarch tells of a wolf, who, peeping into a hut where a couple of shepherds were regaling themselves with a joint of mutton, exclaimed, "What a clamor they would have raised if they had caught me at such a banquet!"

The chains of habit are generally too small to be felt till they are too strong to be broken.—Dr. Johnson.

I do not see why we should not be as just to an ant as to a human being.—Charles Kingsley.
THE WOMAN'S EXPONENT.

ERMAINE B. WELLS, Editor.

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SALT LAKE CITY. APRIL 1, 1884.

MRS. LOCKWOOD'S SPEECHES.

Mrs. Bertha A. Lockwood has been in the State of New York recently, and was there interviewed on the Mormon question by newspaper men. Mrs. Lockwood:

"If I spoke on the Mormon question at last year's convention and also went before the Committee on Territories. For that the Mormon people passed me a resolution of thanks and also took up a collection and sent me $100; but I cannot say that I am retained in their behalf thereby. I was Vice-President for the District of Columbia, of the Woman's National Suffrage Association, and was this year asked to make a speech of thirty minutes before the convention on any subject that I should choose. I selected women and her relation to trades and professions, and prepared myself to speak on it, with the knowledge of Miss Anthony and Mrs. Sewell, Chairwomen of the Executive Committee. The day before the Convention met, Miss Anthony saw me and said that my subject encroached on the subjects of some of the other ladies, and that as I could more readily change than any of them, she desired me to take up the subject of disfranchisement of the women of Utah and Wyoming, remarking, 'If you do not treat this subject, so one else will, as they have none that will not cut the course.'" The speech I made a legal argument against the passage of the Home remittance to the Edinburgh bill, and the Caydie bill. I showed that the House of Representatives, which comprises a committee to disfranchise the women of Utah, is unconstitutional and iniquitous; and that the Caydie bill to wipe out the Legislature of the Territory, is an unwarranted usurcation of power by the general government. The portion of my speech which specially caused the commotion was when I compared the religions of the world, showing how they had their origin. Joseph Smith had but six followers.

In six years the Mormons increased to 16,000, and to-day they number over 100,000. The Methodist Church of America started with a membership of six persons, in St John Street, New York. Now its membership is 4,000,000. I showed the origin of Mohammedanism, precisely as that of the Mormon religion, and quoted that Mohammed said, 'if you do not believe that this book is from God, see if you can write a better one.' The Mohammedans now believe in me, and persecute me in the beginning, and my object was to show that to persecute a church was only to increase its membership. On this line of Jesus Christ I saw the religious persecution that settled the shores of the rock bound New England and drove the Baptists out of Connecticut. The Government, I claimed, had no more right to attack and despoil the Mormon Church than the Catholic or any other church. That policy in Utah, where he has his wife and children is not so much worse than the policy in the District of Columbia where men retain their numerous wives, but refuses to recognize them as legal children. They don't believe in the Mormon religion any more than in the Mohammedan. I was educated a Methodist and have largely attended the Baptist Church. I don't know that I would swear by any of them. I am willing to accord to every person perfect freedom in political and religious matters."

"Mrs. Lockwood, speaking of her alleged recusancy for the Mormon, said, 'I am the attorney and my credentials are fled, for the State of Panama. I was appointed by the Commission to look after the interests of that State. Whenever the liberties of the Mormon women of Utah are threatened, they telegraph or write to me, but it is not because I am a Mormon, but because I am a woman suffragist and a humanitarian."

"In regard to my speech at the convention, I may say that Miss Anthony and said to the audience, 'The Woman's Suffrage National Association had nothing to do with any legislation in Congress that treated men and women alike, upon which I begged pardon of the audience for not having discernment enough to distinguish the difference between the rights of men and the rights of women.'" Mrs. Lockwood prefers her position upon the question to that of Miss Anthony.

"When first I spoke, before the Committee on Territorial, where he had been summoned to speak on the subject of Mormonism, met with a lady lawyer, who had come purposely to speak on the same subject, Mrs. Lockwood, and he gives his idea of the woman and her speech, and as he is a very pleasant writer, although he does not know all about Mormonism, we will give his description in his own words, as his style is very humorous, and certainly original.

"She came with a white, a snap, consciousness, and some attention that at once was a sort of challenge to battle, O, woman, woman! Don't you know that the day you entered in making a soldier of yourself, you will have to fight for every inch you get, and not for having the whole earth given you, as it is now.

"She ran around among the chivalry and tables and men, like a little speckled hen that had lost her last chick."

"Then she flattened herself down beside the clerk, slammed down some books and saying, 'I am here to make a speech this morning,' proceed to peruse papers and write disdainfully.

"The Committee was not yet in session, and I in conversation with a Member incidentally remarked that we had in early days colored gold in Oregon, and shut up, and not even defying to look at me, she shouted: 'And that in the face of the Constitution, which says, No state shall coin money taxable of credit.' Then the best drop of water was hand flew, and the pen rattled over the paper.

"The Chairman called to order, the lady lawyer was at once on her feet, and shouted out her purpose to take heed on the monstrous Mormon question: an motion of some one, fifteen minutes was allotted for her speech. Catching up her books, bag, and manuscript, hastening to the fat end of the room. He is just under the fox and rattlesnake, and taking down the paper she crossed her pretty hands and looked at us tranquilly, triumphantly, a long time under her head. Then the lady lawyer famous in the annals of this city, standing there with folded hands, under the ferocious fox of Oregon, had it all her own way at once. She was pretty to begin with. No bangs; no fritziest; no foolishness at all in dresses or adornments. Her heavy, gay hair was back in the old chaste style, and showed a splendid brow and fine, earnest face. All leaned forward and listened eagerly as she began, and as she went on for the first few minutes. Her Hogarthian, her eloquence, all seemed perfect. I doubt if any man in Congress could use better language, or use it with more grace and precision. For the first fifteen minutes to man mentioned a spoke, but at the end of forty minutes the others dropped in, or I would have to fall, to thunder about, to blush. She had forgotten her place. And then, poor dear, she had undertaken to settle the whole stupendous Mormon question, the morality and immorality of if; to expound the Constitution, compare Congress to King George, all in fifteen minutes! No wonder she got beyond her depth. Men got impatient; they began to talk; once giggled as she soared and soared to her final appeal and got so high that she melted the wax of her wings and fell to the ground there under the gentle rattlesnake and the ferocious fox of the far off Oregon. Evidently the old member, who had nothing else not complimentary as she first entered, was like myself, thinking of old items. For she sat down after forty minutes of able defenses of the Mormon and fluttered to her seat, he settled back and said to himself, 'Great Canin!'"

"A faithful observer believes all the true things that have transpired here at our country's Capital, I am free to admit that there are many men, myself among the number, who could not have made, to save their lives, such a speech as Miss Anthony's, but it was in not knowing when to stop. At the end of twenty-five minutes the Chairman had to call her to order. She, woman-like, wanted to have the hot word. She was allowed five minutes more, and then tittered to end."

TESTIMONY THAT CANNOT BE DEFEATED.

A lecture was delivered by E. C. Brand, in the Saints Chapel, Monday evening, Feb. 3rd, 1884, on "celestial marriage frauds," as he terms it. I will say nothing about the first part of his lecture, nor the flimsy arguments he made use of to sustain his position as a spy in opposition to celestial marriage. His fourth question is, What shall we do with these women that have made affidavit that they were Joseph Smith's wives? I am about to examine them. He read to the audience my affidavit, and said, 'J. Adams denied performing the ceremony, in 1857, while in London, and in presence of Emma Smith, who also denies any knowledge of such a marriage, on her death bed.' Further he says, "One of the elite ladies of Ogden told me that she could swear that Emma Smith married or sealed four women to his brother Joseph, giving their names, etc."

Now, I have often wondered, if they really wanted to learn the truth, why they did not come and put their questions to me. Instead of going to an "elite lady of Ogden," who made no pretense of knowing only by hearsay, and if she did vary a little from the truth, it is not to very strange, neither is it any proof that plural marriage is not of God, or that my affidavit is not true. I have made a statement of facts that I know; not of what I have heard or believe, but that is actual knowledge after the trial of being cross questioned, and even if it were possible to make me contradict myself, it would not alter the facts. Facts are stubborn things," and as to belief, if she must not be destroyed, no matter how strong the proof or arguments may be, seemingly, that are brought to bear against them. Truth will stand bold and
defiant through everything. Truth is the rock on which I stand, and I know where I speak, and that is why I fear. I will dare to answer any reasonable question that anybody may desire to ask. The time has been that my conscience forced me to speak of these things, because it was necessary for me to reveal the facts. The time did not come to publish to the world this "holy order of matrimony." It would have brought great trouble upon the people and me, and it was not right that I should bear testimony to the truth of the Soul-Smith: teaching and practicing plural marriage some years before his death. And the revelation given through him was no less true because it was written in the sacred record. Emma was a witness to Joseph taking plural wives, on one occasion at least, and if she had denied it on her death bed (which is very hard to believe) even forty years after, I do not think the fact would be destroyed; and so it is with J. Adams denying that he performed the marriage ceremony, I think it is a mistake. It might have been George J. Adams that denied it, but the one I mentioned in my affidavits was James Adams, generally known as Judge Adams, of Springfield, Ill. He did not reside in Nauvoo, but was there on a visit, and, if he would deny it, he had apostatized, and I know an apostate will say and do almost anything to injure the truth. But if he and Emma, and every other witness should deny it, the fact still remains. Emma seemed to feel well until the ceremony was over, when, almost before she could draw a second breath, she turned, and was more bitter in her feelings than ever before, if possible. She said as it were, bound us to the ship and curried us to mid-ocean, then threw us overboard to sink or swim, as the case might be.

I have seen enough to make me unhappy, but I have nothing in my heart towards her but pity. I knew it was hard for Emma, and any women to enter plural marriage in these days, and I do not know as anybody would have done any better than Emma did under the circumstances. I think Emma always regretted having any hand in getting us into such trying circumstances. But she never regretted the service for, in the least, for it would have been the same with or without her consent, and I have never repented the act that made me a plural wife. It has been the best act within her will. It gave me a hope that was like a rod of iron to cling to while wandering through heavy trials of hatred and persecution. And I could say truly:"

"A hope that will not fail,
It reaches far within the veil,
Which hope is like an anchor,
Oh, that's the hope for me!"

Yes, that is the hope for me. It will never perish, and when thorns have been strown in my pathway beneath my feet, and dark clouds have gathered over my head, this hope has cheered me up. I have often looked back with joy and thanksgiving that I listened to the "still, small voice that whispered to my soul." The door is open-and it may not look dark, dreary and desolate, but peace, joy and exaltation lie beyond. The longer I live, and the more knowledge and understanding I get pertaining to the principles of the eternal worlds, the more I rejoice in the one set of life that made me the wife of Joseph Smith, and bound me to him for time and all eternity. I feel I have no guardian angel to be my guide and comfort. I know he was a prophet of God, and I know he received the revelation on celestial marriage years before it was written, and it was through him that the law was given, and I have known the baptizing for the dead, and through him many other points of doctrine were revealed.

"He organized the Relief Societies, also the Young Men's and Young Ladies' Societies, and these revelations of Joseph Smith's are the rock on which this Church is built, and it cannot be shaken. It is as firm and immovable as the mighty rocks that form the mountains, with which we are surrounded. The principles of the Gospel are perfect and cannot be confounded. Man is weak and imperfect, they may be shaken, and perishing souls may fail, but God's work will not fail."

Then let those who love a lie better than the truth have the desires of their hearts. Let them cherish falsehood and hide themselves in its subtile threads, lest they be found for themselves a foundation of quicksand, and a platform of cobbles. They will see, sooner or later, that it will melt from under their feet as the dew wastes before the morrow sun. Let them keep reproach upon their head, and rest at the order of celestial marriage, what do I care? It does not hurt me in the least. I rejoice in my religion and I appreciate all blessings that I enjoy as a Latter-day Saint.

I have borne the contempt and ancers of the world for years, and I can still bear them. My hope is buoyant, and I fear nothing that the enemy of truth may do to me. Let them fight the truth, trample it in the dust, besmirch it with their filth, yet truth, eternal truth, will be holy and unblushing, in spite of all opposition. This is my faith, and it is true, whether they receive it or not. There may be a few who will receive it, and rejoice in the privileges and blessings that God has bestowed upon me in the last days. For my part I am not ashamed of my religion. I love every part and portion of it. Neither am I ashamed of my name, nor would I be even if it was:"

"Emily Dow Partridge Smith Young, Ex."
you will observe the laws of God, and cease to do evil, cease to be obscene, cease to be immoral, sexually or otherwise, cease to be profane, cease to be infidel, have faith in God, believe in the truth and receive it, and be honest before God and man, that you will be set up on high, and God will put you at the head, just as sure as you observe these commandments. Whoever will keep the commandments of God, no matter whether it be you or any other people, they will rise and not fall, they will lead and not follow, they will go upward and not downward; God will exalt them and magnify them before the nations of the earth, and he will set the seal of his approval upon them, will name them as his own. This is my testimony to you. God bless you, and help us to be faithful always, is my prayer in the name of Jesus. Amen.

"STICK TO YOUR BUSH."

One day it was reported among the schoolboys of a certain Massachusetts town that blackberries were ripe and very plentiful on a near-by vacant farm. On Saturday, therefore, about a dozen of the boys hastened to the berrying ground with large wooden buckets, determined to fill them to the brim. The report proved true—the bushes were indeed loaded, and the delighted boys immediately commenced to gather the luscious fruit. One of them, however, soon conceived the idea of picking only the largest of the berries, thinking that he could thus fill his pail in much less time than it would take the others to fill theirs. Accordingly, he went here and there among the thorny bushes, selecting only the very largest that he could find. The other boys picked their bushes clean as they went, and in less than two hours’ time had their pails full. He who had resolved to outstrip his companions had some fine berries, but he had occupied so much time in running about that the fruit was only about two inches deep in the bottom of his pail. When he saw the full pails of the others, he became discouraged, and commenced eating his berries. The others soon joined in, and helped him, and he went home with an empty pail. The moral of this anecdote is plain: One should "stick to his bush," or in other words, "let well enough alone."—Selected.

AN INTERESTING TESTIMONY.

BY ELDER JOSEPH W. McMURRIN, ONE OF THE FIRST SEVEN PRESIDENTS OF THE SEVENTY.

Many testimonies concerning the teachings of Joseph Smith have been borne by those who were personally acquainted with the great modern Prophet. Those who can testify to having heard from the mouth of the Prophet the doctrines advanced by him are fast passing away. It will only be a few years when there will not be left a man upon the earth who can bear such a record. Many of the testimonies of those who were personally acquainted with the Prophet have been carefully preserved, and are now greatly prized. As time advances, these declarations will become more and more important.

The writer, by appointment from the Presidency of the Church, has for some weeks past been engaged in missionary work in the city of Boise, Idaho, where he came in contact with a gentleman, Mr. Richard S. Law, not connected with the Church, who has related a circumstance concerning the teachings of Joseph Smith that is of sufficient importance to be preserved. After listening to Mr. Law’s statement, on a number of different occasions, it was incorporated in a letter by the writer of this article to a friend. Before mailing the letter, the contents were read to Mr. Law, in order that any mistakes might be corrected. The following is an extract from the communication referred to:

"Shortly after my arrival in Boise, I was introduced to a gentleman by the name of Richard S. Law. I was greatly surprised, also very much pleased, to learn that he is a son of William Law, who, in the early days of the Church, was a counselor to the Prophet Joseph Smith."
"Mr. Law is now seventy-seven years of age. He is, however, a well-preserved man, erect in bearing, active in his movements, and possessing a vitality that many a younger man lacks. He has a high forehead, blue eyes, and a very intelligent face. His manners are very pleasing, and, in conversation, he is agreeable and entertaining. I have enjoyed several conversations with the gentleman, during the few weeks that I have been located here. Among the various themes we have discussed, the topic in which I have been most interested has been plural marriage.

"Mr. Law was quite surprised to learn that Mr. Joseph Smith, the president of the Reorganized or Josephite Church, has often denied, and again recently denied, in an article in the North American Review, that his father, the Prophet Joseph, introduced the doctrine of plural marriage in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

"He is very pronounced in the statement that Emma Smith knew that her husband, the Prophet Joseph Smith, claimed to have received a revelation commanding him to teach the doctrine of plural marriage. He also asserts that this fact was well known to many of the people of Nauvoo.

MR. LAW'S TESTIMONY.

"Mr. Law has related to me, and to others, the following circumstance:

"About the year 1842, he was present at an interview between his father and the Prophet Joseph. The topic under discussion was the doctrine of plural marriage. William Law, with his arms around the neck of the Prophet, was pleading with him to withdraw the doctrine of plural marriage, which he had at that time commenced to teach to some of the brethren. Mr. Law predicting that if Joseph would abandon the doctrine, 'Mormonism' would, in fifty or one hundred years, dominate the Christian world. Mr. Law pleaded for this with Joseph with tears streaming from his eyes. The Prophet was also in tears, but he informed the gentleman that he could not withdraw the doctrine, for God had commanded him to teach it, and condemnation would come upon him if he was not obedient to the commandment.

"During the discussion, Joseph was deeply affected. Mr. Richard S. Law says the interview was a most touching one, and was riveted upon his mind in a manner that has kept it fresh and distinct in his memory, as if it had occurred but yesterday.

"Mr. Law also says, that he has no doubt that Joseph believed he had received the doctrine of plural marriage from the Lord. The Prophet's manner being exceedingly earnest, so much so, that Mr. Law was convinced that the Prophet was perfectly sincere in his declaration.

"The gentleman says his father believed that Joseph had become possessed of an evil spirit and had been deceived. He also claims that the foundation for his father's disaffection, and final withdrawal from the Church, was owing to the teaching of plural marriage to him by the Prophet Joseph Smith. He declares further that his mother was taught the same doctrine by the 'Mormon' Prophet.

"Mr. Law speaks in high terms of Joseph Smith, and says he was one of the most lovable men in his disposition and temperament he had ever met. While speaking with the utmost respect and affection of the Prophet Joseph as a man, he has no faith whatever in the Gospel as revealed through him in this dispensation.

"The matter herein presented was read to Mr. Law in the presence of two witnesses, and he acknowledged the same to be correct:

TESTIMONY OF THE WITNESSES.

"We, the undersigned were present when Elder McMurrin read the above statement to Mr. Richard S. Law. We heard him declare that the items therein mentioned are correct in every particular.

"MELVIN J. BALLARD, LOGAN.
"L. E. CARTER, 326 Doocy Building, Salt Lake City."

The first witness was appointed by the Church as a missionary in that district, and resides in Logan, Utah. The other witness, Mr. L. E. Carter, is a non-"Mormon," and became interested in Mr. Law's statement through the following circumstance: Mr. Carter has a friend, who is a member of the Reor-
ganized Church, by the name of Edmund Ford, who had written him from Curlew, Iowa, a letter in which he attempted to prove that the Prophet Joseph never introduced the principle of plural marriage. Mr. Carter came to me and asked if I could answer the statements made by his friend. As Mr. Law was sitting in the hotel office, at the time, I introduced him to Mr. Carter, at the same time saying: "The testimony of a living witness to the fact that Joseph Smith did teach plural marriage, from one who has no connection with the 'Mormon' Church, will probably be more satisfactory than anything I could say. Mr. Law then repeated to Mr. Carter the substance of what I have written. Mr. Carter is fully convinced, by the statement, made to him by Mr. Law, that Joseph Smith did introduce the doctrine of plural marriage in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

The home of Mr. Richard S. Law is in San Francisco. He is interested in mining properties in Idaho, and has been in Boise for some weeks, waiting for the weather to moderate, in order that he may get into the mountains and commence work upon a mine recently purchased. He has been a practising physician in former days, but for many years he has followed mining, and during these years he has traveled practically around the world.

A WORD TO PARENTS.

As the boys grow up, make companions of them; then they will not seek companionship elsewhere. Allow boys as they grow older to have opinions of their own; make them individuals, not mere echoes. Remember that without physical health, mental attainment is well nigh worthless. Let the boys lead free, happy lives, which will strengthen both mind and body. Bear in mind that you are largely responsible for your child's inherited character, and have patience with faults and failings. Talk hopefully to your children of life and its possibilities. You have no right to depress them because you have suffered. — American Boy.

TALKS TO YOUNG MEN.

VII—MANNERS.

II.

Next to the home is the church, and there is such a thing as church manners. Churches there are where such a statement would have to be strongly attested. Men have stood up before audiences and waited for long periods, unwilling to proceed until a spirit of peace was felt. Speakers have also had to stop in the course of an address, and refuse to proceed, unless order be maintained. These are humiliating confessions to make, but candor compels. We deplore most deeply the necessity for such statements, and would not put them in public print, were they not lamentably true. But there is a specific remedy at hand. There are two classes of individuals responsible for this prevalent evil. First, the parents are to be censured for allowing their children to go to church alone. Children collect in little curious, talkative groups, and get as far from the pulpit and their parents as they can, so that the social chat shall not be interrupted. Now, if parents sat with their children, they would have them under immediate control. One of the most beautiful customs of the high-minded British people, is that it is common to see father and mother with the entire family, be they few or many, going to religious services together, and with becoming piety enter the sanctified place, and remain in beautiful silence throughout the service. That is one thing that makes religion dignified and admirable. We don't pay enough attention to church manners. We carry too much physical freedom both of tongue and body into holy places. Reform in this respect need not make us long-faced.
more in the town that the late resided in Millard county, where he presided over the Stake with singular ability and success. He was a friend of education as well as of all progressive industries, and was universally respected for his personal integrity and his fidelity to the public interest. He was well known to non-Mormons who traveled through the south, and they regard him as a first-class man worthy of the utmost confidence. A sketch of his career has been given in the "News," and we can only add our regrets at his departure, our admiration of his character and our sympathies with his bereaved family. His reward has been earned, his glory is assured.

MORE TESTIMONY.

The numerous witnesses to the fact that the "Prophet Joseph Smith" did teach and practice plural marriage in Nauvoo should put to silence the denials, evasions and sophistical arguments presented by persons who "prefer to believe" the contrary and some of whom at least are fighting against their convictions and consciences. The following letters are published in corroboration of those already placed on record:

Mesa City, 9th March, 1904.

"President Joseph F. Smith, Washington City, D. C. My Dear Brother: In reading reports from the Senate committee on the Reed Smoot case, I see that witnesses are offered to prove that

Deseret Evening News
April 12, 1904.
the Prophet Joseph Smith did not authorize or practice polygamy. I do know that he did teach plural marriage and that he did give to me a plural wife who is still living with me, and that I saw one of my sisters married to him and know that with her he occupied my house on May 16 and 17, 1843, which he had occupied with Eliza Partridge, another plural wife, on the 2nd of the previous month.

"And I do know that at his Mansion home was living Maria and Sarah Lawrence and one of Cornelius P. Lott's daughters as his plural wives with the full knowledge of his wife, Emma, of their married relation to him.

"At that time I was his legal business agent and his business partner at Macedonita or Ramus, and was familiar with his family or domestic affairs; and, occupying as I did, the family mansion after his death, I had much to do in a business way with Emma, the Prophet's first wife, who at no time did ever in my hearing deny the plural character of her husband's family.

"Loyal to the truth, I am always your brother,

"B. F. JOHNSON."

"Afton, Uinta Co., Wyo., April 1st, 1904,

"I having been born in 1836 and lived in Nauvoo from 1841 to 1846 and having been acquainted with the Prophet Joseph Smith, do know that polygamy was taught by him to the Saints there at that time.

"And do also know that Brother William Clayton married as a third
Individual Record

Search Results

Catherine WALKER (AFN: 1CB1-M7)  
Sex: F  
Pedigree

Event(s)  
Birth: 20 May 1824  
Peacham, Caledonia, Vermont

Death: 11 Aug 1885  
Brigham City, Box Elder, Utah

Burial:  
Brigham City, Box Elder, Utah

Parents  
Father: John WALKER (AFN: 1C9Z-H9)  
Mother: Lydia HOLMES (AFN: 1C9Z-JG)

Marriage(s)  
Spouse: Joseph SMITH (AFN: 9KGL-W2)  
Marriage:

Spouse: Elijah Knapp FULLER (AFN: 1C7P-3W)  
Marriage: 18 Jan 1846  
Nauvoo, Hancock, Il

Spouse: William ROGERS (AFN: 2WBG-HG)  
Marriage: 18 Jan 1858  
Salt Lake City, Salt Lake, Ut

Submitter(s)  
Details

About Ancestral File  
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Please Note  
Names and address of submitters to Ancestral File and those who have a research interest are provided to help in the coordination of research. The use of this information for any other purpose, including commercial use, is strictly prohibited.
**Family Group Record**

**Husband's Name**
John SNAPL (AFN:1990-TM)
- Born: 22 Apr 1840
- Place: Pleasant Valley, N B. Can
- Died: 2 Jun 1849
- Place: St. Louis, St. Louis, Mo
- Buried: 26 Feb 1822
- Place: Paris, B Lk, Id
- Married: 28 Feb 1822
- Place: Toronto, York, Ontario, Canada
- Father: Martin SNIDER (AFN:1897-1M)
- Mother: Sarah ARMSTRONG (AFN:1897-25)

**Wife's Name**
Mary (Heron) HERON (AFN:5J8N-6V)
- Born: 17 Nov 1834
- Place: York, York, Ontario
- Died: 31 Jan 1852
- Place: Salt Lake City, Salt Lake, Utah
- Married: 28 Feb 1822
- Place: Toronto, York, Ontario, Canada
- Father: Richard HERON (AFN:5J8N-KW)
- Mother: Harriet HILL (AFN:5J8N-L2)

**Children**

1. **Sex Name**
   - Name: Julia SNIDER (AFN:5J8N-GD)
   - Born: 10 Apr 1834
   - Place: Toronto, York, Ontario, Canada

2. **Sex Name**
   - Name: Edgeron SNIDER (AFN:5J8N-D2)
   - Born: 9 Apr 1826
   - Place: Toronto, York, Ontario, Canada

3. **Sex Name**
   - Name: John SNIDER (AFN:5J8N-F7)
   - Born: 2 May 1828
   - Place: Toronto, York, Ontario, Canada

4. **Sex Name**
   - Name: Harriet Elise SNIDER (AFN:1C26-86)
   - Born: 4 Sep 1823
   - Place: York Twp, York, Ontario
   - Died: 17 Jun 1905
   - Place: Mese Cemetery, Mesa, Maricopa, Arizona
   - Buried: 16 Jun 1905
   - Place: Mese Cemetery, Mesa, Maricopa, Arizona
# Family Group Record

**Family Group Record**

**Search Results | Download GEDCOM**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Husband's Name</th>
<th>Wife's Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>John SYNDER (SNIDER) (AFN: 1896-TM)</td>
<td>Jane NOBLE (AFN: 255C-B4)</td>
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**Children**

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<td>M</td>
<td>Robert SYNDER (SNIDER) (AFN: 255D-H4)</td>
<td>30 Apr 1839</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>John SYNDER (SNIDER) (AFN: 255D-GX)</td>
<td>10 May 1837</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>Lydia SYNDER (AFN: 1BH6-ZS)</td>
<td>25 Feb 1833</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>Catherine SYNDER (SNIDER) (AFN: 255D-FR)</td>
<td>12 Mar 1835</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>Elizabeth SYNDER (SNIDER) (AFN: 255D-JB)</td>
<td>16 May 1841</td>
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**Father**

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<tr>
<td>Martin SNIDER (AFN: 1897-MH)</td>
<td>Paris, B Lk, Id</td>
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<td>Sarah ARMSTRONG (AFN: 1897-2S)</td>
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**Mother**

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<td>Mark NOBLE (AFN: 3WWJ-JG)</td>
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<td>Lydia DICE (AFN: 3WWJ-4M)</td>
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**Father**

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## Individual Record

### Search Results

**John SNYDER (SNIDER) (AFN: 1896-TM)**

**Sex:** M

**Event(s)**
- **Birth:** 22 Apr 1860, Pleasant Valley, N B, Can.
- **Death:** 2 Jun 1849, St. Louis, St. Louis, Mo
- **Burial:** Paris, B Lk, Id.

**Parents**
- **Father:** Martin SNIDER (AFN: 1897-1M)
- **Mother:** Sarah ARMSTRONG (AFN: 1897-2S)

**Marriage(s)**
- **Spouse:** Mary (Herren) HERON (AFN: 9J8N-CV)
  - **Marriage:** 26 Feb 1822, Toronto, York, Ontario, Canada
- **Spouse:** Jane NOBLE (AFN: 25SC-B4)
  - **Marriage:** 22 Apr 1828
- **Spouse:** Sylvia Ann Stella MECHAM (MECHAM) (AFN: 1896-VS)
  - **Marriage:** 3 Nov 1855, Salt Lake City, Ut

### Details

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2/15/2008
"Of whole nations being born in one day":
marriage, money and magic in the Mormon cosmos, 1830–1846

John L. Brooke

Social Science Information 1991; 30: 107
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I met with the whole church of Christ in a little log house about 20 feet square... and we began to talk about the Kingdom of God as if we had the world at our command; we talked with great confidence, and talked of big things. ... We talked of people coming as doves to the window... of whole nations being born in one day; we talked of such big things that men could not bear them.'

To the average observer, the Mormon church, the Latter-Day Saints of Jesus Christ, seems to be simply another American denomination. But throughout the nineteenth century and even to some degree today, Mormons have seen themselves as a distinct nation, the inhabitants of a "Kingdom of God" which in the millennial world-view will one day rule the world. The degree to which this "nation" was indeed created is subject to some debate among modern scholars: Mark Leone argues that a functioning nation-state existed prior to the assertion of United States Federal authority over the Utah territories in the 1880s; Thomas O'Dea argues for an "incipient nationality"; while Jan Shipps sees the forging of a Mormon "ethnicity" (Leone, 1979; O'Dea, 1954; Shipps, 1985). The deeper roots of a Mormon "nationality" lie in the millennial aspirations of the tangle of Protestant sects which emerged in the American colonies and in Britain itself, the heirs to the apocalyptic eschatology of the radical wing of the English Revolution and, more distantly, in the hopes for a literal, physical restoration of Israel which drove the Radical Reformation. More immediately, the Mormon church was forged in the revival-seared regions of northern New England, western New York, the mid-western frontier, and the English industrial Midlands where Joseph Smith, the Mormon prophet, worked to forge a distinct Mormon identity and...
culture among a heterogeneous, shifting following of Christian primitivists. Dreams of Mormon nationhood and theocratic hegemony were only imperfectly realized in the decades to come, constrained by the secular realities of the American nation-state, but they held powerful attractions for poor artisanal and farming families, dislocated by economic transformation. Moving from his origins as a village diviner in 1827 to the leader of an autonomous city-state and a candidate for the presidency of the USA in 1844, Smith forged this proto-national culture in ways which pose interesting questions about the relationships between antimission lawlessness and national legitimacy. This essay addresses these questions in an examination of marriage, money and hermetic magic in early Mormon culture.

I

On 24 November 1835, Joseph Smith, as the leader of the Mormon settlement at Kirtland, Ohio, defiantly challenged the statute law. Specifically prohibited from marrying by the local county court, Smith brushed aside a state-licensed church elder to perform the rites of marriage between Newell Knight and Lydia G. Bailey. Lydia was not divorced from her non-Mormon husband, so this marriage also challenged a broader moral code. Newell Knight later wrote in his journal that Smith had said, "I have done it by the authority of the holy priesthood and the Gentile law has no power to call me to account for it. It is my religious privilege, and even the Congress of the United States has no power to make a law that would abridge the rights of my religion." Lydia Bailey Knight remembered him saying, "Our Elders have been wronged and prosecuted for marrying without a license. The Lord God of Israel has given me authority to unite the people in the holy bonds of matrimony." Over the next two months Joseph Smith performed five more such illegal marriages, and at one he spoke of the "ancient order of marriage" — an early and veiled reference to the idea of plural, polygamous marriage which would become a secret cornerstone of Mormon faith in the early 1840s.  

Sixteen months later, on 24 March 1837, Smith would appear in county court for violating the statute law in a quite different arena. Accused of operating an illegal, unchartered bank, colorfully known as the Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Banking Company, he was fined $1000. Three months later the bank was still in operation, and in July Smith's associate, Sydney Rigdon, was brought into court "for making spurious money" (Brodie, 1971: 198).

Joseph Smith was the prophet of a new religion, based on texts supposedly written from golden tablets he claimed to have discovered in Palmyra, New York in 1827, when he was deeply involved in a magical culture of treasure-hunting. 4 While the Book of Mormon recounted a sacred history of lost Hebrew tribes, the doctrinal framework and institutions of the Mormon church would rest on visions and revelations which Smith pronounced to the faithful at sporadic intervals from 1829 up to the time of his assassination in 1844. These revelations announced the restoration of "the ancient order of things", a collective economy, powerful priesthoods and the Prophet Enoch's city of Zion. In a literal restoration of Israel, this city was to be rebuilt at Independence, Missouri where — according to Smith — it had been miraculously carried up to heaven, and where Adam had gathered his posterity into a priesthood (Bushman, 1984: 186; Brodie, 1971: 93, 96, 109–10, 113–14). 5 However, in 1835 the main body of Mormons were not yet in this promised land, the center of "Adam's tent", but were still caught at one of the "stakes" in Kirtland, Ohio, dealing with the indeterminacies of a half-formed religious tradition. It was in this context that Joseph Smith began to put himself above the law.

Control over marriage and currency is typically monopolized by the modern state; with organized violence, they comprise two of the bulwarks of legitimacy and authority, and the means by which the state regulates routine social behavior. In defying the law in these arenas, Joseph Smith put himself into the antimission, perfectionist wing of the Protestant tradition. As had radical sectarians for centuries before him, Smith declared himself God's appointed seer, above the control and reach of mere human law. And where Protestant ministers had given up the priestly powers of the Catholic Church — ecclesiastical magic and primary authority over marriages and funerals — Smith reclaimed these powers for the priests of the Mormon restoration. Not only was he above the law, but he was a law-giver; the next decade would see the unfolding of his plan to establish a theocratic state, the Kingdom of God, a plan first manifested in 1834, when he had marched an armed Mormon militia — "Zion's Camp" — to rescue Mormon settlements in western Missouri. Thus, Smith was simultaneously both antimission and law-giver, antistructural destroyer and structural builder, to use
the useful categories of the late Victor Turner (1969, 1974; see also Thomas, 1971; Weisman, 1984; N.Z. Davis, 1981; and Goody, 1983).

The concepts of liminality, antistructure and antinomianism provide useful perspectives on the emergence of the Mormon "nation". As developed by Victor Turner, following Max Weber and Arnold Van Gennep, the idea of liminality bears within it both destructive and constructive forces. In liminal situations "the possibility exists of standing aside not only from one's own social position but from all social positions and of formulating a potentially unlimited series of alternative social arrangements" (Turner, 1974: 13-14). In Turner's and Van Gennep's analysis, liminality characterizes a fleeting moment of transition; here I extend this meaning to cover the entire period of the Mormon emergence, from the founding of the church to the succession of Brigham Young and the migration to Utah in 1846-7. In this sense, the era of Mormon emergence can be compared to national revolutions, which are unstable and liminal in quality from the first challenge to the legitimacy of the old order to the final revolutionary settlement.6

But the antinomian and liminal qualities of the Mormon emergence were not limited to challenges to civil law. In these years Joseph Smith was grappling toward a routinized, institutional antinomianism. What he arrived at was a permanent theology promising not just salvation but divine godhood to the faithful, rooted ultimately in the hermetic tradition of Adam as a primal magus, the model for a human divinity. This promise of divinity, deeply "antistructural" in relation to contemporary religious norms, would be strictly controlled by a priestly hierarchy administering temple ritual, a religious theater rooted in Masonic and hermetic traditions. In effect Smith routinized the popular magic of youth into structured ecclesiastical magic.

While the period as a whole comprised a liminal transition from the Old Mormonism of the Golden Plates to the New Mormonism of the Nauvoo Temple, Smith sought to make liminality a permanent, institutionalized feature of the Mormon cosmology and a continuing source of charismatic power. Mormons were to be differentiated from the world by their promised transformation from mere sinful humans into divine gods. But, as the affairs at Kirtland between 1833 and 1837 suggest, antinomian and hermetic perfectionism was a tricky, slippery commodity: one man's legitimate authority was another's fraudulent counterfeit.7

Joseph Smith was well aware of the necessity of religious theater when he first began to challenge openly Ohio law in 1835. The young Mormon church was already far into its first monumental construction project, the building of the Kirtland Temple, which had begun in June 1833 (Brodie, 1971: 133; Andrew, 1978: 33-4). The temple was finished in March 1836, two months after the six illegal marriages were performed, and it was dedicated in a week of ceremony and ritual between 27 March and 3 April 1836. The events of that week confirmed to the faithful that the temple was no simple meetinghouse, but the sacred, numerous conduit of spiritual communication between humanity and the divine. In preparation for the great day, Smith gathered his elders and instructed them in new ceremonies; the men of the hierarchy soon felt "that the Holy Ghost was like fire in their bones", and fell into visions and prophecy (Brodie, 1971: 177-8). The temple was formally dedicated in a series of meetings of the men of the church spanning a week, and reaching climaxes on the two Sundays. On the first Sunday afternoon after Smith was received as a prophet and seer by the congregation, he exhorted the men to help prophesy the future; Smith recorded that "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". These ecstatic meetings, with ritual annointings and washings, continued through the week, reaching another highpoint on Sunday 3 April. Late that afternoon Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery, one of the first Book of Mormon witnesses, were hidden from the congregation by cloth veils dropping from the ceiling. When they reappeared they reported more visions. They had seen "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". Following this vision they had seen and received the "keys" of successive "dispensations" from Moses, Elias and finally Elijah — the Biblical prophet who, like Enoch, had been "translated" directly to heaven (D. Hill, 1988: 196-7; Brodie, 1971: 178-80; Andrew, 1978: 33-4; Vogel, 1988: 720-1; DC: 110).

Smith had been providing miracles, revelations and visions on a regular basis — the core of the sacred theater which validated his authority for a sometimes unruly following. And if the Kirtland Temple dedication involved a degree of popular experience of ecstatic visions and prophecy, this seems to have been a unique
moment, perhaps driven by the political necessity of releasing and
focusing turbulent religious and social emotions at Kirtland. More
typically, Smith attempted to reserve the prophetic role for himself
and perhaps one or two leading elders. His exorcism of evil spirits
from one follower in the spring of 1830 had been critical to the initial
forging of Smith's charisma, but the next summer and fall he had
to defeat efforts by others— all witnesses to the miracle of a
physical Book of Mormon—to have a broader sharing of charis-
matic prophetic power, specifically in receiving revelations through
magical seerstones. After asserting his claim to be the sole spiritual
authority in the new church, establishing a permanent precedent,
Smith avoided using his seerstones and claimed that the "Urim and
Thummim"—the Biblical spectacles and breastplate with which he
claimed to have translated the Book of Mormon—had been
carried up to heaven with the Golden Plates (D. Hill, 1988: 116-18;
early in 1831 that some members would be able to commune
with spirits, the new Mormon settlements at Kirtland, Ohio were
filled with converts having visions, speaking in tongues and utter-
ing prophecy. Suppressed by revelation in May 1831, claimants to
spiritual powers would re-emerge to challenge Smith's authority

Over the next five years Smith worked to solidify his authority as
a "seer" and "revelator" by simultaneously creating a hierarchical
deocracy and the outline of a new cosmic order. On the one hand
he established an array of priesthoods, apostleships, presidencies,
councils and quorums, inaugurated a collective economy called
the United Order of Enoch, guided by a Law of Consecration, and set
into action plans for Mormon settlements and the building of
monumental architecture. On the other hand, he began to develop
a body of sacred text—from visions, revelations and inspired
translation—which sketched out the premise of the restoration of
"the ancient order of things" for the Mormon faithful, the promise of
"keys to mysteries" and ritual "endowments" which captured and
held the loyalty of his following.

The core of Smith's message was the idea of restoration, shared
with the Campbellite "Christians" who were joining the Mormons
in large numbers in these years. In addition, rooted in a fascination
with the linkages and connections between spiritual and material
worlds first manifested in Smith's money-digging in the 1820s, these
revelations increasingly incorporated ideas which have direct
parallels in occult religious traditions. Writing an inspired revision
of the Book of Genesis in the summer and fall of 1830, Smith wrote
an important section in December in collaboration with Sydney
Rigdon, a recently converted Campbellite preacher, which involved
a vision by the prophet Enoch. This text had striking parallels in
Masonic lore, recently published by George Oliver, about primitive
and spurious Masonry running back to Adam, Seth and Cain. The
Masonic tale of the discovery of Enoch's buried secrets, an impor-
tant part of the Royal Arch degree ritual and mythology, seems
to have shaped Smith's account of the discovery of the Golden
Plates in 1827. The Royal Arch degree also centered on the Biblical
Melchizedek priesthood, whose restoration Smith announced in June
1831, followed by detailed revelations in February and September
1832. Smith's revelations recounted the passing of the priesthood
from Adam (through Enoch) to Solomon, as Masonic mythology
proposed, and described the magico-religious powers ("wonderful
works") of these priests: exorcism, faith-healing and immunity from
poisons. Eventually these priests would learn "all the hidden
mysteries"; they would "administer the gospel and hold the key of
the mysteries", mysteries which he promised would allow men to
"see the face of God, the Father, and live". Thus Smith would share his charismatic, mystic powers, but only within the framework
of a rigidly controlled hierarchy (Oliver, 1823; Adamson, nd; Durham, nd; DC, 76: 7, 84: 5-22, 107; Smith, Book of Moses,
1985: chs 6, 7).

In his revelation of February 1832 he began to describe the shape
of the cosmic order to which these mysteries would provide access.
The popular attraction of early Mormonism lay in Smith's claims to
prophetic and apostolic powers, his promise of a restoration of
ancient mysteries and his rejection of Calvinist predestination.
Shared in common with other back-country Arminian sects, these
concepts were developed in Smith's Mormonism far beyond the
ideas of the Campbellites and the Universalists (Marini, 1982:
136-55; Hatch, 1989: 167-79; C. Hansen, 1981: 73-6; Vogel,
Campbellite restoration with Masonic mythology, Smith carried
the Universalists' free salvation to a hermetic promise of divinity.
Echoing the three-tiered heavenly hierarchy of the Jewish Cabala,
Smith announced the existence of three Heavens: the celestial—
a heaven for sinners; the terrestrial—a heaven for pious non-
Mormons; and the celestial—where the Mormon faithful would
dwell. But rather than being merely saved, they would be exalted. Ritual prepared and elevated through layered orders of priesthoods, Smith assured his followers in 1832 that “they are gods, even the sons of God . . . ; all things are theirs . . . , and they shall overcome all things”. Smith’s cosmic order thus promised a radical departure from Protestant Christianity. Complete with metaphors of the stars, the moon and the sun, Smith’s Mormon cosmos offered the promise of divinity in a pantheon of gods, the same restoration of the god-like powers of the primal Adam which Neoplatonic hermeticism offered as the reward to the true adept (DC, 76: 58-60, 96-112).

Smith further elaborated his vision of the new cosmos in May 1833, in urging his following to begin the building of the Kirtland Temple. The temple would be the vehicle for communication between heaven and earth, and Smith began to describe a new vision of the connectedness between spirit and matter.

For man is spirit. The elements are eternal, and spirit and element, inseparably connected, receive a fulness of joy. And when separated, man cannot receive a fulness of joy. The elements are the tabernacle of God; yea, man is the tabernacle of God, even temples; and whatsoever temple is defiled, God shall destroy that temple.

Ten years later, he would restate this thesis more plainly, as he sketched out the doctrinal basis for the covenant of celestial marriage or polygamy: “There is no such thing as immaterial matter. All Spirit is matter, but it is more fine or pure”. Along this continuum between earth and heaven, Mormons would be carried to a progressively more exalted divinity by their submission to the ritual temple endowments (DC, 93: 35-6).

In the mid-1830s the details of this sacred theater had not been established and the central idea of plural marriage had not yet been broached. But in 1835 and 1836 enough spilled out in a disorganized fashion to almost destroy the new church.

The years 1833 and 1834 were dominated for the Mormons by violent events in Missouri, culminating in the disastrous "Zion’s Camp" of the summer of 1834, when Smith attempted to march a Mormon militia to the aid of their brethren in Independence. But the relatively peaceful interlude of 1835 and 1836 brought a confluence of very interesting developments. As work progressed on the Kirtland Temple, Smith elaborated the church’s governing hierarchy and turned to serious study with his School of Prophets, including instruction in Hebrew from a noted Jewish scholar, Joseph Seixas. He also began writing the "Book of Abraham" from a "translation" of parchments purchased with an Egyptian mummy from a traveling showman, Michael Chandler. And in the summer of 1835, he had his first extramarital affair, with a servant girl named Fanny Alger, who was subsequently seen as the first of Smith’s forty-odd plural wives. Smith’s initial revelation on plural marriage may have come in 1831, as he was "translating" chapters of the Old Testament, but reputedly he and Martin Harris had claimed in the summer of 1830 that “adultery was no crime”. Among the non-Mormons in Ohio there were suspicions that the community of property dictated in the "Law of Consecration" included wives, and in 1832 Smith was tarred and feathered for appearing to have been too forward with a girl, Nancy Marinda Johnson, from one of the Mormon families. Ultimately, Smith did not begin to reveal his polygynous order to his leading followers until 1841, although he resumed his experiments in “spiritual wifery” in 1838, after the collapse of the Kirtland community. In the summer of 1835 his liaison with Fanny Alger created a stir of scandal, alienating most importantly his old follower Oliver Cowdery (Van Wagoner, 1985: 3–14; England, 1985: 75–6; Newell and Avery, 1984: 64–6; Bachman, 1978).

The Fanny Alger affair led in two directions. First, in December 1835, Smith began to violate Ohio law flagrantly in marrying Mormons at Kirtland, including the bigamous Knight/Bailey pair. Here he was asserting the power of his Melchizedek priesthood, and connecting it with Adamic origins: “marriage was an institution of heaven [not the state], instituted in the garden of Eden; that it was necessary it should be solemnized by the authority of the everlasting Priesthood”. Unlike Protestant ministers, Mormon priests would have magical powers and primary authority over marriage (Van Wagoner, 1985: 8; Brodie, 1971: 183–4; Foster, 1981: 138). Second, the inclusive charismatic ritualism of the dedication of the Kirtland Temple the following spring was shaped by the explosive tensions among the Kirtland Mormons set off by the Alger affair. In choosing Oliver Cowdery to retire behind the veil to receive the visions of God and the prophets, Smith was passing over Sidney Rigdon, with whom he had shared revelations in 1832. A Book of Mormon witness and a central follower since 1830, Cowdery had been particularly hostile to Smith’s affair with Fanny Alger. By choosing him to share the highpoint of the sacred theater of the temple dedication, Smith was doling out prophetic charisma.
in an effort to reunite his unstable church polity.

Ultimately the dramatic ceremonies and visions dedicating the Kirtland Temple were not sufficient to hold the church together in the face of a mounting series of internal disputes. In addition to the Alger affair, the failure of the march of Zion's Camp in 1834 and restiveness with the growth of church autocracy also contributed to the collapse of the Kirtland Mormon community by the end of 1837. So too did an explosion of credit-buying, monetary speculation, and the rise and collapse of the illegal Kirtland Bank.

By 1836 the financial structure of the Mormon communities in Ohio and Illinois was stretched to breaking-point, with old debts coming due and new debts being incurred as the church purchased supplies on credit in the East. Under these pressures, Smith reverted to the occult. In August 1836 Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Oliver Cowdery and a small group of elders appeared in Salem, Massachusetts, and spent several weeks attempting to find treasure reported to have been hidden in an old house on Union Street (Proper, 1964; DC, 111: Brodie, 1971: 192–4; Quinn, 1987: 206–11). This effort failing, in November Smith and Rigdon conceived of the Kirtland Bank, which went into operation the following January, with the authority of a specific revelation but not a state charter. The Mormon leadership had great plans for this institution. Backed only by land mortgages in Kirtland it was to have a capitalization of $4 million. The bank would — in Smith's words — "like Aaron's rod ... swallow up all other Banks ... and grow and flourish and spread from the rivers to the ends of the earth, and survive when all others should be laid in ruins". With "the greatest of all institutions on EARTH", the bank, behind them, and reputed boxes of lead shot covered with a layer of coin in the treasury to convince the skeptical, the Kirtland Mormons were soon awash with money, and "the spirit of speculation" swept the community. In a dream of transmutation through banking which, among New Engagers, ran back to the Land Bank plans of 1720–40, and before that to banking proposals of the 1660s, Mormons assumed that their paper wealth would multiply and remultiply under their prophet's blessing. But within two months Smith and Rigdon were in court for operating an illegal bank, and the bubble burst. Over the next nine months Smith would be the target of at least thirteen lawsuits for outstanding debts, and he spent months in Missouri to avoid prosecution. In his absence the Kirtland community fragmented into warring factions. By July David Whitmer, Oliver Cowdery and Martin Harris, all Book of Mormon witnesses who maintained a fervent belief in seerstones, declared themselves the followers of a young girl who could read the future in a black stone, and who would whirl in a Shaker-like trance until she fell to the floor, spouting revelation. Her accusation that Smith was a fallen prophet fused with Cowdery's doubts of the previous summer, as well as those of the numbers of people who felt that the Kirtland Bank had been a serious error. This group became the nucleus of the "Old Standard" dissenters who continued to challenge the authority of Smith's hierarchy for the next few years until their excommunication. With other clusters of dissenters who peeped away from the Mormon establishment over the next decade, they provided the core of the "Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints", opposed to polygamy, established in 1860 (Brodie, 1971: 194–206; D. Hill, 1988: 205–17; L. Mack Smith, nd: 241–3).

These months of crisis thus brought a contest for control of the charismatic power over which Smith had been attempting to gain a monopoly since the confrontation over seerstones and spiritual powers in September 1830. In the wake of the Fanny Alger affair the church had passed an explicit statement against polygamy (in Smith's absence) and, in November 1837, Elder Solomon Freeman was tried for having bigamously married a second wife — exactly what Smith had facilitated for Newell Knight and Lydia Bailey the year before. In the same month James Brewster and his family were disfellowshipped for using a seerstone to search for treasure and to have revelations (Cook and Backman, 1985; Brodie, 1971: 187; Quinn, 1987: 201–2, 209–10). But just as they were accused of violating the church monopoly on spiritual power, the dissenters were quick to counter that Smith and his loyal leadership were in violation of moral codes and statute laws, that they were antinomian powers unto themselves. According to dissenter William McLellin, Joseph Smith and his cohorts in the Kirtland Bank "seemed to think that everything must bow at their nod — thus violating the laws of the land". John Whitmer declared that ... the whole Church partook of the same spirit; they were uplifted in pride, and lusted after the forbidden things of God, such as covetousness, and in secret combinations, spiritual-wise doctrine, that is plurality of wives, and Gadianton bands, in which they were bound with oaths, etc., that brought division and mistrust among those who were pure of heart, and desired the upbuilding of the Kingdom of God.
Reed Peck, another dissenter, introduced another theme that would appear again and again over the next decade of Mormon history.

Very many persons in the society have asserted that while the money fever raged at Kirland, the leaders of the church and others, were, more or less, engaged in purchasing and circulating Bogus money or counterfeit coin; and a good evidence that the report is not without foundation is that each of these contending parties accuses the other of this crime. (D. Hill, 1988: 206; Whittier, nd: 21-2; Peck, nd: 5)

Peck was referring to a final drama in Kirland, when — three days before Smith departed for Missouri for good — there had been a near violent confrontation in the temple between the dissenters and the loyalists. Sidney Rigdon accused the dissenters of “lying, stealing, adultery, counterfeiting, and swindling”, and they apparently responded in kind. The following April Oliver Cowdery was excommunicated for “false insinuating” that Smith was “guilty of adultery &c” and for having been “connected in the ‘Bogus’ business”. For the next year, as civil war disrupted Mormons and Gentiles in Missouri, the Mormon leadership in Missouri would continue to accuse dissenters — and be themselves accused — of counterfeiting money. Counterfeit money was a reality in the American frontier settlements, but it was also a metaphor for the breakdown of legitimacy. True or false, these accusations were one manifestation of Joseph Smith’s failure in his efforts to fuse charisma and authoritative institutions in the 1830s. He, followed by Brigham Young, would be more successful in the 1840s (see Cannon and Cook, 1983: 163).12

III

If spiritual wifery and miraculous powers are manifestations of an antinomian challenge to religious and statutory law, so too is counterfeiting. Pervasive in the frontier West, where perhaps one-third of the money in circulation was “bogus”, counterfeiting was only marginally different from the operations of the more flimsy wildcat banks. Both rested on the hope that public confidence in the printed note would make it genuine; the simple multiplication of notes would fuel an ever-expanding prosperity. Perhaps it was merely coincidental that counterfeiting accusations erupted as the Kirland community collapsed, but the production of currency and thus wealth would continue to be an important theme in the Mormon experience for at least the next few decades. And this was not the first time that an American perfectionist movement had challenged the prevailing law of marriage and had brushed up against the world of the counterfeit.

The relationship between religious perfectionism and marital and sexual “autonomy” has a history running deep into the European Middle Ages. Where Cathars and Albigenians rejected sexuality as the emblem of the Fall, prefiguring Pietist and Shaker celibacy, the adepts of the Free Spirit, sometimes known as Adamites, ranging across Europe in the late Middle Ages, made sexual freedom the touchstone of their assurance of divine perfection, claiming the primal innocence of Adam and Eve. Besieged in a separatist city-state, the militant Munster Anabaptists declared an antinomian restoration and a polygamous marital regime before they were overwhelmed and massacred in 1535; in 1567 a remnant of these militants defiantly re-established a polygamous commune in Westphalia. During the English Revolution, Ranters and others defied laws and customs of marriage and sexuality to establish sexual relationships between spiritual equals. John Milton and Henry Neville composed polygamous “utopias”; Ranters Lawrence Clarkson said of adultery, “till acted that so-called sin, thou art not delivered from the power of sin” (Cohn, 1961: 179–81, 262–71, 280; Williams, 1962: 208, 515–17; C. Hill, 1972: 106–23; 1977: 117–45).13

In the seventeenth-century colonies, similar ideas cropped up among the Gortonists in the Rhode Island settlements in the 1640s. They re-emerged a century later among the Separates of the Great Awakening in Rhode Island, in the Blackstone Valley in Massachusetts, and a scattering of towns in northeast Connecticut. Counting themselves to be perfect in holiness, immortal and even divine, some claimed the right of spiritual wifery. Most notable among these were the Wards and Finneys of Cumberland, Rhode Island, whose notoriety reached down to the 1770s to influence Jemima Wilkinson’s celibate Universal Friends, and the followers of Shadrack Ireland in the Blackstone towns of Grafton, Upton and Hopkinton, Massachusetts, among them Sarah Sartell, the wife of the Rev. Solomon Prentice of Grafton, who slept with Ireland as his spiritual wife. And such ideas continued to thrive among the Separate and Baptist churches of southeastern New England for decades: in 1765 Baptist leader Isaac Backus complained that some among the Attleboro Baptists had “been ensnared this year with antinomian notions so as not to

Whether or not European perfectionists dabbled or not in coinage is an open (and unasked) question, their American counterparts certainly did. John Finney Jr of Cumberland, Rhode Island, had baptized his father and others on a personal conviction of perfection; in 1751 he declared for “the new covenant or a spiritual union” of marriage, declaring “that Christians ought to marry in the church without any regard to Babylon, as he called rulers in the State”. His antinomian assurance took Finney in two familiar directions: within two years he had both taken a spiritual wife and been arrested for counterfeiting, a charge he escaped by fleeing from Rhode Island to New York, where he served in the French and Indian War, before dying in Grafton, Massachusetts, in 1759. Counterfeiting seems to have passed down through the family, for his nephew Apollos Finney was convicted of counterfeiting in Vermont in 1797 (McLoughlin, 1974: 77–8; Scott, 1965: 299; Finney, 1957: 9, 17, 18, 1938, 85). Similarly, Solomon Prentice Jr, son of Immortalist Sarah Prentice, was arrested for counterfeiting in 1773; after the Revolution he moved from Aistead, New Hampshire, to the Carolinas, where he was reputed to have “searched for Capt. Kidd’s treasure”. Suggestively, another member of this Immortalist family, Nathaniel Sartell of Groton, was also drawn into the occult hunt for treasure in the 1780s, with a similar lack of success (Shipton, 1951: 257; Binney, 1852: 22–4, 33; Butler, 1848: 256n).

Another manifestation of New England’s separatist antinomianism had a known connection to early Mormonism. Around 1800 a New Israelite cult, compounding treasure-hunting, alchemy, counterfeiting and perfectionist dreams of a “New Jerusalem”, rose and fell in the towns of Middletown, Wells and Poultney, Vermont. Oliver Cowdery’s father, and possibly Joseph Smith’s father also, were involved in this movement, and historians are generally agreed that it had a formative influence on the emergence of Mormonism. It also had direct connections in eighteenth-century antinomian culture. The Wood family, who were the central players in this drama, came from the Separate community in Norwich, Connecticut, one of the places touched by perfectionism (Frisbie, 1867: 43–64; Quinn, 1987: 30–2, 84–90; Garrett, 1987: 135; Scott, 1965: 299). These scattered manifestations of occult treasure-hunting and counterfeiting, spiritual wifery, immortalism and bibliclist restoration running through antinomian perfectionism in

eighteenth-century New England would reappear in the Mormon experience. Chaotic in the 1830s, these elements would find a more enduring institutional form in the 1840s.

IV

Since 1830 Joseph Smith’s prophetic authority for “a restoration of all things” had rested upon his followers’ confidence in the miracle of the witnessing of the plates from which the Book of Mormon had been translated. But by 1839 there were only two of the eleven witnesses still remaining within the fold, Joseph’s father, Joseph Sr, and his brother Hyrum. Two of the Whittmers died in 1835 and 1836, and the others, with Martin Harris, Oliver Cowdery and Hiram Page, either left the church or were excommunicated in 1838. Though several would return in later years, they would stand well outside the inner circle. In 1839 Mormonism stood poised at a serious crisis. Without a new departure, the momentum of the Mormon movement might evaporate, particularly in the wake of violent attacks by the Missouri militia and mobs.

But within five years a new Mormonism would emerge from the ashes of the old, a new Mormonism in which the hints of a priestly antinomianism which had destroyed the Kirtland Mormon community would find full articulation. An institutionalized antinomianism would be forged in temple rituals and a radically different moral order of marriage — together promising hermetic perfectionism. Linked with the establishment of a church-controlled militia (the Danites and the Nauvoo Legion) and the production of currency, the ritual performances articulating the new Mormon cosmology and marital order comprised the drama which created a Mormon identity — a new national identity, in the eyes of the Mormon hierarchy in 1845.

Smith is reported to have muttered that “I have had enough trouble with this thing”, as he buried the last surviving manuscript of the Book of Mormon in the cornerstone of the Nauvoo House, a church hotel (Brodie, 1971: 275–6). The Book of Mormon would still be a central article of faith for the Mormons after Nauvoo; but it would be overlaid with a completely new ritual order, one in which the strands of hermetic ideas running through the Mormon experience of the treasure-hunting of the 1820s would be given structure and form by an encounter with the
ritualism lying at the core of Freemasonry.

The roots of this new departure, framed as a central cadre of Mormon leadership, lay in jail in Liberty, Missouri, in the winter of 1838–9, imprisoned at the end of a second Mormon war. These men would be central figures during the five-year interlude when the church was based in the town of Nauvoo, Illinois, and in the movement to the Great Basin of Utah, where Brigham Young would come close to realizing Smith’s emerging dream of a politically autonomous Kingdom of God. It was in the Liberty jail that Parley Pratt wrote The Regeneration and Eternal Duration of Matter, a text which would be an important underpinning of the progressive perfectionism of the New Mormonism forged at Nauvoo (England, 1985: 56–7).

In 1839 the Mormons began to settle at Nauvoo, a malarial flat on the Illinois side of the Mississippi River, the title to which they acquired from sometime horse-thief, counterfeiter and Thompsonian doctor, Isaac Galland. A year and a half later, after Mormon membership topped 30,000, Smith had a revelation ordering work to commence on a new temple which would provide the ritual focus for the church. Unlike the Kirtland Temple, the Nauvoo Temple would make accommodation for the ritual of the baptism of living proxies for the dead. In Smith’s conception, the living and the dead comprised an organic whole which must be ritually reunited in baptism before the ancient mysteries could be fully restored (Andrew, 1978: 79–80; Brodie, 1971: 249, 260–2; D. Hill, 1988: 295, 314–15).

Smith’s ideas on the baptism of the dead were developed in two revelations announced in January 1841 and September 1842. In Smith’s vision, the living and the dead must be linked in a sacred and organic covenant:

For we without them [the dead] cannot be made perfect; neither can they without us be made perfect... it is necessary in the ushering in of the dispensation of the fullness of times... that a whole and complete and perfect union, and welding together of dispensations, and keys, and powers, and glories should take place, and be revealed from the days of Adam even to the present time. (DC 124: 128: 18).

If this covenant of kinship spoke of a tradition of New England religious tribalism, it also reflected the influence of Freemasonry. The previous March, Smith had formed a Masonic Lodge among the Nauvoo Mormons. In part the lodge would contribute to political ties with important figures throughout the state, but Smith was clearly attracted to Masonic ritualism and hierarchy. His exposure to Masonry extended back to the 1820s, when his brother Hyrum was a Mason in Palmyra, and to his family’s experience in Vermont. Within six months the Nauvoo Lodge had 286 members, more than all of the other lodges in Illinois combined, and by May Smith had incorporated Masonic ritual and symbolism into the Mormon system, when he began to introduce a series of temple endowments and anointings. These temple endowments were bound up in the gradual announcement between 1842 and 1844 of the full cosmology of the connection between spirit and matter, the pre-existence of intelligences, the hierarchy of heavens, and celestial (plural) marriage as the key to eternal progression into divinity (Brodie, 1971: 279–83; Godfrey, 1971: 79–90; Lyon, 1975: 435–46).

It was with this cosmology, which departed fundamentally from mainstream Christianity, that Smith reproduced the essence of the Renaissance hermetic tradition and recapitulated various strands of the early American occult experience. In describing Adam’s spirit as an immortal “intelligence... coequal with God,” Smith was working with concepts drawn from the core of the hermetic tradition, concepts which he had suggested in his (1830) Book of Moses, and which Brigham Young would perpetuate in his controversial Adam-God doctrine. And, potentially, Adam’s “co-equality” with God was no greater than that of the Mormon faithful. In his cosmology, all human “intelligences” were immortal and potentially divine (Kirkland, 1989: 171–83; White, 1987: 68–73).

Is it logical to say that the intelligence of spirits is immortal, and yet that it had a beginning? The intelligence of spirits had no beginning, neither will it have an end. There never was a time when there were not spirits; for they are co-equal with our Father in heaven. (Cannon, 1978: 179–92)

The centrality of Adam and his Godlike powers were critical to the new temple endowments, and underscore both Mormonism’s diversion from orthodox Christianity and its affinities with Masonic lore. At the core of the new temple ritual was a miracle play depicting the fall of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden, followed by the ritual granting of “keys”, passwords and secret names which would admit the Mormon into heaven. In Masonic theology, Adam had had Godlike powers in the Garden, but he also carried the “keys to the mysteries” out into the world, “keys” which descended through long lineages of patriarchs to modern Masonry. Even as he
was attracted to Freemasonry, Smith saw Mormonism as the true restoration of the "ancient mysteries", "Freemasonry, as at present", he told Benjamin F. Johnson, "is the apostate endowment, as sectarian religion is the apostate religion". In 1858 Mormon Heber C. Kimball put it even more plainly: "We have the true Masonry. The Masonry of today is taken from the apostacy which took place in the days of Solomon and David. They have now and then a thing that is correct, but we have the real thing" (Godfrey, 1971: 86; Kimball, 1986: 85; Durham, nd).

The Mormon/Masonic conception of Adam as primarily a bearer of knowledge of the "mysteries" seems to have played an important role in the Mormon reinterpretation of the Fall of Adam and Eve and of original sin. In short, Mormons rejected the idea of original sin; the Fall had merely been a transgression allowing Adam and Eve to become mortal and to propagate a lineage — a species — which gave eternal "waiting spirits" the same opportunity (White, 1987: 68–80; McMurrin, 1965: 57–68). The result was a new sin-free dispensation: Mormons were inherently perfect and beyond the bounds of human law. As I have suggested throughout this article, they were offered an antinomian perfectionism — if only they obeyed the authority of the prophet leader.

The most dramatically antinomian departure was of course "Celestial Marriage", which was finally announced as revelation in the summer of 1843. In May, in the revelation in which he specified that "all spirit is matter", Smith announced that the higher degree of "celestial glory" and its promise of "increase" would be restricted to those entering a new "order of the priesthood". Two months later Smith established the guidelines for a religious doctrine of plural marriage in the last recorded revelation of his life, written down as justification of secret practice which had been spreading among the leadership since 1841, and intended to silence the objections of his wife of sixteen years, Emma Hale Smith. Citing the multiple wives of the Old Testament patriarchs, Smith announced a "new and everlasting covenant": marriages sealed in the temple would be "for time and eternity" and would guarantee exaltation into the Celestial Kingdom. Those faithful to the new temple covenant shall "be gods, because they have all power and the angels are subject to them".

Celestial marriage would ensure godhood; plural marriage and the "continuation of the seeds forever" would enhance the level of godhood attained. Abraham was the model of the polygynous patriarch: his concubines who bore him children "accounted unto him for righteousness"; his "seed . . . both in and out of the world . . . continuing . . . as innumerable as the stars" ensured his endless rise in exaltation. With a stern admonition that "mine handmaiden, Emma Smith, receive those that have been given unto my servant Joseph", Smith's divine oracle granted him ten virgins "to multiply and replenish the earth". The groundwork had been established for "an endless procreative order" resting on a controlled yet enormously productive sexuality, simultaneously mystical and physical. Antinomian impulses were finally routinized into theology, into a sacred law which defined a dramatic sociological boundary between Mormons and Gentiles. And just as baptism for the dead elaborated a sacred kinship through time, plural marriage elaborated the kinship ties among the Mormon elite, fusing them in their common purpose (DC 131: 1, 2, 7; DC 132: 19–20, 30–9, 52, 61–3; Foster, 1981: 144–5; M.S. Hill, 1989; Kern, 1981: 144–57; Quinn, 1976).

At the same time that the Mormon cosmology moved sharply away from its Protestant Christian milieu, the Mormon polity moved closer to true state-formation, independent of the United States. The secrecy, hierarchy and civil power which developed in Nauvoo had their roots in the Mormon experience in Michigan in 1838, after the collapse of Kirtland. Mormons in Michigan had formed their own county, and in 1838 a secret military society known as the Danites was formed to protect against anti-Mormon attacks and to punish apostate dissenters. The dissenters included a number of fervent Antimasons, and their departure seems to have facilitated the establishment of secret orders, beginning with the Danites. The conception of sinlessness under a new dispensation emboldened Sampson Avard, the Danite leader, to justify looting of non-Mormon households:

... for it is written, "the riches of the Gentiles shall be consecrated to my people, the house of Israel," thus you shall waste away the Gentiles by robbing and plundering them of their property, and in this way we will build up the kingdom of God and roll forth the little stone that Daniel saw cut from the mountain without hands, until it shall fill the whole earth.

The most recent analyses of the Missouri conflicts find that Smith was fully in support of the Danites, and that the Mormon soldiers "saw nothing amiss in Avard's teachings" (LeSueur, 1987: 40–5, 114–15; D. Hill, 1988, 76–7, 225 n. 65). In Illinois, Smith obtained a
charter for the city of Nauvoo which gave the Mormons wide powers of habeas corpus over state and local law, and which stipulated the establishment of a Nauvoo Legion, an independent Mormon militia. Church leaders were almost invariably leading city officials or high-ranking Legion officers; under its state charter, Nauvoo functioned as a virtually autonomous theocratic city-state, and as conflict with non-Mormons escalated in 1844, Smith petitioned the US government for a federal charter. This Mormon institution building would be enlarged into a plan to establish a Kingdom of God first in the Great Basin of Utah and then throughout the world. In March 1844, one month before the King Follet sermon, a Council of Fifty was formed to govern the civil affairs of the church, the Kingdom of God. The Council acted in great part as a committee to support Smith's presidential candidacy, announced in January; as president Smith planned to impose Mormon theocracy on the nation as a whole. As Gentile persecution increased, and particularly after Smith's assassination, plans were made to move the church beyond the territorial limits of the United States, perhaps to establish an independent inland empire, certainly to establish the Kingdom of God (Hansen, 1967; Flanders, 1965; M.S. Hill, 1989).

Territorial separation and military organization were both means to this Mormon state-formation: the creation of currency may have been another. The story of counterfeiting at Nauvoo, and its echoes along the trail west in Utah and in early California, is complex and controversial. In Nauvoo, it is indisputable that non-Mormon outlaws living in the Mormon city-state as well as a number of Mormons themselves were involved in the extensive manufacture of false coin and bills — “bogus-making” — which was endemic throughout the Mississippi Valley. It is very much a question whether or not the Mormon leadership was involved in this enterprise in Nauvoo. One account had Joseph Smith contracting for a large quantity of counterfeit bills, with the press located in the room where temple endowments had once been administered. A federal indictment against counterfeiting in Nauvoo in the fall of 1845 listed Brigham Young and five other leading Mormons as co-conspirators; this indictment compelled Young to move to the territories several months ahead of schedule.16

Once again counterfeiting, the multiplication of money, emerged as a subtext to the Mormon story. The precise role of the Mormon elite is obviously critical, and it must be said that the evidence for their direct involvement is dubious at best. What seems to be most likely is some sort of murky middle ground, with the inner circle not directly involved, but allowing counterfeiting to be directed at the “world”, while they elaborated the Mormon cosmology for the faithful. The state of civil war in Hancock County in 1844–6 makes one inclined to believe the contemporary opinion that Mormon counterfeiting was a dimension of their broader war on the Gentiles.

The sequel to the Nauvoo story in Utah and California suggests that the inner circle were indeed aware of the counterfeiting at Nauvoo, and that this episode comprised a part of a longer process of state-formation, as the Mormon leadership sought to stabilize their polity and to assert governmental authority, not unlike the way in which Smith challenged the marital and currency laws of Ohio in 1835–6. Along the trail to Utah, Young and other Mormon leaders denounced the “bogus-makers” in their midst, in language which would be repeated in their condemnation of Mormon involvement in the California goldfields in the late 1840s and early 1850s. But, just as J. Kenneth Davies (1984) has demonstrated with regard to Mormon mining policy, the Mormon elites in early Utah seem to have had a different policy regarding their own production of currency. Mormon miners comprised a majority in the early California gold strikes, and the Mormon church in Utah in fact encouraged them to continue their mining and to deposit their gold in the Mint or National Bank, formed in 1848 at Salt Lake. This bank issued paper money, for a while using old Kirtland Bank notes, minimally backed by gold secretly brought in from the central California goldfields, and produced underweight coins at the mint (Davies, 1984). When Young and others preached against “bogus-makers” and counterfeiting on the trail west to Utah, their concern may have been that the Mormons were now isolated from the Gentiles — or it may have been part of an effort by the Mormon leadership to gain a state-like monopoly over this secular antimoniaism.

The emergence of Mormonism should be viewed in the perspective of a broader nineteenth-century era of nationalism and nation-building. Its uniqueness lay in its construction of nationality not based on language and territory, but on an absolutist religious tradition, a tradition which inspired men to speak “of whole nations being born in one day”. The strength of Mormonism’s appeal lay in
its certainty of revealed truth, and its dramatic theocratic solution to the disruptions and turmoil of a rapidly changing world. But the ways in which marriage, money and hermetic magic were mobilized worked to frame the cultural and institutional fabric of a Mormon national world-view. Legitimacy lies in the eye of the beholder, and by the 1840s Mormons and other Americans looked at each other through very different lenses. Each saw the other as fraudulent, as counterfeiters and "bogus-makers". Counterfeit money may only have been a tangible metaphor summarizing wider conflicts over legitimacy. And what was fraudulent in the eyes of Americans — Mormon theocracy revelation, ritual and plural marriage — was conversely the core of the Mormon corporate identity and the test for rejecting a corrupt America. By 1844 committed Mormons were immersed in a world-view so fundamentally alien to contemporary America that geographic separation was the only option available. In retreating into the desert wilds of the Utah Great Basin, the Mormons withdrew from the American nation to form something approaching a nation within a nation, which would endure until the end of the nineteenth century, if not well into the twentieth century.

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Notes

1. Spoken in 1844 by Sidney Rigdon at a Mormon conference at Nauvoo, Illinois. He was referring to an early church meeting in Waterloo, New York in 1830. The Prophet 4, 8 June 1844, p. 2; quoted in M.S. Hill (1989).
2. The idea of a "Restoration" of the pure church in American Protestantism has been examined recently in Bozeman (1985); Hughes and Allen (1985) and in Gura (1984). The role of "Restoration" in Mormonism is discussed in many studies, including Shipp (1985), M.S. Hill (1989), Hansen (1967) and Vogel (1988).
3. For early Modern Europe, see William (1962), Cohn (1961), and C. Hill (1972).
5. This treasure-hunting culture has been described in Bushman (1984: 70-83);

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THE DEATH OF A MORMON DICTATOR

LETTERS OF MASSACHUSETTS MORMONS, 1843–1848

EDITED BY GEORGE F. PARTRIDGE

The following eleven letters and one apostolic blessing are interesting as throwing light on the middle period of the history of the rise of Mormonism. All except the sixth and the twelfth, which were addressed to her sons-in-law, were received by Abigail, daughter of Thomas and Catherine Harback, who was born in Grafton, Massachusetts, in 1790, married Calvin Hall in 1812, and died at Sutton, in Worcester County, in 1819, "of an unknown epidemic." Mrs. Abigail (Harback) Hall had nine children, the first born in 1812 and the last in 1828. Of these nine children, two daughters married Mormon preachers. Martha S. Hall, who was born in 1819, became the wife of Jesse Haven, in November, 1842.

This Haven seems to have become a person of some importance in the Mormon church. In view of the contents of the letters printed below, it is a matter of interest to know that Jesse Haven defended polygamy in print as far away as the Cape of Good Hope. One of the paragraphs in a pamphlet he published reads as follows:

That there has been a law revealed by which a man in Zion and in Zion only or at a place commanded by the Lord can have more than one wife, we by no means deny. This law was understood by the ancient Prophets Patriarchs and Apostles.


2 The treasure room of the Harvard College Library contains a copy of an eight-page pamphlet bearing no place or date of publication, with the following title-page: "Celestial Marriage and the Plurality of Wives, By Jesse Haven, One of the Presidents of the Seventies of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and President of the Mission at the Cape of Good Hope."
I never fully understood the place in holy writ where the Lord says he will have a tried people until I came here with the Church. Sometimes I almost fear that I shall give up but by the help of the Lord I mean to endure to the end. You know little concerning the Church, I can assure you; I think that if the saints were as wise before they start as after they get here, many would not have faith enough to come. A word to the wise is sufficient. Dear Mother pray for me that I may be of the household of faith.

I thought I would improve the opportunity and send you a letter by Charles Whitel he is to leave, I believe, for the East day after to-morrow, and I hope you will all write when he comes back in the fall, if not before. You must write before that; I can't wait so long.

Tell C—— that I lost the hair that she gave me and wish that she would braid me another wrislet with her hair and one of some of yours and of the rest of you and you can send them by Charles. How do you color black with logwood without cider? Please answer all my questions when you write. There was scarcely a night during the winter but what I dreamed of you and was back there with you but I always thought I was coming back and often thought I was waiting for you to come back with me.

Sarah Scott.

Vicinity of Nauvoo,
June 16, 1844.

My Dear Father and Mother:

For such I suppose I may call you, on account of the relationship that now exists between us. Altho far distant, and having never had the privilege of beholding your faces, yet I rejoice exceedingly in the pleasure which I this day enjoy of sitting down to write a few lines to two so near and dear to me as you are. I have greatly desired to see you since I became acquainted with your daughter, and adopted into your family. But I have had to do with only hearing from you thus far. By a letter that Mrs. Haven received from you a few days since, we have the pleasing intelligence that you are all well, which blessing we also enjoy. I am glad that I ever became united to your family, for by this step I have gotten what Solomon says is a good thing. He says he that hath gotten a wife from the Lord, hath gotten a good thing.
So say I. And were it not for troubles that exist in the land, we would rejoice continually.

But because of the things that are and have been taught in the Church of Latter Day Saints for two years past which now assume a portentous aspect, I say because of these things we are in trouble. And were it not that we wish to give you a fair unbiased statement of facts as they really exist, we perhaps would not have written you so soon. But we feel it to be our duty to let you know how things are going on in this land of boasted liberty, this Sanctum-Sanctorum of all the Earth, the City of Nauvoo. The elders will likely tell you a different tale from what I shall as they are positively instructed to deny these things abroad. But it matters not to us what they say; our object is to state to you the truth, for we do not want to be guilty of deceiving any one. We will now give you a correct statement of the doctrines that are taught and practiced in the Church according to our own knowledge. We will mention three in particular.

A plurality of Gods. A plurality of living wives. And unconditional sealing up to eternal life against all sins save the shedding of innocent blood or consenting thereunto. These with many other things are taught by Joseph, which we consider are odious and doctrines of devils.

Joseph says there are Gods above the God of this universe as far as he is above us, and if He should transgress the laws given to Him by those above Him, He would be hurled from his Throne to hell, as was Lucifer and all his creations with him. But God says there is no other God but himself. Moses says he is the Almighty God, and there is none other. David says he knows of no other God. The Apostles and Prophets almost all testify the same thing.

Joseph had a revelation, last summer purporting to be from the Lord, allowing the saints the privilege of having ten living wives at one time, I mean certain conspicuous characters among them. They do not content themselves with young women, but have seduced married women. I believe hundreds have been deceived. Now should I yield up your daughter to such wretches?

Mr. Haven knows these statements are correct, for they have been taught in the quorum to which he belongs by the highest authority in the Church. He has told me that he does not believe in these teachings but he does not come out and oppose them; he
LETTERS FROM MORMONS

thinks that it will all come out right. But we think God never has nor never will sanction such proceedings, for we believe he has not changed; he says "I am God I change not." These things we can not believe; and it is by Sarah's repeated request that I write this letter.

Those who can not swallow down these things and came out and opposed the doctrine publicly, have been cut off from the Church without any lawful process whatever. They were not notified to trial neither were they allowed the privilege of being present to defend themselves; neither was any one permitted to speak on their behalf. They did not know who was their judge or jury until it was all over and they delivered over to all the buffetings of Satan; although they lived only a few rods from the council room. These are some of their names: William Law, one of the first Presidency; Wilson Law, brigadier general; Austin Coles, president of the High Council; and Elder Blakesly, who has been the means of bringing upwards of one thousand members into the Church. He has been through nearly all the states in the Union, the Canadas, and England preaching the Gospel. Now look at the great sins they have committed, the Laws' un-Christian-like conduct—Blakesly and others, Apostasy. If it is apostasy to oppose such doctrines and proceedings as I have just mentioned (which are only a few of the enormities taught and practised here), then we hope and pray that all the Church may apostatize.

After they had been thus shamefully treated and published to the world they went and bought a printing press determined to defend themselves against such unhallowed abuse. It cost them six hundred dollars. [They] commenced their paper, but Joseph and his clan could not bear the truth to come out; so after the first number came out Joseph called his Sanhedrin together; tried the press; condemned it as a nuisance and ordered the city marshal to take three hundred armed men and go and burn the press, and if any offered resistance, to rip them from the guts to the gizzard. These are his own words. They went and burnt the press, papers, and household furniture. The Laws, Foster, Coles, Hickbies, and others have had to leave the place to save their lives. Those who have been thus unlawfully cut off have called a conference; protested against these things; and reorganized the Church. William Law is chosen president; Charles Evans, bishop, with the other
necessary offices. The Reformed Church believe that Joseph has transgressed in his priestly capacity and has given himself over to serve the devil, and his own lusts. We will endeavor to send you a paper and you can then judge for yourselves. They had only commenced publishing the dark deeds of Nauvoo, A hundredth part has not been told yet.\footnote{This letter was written up to this point by Isaac Scott, husband of Sarah. The rest is in his wife's hand.}

The people of the state will not suffer such things any longer. But I am sorry that the innocent must suffer with the guilty. I believe there are hundreds of honest hearted souls in Nauvoo, but none of them I think have forgotten what they were once taught; that cursed is he that putteth his trust in man. It would offend some of them more to speak irreverently of Joseph, than it would of God himself. \textit{Joseph says that he is a God to this generation, and I suppose they believe it. Any one needs a throat like an open sepulchre to swallow down all that is taught here. There was an elder once wrote in confidence to a friend in England; told him the state of the Church here, and they showed it to some of the elders there, and they wrote back to the heads of the Church, and it caused him a great deal of trouble. I think if you would once come here, you would not put so much confidence in all who go by the name of Mormons.}

I am very much obliged for the pin ball; I think it is very pretty, and it comes from Mother so far, from old Massachusetts. I shall appreciate it highly. My health has been very good since I came to the West notwithstanding it is a sickly part of the country. I enjoy myself well this summer. My husband is everything I could wish, and I hope we may live all the days of our appointed time together. \textit{Joseph had two balls last winter and a dancing school through the winter. There was a theatre established in the spring; some of the twelve took a part—Erastus Snow and many of the leading members of the Church. Dear Mother, I hope the time is not far distant when we can enjoy each other's society, but when and where I suppose time only will determine. There is a report that a mob is coming to Nauvoo.}

\textit{Sarah Scott.}
fellow preacher, no matter how far
his fellow may surpass him in the
presentation of the word, or how much
better he may be prepared to be measured
by the hearers. If another can pre-
sent the truth more effectively than he
can, he should feel in his soul to
say, amen, and help that other to do
all the Lord may bless him in doing.

The ministers of the word should
study to make themselves helpful
to their coworkers. The more blessed
a man may be in his efforts in his own
field, the more helpful to others less
able and blessed than he should he be.
The higher his own standing, the more
assured his calling, the more useful and
helpful to his compeers should he be.
His attitude toward his comrades
should be one of confidence and
strength inspiring. He should strive
to prove to others by his deportment
against the tobacco user, to stand
when needed, and to be depended on
when found. He should be steadfast
in his purposes and his friendship,
unwavering in his allegiance to God
and the truth, and willing to endure
contumely, harshness, malice from
those without, and any amount of
misunderstanding, and misapprehen-
sion and their consequent treatment
from those within; without losing his
self-control, or allowing himself to
descend to retaliation, vituperation,
or quarrelling.

We call attention to the article, "Dry
again," by Bro. W. S. Lour, in this is-
eue.

The points made by Bro. Lour in regard to the use of harsh and unjust
epithets of comparison and censure
against the tobacco user are dealt with
the tobacco question, and the liabil-
ity of the seller to the just con-
demnation of God, for the part he
takes in catering to and fostering the
vicious, but terribly tenacious habit of
tobacco using, for which the victim is
so often and so severely censured by
preachers in the stand and writers in
the church press, are well presented
and are worth considering.

There is no question but what he
who for the purpose of gain fosters
and caters to a known depraved ap-
petite, is in a sense a party to the
folly, or the crime, if it is a crime,
which the man who yields to the
habit is guilty of in so yielding; and
the excuse, so often made, "If I do not
sell it to him some one else will" is
born of the selfishness of greed that is
the "root of evil."

We congratulate Bro. Lour on two
things; one, the fact that he has so
far secured a strong hold of himself,
maintained as long as it has been;
the other, the fact that when the subject
he not only shows the sympathy for
the appetite-bound slave to habit that is
due the unfortunate, the struggling,
and the helpless, but he deals kindly
and forbearingly with the social fel-
low criminal, the seller of tobacco,
and the one who is to bear on his
shoulder the guilt of the victim who
announces the victim, but senti-
mentally spares the aider and abettor.

We hope, earnestly so, that the
brother, having shown the strength
to abide free for a year will not again
become a servitor under the yoke of
the tobacco bondare; but will main-
tain his freedom to the end of a Chris-
tian life. The story of his struggle
so pithily told may, must help some
other man to make the effort; and in
a large degree serve to rebuke those
who pray so earnestly and wait so
pathetically patient for the Lord to
"take the appetite from them;" but
make no effort of their own will or
purpose to do themselves what they
ask God to do for them.

We know to some extent what the
brother means when he states that
after one year of abstinence from the
use of tobacco, the appetite is still
strongly upon him, and that he could
get "solid comfort" out of an indul-
gence in it; for it was our own experi-
ence. But, is it not true that a return
to the habit would bring with it
such a sense of moral defeat and
shame that would be a burden to the
soul too great to carry? "Surely,
surely;" once free, and for so long a
time, the victor is exposed to the
trusting soldier, and he cannot afford
to give himself into captivity again,
or lose the reward of the faithful.

Let those who have been too care-
less and unsympathetic in their war-
fare against the tobacco habit take
the lesson Bro. Lour would teach into
consideration; and we believe good
will be wrought in accord with his ex-
pressed desire.

\textbf{AUNT KATHARINE SALISBURY'S}
\textbf{TESTIMONY.}

At the request of many of the broth-
ern and sisters who attended the late
session of conference, Sr. Katharine
Salisbury, the only surviving sister of
Joseph and Hyrum Smith, who was
present at conference, gives her testi-
mony on one of the things of the past,
as follows:

\textbf{LAMONI, IOWA, APRIL 13, 1893.}

\textbf{DEAR READERS OF THE HERALD:-I HAVE BEEN RE-
quested to give my testimony of what I know
about my younger brother, Joseph Smith, having
spiritual wives. I was at his house in Nauvoo a
great many times, and I knew all about him except
subjects, but I never heard him at any time
mention such a thing as the plural-wife syn-
dernaries. He never talked of such a doctrine
existing until a year after his death. At
that time, on coming to Nauvoo, I was
informed that Brigham Young and others
were practicing that system. And I could not imagine
my brother had no wife except his lawful wife, Emma. He
ever had any other wives nor did he advocate such
druthine. This is my testimony.}

\textbf{KATHARINE SALISBURY.}

\textbf{ALBION, I. A. STIRHUNK.}

\textbf{TEMPLE AT SALT LAKE CITY.}

From the 8th to the 18th of April of
this year was accomplished the
work of excavating the cornerstone of
the Temple. On the 18th of that month, twenty-five men
were set at the work of excavating
for the foundation. The corner stone
was laid April 6, the same year.

In 1855 at the advent of Johnston's
army into the Territory work was sus-
pended and the foundation covered with
earth.

Four years after, the work was re-
sumed; and except for a short period
of 1858-9, when work on the railroads
in the Territory was being done, the
building of the temple was more or
less delayed. The cap stone on chief
tower was laid April 16, 1892, and a
year later the dedication took place.

The building is 186 feet long and
90 feet wide. The foundation walls
are 18 feet wide and extend 18 feet
into the ground. The walls are 9 feet
thick at the bottom and 6 feet at top.

We quote from the Chicago Record,
whose correspondent at Salt Lake
City wrote up the matter. It may not be
complete, but will contain such informa-
tion as appears the most authentic.

There are six towers, three on the east
and three on the west. The corner towers are 36
feet square at the base. Those on the east
are 290 feet high and on the west 194 feet.
The east central tower is 222 feet high, sur-
mounted by a figure with a trumpet proclaim-
ing the gospel.

The east part of the temple is for the Mel-
chisedec priesthood, representing the higher or
spiritual affairs, and the west for the Aaronic
priesthood, representative of tem-
poral existence. The figure of the east con-
trary symbolizes the cross; the middle
fourteenth chapter and sixth verse of John's
revelation.

There are in the building many stones sym-
bolical of different conditions of mankind.
Around the base are earth-stones. Above
these are stone-stones, showing the man in
its various hues, and emblematic of terres-
trial glory. Still higher than these are sun-
stones, typical of celestial, or the highest
glory of the heavens. There are also star-
stones, representing the glory of the stars.
On the west tower is the Urea Major, point-
ing to the polar star, and indicating that
there is a fixed guard for fallen mankind
which is not.
John Murdock Journal: Joseph Smith Accused of Sanctioning "Whoredom"
LDS Church Archives; MS 1194

John Murdock (best known as the father of Joseph Smith's adopted children Joseph and Julia) was serving a mission in southwestern New York at the time of the below exchange near the town of Angelica.

[Second volume of journal, pg. 66; May 1835]

29th 11 ms to Rufus Harwood's near Anjelica  Conversed with Anderson a Methodist Priest  he lied & Scandelized Br Joseph the Prophet and said he sanctioned upheld and upheld Whoredom & He bore testimony against him
[***]

[page 6] 5[th] question Was Polygamy taught & practiced [by] Joseph Smith at Nauvoo[?] I say yess, but it was not taught [sic] openly it was done secretly It was commenced some time the latter part of the year of 1842 that is it was talked about & in 1843 & 1844 it was the common talk of the members of the church [page 7] Joseph Smith married at Nauvoo Sarah Ann Whitney & it was given out that she had Married her Uncle Joseph Kingsbury who was her uncle by marriage. I talked with her Mother Old Mrs Whitney at Salt Lake City in 1863—the old Lady told me how bad she felt when Joseph Smith first broched the subject to her, how she cryed about it but/ the Prophet at last obtained her consent & promised her an other daughter to lean upon in her old age if she would consent. such a daughter had been born to her. her sons John Whitney & Orson Whitney told me that Sarah Ann was married to him at Nauvoo. [...] Joseph Smith made a proposition to my Sister Nancy Rigdon to marry him but she refused. She told her Mother & Father what Joseph had done—the story had got out was the talk of the People of Nauvoo. Joseph came to my Fathers house when he was sick abed & attempted to deny it & sister Mrs Athalia Robinson was present. Nancy was in an other room. She heard what Smith said She came rushing into the room & said to Smith You are a cursed liar You did ask me to become your wife. My Father was horror stricken to think he had a daughter who would call Joseph Smith a/ liar Smith went a way some few days; he came back again he was crying he asked Fathers & Mothers forgiveness & shook hands with all the family that were present & Nancys [hand] & went away & there the matter rested. My Fathers cousin who lived at Laharp 25 miles from Nauvoo quite a prominent Mormon was at the duication [dedication?] at Kirtland Ohio came to Nauvoo to learn if it was true [page 8] that Polygamy was being taught then he called on Joseph Smith with whom he had been Well acquainted Ever since the building of the temple at Kirtland Ohio & told Smith what he had come for & pretended if it was taught he was in favor of it/ Smith said it was & said to him at that interview that he had made a proposition to Nancy Rigdon to become his wife & she like a fool had to go & blab it.
Statement of Lewis S. Coryell

A copy of the following statement is available in the LDS Church History Library. It was excerpted from Gen Hotchkin. Ancient & Modern Germantown, Mt. Airy, and Chestnut Hill, and is supposed to have come from a library abbreviated LAP. LIBR.

In the section regarding Germantown (apparently Pennsylvania), on page 214, is found the following:

Ward adds the following interesting note[...]. All of Ward's manuscripts deserve print. [...]:

"Ann Hilborn (daughter of Ichabod and Sarah Wilkinson) was the wife of William Hilborn, who moved to Stockport, Wayne county, with Samuel Preston, and subsequently to the River Susquehanna near the Great Bend. Their daughter married Joe Smith, the founder of Mormons. I have been at their house and saw the knob of a hill in which Joe pretended to have discovered the Mormon Bible with gilt leaves and binding unsullied. Joe was a raftman of lumber, and so misbehaved toward his wife that she returned to her father's. But after he founded the Mormon sect and became surrounded by proselytes she returned to his embraces as one of his wives, and became a fanatic.

(Signed) Lewis S. Coryell"

No date is given for this statement, and the identity of "Ward" is not clear from the excerpt.
The early (1832) volume of the Leonora Cannon Taylor diary also contains a brief autobiographical sketch for the years 1833-1844.

This sketch describes a number of dangerous incidents and "privations" she and her children endured, including losing a finger to infection and losing a baby. Immediately after describing the loss of both a finger and a child in 1840, she writes:

I had many Tryals about this Time but I am yet alive, the Brethren were to taken to Carthage Brother Joseph & Hyrum killed. Mr Taylor was Wounded very badly, but the Lord mercifully spared his life Docter Richards was in the Prison at the time

Immediately following the autobiographical sketch, on an otherwise blank page appears the following, written in very large letters, horizontally across the page, in pencil:

Come Joseph  
Don't be filling that up with boltherdosh [balderdash?] how is your garden this year  
I'll show you some summer  
apples my lady  
O Dear

The reference to "Tryals" may also allude to plural marriage; and the content of the above verse suggests its connection with Joseph Smith asking John Taylor for Leonora, as a test of faith.

The remainder of the volume consists of drawings of horses and the like, with the following note on the back flyleaf:

the Lord has often led me by a way that I knew not and in a path that I naturally did not wish to go, evry sweet has had its bitter, the way [illegible] to me, narower evry day without his allmighty power to help me I cannot walk in it to whom shall I go or look for succor but unto thee my Father & only Friend

Nauvoo  
Jan 28th 1845  
12 aniversary of my Mariage

The other volume of Leonora Cannon Taylor's journal begins with 1846, and appears not to contain any earlier material.
Come Joseph
Don't be filling that up with boltherdosh [balderdash?] how is your garden this year
I'll show you some summer
apples my lady
O Dear
The Oliver Olney Papers

Originals at Yale
Microfilm in LDS Church Archives—MS 8829, Item 8

Document 1, Record Kept by Oliver Olney, April 6 - 12, 1842

[page 1]
City of Nauvo[o] April 6th 1842 ILL
[Olney discusses the denunciation of him recently published in the Times and Seasons, and defends himself]

[page 4]
[***]
We have of late had an institution
Amongst us set up
By a man from a distance
Said to be Masonry in its best state
As I am not a Mason
I know not of it[s] Charms
say
But thay ^ threw it to obtain
The fulness of the P-hood
That I say they have lost
Because of their unlawful works
Again this wise mason
That came from the East
In the name of the Lord

[page 5]
To establish a lodge
In the name of the Lord
As he caled the Antients Prophets
That long since lived as being masons
That has much encouraged the saints
They think soon to arise to perfection
to some few secrets

They have obtained
That doth much encourage them
On the way to meet the Coming
Of the son of Man
As he is soon a coming
With the saints in the air
They now for his second advent
Are wishing to be prepared
That they may ever be with him
The Father and son
The master Mason instructed them
In many good things
He said there was certain degrees
For the Fair sex of the land
They soon met in Union
A lodge to form but changed the name
That they mite be distinguished
From the Lodge of the men

[***]

[page 6]
[***]
[ . . . ] I must
say
^ it is with feeling of no ordinary kind
That I now sit down to wield my pen
against my once beloved Bretheren
That I have ben conversent with abo-
about eleven years they have at all
times had my best feeling I have
coverd up their falts time and again
even by stretching the truth

to throw a mantle over them an
t heir unwise doing I feel in duty
bound to take my pen an to defend
the inosent that cannot speak for
themselves as there is an order of
things peculiar to it self in the Citty
of Nauvoo. As they have a Corpora-
tion they make their own laws.

To suit their minds. If a man is inclined
an does lis a word derogatory to the
Character of any of the privileged few

[page 7]
[he] is liable to imprisonment and a fine
as the case may be With in a few days a
man was put under bonds for speak
ing lightly of the veracity of one of the
Twelve of thre[e] hundred dollars
for an assurance that in futur he might
hold his peace[ . . . ]

[***]

[page 9]
City of Nauvoo April 8th 1842
[Olney attended Conference; also reports a vision he's recently
had; and the interpretation is that Joseph Smith has been
having the Saints make friends with the Mammon of
unrighteousness, seek to be taken in by the arms of the world,
etc. He also criticizes the Nauvoo Legion, its "pomp and
splendor," etc.]

[page 10]
[***]
[JS is mocked—e.g.]
I see[e] the prophet Joseph Smith arayd [in military costume]
At the head [of the Legion] because of his power with God
I see[e] him stand I see[e] him move
I see[e] him gain in the eyes of the world
At the same time loose

His power with God
[***]
I see[e] him strive to be very great
In goods and chatels. He was blest
Land and tenements around
Did much exalt his mind
[***]
But because of popularity and pride
God left him a season to him self

[page 12-14]
[April 10—Olney gives his report on the Conference of the past
few days—themes include intimations of the endowment
("power from on high"), the mission of the Twelve, importance
of the Nauvoo House, the Relief Society]

[page 14]
[***]
It will be well for the sisters
To have their eyes on the
First and second degrees of Masonry
As the society is now being organized
They may possibly come in am
Amongst the first
[***]

[page 15]
[***]
So I pass by the Confernce
As of not much account
As there did not appear to be
Much Business to be don
Altho they spoke of lying and tatiling
And some of the twelve a trying to be
Verry intimate with females
But if it was so I thought as they had wives[?]/ [of their own]
That they might a wated[?]
Untill the woman [or women] takes
The second degree of Masonry
[***]

["of their own" is added by Olney in a later rewrite of the above]

Document 2, comprising entries from April 6, 1842 to August
19, 1842

[***]
May 1st 1842 City of Nauvoo
[Speaks of going to meeting to hear Joseph preach...]
He will tell them of being endowed
With power from on high
He will reason both long and loud
To show the key word of Gods power
The mind that does desire to arise
In the Estimation of Joseph Smith
He must let him have his money
And he will lead him throw
The Golden gate of Heaven
But those 'that kept their money back
He says he will leave them far behind

[page _____]
That they with him will have no home
To enter Threw the Heav[en]ly gate
In to a Heavenly rest
[***]
The Prophet spoke of being endowed
With power from on high
They spoke of power that was of God
They spoke of works By it performed
To heal the sick by the prayer of faith
To cast out Deavils raise the Dead
And well declare the Council of God
This in connection with all the gifts
Compose the endowment
Of those sent to preach
But says Joseph Smith
If you with me desire to share
In blessings that is Good On me depend
And I will take you all a long
If I for you do say to do
You in return must do for me
In money Goods and Chatels
Or I will leave far behind
As the keys of the Kingdom of God
Like the Apostle Peter I possess
Thus I can save you or dam you as I please
[***]
I now again for afternoon
At two o clock to meeting I went
And attentively set and attentively set
To hear them preach
They spoke of many things
[page ]
That I said was good
They caleed for a reformation
Both long and loud
They desided to mend and repent
Of all their ungodly deeds
I see[el] they well understand
Of what they have ben about
They spoke of their sins Cases
of Adultery fornication
[***]
[...they have caleed on the members
soon to meet And reform.
[***]

[page]
The daily moves That I have seen
Would establish a king In te Citty of Nauvoo
Or we may say in one sense has took a stand[?]
That a [illegible] against him

A man is in danger of his life
As a secret Combination now is formed
To stand by each other At the expens of their lives
At the expens of their lives
[***]

[The following pages cover May 6 and May 7, with entries especially on the Nauvo Legion, also in the May 7 a prophecy that in ten years they wil be 600,000 strong—I think referring to the church rather than the Legion; Saints England and everywhere are to gather in; criticizes what he sees as LDS militarism]

[May 8 – JS ill but spoke two hours]

Citty of Nauvoo May 13th
[***]
As it is a time of Reformation
Amongst the Latter day Saints
I met with them in meeting
The members...
[***]..spoke of a determination
To do as well as say
That it should be well with them
In a futer day I see[el] they was willing
In a Reformation to go a head
[***]
[Danites restored]

Again I would say to you respecting
Respecting a plurality of wives
They be a trouble to you
As they will harrass you
Both by knight and by day
They will depend on you for a living
That will come out of the tithing of the L.D.S.
Be satisfied with one as is the custom around
With you in the and it will be as well
I now draw to a close By saying to you
The revelations you have received
Respecting many wives
It is the desire of the heart[?]
Or from old smartfoot himself
[***]

June 4, 1842
[***]
Again I look at the storys
That takes the daily rounds
That raises much smoke
If there is not much fire
As there is a connection Between smoke and fire/
So I must say of the doings of the Citty
And the Storys afloat
Some noted ones of the Citty
Is said to have power
To seal the assurence of an eternal rest
City of Nauvoo Saturday June 18th 1842

[Meetings are being held to show what a rascal John C. Bennett is, and that he was a rascal all along; Olney finds this suspicious—an apparent smear campaign that reminds him of what was said about some of the leading brethren in Kirtland. Till a few days before Bennett’s virtue had been esteemed “Eaven above the virtue of any man”; but now “he is the meanest lower” He says of the other leading brethren and Bennett:]

Thay have moved together hart and hand in all their windings.
If Bennett had not a moved quite so fast all would a ben well now as I look at things with them.

[Olney writes as if to the church leaders, about themselves.]
And you know they a talking about
Raising up a Righteous Branch look at their houses They lack in size in rooms and conveniences, To accommodate their numerous wifes and maidens as they say
Old David and Solomon had that they say was the antient order of God
They say you have ben a praying for te Antient order and your pray-
ers have ben herd in the Ears of the Lord of sabeth And because of your faith
The antient order is a coming like a tornado on us And you must put hand to and help build[?] and assist by putting all your means in our hands that we may not lack in substance to do on our part As God is anxiously looking and
a waiting to make[?] forth his work on the Earth to prepare for his coming and Kingdom on —The Earth.
You well know that the royal Blood must arise, As we can do nothing with This present gentile uncircumcised race I suppose you have not all herd them come out with their strong reasoning of thus and thus saith the Lord
But they think it ‘good’ to keep A profound secret

[They think they have “A profound secret”—“In it there is a Union/As I se[e] it on a high hill/****’It being a connection between/The first to the forth degrees of masonry’]

[I se many a looking To se who they would ketch But the calves made a blunder I se after raids [?] and the females heard out And their Sociey Broke up]

[***]

June sixth City of Nauvoo
[Upbraieds the traveling elders for bringing converts to “the fountain head” of wickedness.]

City of Nauvoo June n-th [ninth?] 1842
[Goes to meeting, then sits down to write a history of the church; criticizes it at length]

June 15th Nauvoo
[Olney has a vision of the Saints paddling around in the mud]
I se[e] this noted Company
A padding in the mud
Thay there desired To raise up righteous
A Righteous Branch
Of fruits of their own
I look at a society By the females formed
That had took a degree of Masonry
And the second about to receive
At an instant sudenly a rush was made
But because of the mud, thunder ensued
That caused some room for meditation
And the females cleaned out
They thus became disheartened and sunk
[***]
I had a vew of other degrees of Masonry
That would soon a ben the theme
But I se[e] the instuition broke up
[A trap is then set for the women]
[Olney has the interpretation.]
That they have abused Their own Companions
By being free with females of ill fame
And others they have taken the advantage of
By saying thus and thus saith the Lord

[Olney then states that if his vision is not accepted by the people, he will “prove facts” and “Names will I mention”]

If they have don ever so bad
If their doings have ben ever so bad
It is don threw the authority of the P-hood
That threw the institution of masonry
They have received Of masonry
[***]
As I of late have herd That daily salutes my ears
As I am passing and repassing
Threw the City of Nauvoo
That infants are found of which no account is given
Has ben given of them
I pass by particulars
And speak on general terms
And say there is to much smoke
To say there is no fire
I now draw to a close and say The half is not told
[The "Sosiety" is apparently the order of men trying to ensnare women.]

Citty of Nauvoo June 24th 1842
[***] On a day set a part To se and be seen
As this is a day of Fate[?] for many to meet
To strike heart and hand in Nauvoo
As a loge is formed The Masons meet
To prepare for the fullness of the P-hood
That will enable them to wind up
As envy of Wickedness In this age
[***]

June 30th 1842 Citty of Nauvoo
[***]
I suppose if they knew of my doings
They would say of me as of others
That they would give me a pass
down the river on the back of a catfish
But I think the poor fish
Must have a hard job
As the story is They have propell[?]
Infants down the rappid[s] of the Mississippi
That the river is so clogged
That it is with trouble that the steamboats-
The Steem boats gets up or down
This is but a story I don't think it half true
As it comes in contact
With their raising up a Righteous Branch

July 2nd 1842 Citty of Nauvoo
[***]
[Talks of John C. Bennett's fall because of his "misdoings"]
A court marshal was held His case to deside
And the women 'caled/ witnesses against him
That is said that he has seduced
[***]
I will now speak of doings That is said
To be kept in the dark But busy lodges
Cannot be joke but must speak of doings
That now is in Voge
As a company is a forming
In to the Rocky mountains to go
As far west as the Rocky mountains
And that without delay
Yes men women and children
Amongst the natives of the far west
Let this subject be looked to As this is what they say[??]
That they must go where there is no law
To baffle them in their doings
[***]
[Says the above is "the secret whispering amongst those engaged to go" west.]

Citty of Nauvoo July 3rd Sunday
[Reports somewhat on a JS sermon and a talk by Hyrum]
[***]

They and Bennett is all of a Clan
As they have ben hart and hand together
Untill with in a few weeks
[***]

July 4th 1842
[Mentions the Saints saying that Daniel's prophecy about the stone to break to pieces the kingdoms of the world is beginning to be fulfilled; nothing on polygamy, etc.]

July 7th 1842
[Says phrenology is true at least in Joseph's case, because the recent phrenological reading of him found him highly amative and "passionately fond of women (Correct)."
[***]
But I have feelings To encourage you
to go a head in masonry Phrenology
[***]
Also go ahead in Poligamy
And raise up a Righteous brach [sic]
Some where near the Rocky Mountains
In the far west, Where no law can trap[?] you
Or hinder you on the way
[***]

July 27th 1842 Citty
[On John C. Bennett]
February 16, 1847
[Brigham Young's 'adopted' family met in the afternoon, and were instructed by him:]

President Young stated [...] that the church to a great extent to this day was ignorant of the doctrine of family relations. Of the sealing principles And the necessity there for. and to learn of these things is the object before us.

[***][Brigham Young speaks of jealousies among priesthood quorums, then:]

   Principle of the plurality of wives. Multiply & replenish the earth. did not. Inhibitors[?] corrupted themselves. and devised means to cut off his existence. - Law to have more wives than one. One says if get married I dont know but I shall get another mans wife. &c. ask Joseph or Brigham dont know but. he will want her - Jealousies arise. - call on ignorant Elders & get married. - there afraid. feer will be their torment. they carry a little hell in bosom had no fear but he should have his right if he was not satisfied. would appeal to the circuit court &c to the king's bench
   Tell the elders to go out & get all they could to be sealed to them . & they would Lie cheat. steel or even murder, through jealousy to get men sealed to them and all through jealousies.

[***]
[There is some further discussion of the law of adoption.]
Sarah Pratt a Source for Theodore Schroeder

From "Theodore Schroeder Mormon Antagonist—Content and Significance of the Theodore Schroeder Collection New York Public Library," MS 9030, LDS Church Archives

[page 3]

During those years Schroeder had befriended Sarah Pratt, the widow of Orson Pratt, and James Cobb. ... They funneled to him much of the 'inside' information he used to sweeten his concoctions of expose [sic].
Journal, J. Golden Kimball
MS 1354, LDS Church Archives

June / May 31st 1898

[***]

[At a meeting of the officers of the Young Men's MIA, Wilford Woodruff testifies that Joseph Smith gave the keys to the Twelve, and then testified:]

I further declare and testify to you who are here assembled, "That Joseph Smith gave endowments in his day, and revealed the law of Patriarchal Marriage."["

[***]

[J. Golden Kimball writes that he has heard his father testify the same, and adds:] I have heard three of the Prophet Joseph's wives, who were sealed to Father after the Prophet's death, testify that they were the prophets wives and lived with him as wives.
There is nothing on Joseph Smith polygamy.

There is correspondence between J. L. Traughber, Jr., a former Mormon, who writes to Cobb (March 30, 1886) indicating he has a manuscript on Mormonism prepared for print, which he apparently at first was co-authoring with Clark Braden.

In another letter (June 8, 1886) of Traughber to Cobb, Traughber refers to Cobb suggesting that the two of them co-author a book. But Traughber now wonders if he (Traughber) should just give his material to Wyl to work into his book.
Brigham Young to William Smith, "City of Joseph, Aug 10th 1845"
in Brigham Young Collection, CR 1234/1; Reel 24; LDS Church Archives

Brigham Young responds to a letter from William Smith, which had been considered in council by the Twelve.

Smith had asked if the Church would reimburse him for certain expenses, purchase his house for him, etc.

He also asked about his ability to seal marriages, as below:

To your question, "When the Brethren call on me to be sealed to their [page 2] wives, their dead friends, or also to get patriarchal blessings for their dead—what shall I say to them?" Of what use for sealing when every thing of the kind must be done over again in the Temple to make it valid? And it is not according to the order of the church to confer Patriarch Blessings on the dead by proxy, until baptism &c has been attended to for them by proxy, which must be done in the Lord's House. therefore, any thing of the kind done at this time would be of no effect.

You refer to "Joseph's teachings up stairs in the brick store, that the Twelve have power to build up the kingdom of God &c," which the Twelve well recollect. And they also recollect that Joseph said that the sealing power is always vested in one man, and that there never was, nor never would be but one man on the earth at a time to hold the sealing power—keys of the sealing power in the church, that all sealings must be performed by the man holding the keys or by his dictation, and that man is the president of the church.

Hyrum held the patriarchal office legitimately. So do you. Hyrum was counsellor. So are you, but the sealing power was not in Hyrum, legitimately, neither did he act on the sealing principle only as he was dictated by Joseph.—in every case. This was proven, for Hyrum did—in one case—undertake to seal without counsel, & Joseph told him if he did not stop it he would go to hell and all those he sealed with him.
Comments in brackets are my notes on the journal. Comments without brackets are direct quotations from the diary.

I have identified the mentioned persons as follows:

"Minnie" Minnie (Knell) Robinson—Joseph E. Robinson's wife
"Mother Knell" Ann (Green) Knell (1835-1920)—Minnie's mother
"Grandmother Green" Susannah (Phillips) (1816-1902)—Ann's mother
"Robert" Robert Green (1842-1928)—Susannah's son
"Aunt Lizzie" (Oct 2) Probably Mary Elizabeth (Green) Harris (1847-1911)—Susannah's daughter
"Aunt Lizzie" (Oct 26) May be same as above; but appears to be in the wrong place.

[October 1, 1902—Minnie's "Grandmother Green" doesn't recognize "Mother Knell, nor her son Robert, daughter Lizzie nor Minnie and I."]

[October 2, 1902—Grandmother Green dies, at age 86.]

[October 4, 1902—Attended funeral of Minnie's grandmother in Layton.]

[October 5-6, 1902—"saw Robert & Thomas."]

[On October 7, 1902, "up town" from Salt Lake City, and saw "Father Knell" off on the 7.05 train. Also visit Badgers and "Lizzie Harrison."]

Wednesday Oct 15 1902
Left for San Fran at 9.45 A.M. with Elder Gustaveson and Miss Olga Oleson. Mother Knell got on train at Layton also "Robert and Aunt Lizzie" her brother and sister. At Ogden the two latter went on to Collinston [Utah] [...]  

[Note that "Mother Knell" goes to California with him, while "Robert and Aunt Lizzie" go to Collinston, Utah, on the Utah-Idaho border. Since both Robert and Lizzie lived in Idaho, they were no doubt returning home.]

[October 24, 1902 mentions "Sr. Knell" being with himself and Minnie in San Francisco.]

[October 25, 1902—in Sacramento, then went to Tuvelu(?)]

Sunday Oct. 26 1902  
[***]  
During the afternoon I called on Aunt Lizzie - finding her not quite so well but cheerful etc. She told me again of the attempts made by the Josephites to get her to deny the fact that she knew Joseph Smith had more than two wives. Said he married a Pratt girl and that Olive Frost had a child by him and that both died."
This "Aunt Lizzie" is in California, in the Sacramento area, even though the Aunt Lizzie mentioned in October 2 entry apparently did not come to California, and did not live in California. Was she in California for some reason, although Robinson didn't mention her coming? Or is "Aunt Lizzie" here another woman?

[October 27, 1902—returns to San Francisco—mentions an Elder Harrison, one of his missionaries.]

[November 3, 1902—they see Mother Knell off.]
Desdemona Wadsworth Fullmer, Papers; Church Archives, MS 734

This autobiography is not the one quoted in the D. Michael Quinn Papers. And it may be incomplete. However, I checked both the microfilm and the original manuscript, and the extant document ends abruptly with Joseph Smith confirming her dream.

---

June the 7 1868

Desdemona F. Smith [with Smith being written over another name]

I want to write a short history of my life [...] 

[***]

[... soon after... I went to Kirtland with a few saints, and I lived one year there. During that time a great number of the members turned against the church. Oliver Cowdery/ with others would say to me are you such a fool as still to go to hear Joseph the fallen prophet... [...]

[page 3]

[***]

[After mentioning her move to Nauvoo, and living there till the spring after "the war" there:]

[... the first year in this place, I suffered with hunger. I married [sic] an elder of [the] church soon after, lived with him a few years during this time

[Describes her husband turning against Brigham Young and the church, and the leaving the church with a Morrisite woman—apparently in Utah.]

[...] In the rise of polygamy, I was warned in a dream Amy [sic] was going to poison me. I told my dream to brother Joseph; he told me it was true. She would do it if she could

[End of extant text]

[A note on the outside of the folded document reports that Desdemona Fullmer:

"had only one child which died a few weeks old. Shortly after it was sealed to Joseph [illegible] left her husband

H. McClean(?)"

The question mark is in the original. There is also a stamp on this page that says "Jenson's Bio. Enyc."]
This record appears to be a slight expansion on his original day-to-day diary, made within a few years after the original.

[p. 73]
[September 1841]

2nd I came to Preston [England]. [...] there has been a certain Principle manifested here which I shall mention. there has been a select little Company who have looked upon themselves as better than the rest, they met together as a choice Band, where they obtained Manifestations which it was not lawful to tell to the common Saints, nor even to me, though [I was] at the time presiding, it was shewn to them who should be Companions in another World; that they would not be united as they are now, (these were mostly Females). they had many strange Visions, of these things I got to hear by degrees, and 'on' of their Company came to [me] a short time ago to ask my forgiveness, as she had pronounced a Curse [p. 74] or Woe upon me. [...] I did not get to know of the new Companion Revelation till a short time ago. I then said it was not of God, and if one of the Twelve should sanction it, I should still reject it, soon after I was with Elder P. P. Pratt, and asked him if it were of God, he said "no", it had been the same in Manchester while a certain Female from Preston was living there, some one had been marked out for him, and some were still believing that they should have such & such an one In Preston, they were much afraid of me knowing of these things— Others have prophesied (Females) of things pertaining to the Elders, one, that an Elder's Wife would die and he should be married to another certain Person, and the Elder, for want of Experience more I think, than Want of honesty, [p. 75] really thought it was true or from the Lord, I often cautioned this Sister to be careful about her Dreams, [...] [***] [Says God doesn't given revelation for the men through women, etc.]

[p. 76]
Another thing I will mention here there had been a too great Familiarity between the Brethren and Sisters in this Land, this I saw; but had not so much Firmness as I should have had, but rather partook in it, and when the 12 returned last year, to this Land they checked this Evil, yet some who came from America, went far beyond any thing we had ever done or sanctioned, so much so that E C went into Bed with different Women and endeavored to persuade them it was no harm and while I was in Manchester last Week, I was informed that a Sister was in a tate of Pregnancy by an E er who persuaded her [p. 77] it mattered not how familiar they were with one another so [long as] they did not actually commit Adultery or Fornication, till they got into Bed together, and were overcome, and he thus received the young Sis, and the inducement he held out to her, was that E C had often slept with Sis P and there was no harm in it. It seems also that E T [Turley] has been cut off from the Church since he returned to America for the like Sin. what do their Wives think of such things, I feel myself to be weak, but the Lord has preserved me at least from outward Sin, to God be all the Praise. Yes, I am very thankful that I have been thus preserved

O Lord, my God, do thou keep me unspotted to the End for Jesus Christ's sake
Amen.
Statement of Dennison Lott Harris, 15 May 1881
LDS Church Archives
MS 2725

This statement was made by Dennison Lott Harris, son of Emer Harris, who was brother to Martin Harris.

This is typed copy of the statement.

---

Sunday, May 15: 15 May 1881

VERBAL STATEMENT OF BP. DENNISON L. HARRIS
Of Monroe, Sevier C., Utah, made by him to President Jos.
F. Smith in the presence of Elder Franklin Spencer, at the
house of Bp. Dorius of Ephraim, Sanpete Co., Utah, on Sun-
day Afternoon, May 15th, 1881

Reported by George. F. Gibbs

[***]

You know Brother Joseph, (here the speaker addressed himself to Bro. Joseph F.
Smith) that the Prophet started over the river, just before he gave himself up, to go away;
it might be that he intended or meant that he would leave the place, and it might be that
he knew his life would be taken. I could not say as to that.

Before leaving Joseph put a seal upon our mouths, and told us to tell nobody not
even our fathers for 20 years. He cautioned us very seriously, and I did as he told me.

There was one thing that Joseph said which I have not related. He said: they
accuse me of polygamy, and of being a false prophet, and many other things which I do
not now remember; but, said he, I am no [page 6] false prophet, I am no impostor; I have
had no dark revelations, I have had no revelations from the devil. I have made no
revelations; I have not got anything up myself. The same God that has thus far dictated
and directed me, and inspired me and strengthened me in this work, gave me this
revelation and Commandment on Celestial and Plural marriage; and the same God
Commanded me to obey it. He said to me that unless I accept it and introduce it, and
practise it, I, together with my people, should be damned and cut off from this time
henceforth. And they say if I do so, they will kill me. What shall I do! What shall I do! If
I do not practise it, I shall be damned with all my people. If I do teach it and practise it and urge it, they say they will kill me, and I know they will. But said he, we have got to observe it, that it is an eternal principle, and that it was given to him by way of Commandment and not by way of instruction."
That is about all.
[***]

[page 7]
[***]

N. B.

This statement was made under the following circumstances: Bro. Harris spoke to Bro. Jos. F. immediately before the forenoon meeting of Sunday saying that he would like to relate the foregoing to him; consequently an appointment was made, and Bro. Jos. F. asked me to be present to take what Bro. Harris might say in short hand. The time appointed was after the morning meeting. As the afternoon meeting had been announced to commence half an hour earlier than usual [most of line illegible because of damage to film] opportunity to make Moroni and Fountain Gree that evening on their home) the time at our disposal to hear Bro. H. also to eat dinner was not sufficient to enable [page 8] him to do justice to it. He told it in his own way and had to hurry at that.
George F. Gibbs, Reporter.
Luman Andros Shurtliff  
Autobiography  
Church Archives  
MS 1605  

Catalog record gives time of composition for this item as "ca. 1852-1876."

[ ]

[p. 114—leaves Kirtland for Zion on April 12, 1838]

[p. 116—stopped somewhere on the prairie still traveling to Zion:]  
[...]While here some of my company accused me of believing false doctrine. On inquiring into the matter it was like this. While I and Br Leister was going from Kirtland to Sullivan to see about getting our Teems [i.e., about mid-March 1838] in our conversation on the advancement of the Kingdom of God on the Earth I told him I believed that the time would come when men in this church/ would have more then one/ Wife. Br Gaylord had told his Wife and she had told Sister Williams and Sisters Williams had told Br Williams and [p. 117] They had talked it over and concluded it was ridiculous for an Elder to believe such an awful doctrine/ When I herd what they had to say which was a great deal I/ said I/ wished to speak in my defence in this matter In the Book of Doctrine and Covenants Section 109 paragraph 4 We declare that we believe that one man should have one Wife. And one woman but one husband except in the case of Death when either is at liberty to marry again. This shows plainly that when the Lord gave this revelation he left the door open for a man in this church to have more then one Wife When commanded so to do I also read in the Prophets that in the latter days Seven women should take hold of one man saying we will Eat our own bread and wear our own cloths that we may be called by the name of one man then marry him Again I read in Acts that the Lord would restore all thing spoken off/ or taught by all the holy Prophets since the World began Was the Polig’a/my of Abraham Jacob David Solomon and many others spoken of if so that must be restored I also understand that the Gospel must be preached among all Nations and all those who believe and are baptised shall be saved and enjoy all the privileges of this Kingdom Also than one third of the Nations of the Earth are now in the belief and practice of polygamy. Now if you should be sent to preach the Gospel to or in a Nation practiceing polygamy and a man should believe and all his House or family And ask or demand Baptism at your hands What would you do Why sais Br W I would Baptise him Then if three Wives and thirteen children (of these wives) should come forward for Baptism what would you do Br W replied I dont know.  

After a few minutes silence he said to me Br Shurtliff what would you do I replied I would Baptise all that believed and teach them to love each other and go to Zion as soon as they could and all would be right. This ended the conversation Except Sister [p. 118] Williams she rose up and as she left said I tell you by Shurtliff if such things are ever practiced in this church I will leave it before Night that I will I think no other word of that nature passed between us for over six years while near her in one of the upper Rooms of the Temple in Nauvoo while a Br was passing through the Room with two women to the Sealing Room to be Sealed I said to Sister Williams what do you think of that she replied O that is all right I then said then you dont think of leaveing to night O no I am perfectly satisfied [...]  

[Arrive in Far West June 2, 1838]
An Ordinance Concerning Marriages

Sec 1. Be it ordained by the City Council of the City of Nauvoo, that all male persons over the age of fourteen \seventeen/ years, and females over the age of fourteen years, may contract and be joined in marriage: Provided, in all cases where either party is a minor, the consent of parents or guardians be first had.

Sec 2. any persons as aforesaid wishing to marry, or be joined in marriage, may go before any regular: Minister of the gospel, Mayor, Alderman, Justice of the Peace, Judge or other Person, authorized to solemnize marriages in this state, and celebrate or declare their marriage in such manner and form, as shall be most agreeable; either with or without License.

Sec 3. Any person solemnizing a marriage as aforesaid shall make return thereof to the City Recorder, accompanied by a recording fee of fifty cents, within thirty days of the solemnization thereof; [...] with a penalty of $20 for failure to do so [...].

Passed February, 17, 1842,                                      John C. Bennet, Mayor

James Sloan Recorder
[Outside label:]
"Meeting of the Twelve & others in the Recorder's Office [Nauvoo]."

[Document proper:]
"Febry 27. 1845 – Council in office –
[The Council of Twelve, with W. W. Phelps, discusses one James Emmett, who is going
into the wilderness to preach to the Lamanites. He says he was given a mission to do so
by Joseph Smith, but he has not been authorized by the Twelve.]
[***]

[page 5]

[***]
B. Y. [....] Jos. wanted we "visit the Lamanites—I commit to Br B. the keys of the
Kingdom to the Lamanites"]—he committed them to me—we visited & preached to
them they believed it, we have heard a many times from them - Phelps
sd 6 or 8. went over the boundaries of the U.S. to preach – Jos. went to prayer – he then
commenced a revelation that Martin was to marry among the Laminites- & that I was to
preach that day- &c &c it was a long revelation- we have a living Constitution - there
is enough for every day - if we die let us all die together, & there will be a jolly lot of
spirits dancing into the next world— it wont be to hell, for there is no fiddles there – […]

[Note that discussion of the Lamanite marriage revelation appears to end with the
statement "it was a long revelation."]
The next morning, when we were informed that a postcard had been received, containing the information that a great event would be announced on the following Sunday, we therefore concluded to come on. Upon our arrival in New York City, and upon our receiving this message, we at once selected one or both of us to call on our Prophet, Messrs. Ginger and Scott being very anxious to see us.

Mr. C. offered to advertise us, by printing the handbills and issuing the same in the windows of the stores, shops, and houses about town, but we respectfully refused for reasons that we did not explain to him, and it is perhaps not necessary to state them here. They urged us to attend their prayer meeting on the evening of the 15th, but we of course consented. Soon after we sat down in the meeting house, Mr. Dille, the presiding officer, announced that the meeting was to begin at one o'clock. The meeting was opened and a vote was made and an adjournment was taken.

Elder Pratt then gave a plain and simple narration of the early experiences in the Church, and relating many interesting incidents connected with the rise and progress of the Church, as well as the way in which the revelations were received by Joseph F. Smith, the Prophet, and the manner in which they were interpreted and applied by the church, and the rise of the Church, resulting in the establishment of the State of Utah. He also referred to the spirit of revelation that he himself had received, which he stated was not the result of any special training or experience but was the result of the spirit of the Church, which he believed was the same as the spirit of the Church, as we believe in the new translation. When can you come? Is BIS here? I received an answer about 2 a.m., but none came. We waited until the next morning, when we were informed that a message had been received from Mr. C., containing the information that a great event would be announced the following Sunday. We therefore concluded to come on. Upon our arrival in New York City, and upon our receiving this message, we at once selected one or both of us to call on our Prophet, Messrs. Ginger and Scott attending the meeting on the evening of the 15th, but we of course consented. Soon after we sat down in the meeting house, Mr. Dille, the presiding officer, announced that the meeting was to begin at one o'clock. The meeting was opened and a vote was made and an adjournment was taken.

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HISTORY OF BRIGHAM YOUNG.

(Continued from page 344.)

-15.-While at brother Bement's house in Peterboro, I heard a letter read which brother Livingston had received from Mr. Joseph Powers, of Nauvoo, giving particulars of the murder of Joseph and Hyrum. The first impression which I thought of was, whether Joseph had taken the keys of the kingdom with him from the earth; brother Orson Pratt sat on my left; we were both leaning back on our chairs, bringing my hand down on my knee, I said to the keys of the kingdom are here with the Church.

Received a letter from brother Woodruff confirming the news of the death of the Prophets. I started for Boston; stayed at Lowell all night.

-17.-Arrived in Boston; found brothers Kimball and Woodruff. I met in Council with Elders H. O. Kimball, O. Pratt and W. Woodruff, preparatory to returning to Nauvoo.

-21 (Sunday).-Elder Kimball and I attended meeting in Boston and preached to the Saints.

We attended meeting in the evening and ordained thirty-two Elders. Lyman Wight (for whom we had waited in Boston about a week) arrived.

-24.-Left Boston for Nauvoo in company with brothers Kimball and W. Woodruff, and on our arrival at Albany were joined by brothers Orson Hyde, Orson Pratt and W. Woodruff, who had just arrived from New York. We continued to journey night and day by railroad, stage and steamboat via Buffalo, Detroit, Chicago and Galena, arriving in Nauvoo on the 6th day of August, where we were received with joy by our families and friends.

-7.-Attended the stake meeting at the 7th of August, at the request of the Stake and High Council, where brother Sidwell told his story and delivered the message he said he had for us. I followed him and showed the brethren the errors and follies which brother Rigdon manifested on the occasion.

-8.-I attended a meeting of all the authorities of the Church at Nauvoo, when the Twelve Apostles sustained the President of the Church, and we organized and set in order the Church. As I was necessary for the maintenance and prosperity of the kingdom, as recorded in the Church History.

My wife Mary Ann has borne to me six children, viz: Joseph, born July 14, 1834, Kansas City, Kansas Co., Ohio; Orson, born Dec. 29, 1835, Kansas City, Kansas Co., Ohio; John, born Aug. 1, 1836, Nauvoo, Hancock Co., Illinois; Emily, born Aug. 1, 1838, Platte City, Platte Co., Missouri; Alfred, born May 2, 1840, Portageville, St. Clair Co., Missouri; and Mary, born May 24, 1841, Nauvoo, Hancock Co., Illinois.

HISTORY OF THOMAS BALDWEN MARSH.

(Written by himself in Great Salt Lake City, November 6, 1857.)

I was born in the town of Acton, Middlesex county, Massachusetts, November 1, 1799.

My father, James Marsh, was born in Douglas, Mass., March 18, 1738.

I spent my early life in farming at Westerfield, New Hampshire, until I was nineteen years of age, when I went to New York, ran away and went to Cheever, Vermont, where I worked on a farm three months. Then went to Albany, New York and engaged in a public house as a waiter, when I was eighteen months, when I went to New York and engaged in the city hotel and remained two years; when I returned to my old situation in Albany, and after serving a year returned to New York City.

THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS' MILLENNIAL STAR.

SATURDAY, JUNE 4, 1864.

WARI AS A SOURCE FOR SHEDDING INNOCENT BLOOD: ITS DESPERATE CHARACTER.

Fleming, protracted and bloody battles have again been fought in Virginia—whoso has already been so often soaked in the blood of contending armies—by the Federal army under the command of General Grant, and the Confederate army under General Lee. The last battle being a battle of intelligence that upwards of a week had been spent, with scarcely any intermission, in the bloody work. On the 5th Grant opened the campaign on Thursday morning, the 5th ult., and he was still stubbornly pressing the enemy when the evening of Thursday, the 12th ult., closed upon him and his army. The Confederates retreated during that night, and the next day found Grant in pursuit, obstinately bent on closing again with his foes to resume the struggle. The bare perusal of the brief telegram which summarizes the accounts of these con...
Hey Brian,

Mary E. Bond, the recipient of the Eliza Jane Webb letters on polygamy, was a sister to Myron H. Bond. And Ezra Bond, mentioned by Clark Braden, was a brother.

The parents of this family were Ira Bond (1798-1887) and Charlotte Wilcox Bond (1803-1882), and the children were as follows:

Eveline Bond (born: )
O. Ezra Bond (born: 1826)
Mary E. Bond (born: 1828)
Eber Wilcox Bond (born: 1835)
Milton J. Bond (born: 1838)
Myron H. Bond (born: 1843)

The Bonds converted some time in 1833, and moved to Kirtland before the birth of their son Eber on December 9, 1835. When the saints as a whole left Kirtland, the Bonds remained, with the parents and the children Ezra and Mary staying there at least as late as 1880.

I cannot find any "Lewis Bond" or similar name in the family, so this is a mistake on Braden's part. He may possibly have spoken to both Ezra Bond and one of his brothers. While I don't have complete information on each of the brothers, they all appear to have survived to adulthood.

The parents of Ezra and "Lewis" Bond referred to by Braden would be Ira and Charlotte, who were present during at least good part of the Kirtland period. And Elizabeth is also referred to by Eliza Jane Webb, who tells Mary E. Bond that her mother will remember the talk that was prompted by Emma's eviction of Fanny Alger.

I've attached the Nauvoo city ordinance establishing the minimum age of marriage for a girl as 14, and W. W. Phelps comments, in context, on the Lamanite marriage revelation. I believe there are a couple other items I have to send to you as well, and, of course, I have feedback for you on the Fanny Alger chapter, and a couple documents to deliver when next I see you.

I can e-mail you some of my general comments on the Fanny Alger piece, and deliver the rest to you in the form of my annotations on the hard copy.

If you have any questions on items I've just provided, let me know.

Have a good weekend!

Don

2/2/2008
Icy Brian,

I think I'm going to wind down shortly, go to bed, and finish writing up and sending items to you in the morning. I just looked at myself in the mirror, and was surprised to see my bloodshot eyes looking back at me. I've gotten well behind on my sleep the last couple nights.

I'll tell you right now, though, what I have to send you in the morning:
The minutes cited by Quinn in which W. W. Phelps discusses the revelation on marrying Lamanite women.
The Nauvoo City Council minutes regarding the destruction of "the house on the hill," which Quinn identifies as a brothel.
Other Nauvoo city records on the effort to stamp out prostitution.
The Nauvoo city ordinance establishing 14 as the age at which a girl may marry (and 17 as the age at which a boy may marry), with the permission of her parents.

This last item, a law passed in February 1842, is actually the first such law in the history of Nauvoo. I checked, and prior to this there was no city ordinance establishing the minimum age for marriage. What this means is that before the passage of this ordinance, the minimum age of marriage for the city of Nauvoo would have been the age established by state law. While my memory on this is hazy, I believe the minimum age established by Illinois state law was lower than 14. I found and read the applicable Illinois statutes at the BYU law library several years ago. If my memory is correct, then this city ordinance would show that, far from pushing marriage to a socially unacceptable young age, Joseph Smith allowed the passage of a law in Nauvoo that raised the age at which a girl could marry! (It's also noteworthy, of course, that Joseph Smith did not marry any girls under the age of 14, and appears not to have consummated the couple marriages he did contract with a girl of 14. The accusations of "pedophilia" fall entirely flat.)

It is possible that my memory is failing me on the Illinois law on this point, but I don't think it is. I could certainly check into this, if you'd like.

Here are items that I've been working on, but have not yet obtained:

* The 1835 John Murdock journal reference to a Methodist minister accusing Joseph Smith of countenancing whoredoms. I'm flummoxed by this one. I've searched through all of Murdock's journals for the 1830s twice, and not found it. The reported entry sounds like a perfect fit for Murdock's missionary journals; only it isn't there. I'm not sure what this means! Perhaps Murdock has other journals that are not in his Church Archives diary collection? I'll see what I can figure out.

* The August 1845 letter from Brigham Young to William Smith. I actually think I know where this one is. I checked the early Brigham Young letter books, which is where I thought it would be, and did not find it. However, this another collection of Brigham Young letters for this time period, and it's there that I'll check next. I'd be surprised if I don't find it there.

* The 1850 minutes in which Joseph E. Johnson refers to sexual relations between his mother-in-law Mary Heron Snider and Joseph Smith.
OK. I've found the minutes—I know where they are. I just can't look at them; or at least not yet. They're restricted—and no surprise. I have some reason to think that the Joseph Johnson quote wasn't the only reference to sexuality in early polygamy in these minutes. I believe this is much of what was discussed at the meeting. Jay Burrup looked at the
minutes, and suggested I put in a request to look at these minutes. But he also told me he really doubts that access will be granted, because of the sensitive nature of their content. This means that these minutes are both difficult to access and potentially very valuable in understanding the place of sexuality in Joseph Smith's marriages (and possibly those of others).

*Basic information on Mary Bond (recipient of Eliza J. Webb's polygamy letters) and Ezra Bond (mentioned by Clark Braden). There was no Lewis Bond in the family: Braden has confused himself on this point. However, I can get you the information on these other two (who were siblings) and on their parents, who are mentioned by both Webb and Braden as having been in the know regarding Fanny Alger.

I know there's more for me to tell you, but I can't think of it right now. I'll write further tomorrow. After I sleep in. :-)  

Don
Hey Brian,

I’m putting together some thoughts on the Doctrine and Covenants discussion, and just remembered that I meant to tell you something new about John and Mary (Heron) Snider.

While Ancestral File shows John Snider marrying another woman (Jane) in the 1820s, after Mary, the Nauvoo church census (February 1842) shows John Snider with wife Mary. John Snider was a member of the Church, and later emigrated to Utah. I haven’t yet checked to see if he and Mary were still living together in later years, but it appears that they were together in early Nauvoo.

The 1850 minutes have Joseph E. Johnson stating that Joseph Smith had cohabited with Mary Heron Snider in his house in Nauvoo. Johnson had married the Sniders’ daughter in Nauvoo in October 1840, which sets a lower limit on the time period to which Johnson refers. However, neither Johnson nor his wife appear to be on the 1842 Nauvoo census. It’s thus likely that Joseph E. Johnson didn’t live in Nauvoo at the time of the reported cohabitation. Perhaps he, like his brother Benjamin, lived in nearby Ramus.

If so, it’s at least arguable that Mary Heron Snider went to live with her son, effectively separating from her husband, though this explanation would work less well if it turns out that John and Mary Snider lived together in later years.

Hopefully the context provided by the 1850 minutes will illuminate the matter.

Don

Brian,

I’ve attached my notes from the Joseph E. Robinson diary. Robinson was president of the California mission at the turn of the century, and recorded incidents of his mission and of his visits home.

Mike Quinn transcribed the October 26, 1902 entry, regarding Olive Frost having a child by Joseph Smith. Robinson attributes this information to “Aunt Lizzie.” Quinn identifies this Aunt Lizzie with the one mentioned in the October 2 entry, and identifies this woman as a member of the James Knell family.

Quinn is mistaken about one or both of these identifications. “Aunt Lizzie” of the October 2 entry was a member of the Green family, relatives of Benjamin Knell (not James). And as I explain in my notes, based primarily on FamilySearch data and information from the journal itself, this Aunt Lizzie is likely not the same who told Robinson about Olive Frost on October 26. The first Aunt Lizzie was evidently in Idaho at the time of the entry, while Robinson visited with the second Aunt Lizzie in Sacramento.

I’m still working on figuring out the identity of this source, and the nature of her connection to Olive Frost.

Don

Hey Brian,

I checked Quinn’s quotation from the Leonora Cannon Taylor diary. It was accurate (though I transcribed one obscure word, apparently meant to be “balderdash,” differently than he did). There are no explicit references to polygamy, but there are some apparent implicit references to it, which I’ll transcribe for you.

Don
Journal of Orson Pratt
MS 587; LDS Archives

Journal for 1835-1837, entry dated June 10, 1836

the 10th Elder Luke Johnson who had been labouring a few weeks in those parts came to Bro Bates'

we held a meeting about 3 miles distant in afternoon in the evening Elders Johnson & Dutcher & myself & Bro. Bates come together in order to deal with Elder Blakesly who was also present who was guilty of some very improper conduct towards one of the/Sisters [s added later] Sally M. Bates [this last portion is scribbled out and largely illegible—Quinn, using the original, read it as "Sally M. Bates," and this is consistent with what I've been able to read] such as telling her that she had won his affections & that he loved [page break] her as much as he did his own wife; requesting her [to] break her engagements with me [me erased and replaced with caret] [added above the line in darker ink:] a young man with whom she had had some acquaintance/ & remain single saying that he did not think that his own wife would live a great while—those [those appears to be written over an erasure, and does not appear to make sense in context] the above I learned from the Sister's [the and 's added in darker ink] [illegible name] own mouth who felt much disgusted at his conduct & desired that he should be dealt with. Elder Blakesly did not deny the above but at first said his motives were [page break] pure but afterwards acknowledged that he had done very wrong Sister [written over Sally] we told him that his conduct had been such that we considered him unworthy to hold a license for a period of time & that it was necessary for him to make his acknowledgments to Sally [illegible words] we &[?] the/ family \he had offended/ & also to the church & some individuals who did not belong to the church who resided in Mexico at which place he had not been sufficiently reserve[d] in his conduct [page break] towards the/ Sister [illegible] mentioned/ ( ) & in other branches where his conduct had not been such as becomes an Elder he agreed to do as was required & the same evening made his confessions to the [name erased] family \whom he had offended/ we took his license from him until he should \make/ satisfaction among the different Branches of the church where he had offended and also until he should be sufficiently chastened.

Brian:
As an interesting side note, Times and Seasons 5:543 shows James Blakeslee being excommunicated for apostasy, along with Francis Higbee, Austin Cowles, and others, on May 18, 1844.

Blakeslee subsequently followed Rigdon, and then Strang, and finally joined the Reorganized Church.