70.002 Young, Brigham, to Parley P. Pratt, Nauvoo, July 17, 1842, in Van Wagoner Papers, MS 597, Box 9, Fd. 6; typescript; original in Brigham Young Papers, LDS CHD

70.003 Coolbrith, Ina, correspondence with Joseph F. Smith; typescript in Scott Kenney Papers, MS 587, Box 1, Folder 21, excerpts, typescript.

70.004 Norman, Mary B. Smith, to Ina Coolbrith; March 27, 1908, typescript in Scott Kenney Papers, MS 587, Box 1, Folder 12 (John Henry Smith, incoming correspondence); Marriott Library, except, transcript.

70.007 Rollins Lightner, Mary Elizabeth, Collection; MS 752, Folder 4; LDS CHD

70.008 Rollins Lightner, Mary Elizabeth, to John Henry Smith, January 25, 1892, in George A. Smith Family Papers, MS 36, Box 7, Folder 12 (John Henry Smith, incoming correspondence); Marriott Library, except, transcript.

70.009 Rollins Lightner, Mary Elizabeth, Affidavit, March 23, 1877, in Scott G. Kenney Collection, MS 587, Box 11, Folder 14; Marriott Library (photocopy of manuscript)

70.010 Pratt, Orson, typescript on Letter, Parley P. Pratt to his cousin John Van Cott, May 7, 1843, with a postscript by Orson Pratt; MS 5238, LDS CHD

70.011 Stucki, John U., Letter to President John U. Stucki, dated April 2, 1875, 42 Islington, Liverpool; in Scott G. Kenney Collection, MS 587, Box 11, Folder 14; Marriott Library (photocopy of manuscript)

70.012 Snow, Eliza R., address to Payson Ward, Utah, Stake RS Minutes September 26, 1872.

70.013 Snow, Eliza R., to President John Taylor, December 27, 1886, in CR 1 180, First Presidency, incoming correspondence, LDS CHD

70.015 Law, William to Isaac Hill, July 20, 1844, MS 3473, LDS CHD (photocopy, apparently from original)

70.016 Cummings, Horace, “Conspiracy in Nauvoo,” associated papers

70.017 Larson, Hannah Rebecca Stoddard and Adessa Larson Christensen, Affidavit of Hannah R. Larson, and October 15, 1949, microfilm, MS 7952, Church Archives

70.019 Harris, Dennison Lott, statement, CHL MS 2725, May 15, 1881.

70.020 Cummings, Horace, “Conspiracy in Nauvoo,” associated papers

70.024 Barney, Ron, review of Draft #3 – November 8, 2008

70.029 Fullmer, Desdemona Wadsworth, Papers; Church Archives, MS 734

70.030 Young, John R., Scrapbook, 1928-1930, MS 1180 2; LDS CHD letter to Willard Stolworthy

70.031 Nauvoo Stake High Council Minutes, May 24th 1842, 1839 Oct. – 1845 Oct., LR 3102 22; LDS CHD; from transcript provided by Randall Dixon, November 7, 2008.

70.032 Huntington, Oliver B., Diaries, Mss 162, Box 1, Folder 8; Harold B. Lee Library, Provo, Utah

70.033 Woodruff, Wilford, to Andrew Jenson, August 6, 1887; from First Presidency Letterpress Copybooks, LDS CHD; transcribed from photocopy of manuscript provided by Randall Dixon

70.034 Lott, Cornelius P., Family Bible; MS 3373; LDS CHD

70.036 Bradley, Don, email to Brian Hales, November 7, 2008, re: D&C 132: SLT 1899 record for Sarah “Bapson,” not “Rapson.”

70.037 Bradley, Don, email to Brian Hales, November 8, 2008, re: D&C 132: polyandry and pure wives.

70.047 Pourterer, Sarah, death notice, Deseret Evening News, August 20, 1879, p. 3.

70.052 Royson, Sarah FGS

70.054 Davis, Sarah FGS

70.056 Poulter, Sarah, record of baptisms for the dead in 1841.

70.059 Smith, Joseph F., comments at the funeral of William Clayton, JD 21:9-13, December 7, 1879


70.064 Staker, Mark, email to Brian Hales, August 8, 2008, re: Kirtland

70.069 Smith, Joseph, usages of the word “Comfort” (compare JS to Whiting’s August 8, 1842)

70.070 Bradley, Don, list of transcribed docs dated 10/08


70.081 Lewis, Nathaniel, FGS with Levi Lewis

70.083 Holmes, Jonathan, FGS

70.084 Jacobs, Henry B., FGS

70.085 Harris, George Washington, FGS

70.086 Durfee, Jabez, FGS

70.087 Sessions, David, FGS

70.088 Hyde, Orson, FGS

70.090 Avery, Valene Tippetts, note card copies

70.104 Rowe, Henry to Boston Investigator, Feb 12, 1843, notes by Valene Tippetts Avery
Brigham Young to Parley P. Pratt, Nauvoo, July 17, 1842, in Van Wagoner Papers, MS 597, Box 9, Fd. 6; typescript; original in Brigham Young Papers, LDS CHD

City of Nauvoo July 17th 1842

Beloved Brother Pratt [***]

[...] Br Orson Pratt is in trubble in consequence of his wife, his feelings are so rought up that he dos not know whether his wife is wrong, or whether Josephs testimony and others are wrong and due Ly and he decived for 12 years or not; he is all but crazy about matters, you may aske what the matter is concirning Sister P.—it is enoph, and doct. J. C. Bennett could tell all about it if he himself & hir—-
Ina Coolbrith correspondence with Joseph F. Smith; typescript in Scott Kenney Papers, MS 587, Box 1, Folder 21

Josephine D. Smith (Ina Coolbrith) to Joseph F. Smith, dated Los Angeles, July 22, 1857

“Is polygamy not spoken of as a crime there [the Book of Mormon]? Did not Uncle Joseph himself say that “it was not commanded him, but was permitted him? & what did not bring peace and happiness was not of God?”

[In this letter, she quotes scripture a great deal and expresses herself willing to gather to Jackson County or Nauvoo, but not to Salt Lake. She seems a believer in the Restoration, but not in polygamy. Her mother, Agnes, adds a postscript of her own to the letter, but says nothing about Joseph and polygamy.]

Joseph F. Smith to Josephine Smith, dated Sandwich Islands, September 1, 1857

[His response is not a happy one!]

Letters of Mary B. Smith Norman to Ina Coolbrith; typescript in Scott Kenney Papers, MS 587, Box 1, Folder 22

“RLDS Library Archives, P 13 f 951

Mary B. Smith Norman [daughter of Samuel H. Smith] to Ina Coolbrith, March 27, 1908 (probably from her home in Idaho Falls)

[***]

In regard to this polygamy I shall first write—

Brigham Young must first inaugurated this doctrin for he was thoroughly imbrued with it before he ever joined the church—and he found ready convert to in such men as Heber C. Kimbal – Orsan Hyde – Orson Pratt, Parley – P. Pratt and others of the same ilk –

The first principles of the doctrin were good – Whether Uncle Joseph was inspired with a divine inspiration in the full sense which has been claimed for him. When he wrote the book of Mormon or not is a mooted question – One thing can be determined by perusal of the book – That is – The book teaches a good pure code of morals – And in the whole book is not a sentence except one that they can take to support the doctrine of polygamy – And that they have to pervert and twist into every conceivable shape before they can make it answer their purpose. Therefore when Uncle Joseph wrote that book his ideals must have been of a high moral charge.

In Nauvoo Uncle Joseph was a shareholder (and I believe president of mercantile establishment designated as the brick store – Uncle Arthur Mill [Miliken] was a clerk in the store – In rooms overhead the church used sometime hold their council meetings – Uncle Arthur told me one time when we were discussing the revelation on polygamy – (And if there was ever a truthful man he was one) – That when they were holding a council relative to the revelation – they held it in those rooms – And that they plied him (Uncle Joseph) with drugged wine – until he became semi unconscious – and that in that state they succeeded in getting the revelation. I suppose you have heard that Aunt Emma burnt the revelation – which I suppose was so – I have heard my Aunt Lucy say that Aunt Emma would not touch it with her fingers but took the tongs to put it in the fire –

I have heard my brother Samuel say more than once that he had been told by the authorities of the church – That Uncle Joseph did not want to accept the doctrine as a tenet of the church. That he objected to giving the revelation and that the angel Moroni stood over him with a sword and compelled him to give it – It is easy enough to understand that the angel Moroni was persona[fied][“fied” perhaps added by transcriber] – and that Uncle Joseph understood the whole farce – but k[n]ew that he had to comply or he was a doomed man – Uncle Joseph made many remarks both public and in private that went to show that he considered himself in danger – At one time when speaking in public – he said “There were things that he knew that were her to tell them, he would not live two week”. At an other
he said "Were it not for foes in the church — I would be no danger from enemies without — And were it not for a Brutus he might live as long as Ceasar might have lived". He had also said that "death would be as sweet to him as honey in the honeycomb." Then he told his mother when he bid her goodbye to go to Carthage That he should never return alive - - And added "I go as a lamb to the slaughter But if my death will atone for any fault I have committed during my life time I am willing to die"—

That he did seem to loose his moral equilibrium, and fell into the vortex of vice which surrounded him and from which for a while he seemed unable to extricate himself. But as soon as he tried to right himself — and tried to undo the evil that had been done — in fact as soon as they saw that he was repentant — They became afraid of him — They found ways and means to get rid of him — Uncle Hyrum would not desert him and consequently shared his fate — Had he not have done so they would have found ways and means of ridding themselves of him later on.

My father was undoubtedly poisoned — Uncle Arthur Millikin was poisoned at the same time — the same doctors were treating were treating [sic] my father and Uncle Arthur at the same time — Uncle Arthur discontinued the medicine — without letting them know that he was doing so — (Aunt Lucy threw it in the fire) Uncle Arthur recovered — Father continued taking it until the last dose — that he spit out and said he was poisoned — But it was too late — he died. Then there was but one left and that was Uncle William.

Uncle Joseph ordained cousin Joseph — his (Uncle Joseph) oldest son as his successor — This doen in Liberty Jail — He then ordained Uncle William to hold the church for young Joseph until he was of age — but the last ordination was not done in public — Uncle William told me about this himself — He told Uncle William to hold the church together if he could But if he were unable to do so he should have the right to organize a branch if it were on an island in the middle of the ocean

After my fathers death Uncle William considered his rights and claimed them [***]

[The remainder of this letter recounts at length William Smith's struggles with the Twelve, from his point of view.]

[Another, undated letter from Mary B. Smith Norman, given the number "P 13 f 2290" again recounts the view that Joseph Smith repented of polygamy and that Samuel H. Smith was poisoned:]

When Uncle Joseph throwing all other considerations aside tried to withdraw from and put dow the Evil into which he had fallen — his martyrdom followed and Uncle Hyrum who would not desert him — shared his fate — My father who was too honest and too firmly set in his conviction for Brigham Young to make a tool of him — soon died, and ever y honest person acquainted with the circumstances believe he was poisoned — and there is no mistake but that your father was dealt with in the same manner that your father did not die as soon from the effects of the poisoning is due to the fact that they had to be more cautious

[***]
[***] In regard to Samuel, he thinks just about the same that you and I do but circumstances prevent him from speaking plainly – Except to the few that he can trust – And as I happen to be one that he can trust – He has told many things that is more shocking than any thing that you or I have ever come in contact with. There are many things that the world ought to does not know that it ought to know.

Mary B. Smith Norman to Ina Coolbrith again

[P 13 2289, no date; handwritten note on transcription says “from Linda Newell 6/24/81”]

[***]

In regard to the guilt or innocence of his father he [Joseph Smith III] knows comparatively but little – His mother of course said nothing to them to prejudice them against their father. She tried to hold his memory sacred. I have possibly learned more in regard to the main facts than Joseph has. I was closely associated with parties that were well acquainted with the early history of the church – and from these I have drawn conclusions. After Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball joined the church – and many others whose - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - [missing text?] to give full scope to their lust and avarice etc – Joseph was with his superior ability a proper tool for them to use in the accomplishment of their wicked designs – But first to make use of him they had to incriminate him with themselves – And to so incriminate that it would be impossible to retreat – The first few false step becam reckless and plunged deeper into the whirlpool of vice for vice it was – until finally when he awoke to a realization of the wickedness of the whole miserable affair and tried reconstruct – Those who had used his genius an force of character to their own puroses – Finding that they had lost full control of him – Simply removed him – Brigham Young in my belief was just as much to blame for the murders of Uncle Joseph & Hyrum as the men that shot the bullets that killed them – I cannot give you all my reason for believing this at present – but later on as I get the time I will write them and send them to you Sufice to say Brigham Young before he joined the Mormon Church belonged to sect of Free Love called Cockernites – an institution organized by a man by the name of Cockern – in was cov. Up. After which he met the Elders and joined the Mormon church which proved a good field for his operations [***]
Folder 4 contains typed excerpts from Mary Lightner's letters, made by an unidentified grandchild, who wrote,

"The following is part of a letter written by grandmother to E. B. Wells in Nov. 21 1870[? – The date is typed but overwritten. It appears to have first been given as "1950"(!), but afterward had an "8" written over the "9," and what appears to be a "7" written over the "5." The "7" shape could have been intended to turn the "5" into an "8"; but on the surface at least it does appear that the writer wrote a "7." She asked grandmother to relate things she had heard Joseph say. [Quotes the letter:]

He preached a great deal about women being virtuous or they would not enter the kingdom of heaven. [...] Another time he said my brother Hyrum is called my elder brother. He is in the flesh but am the elder brother for was before him in the spirit world. [...] He had his father show me those mummies and the apayrus [sic] taken from them. He related some things that were not published in the Book of Abraham. I could tell you why I stayed with Mr. Lightner. Thing the leaders of the Church does not know anything about. I did just as Joseph told me to do, as he knew what troubles I would have to contend with.

Joseph [sic] hair was a light brown color. [...]"
Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner to John Henry Smith, January 25, 1892

—in George A. Smith Family Papers, MS 36, Box 7, Folder 12 (John Henry Smith, incoming correspondence); Marriott Library

Ogden Jan 25th 1892

Mr. John H. Smith

[***]

[Writes about whether the Church can rent for her or otherwise provide her a house. She can no longer stand to stay in her house in Minersville during the winter.]

I hope you will not think me intrusive, I am sure I do not wish to be- If I could have an opportunity of conversing with you, and Brother Joseph [F. Smith] I could explain some things in regard to my living with Mr L, after becoming the Wife of another, which would thrown light, on what now seems mysterious – and you would be perfectly satisfied with me. I write this; because I have heard that it had been commented on to my injury. I have done the best I could, and Joseph will sanction my action – I cannot explain things in this Letter – some day you will know all. That is, if I ever have an opportunity of conversing with either of you.

Hoping to hear from you soon

I remain Your Sister in the Gospel

Mary E Lightner
Minersville Beaver County
Utah
March 23rd 1877

I Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner do testify that in the year 1842 in the month of February the Prophet Joseph Smith came to me and said he had received a direct command from God to take me for a wife for time and all eternity; After receiving what I felt to be a witness of the truth of the said statement made to me by the said Joseph Smith the Prophet, I was sealed to the said Joseph Smith by Pres Brigham Young in Nauvoo, Hancock Illinois. And I have lived and am at this date in full fellowship as a member of the church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The said ceremony was solemnly performed in the month of February A.D. 1842 as first above written. [signed:] Mary E R Lightner

Territory of Utah {SS
County of Beaver {  

Personally appeared before me William Wood a Justice
Letter, Parley P. Pratt to his cousin John Van Cott, May 7, 1843, with a postscript by Orson Pratt; MS 5238, LDS CHD

[Parley P. Pratt:]

[page 2]

[***] As to Bennett or his book I consider it a little stooping to mention it. It is beneath contempt & would disgrace the society of hell & the Devil. But it will answer the end of its creation viz: to delude those who have rejected that pure & glorious record the book of Mormon. There is not such a thing named among the saints here as he represents. & his book or name is scarcely mentioned, & never except with perfect disgust his object was vengeance on those who exposed his iniquity.

[***]

[page 4]

[...]

[Orson Pratt:] J. C. Bennett has published lies concerning myself & family & the people with which I am connected. His book I have read with the greatest disgust. No candid honest man can or will believe it. He has disgraced himself in [the] eyes of all civilized society who will dispise his very name.

I must now close by subscribing myself Your Cousin

Orson Pratt
Letter to President John U. Stucki, dated April 2, 1875, 42 Islington, Liverpool; in Scott G. Kenney Collection, MS 587; Box 11, Folder 14; Marriott Library (photocopy of manuscript)

The letter is incomplete; so the author is unidentified. An added note at the top says “Box 1:1.”

[page 1]

[***]

I have no objections [page 2] to bro. Eyrings translating the D.&C. (except the Article on Marriage, Sec. CIX which was written by Oliver Cowdery just before his apostasy, to cover up some of his own conduct in disobedience to the command of God through Joseph Smith, and was doubtless that which lead [sic] to his apostasy; and it never had any business in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants.)
Don:
Thanks for your e-mail. I also very much enjoyed our lunch conversation. You beat me to the punch, Don. I've had the information ready for a few days but the one day I looked for you in the CH Library I could not find you. The book is *The Portrait* by A. G. Riddle, published in 1874 in Cleveland by Cobb, Andrews, and Company. Chapters 16 and 17 relate to Kirtland. Obviously, the author knows something about the history of Mormons in the area. He seems to speak from the Campbelleite perspective. He portrays a "harem" in Kirtland and clearly associates polygamy with Muslim images. That probably comes from the later period in which he's writing. It's all interesting but may or may not be relevant.

The quote I mentioned is:

Payson Ward, Utah Stake, Relief Society Minutes (1868-1877), vol. 1
26 September 1872

A Meeting of the Relief Society held in the Meeting House Eliza R Snow Mrs Howard and Miss L Green being Present from Salt Lake City. At 1 O clock quite a number of the Sisters [p. 160] from Santaquin, Goshen, and Salem also the Bishop his Counsellars and other Brethren from Invitation were present

.... After which Eliza R. Snow addressed the audience as follows....

Plurality of Wives is a great trial if you want to sit in the courts of Heaven honor Polygamy dont suffer your lips to say ought even if you do not believe in it When I entered it I had no anticipation of ever being acknowledged As a lawful Wife I beleived [sic] in it because I felt [p. 163] the work was true and I longed to see a Prophet. I feel proud that I ever embraced it. Polygamy did not hurt Me but to be looked upon as A Woman of light Character that did hurt me The very idea of my not being a virtuous Woman.

JMD: The secretary probably missed a sentence or two here. ERS's note that she "longed to see a Prophet" is part of her conversion story.

'Hope this is helpful. Let me know if you need to see my copy of *The Portrait*. I'm generally not here Mondays or Wednesday mornings. Otherwise, call me at my office--240-0882.

Best,
Jill
Eliza R. Snow to President John Taylor, December 27, 1886
in CR 1 180, First Presidency, incoming correspondence (!),
LDS CHD
(from photocopy of original)

(Cautionary note: Do not quote the request in this letter that Hannah Ellis receive her second
anointing. I got access to the letter in part by assuring Randy Dixon that this wasn’t what I was
interested in. I include it in my transcription only for completeness and context.)

[Handwritten note on back of letter reads:
E. R. S. Smith
City
Dec 28/86
[This differs from the date internal to the letter itself and may reflect the date it was postmarked
or received.]

[The letter proper:]

Salt Lake City Dec. 27th 1886—

President Taylor,

You will find
Enclosed Mrs. B. A. Lockwood’s letter. [not included with the item I saw]

What about those Claims? I think
there will be nothing I can do in
the matter.

I think Pres. Taylor
will recollect a young English sister
in Nauvoo by name Hannah Ells.
She was Sealed to Joseph the Prophet
before his death. She died in Nauvoo
in sister Sarah Kimball’s house. I loved
her very much—was present at her
death. I have had Endowments for
her. Sister Zina is in Logan and will,
with your permission, have 2nd Anointing
for her. If I knew the Temple would
be open in the Spring, I would prefer
attending to it—but it seems uncertain

Most Respectfully,

E. R. Snow Smith
William Law to Isaac Hill, July 20, 1844

MS 3473, LDS CHD (photocopy, apparently from original)

July 20—'44

Isaac Hill Esq.

Dear Sir

I hope you will be so good as to settle with Cahoon and Flagg, by buying[?] our Notes from them, Cahoon is giving us all the trouble he Can— I will be able to obtain a Deed from Kimball in a few days I hope, and then you shall have your Deed, I tried to get a Deed from him for that lot, when in Carthage but I could not, he is acting as ugly as he can—

My family and myself are all well, and have enjoyed good health and peace since we left Nauvoo, although the events which have transpired since, were very shocking to my feeling/s I used my influence to prevent any outrage

Even from the Commencement of the Excitement, believing that the Civil Law had power to Expose iniquity, and punish the wicked I say Consequently, I look on Calmly, and while the wicked slay the wicked, I believe I can see the hand of a blasphemed God stretched out in judgment, the cries of innocence and virtue have ascended up before the throne of God, and he has taken Sudden vengeance.

I am as ever—

Respectfully

Yours,

Wm. Law.

William Law to Isaac Hill, July 20, 1844, MS 3473, LDS CHD (photocopy, apparently from original)
The article called THE NAUVOO CONSPIRACY, printed in Volume 5, beginning about page 250, of the CONTRIBUTOR, which was the Y.M.M.I.A. at that time, the incidents related in that article were related to my parents by Donnison L. Harris, who was Bishop of Monroe, Coos County, at that time, at our home during the spring conference of 1883. Brother Harris was at our home as our guest. The incidents seemed so important and intensely interesting that I wrote them in my journal in detail. As the CONTRIBUTOR was offering a prize for a Christmas Story, I extended my oral account somewhat and wrote that article in competition for the prize. Before submitting the article to the press, however, at the request of President John Taylor, I read it to him line by line as he was in Nauvoo. The story the narration deals with and the incidents happened and of interest with the Prophet at the time he was killed. He was familiar with many of the things to which the article refers and added certain details to the story. Upon completion, President Taylor gave it his hearty approval for publication as a valuable document concerning Church history that had never been previously published. The secret was held between the Prophet and his bodyguard, John Scott who was the brother of Robert Scott, the companion of Donnison L. Harris.

Signed: "Your humble servant"

The Prophet Joseph placed the two young men above mentioned in command that they would not reveal that took place as related in this CONSPIRACY for twenty years. The first time that it was related was at the dedication of the St. George Temple, then Brother Myers revealed it to President Brigham Young, upon President Young's request, he called in Brother Gibbs who took the narration in shorthand and Church record purposes.

Signed: "JHC"
Affidavit of Hannah R. Larson (Hannah Rebecca Stoddard Larson) and Adessa Larson Christensen, October 15, 1949, microfilm, MS 7952, Church Archives

(Note: I believe a version of this document appears in Mark McConkie's book *Remembering Joseph*. However, the text provided below is a microfilm of the original, and would be more accurate.)

Hannah R. Larson whose maiden name was Hannah R. Stoddard, and Adessa Larson Christensen who is the daughter of Hannah R. Stoddard Larson, depose and say:

Charles Henry Stoddard was born on the 21st of April, 1827, in Newark, New Jersey, his parents being Israel Stoddard and Sarah Woodward. As a boy he was employed by the Prophet Joseph Smith, in Nauvoo, Illinois. While the Prophet was in hiding, he carried food to the Prophet and delivered messages to and from the Prophet. The Prophet trusted him implicitly. Upon one occasion, when in the street fixing a kite, with other boys, a man came up and inquired where the Prophet was, to which Charles replied, "He went to heaven on Hyrum's white horse and we are fixing this kite to send his dinner to him." No one suspected his important duties because of his youth.

While [Charles was] employed by the Prophet Joseph, William Law requested Charles to come and work for him. He did not want to. After consulting with the Prophet, he decided to do so. During his employment with William Law, many private matters were talked of by Law and his associates in the presence of the boy, without any hesitation, perhaps thinking that the boy would not pay any attention to what was said. The boy was nevertheless on the alert and took full cognizance of what was going on.

Upon retiring one evening, in a lean-to attached to a building which was partly vacant and partly used for storage purposes, the lad was awakened by conversation being held in the vacant portion of the building. This building was a rendezvous of the bitter apostates and enemies of the Prophet among whom was William Law, who seemed to be a ringleader. The lad listened thru a hole in the log structure thru which light was also emerging, and learned that these men were plotting against the Prophet's life. He heard Law tell this group of apostates that he would have Charles clean, oil and load his gun which was one of his regular duties. After the group had disbanded and had all left the building, the lad dressed and hurried to the home of the Prophet and told him all that he had seen and heard and asked the Prophet what he should do. The Prophet told him to return and act as nothing had happened. and to do as his employer requested, and admonished him to load the gun well. He told the boy that they could not hurt him until his time had arrived. The boy did as requested. The next morning Mr. Law requested him to clean, oil and load his six shooter, which was faithfully done as the Prophet advised. When the opportune time arrived, Law aimed the revolver at the Prophet with
the intention of killing him. He pulled the trigger but the gun mis-fired as did all of the other five loads in the six shooter. He cursed because the gun did not discharge, and blamed the boy for not loading the weapon properly. The boy replied that he had done it to the best of his ability. Law then aimed at a post and all six loads were discharged.

Larson, Hannah Rebecca Stoddard and Adessa Larson Christensen, Affidavit of Hannah R. Larson, and October 15, 1949, microfilm, MS 7952, Church Archives
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.

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Sunday, May 15:  

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

[***]

[page 5]

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.
[***]

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.

[Harris, Dennison Lott, Statement, May 15, 1881, LDS Church Archives, MS 2725.]
Times and Seasons, Vol. 5, No. 10, p. 541

Two of Mr. Smith's most important witnesses being out of the city on the day of the trial, we subjoin their affidavits which are as follows: State of Illinois, Hancock County... 

Personally appeared before me, Daniel H. Wells, acting Justice of the Peace, in and for said county, Ahiahare B. Williams, who being duly sworn according to law deposed and said, that on or about the 15th day of March, A.D. 1844, Joseph H. Jackson came to my house and requested me to walk with him, which I did. During the time we were walking, said Joseph H. Jackson said that he was then coming from Mr. Law's, that there was going to be a secret meeting in the city of Nauvoo, probably to-morrow evening; but as it was not decided he could not say positively as to the time, but he would inform me in season. The said Joseph H. Jackson said that Doctor Foster, Chauncy Higbee and the Laws were red-hot for a conspiracy, and he shot the Smith family left in Nauvoo. After we arrived at Mr. Loomis' Masonic Hall, in the city of Nauvoo, he related something which he stated Doctor Foster had said relative to his family. This he did in the presence of Mr. Eaton and myself, and strongly solicited myself and Mr. Eaton to attend the secret meeting, and join them in their intentions. The said Joseph H. Jackson further said that Chauncy Higbee had seen men tied hand and foot and run through the heart with a sword, and there heads taken off, and then buried; and he durms' room, and further this deponent saith not. 

A. B., WILLIAMS.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 27th day of March, A.D. 1844.

DANIEL H. WELLS, J.P. [L.S.]

Times and Seasons, Vol. 5, No. 10, p. 541

State of Illinois, Hancock County.

Personally appeared before me, Daniel H. Wells, an acting Justice of the Peace in and for said county, M. G. Eaton, who being duly sworn according to law deposed and said that on or about the 15th day of March, A.D. 1844, Joseph H. Jackson came to me several times and requested me to go on the hill with him. I finally consented and went with him to the Key Stone Store, in the city of Nauvoo. Doctor Foster and one of the Highbees, I think Chauncy Higbee, were in the store. The said Joseph H. Jackson, together with the said R. D. Foster, and said Higbee, went into the back room of the store. They appeared to enter into private council. Soon after they went into the said room the said Joseph H. Jackson invited me into the room where they were now sitting. I immediately complied. Soon after I went in the said Higbee commenced talking about the spiritual wife system. He said he had no doubt but some of the Elders had ten or twelve a piece. He said they married them whether the females were willing or not; and they did it by recording the marriage in a large book; which book was sealed up after the record was made, and was not to be opened for a long time, probas married were dead. They would then open the book and break the seals in the presence of those females, and when they saw their names recorded in that book they would believe that the doctrine was true and they must submit. He said this book was kept at Mr. Hyrum Smith's. I asked the said Chauncy Higbee **** 

[Here follows some expressions too indecorous for insertion.]

The aforesaid R. D. Foster, then asked me what I would think if during my absence from home a carriage should drive up to my house, a person alight, and the carriage then drive off again, eat many things against me to prejudice her mind against me and use every possible means to do this, and finally would introduce and preach the spiritual wife doctrine to her and make an attempt to seduce her, and further this person should sit down to dine with my wife, bless the victuals &c, and while they were thus engaged, I should come home and find them thus associated; this person should rise up and say how do you do, and bless me in a very polite manner &c., an also, if upon these appearances, I should feel jealous that something was wrong and when the person was gone, I would ask my wife what had been the conversation between her and this person, but she would refuse to tell me; then draw a pistol and present it to her and threaten to shoot her if she did not tell me all, but she would still refuse. I then would give her a double barrelled pistol, and say to her defend yourself, for if you don't tell me, either you or I will shoot. She would then faint away through fear and excitement, and when she came to against she would begin and tell you how this person had been trying to poison your wife's mind against you, and by preaching the spiritual wife system to her had endeavored to seduce her, I replied I should think he was a rascal; but who has had such a trial as that? The said R. D. Foster, answered that he was the man who had thabused. The said R. D. Foster, Higbee and Joseph H. Jackson then remarked that they were about to hold a secret meeting to oppose and try to put a stop to such things. The said Joseph H. Jackson also said that if any person undertook to arrest him he should begin to cut them.

The said R. D. further said he was afraid of his life and dare not be out at nights.

The said Higbee said he had not a doubt but there had been men killed in Missouri who had secrets that they were afraid to divulge. He said he was afraid of his life.

The said Jackson further said that he should not be surprised in less than two months, and that if a disturbance should take place the Carthaginians and others would come and help them.

He mentioned some names of persons who would come from Carthage which names I do not remember. The same day when in Mr. Loomis' room. I heard the said Jackson say that the Laws were ready to enter into a secret conspiracy tooth and nail. The said Higbee also said that while at the Keystone that if ever he was brought before the Mayor's Court again, and the Mayor told him again to hold his tongue, that he should get up and tell him he had a right to speak and should do so, and then if any man attempted to put him out of the court he would shoot them through and further this deponent saith not.

M. G. EATON.

Sworn and subscribed before me this 27th day of March A.D. 1844.

DANIEL H. WELLS, J.P. [L.S.]

Joseph Smith, History of the Church, Vol. 6, p. 272

I have been informed by two gentleme...
Marks, of the grand jury returned from Carthage; also Marshal John P. Greene and Almon W. Babbitt, who informed me there were two indictments found against me, one charging me with false swearing on the testimony of Joseph H. Jackson and Robert D. Foster, and one charging me with polygamy, or something else, on the testimony of William Law, that I had told him so! The particulars of which I shall learn hereafter. There was much false swearing before the grand jury. Francis M. Higbee swore so hard that I had received stolen property, &c., that his testimony was rejected. I heard that Joseph H. Jackson had come into the city, I therefore instructed the officers to arrest him for threatening to take life, &c.

Richard S. Van Wagoner, Mormon Polygamy, p.58
Considerable light on this obscure situation is shed by the 12 July revelation. Verse 51 contains a commandment "unto mine handmaid, Emma Smith, your wife, whom I have given unto you, that she stay herself, and partake not of that which I commanded you to offer unto her; for I did it, saith the Lord, to prove you all, as I did Abraham, and that I might require an offering at your hand, by covenant and sacrifice." Verse 54 directs Emma to "abide and cleave unto my servant Joseph and to none else." Though Smith may have been suspicious of Clayton, his deeper concern appears to have been directed toward his counselor William Law. Joseph H. Jackson, a non-Mormon opportunist who gained the confidence of Smith in Nauvoo, recorded in an 1844 expose of Mormonism: "Emma wanted Law for a spiritual husband" because Joseph "had so many spiritual wives, she thought it but fair that she would at least have one man spiritually sealed up to her and that she wanted Law, because he was such a 'sweet little man'" (p. 20).

Firmage and Mangrum, Zion in the Courts, p.114
It is not surprising then that Joseph Smith was apprehensive about going to Carthage to answer complaints of riot in connection with the demolition of the Nauvoo Expositor. only two weeks earlier Joseph H. Jackson, Robert D. Foster, and William Law had accused Smith of adultery and perjury before a grand jury, and Smith had traveled voluntarily to Carthage almost immediately to confront his accusers and clear his name. The case was held over until the following term of court, and he returned unharmed to the security of Nauvoo. (HC 6:405, 412-13). But now the non-Mormons were in an uproar. When Constable David Bettisworth returned to Carthage without Smith, who had been willing to stand trial in Nauvoo, it was more than the Carthage citizens could take. "Joe has tried the game too often," one protested in a letter to the Missouri Republican (Oaks and Hill, 16).

Oaks and Hill, Carthage Conspiracy, p.37
On September 22, five days before Ford's arrival, Murray McConnell, a prominent attorney from Jacksonville who had been [p.38] appointed Ford's special agent to gather evidence for the trial, reached Nauvoo and began taking testimony to be used by the prosecution.54 The most important was the affidavit of John Taylor, who had barely escaped death at the jail; he gave his oath before Justice of the Peace Aaron Johnson that he "had good reasons to believe and does believe that Levy Williams Thomas C. Sharp—have been and were guilty of committing said criminal act."55 Upon the basis of this affidavit a warrant was issued for the arrest of these two men. Other writs issued at this time have not survived, but according to contemporary newspaper accounts and other sources, writs were issued for the arrest of William Law, Robert D. Foster, and Charles A. Foster, Mormon dissenters, and for "the whole guard that was placed over the Smiths."56 A writ was also issued for Joseph H. Jackson, a renegade Mormon who had confessed his part in the murder plan in a letter to Emma Smith.57

George D. Smith, An Intimate Chronicle; The Journals of William Clayton, p.135

[June 28, 1844. Friday]...And all this brought upon us by those who have shared of the kind sympathies and generosity of Generals Joseph and Hyrum Smith and have received good at their hands. The names of these men are William Law who was one of Joseph's Council and a member of the Quorum. Wilson Law Robert D. Foster, Charles A. Foster, Francis M. Higbee, Cha[u]ncy L. Higbee. Their associates in crime were Austin Cowles, Joseph H. Jackson a murderer, John M. Finch, W[jilla]m A. Rolloson William H. J. [Marr], Sylvester Emmons. [p.136] Alexander Symson S. M. [Marr] John Eagle Henry O. Norton and Augustine Spencer. These had been aided and abetted by Charles Lins and family. P[T. T. Rolfe, N][J. J. Higbee, W[jilla]m Cook and Sarah his wife formerly Sarah Crooks of Manchester England. James Blakeslee. And, finally, a band of mobocrats scattered through the country, among whom are Alexander Symson, Tho[maj]s C. Sharp, Colonel Williams, Walter Bagby, and O[nias] C. Skinner. Some of the aforesaid parties were storekeepers here and have drawn a vast [amount] of money from the place. David Bryant also joined in the clamor but did not take any public measures.

5 & Joseph H. Jackson, a stranger to the Saints in Nauvoo, attempted to endear himself to the Smith family. After being denied the right to marry [p.393] Hyrum Smith's daughter, Lavina, Jackson became embittered and sided with William Law and other apostates opposed to Joseph Smith. Although Jackson, in his scurrilous Narrative of the Adventures and Experiences of Joseph H. Jackson in Nauvoo (Warsaw: August 1844), claimed to be a close confidant of the Prophet until his rupture with Church leaders in the spring of 1844, in fact, only shortly after Jackson arrived in Nauvoo, in 1843, Joseph Smith expressed to his scribe, William Clayton, his lack of confidence in the man.

A few weeks after this, our Prophet told us from the stand, by the wall of the partly built [Nauvoo] temple, that a conspiracy was formed by the two Fosters, the Laws, C. Higbee, and J. H. Jackson and others against himself and all the Smiths. By some of them it was declared that there should not be one of the Smith family alive in a few weeks. Many accusations and threats of this kind were uttered. All this the Prophet had had from a Mr. Heaton and another. The testimony was credible. They had formed a caucus and had invited others to join it but much of this was found to be the false statement of the said Joseph H. Jackson, who proved to be as corrupt and guilty as a man could well be. Yet it was partly true. I do not know to what extent. But this I do know. Jackson quickly left the place and William Law, his brother Wilson Law, the former one of the first presidency, and the latter major general of the legion of the city. R. D. Foster and others revolted from the Church, saying that Joseph was fallen, the same as all the apostates have said, such as Parish, Cowdery, Harris and Russell, etc. They formed a church of themselves, appointed one as their prophet or head and held meetings in the house of the Laws, got up all the affidavits they could, especially from the sisters against the conduct of the Prophet, to publish to the world.
Review of Brian Hales’s *Joseph Smith’s Polygamy: History*

**Generalities:**

I’m taken by the breadth of this work! It is marvelous, and could end up being a point of departure for all future studies concerning early plural marriage.

It may be good at the outset to explain the matter of presentism, i.e., judging the past by the present, and how ignoring this natural phenomenon can wholly distort one’s understanding of something so societally heterodox as polygamy. Prepare your audience that they will need to regularly remind themselves that they are ill-equipped to comprehend the practice with their twenty-first century wiring. In the case of this presentation you have a double whammy trying to make understandable, to both your non-Mormon and Mormon audience, plural marriage in a nineteen-century package.

I’ve spoken to you about defining your audience. An academic audience is definitely addressed here. Make sure that everything you say, therefore, is directed to that academic audience. This will, of course, make necessary an elimination of any material that looks to be fashioned for a Mormon audience, per se. As I said previously, I think you can marshal your argument to accomplish exactly what you desire without appearing to be pandering to a Mormon audience only.

This reads too much like a dissertation, which is not necessarily a criticism. It is exhaustive but lacks the polish, condensation, and declarative interpretation of refined narrative history. Given what you have accomplished here, a singular triumph in itself, maybe you can’t groom this for bedtime reading. Maybe, once Lavina Anderson works it over, its destiny is as a reference work that will serve as a historical threshold for everything else that is written about polygamy in the future. And, later you can provide the narrative summary that you believe is possible.

It’s probably important to discuss marriage customs in ante-bellum America in a chapter-length discussion, thereby taking entire control of the discussion and disabusing the reader of their faulty notions of nineteenth-century marriage practice in American and Europe. Polygamy can only be discussed vis-à-vis monogamy, which includes a general acceptance of infidelity among men. This is lot of extra work but seems to be the logical companion to your profession of comprehensiveness of polygamy’s introduction.

To underscore the point above, I feel like I was just walking around a swimming pool, trying to decide if the water was the right temperature, how deep the water might be, and how the pool fits in its surroundings when somebody just pushed me in. I’m not ready to go into the pool without the proper context.

I have emphasized this particular point to you previously. It is essential, I believe, at the outset to spell out for the reader the fact that there is precious little primary evidence upon which to base this story. (You devote only three or four paragraphs to it in the first chapter.) JS was almost entirely silent on the matter. If there is anything that needs some overkill in this discussion it is this point. The substance of
the historical record about JS and his motives and intent is second hand, sometimes conjecture, generally created a generation after the fact, which data are always inadequate in the absence of JS’s own input.

In this light, the point you make about this in the charts that you include in chapter 1 of “Possible Wives of Joseph Smith” and “Pre-June 27 Nauvoo Polygamist Men” contain important information regarding the source of information that survives regarding plural marriage. But I think you need to actually walk your reader through this chart so they don’t miss the importance of what is illustrated here.

It may be worth while to have a section at the beginning that deals specifically with the matter of the polemical nature of what was written in the aftermath of JS’s life in regard to plural marriage. There are several places, such as the beginning of chapter 9 where you go after William Wyl, where you effectively dismiss the polemical source. I think it may be worthwhile in an introduction, to precede chapter 1, to demonstrate to the reader that what they are going to read is an exercise in weighing the polemical literature created by opponents of JS and the Church.

There is the point of your authority in making this presentation. Right now, Brian, you are the expert on early Mormon plural marriage. You know more about it than anybody else. You can modestly qualify what you are presenting by reminding the reader that your work is based on the best evidence at present and that future studies may certainly alter your declarations in this work. But you should not feel the need to molly-coddle the reader. Write in a declarative manner, always acknowledging with the necessary qualifications the limitations derived from lack of sources and viewing the past from afar, and all of that stuff. Don’t let others testify to your voice; use them merely to corroborate your argument.

In relation to this, it seems to me that your use in the text of the names of Todd Compton, or Dan Vogel, or Gary Bergera, or anybody else, as authority for what you are saying is not only distracting, it makes it appear that all you are doing is following where they tell you to go. Use them to evidence you, not the other way around. Their names do not need to be a part of your narrative. This is especially the case if you use footnotes where the reader can just drop their eyes to the footnote line to see who is saying what.

Throughout, the lengthy block quotes discourage the reader. Heavy block quotes typify academic theses and dissertations wherein the student demonstrates his knowledge of and command of the sources. But few university presses publish dissertations until they have been revised greatly. The information in block quotes is best tackled by summarizing the quote while using the most salient phrases from the quote to make the necessary point to the reader. This is very important, in my judgment.

Some of your sources, such as “conversation with Ron Watt,” or “Don Bradley” need to be weeded. You need to figure out a way to better qualify the information.

Frankly, I am skeptical of some of what was produced by the wives of JS two and three generations after the fact. I think that they need to be qualified as recollections every time they are used, in light of the larger role of memory in reconstructing JS’s past.

I have determined that the overview of polygamy was revealed to JS upon his query early in his ministry. But, like a number of other matters like baptism for the dead, the manner in which he was to implement it was either given to JS to figure out or Jesus revealed the unfolding principles “line upon line.” This concept, I believe, helps to explain the erratic nature of polygamy’s introduction and embrace by the Church. By the time BY had his hand at systematizing the principle, the “fits and spurts” of practice
became more refined and predictable. But such was not case during JS’s life. I think this important for people to consider even though it is not particularly demonstrable.

You may not want to do this, but I think it would help the reader to understand what you are saying much better. Because the information you present is so complicated I argue that at the beginning of each chapter you tell the reader exactly what you are going to tell them. Let them know what you are doing at the chapter’s beginning and then use the rest of the chapter to substantiate your opening summary.

You will need to go through the exercise of tightening the text, of course. The “adultery” discussion in chapter 4, for example, can be tightened considerably. You can eliminate much of the detail and still make your point.

Instead of Chapter 1 being the Introduction, you should have a separate Introduction wherein you spell out what you are going to do in the book, the issues you are going to tackle, and the questions you are going to address. (For example, the “Important Questions” should be part of an introduction and not the first chapter.) Chapter 1 should be the beginning of your response to the matters raised in the Introduction.

Shouldn’t JFS, Jr.’s Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage be part of the early discussion?

In chapter 1 you move from a discussion of bibliography into a categorization of those who enumerated the numbers of JS’s wives which seems non sequitur.

I can see you trying to qualify yourself as an objective commentator on Mormon polygamy by demonstrating that you are willing to criticize the Church in its neglect of officially discussing polygamy and then of justifying us for our reticence to tackle the problem. Do you want to do that? You don’t need to. Just tell your story.

I don’t like the “Doctrinal Milk before Meat” section, which I think to be unnecessary.

Just a pet peeve: I have trouble throughout with the nomenclature that you apply to many of those whom you use as “authorities” or commentators on the subject. For example, identifying someone a historian just because they have written about a historical subject is like describing someone who has performed CPR or the Heimlich as a physician or as a health-care provider. In contrast, you dub Kathryn M. Daynes as an “author” when she really is a trained, first-rate historian. Anybody can be a researcher, the class in which you place Jeff Johnson, but he is a trained archivist, something drastically different.

? of the chart “Joseph Smith’s Travels through Erie County, Pennsylvania.” Some charts are useful, others are not and are better described otherwise.

Regarding Nancy Marinda Johnson, isn’t there something about Nancy Marinda Johnson being away at boarding school at the time that JS is alleged to have been involved with her?

It occurred to me at the end of chapter 3 that this is such a convoluted, complicated story – “One can only speculate” – that the notion of “speculation” as the basis of interpretation needs to be given a great deal of weight, which undermines the tendency of people to become resolute about JS’s introduction and practice of plural marriage.
In chapter 4’s discussion of Oliver Cowdery, some of the most recent work on OC indicates that his involvement in extra-marital encounters was secondary to the primary reason for his detachment from the Church. I think that needs to be noted.

In chapter 4, the paragraph that begins “It seems that without exception, new converts who joined the Church during this period were unaware of the accusations leveled against Joseph Smith regarding Fannie Alger,” is a major point. I think this concept of what was known by and what circulated around the Church is a big deal and more needs to be said about it.

Chapter 5 includes some attention to “the 1835 ‘Article on Marriage.’” There is something happening in the Church here that needs far more attention than what you have supplied. Why did OC feel compelled to include it, and even though JS was not around to approve it—apparently—, why did the rest of them buy into it?

Fawn Brodie’s limitations at the beginning of chapter 9 cannot be attributed to her lack of access to the archives. She had an agenda, already conceived, which included JS’s sexual philandering.
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 saients, and I lived one year there. during that time a greate number of the members turned against the church. Olover Cowdery/ with others would say to me are you such a fool as still to goo to hear Joseph the fallen prophit... [...] ]

[page 3]

[***]

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

[... the first year in this plase, I suffered with hunger. I marriö [sic]/ 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 poligamy, I was warned in a dream Amy [sic] was a 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. Ency."]
Willard Stolworthy
My Dear Willard,
Complying with your request, I write you, In --- I was living in St George Utah, at the that time Joseph and Alexander sons of the Prophet Joseph Smith visited Salt Lake City—Solon Foster living at St George, when a young man lived with the Prophet, was his coach man, & dearly loved him, when he learned of Josephs & Alexanders coming, Foster went to S. L. City to see them, upon his return to St George, I was at the Sacrament meeting—President Erastus Snow, seeing Foster in the audience called him to the Stand, and asked him to tell the People about his meeting the Prophets Sons—
Foster said, “When I met Joseph, after congratulations I said, Joseph when you meet your Father, dont you think that He will give you a good Spanking?

[page 34]
Why should Father spank me?”
Because you are doing all in your Power to undo what He gave his life to Establish——
“I suppose you refer to Polygamy?” “Yes”
“I don’t know that my Father gave his life to establish Polygamy” Joseph when your Mother turned Eliza R Snow out doors [rest of addition on a small separate sheet:] in her night clothes, and you stood there, crying, I took you upstairs to bed with me, and you said I wish Mother would not be so cruel to Aunt Eliza. You knew that Eliza R Snow was your Fathers wife/ If my Father had as many wives as you Utah mormons say he had why didn’t he have children by some of them”? “He did have,” “I never heard of any” “Joseph If you will come here at 2 P.M. tomorrow and will go with me to President Youngs office, I will introduce you to a woman who will testify — under Oath that she was your Fathers wife, & we will have an other woman there, who, the first woman will testify is her daughter, and that your Father is this daughters Father, and we will have a man there (J. B. Nobles[?]) who will testify under oath that he married the first woman to your Father—with your Mothers consent”

Joseph replied, “I did not come to Utah to hunt up such things, and I will not go.”

The statement above, In spirit and Substance, Is a true Report of what Solon Foster said to the saints assembled in that sacrament meeting

John R. Young
Nauvoo Stake High Council Minutes, 1839 Oct. – 1845 Oct., LR 3102 22; LDS CHD; from transcript provided by Randall Dixon, November 7, 2008

May 24th 1842 The High Council met according to appointment at the Lodge Room

1st The testimony of Mrs. Sarah Miller and Miss Margaret and Matilda Neyman were taken relative to the charges against Chancy Higbee and others showing the manner of iniquity practiced by them upon female virtue...

The Charge against Mrs. Catherine Warner by [corner of page missing—name likely George] [ ]rge Miller for unchaste and unvirtuous [corner of page missing—word likely conduct] [ ]uch with John C. Bennett and others

3. The defendant confessed to the charge and give the names of several others who had been guilty of having unlawful intercourse with her stating that they taught the doctrine that it was right to have free intercourse with women and that the heads of the Church also taught and practiced it which things caused her to be led away thinking it to be right – but becoming convinced that it was not right and learning that the head of the church did not believe nor practice such things she was willing to confess her sins and did repent before God for what she had done and desired earnestly that the Council would forgive her and covenanted that, she would hence forth do so no more.

After which she was restored to fellowship by the unanimous vote of the Council.
Friday 14 – [1884]
I went through for Elias Huntington, after which I stood Proxy for Louis Wight a Nephew of Lyman Wight, to have his children adopted

Then I stood Proxy for the Prophet Joseph Smith in havin[g] sealed or adopted to him a child of my sister Presenda, had while living with Norman Buell. [end of entry]

[This occurs in the context of his doing temple work for many, many family members, day after day.]
Wilford Woodruff to Andrew Jenson, August 6, 1887;  
from First Presidency Letterpress Copybooks, LDS CHD; transcribed from photocopy of manuscript provided by Randall Dixon

Elder Andrew Jenson,
Dear Brother:

The attention of the Twelve has been called to your number of the "Historical Record" for July [sic], 1887, in which you publish a list of the names of women who were sealed to the Prophet Joseph.

We do not question your good desires in making his name public, but we are lead to question the propriety of giving this publicity to them at the present time. And in accordance with the feelings of the brethren, we address this letter to you upon the subject.

We do not think it a wise step to give [page 2] these names to the world, at the present time, in the manner which you have done in this "Historical Record." Advantage may be taken of their publication and, in some instances, to the injury, perhaps, of families or relatives of those whose names are mentioned. There are too many persons living who are interested in these matters, and who may have reasons for not wishing any exposure of this character. We do not see that it will serve any good purpose, either, to make them public, and therefore, we suggest that if it be your intention to give more names, it would be better, we think, to refrain from doing so.

With kind regards,

Your Brother,

W. Woodruff
Cornelius P. Lott Family Bible;
MS 3373; LDS CHD

Note on the actual Bible used:
The title page shows this to be an 1827 H. & E. Phinney stereotype edition, much like the
1828 Phinney edition used for the Joseph Smith Translation.

[Family information entered:]

MARRIAGES
[1st column]

Cornelius P Lott
Was maried April 27th
1823 To Permelia Darow
Daughter of Joseph \\and Mary/ Dar
row of Bridgewater
county of susquehanah
state of pensylvania
the former a son of peter [illegible]/ Lott
Corneli[us] P Lott maried
to Permelia Darrow
for time and Eternaty
Septem Ber the 20: 1843
By President Hy ram
Smith with seal of
President Joseph
Smith.
Sept the 20 C P Lott and
Perme Lia Lott gave their
Dauter Malisa to wife

[Note that this is the end of that entry—it does not say to whom she was given to wife!
The entry was apparently made at a time of continuing secrecy.]

mary E Lott was maried to
to [sic] Abraham Loose Nov
th [sic] 12th 1848

MARRIAGES
[2nd column]
Malisa Smith was maried
To Ira Willees May 13th 1847

[***]
[A later entry under “BIRTHS” says “Malisa was Born jan[?] th 9th 1824”; and one under “DEATHS” says “Malissa Lott Willes died July 13th, 1898 at Salt Lake City”; but there is no other mention of her marriage to Joseph Smith.]
Hi Brian!

Hey, I have a thought that *may* be useful regarding polyandry...

D&C 132 says the following to Emma:

And let mine handmaid, Emma Smith, receive all those that have been given unto my servant Joseph, and who are virtuous and pure before me; and those who are not pure, and have said they were pure, shall be destroyed, saith the Lord God (D&C 132: 52)

There's an insistence, obviously, that Emma accept Joseph's other wives. But there's also something else going on here. In addition to commanding Emma to accept these wives, the revelation appears to address a concern that some of the wives may not have been "pure." This concern appears to have been Emma's, since it is she who is addressed throughout this portion of the revelation (D&C 132:51-56) and it is she who must accept those who are *pure*. Any who are (hypothetically) *not* pure will be dealt with by God himself, and are therefore not Emma's concern.

But what on earth is this talking about? Emma's concern would surely be about more than just the purity of polygamy itself, since the revelation, though affirming the rightness of polygamy, leaves open at least the hypothetical possibility that some of Joseph's wives might *not* be pure. Whatever might make them "impure" in this context would obviously be something besides being a legitimate plural wife!

So...what if Emma knew of a case in which a woman civilly married to someone else was sealed for time (and probably eternity) to and cohabiting with Joseph? She might then legitimately question whether the woman involved was "pure" or adulterous--was she cohabiting with the civil husband too? The answer to this concern given by D&C 132:52 would be that she is to accept Joseph's plural wives, whatever the complexities of their civil marital status, and leave it to God to know and ensure that they are remaining faithful to Joseph.

This reading is surely speculative and inferential, but I have to wonder what other reading would be a better fit. The revelation can't be commenting on this matter of the plural wives' "purity" for nothing---it must be an immediate concern, and, given the context in which it is addressed, it is almost certainly a concern to *Emma* in particular. And it is clear that the "impurity" she fears is not just that of the woman being a plural wife--it is, rather, a kind of impurity that is real under the terms of the revelation itself and for which the guilty party would be "destroyed." If this is not referring to adultery, then to what would it be referring?

I think by far the most likely reading is that Emma is concerned that one or more of the women sealed for time to Joseph is cohabiting with another man as well, and that the woman--and therefore Joseph--are participating in an impure--i.e. adulterous--relationship. And the Lord offers reassurance that this is not so, and if it were, he would deal with it himself, so she need not.

What do you think? If you think this would be of use, please feel free to use it. If you do, I'd ask that you use my name in connection with it, since D&C 132 is the focus of some of my long-term research, and something on which I plan to publish.

Don

11/15/2008
OK, I just spent some time with Randy. He told me the Eliza R. Snow letter to John Taylor would have been relocated from the "Eliza R. Snow letter file" to the First Presidency's incoming correspondence files. The letter has some sensitive content--Eliza is recommending Hannah Ells for her second anointings! But, having alerted him to this, I emphasize the importance of the letter. He's looking for it and will probably have it for me early next week. 8-)

And in other news...the Salt Lake Temple sealing record book covering 1899 just arrived from the Granite Mountain Vault. Randy took me back to his office to view it. And...it says Bapson! We both looked at the form of the letter, and it is simply a cursive "B". I suggested also comparing with how this same clerk wrote his other uppercase "B"s and "R"s, and this comparison raises to the level of certainty that the clerk wrote "B." He may have done so in error, intending to write an "R"; or, more likely, he misread someone else's capital "R." But in either case, he wrote "Bapson."

The entry, by the way, is dated April 4, 1899, and numbered 4265. It is found on page 243 of the sealing record book.

8-)

Don

On Fri, Nov 7, 2008 at 2:48 PM, Don Bradley <onandagus1@gmail.com> wrote:
Hey Brian,

Got it! I haven't encountered this other researcher again yet, but may yet today. We'll see...

BTW, I just got off the phone with Jill. The December 12, 1886 letter from Eliza to John Taylor is proving elusive, since the CHD catalog shows no collection of her materials covering this time period. She's going to check for it in her papers when she's in the office next week. If we can obtain that letter, it will also be the closest known example of Eliza's handwriting to the February 1887 list of wives she provides Jenson, making it the best document for comparison!!

Jill's also going to be checking the DUP for new Eliza materials, and says she'll keep a special eye out for anything on Joseph Smith and plural marriage. The way she said this it seemed she was saying she would share such things with us--and certainly hope that!

I should be meeting with her next week; so I'll let you know the results.

Don

On Fri, Nov 7, 2008 at 2:39 PM, BRIAN C HALES <brianhales@msn.com> wrote:
Great job Don!
did you get the Zina doc I sent?

--- Original Message ---
From: Don Bradley <onandagus1@gmail.com>
37—Mary Huntington Smith, born in York, Feb. 11, 1712. On her wedding day, April 2, 1675, she married Joseph Smith, taken by Kinekh, and with him she moved to New England. In 1746, she was sealed to Smith for eternity and to Kinekh for time.

38—Martha McBurney Knight, wife of Thos. Yewen Knight. Born in Chelmsford, N.H., Dec. 17, 1726. She married Jos. Smith in the summer of 1846 (see Blood Achievement and the Origins of Plural Marriage, p. 73). It is not clear whether this was before or after the death of Knight, which occurred on July 30, 1746. (Hist. of Ch., Vol. 3, p. 74). On Jan. 26, 1746, she was sealed to Smith for eternity and to N.C. Kimball for time. She died at Hooksett, N.H., Jan. 20, 1791 (8th RAND, Nov. 5, 1791).

39—Sarah Scott. She is listed by Whitney as one of the mothers of Jos. Smith taken by N.C. Kimball. Early in 1746, "Sarah Scott Smith," born in Dedham, Mass., Oct. 25, 1717, was sealed to Kimball for time, along with her husband, Jos. Smith, on Jan. 26, 1746. Some days earlier, on Jan. 24, 1746, Sarah Scott married N.C. Kimball, and on Jan. 26, 1746, they were sealed to each other.

Sarah Shiloh. She is listed by Whitney as a wife of N.C. Kimball.

Early in 1746, "Sarah J. Smith," born in Oxford, Mass., May 18, 1726, was sealed to Kimball for time, along with Sarah Scott and Sarah Shiloh, the wives of Jos. Smith.

32—Sarah Smith. Born in England, Nov. 27, 1793. On April 1, 1849, she was sealed by proxy to Jos. Smith. A note accompanying the record reads: "She was sealed to Smith during his lifetime. She died in the year 1888, and was sealed to him in the year 1889."


See Book 1, 488 § 3027.
67 - Mrs. Lewis Smith, W. Wylt. (Women Patients, p. 104) quoted as saying that Mr. Smith took a meal with her, as most of his meals are, and if a servant (119th Ward Minutes, p. 236) hints Mrs. Lewis Smith at Smith's Spiritual Meetings.

68 - Mrs. A. S. Smith - Bennett (p. 316) says she was married to Joe Smith by L. Young. She is not further identified.

69 - Mrs. Edward Bloomer, W. Wylt. (Women Patients, p. 104) quotes Richard Ruchten, stenographer at the Messrs. Smith's Home in Harrow, as telling of finding Joe Smith in bed with the wife of Elder Edward Bloomer. She is not further identified.

70 - Mrs. Ford - Wylt. (p. 104) tells at a Wylt. field of a woman merchant, "Mrs. Ford" Smith, who left when her husband was away.

71 - Louisa Adams Smith, sister of Henry Smith, born in Maine, Dec. 17, 1803. In 1827 she married Joseph Young (id. 222, Hist. Mgt. York, p. 1). She returned to Boston, but on Sept. 28, 1836 was back in Maine and was sealed to Young in the Temple. She met with him, and, later in 1839, he disposed of the deed to her. Both Adams and Young Smith. She did the work in the Temple, Louisa, Adams Young Smith, He was 10, indicating she had been sealed to Smith. She died in 1886.


73 - Sarah Baldwin Smith, born in May, 1784, at Oxford, Mass. Jan. 30, 1845. She was sealed to Peter Howard, by the 1st vote.

74 - Elizabeth Ann Smith, b. Dec. 26, 1828, at Fitchburg, Mass. Jan. 1, 1846. She was sealed to A. K. Howson. She was sealed to A. K. Howson.
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<td>Lynd, Rst. Suf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>When married</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>When died</td>
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From the "Brompton House" records, enclosed in a letter 14.6.1956, it will be noted that this person may well be the same person referred to in the same record; this record was entered in 1956, confirming that this person was listed as a resident at Brompton, Suf., England.

On 28 November 1872, and on 26 November 1873, the same person appears in the same record.
GS# Res. 184,589
Salt Lake Temple Sealing Records-Book C
Page 376
Prophet JOSEPH SMITH
#6573- HANNAH BUCH, born 30 Nov 1829 at Blakely, Lancaster, England; died 16 Apr 1847.
Heir or Proxy: Joseph Fielding Smith
Heir or Proxy: Mary A. Sears
Date Sealed: 12 Nov 1897, by John R. Winder
Witnesses: L. F. Sheet L. A. Wilson

GS# Res. 184,590
Salt Lake Temple Sealing Records-Book D
Page 243
"The sealings of those named below were performed during the life of the Prophet Joseph but there is no record thereof. President Lorenzo Snow decided that they be repeated in order that a record might exist, and that this explanation be made."
Prophet JOSEPH SMITH
#4262- FANNIE ALLIS, of Nauvoo, Hancock, Illinois
#4263- LUCINDA BARRUS, of Nauvoo, Hancock, Illinois
#4264- ALKIRA W. JOHNSON, born 21 Oct 1812 at Westford, Chittenden, VT.
#4265- SARAH BATES, born 27 Mar 1793 at Ashton, Sussex, England
#4266- FLORA ANN WOODWORTH, of Nauvoo, Hancock, Illinois
#4267- PARRY YOUNG, of Nauvoo, Hancock, Illinois
#4268- HANNAH ELIN, of Nauvoo, Hancock, Illinois
#4269- OLIVE FROST, born 24 July 1815 at Bethel, Oxford, Maine; died 6 Oct 1845.
#4270- SARAH M. CLEVELAND, of Nauvoo, Hancock, Illinois
#4271- SYLVA SESSIONS (LYON), of Nauvoo, Hancock, Illinois
#4272- RUTH VOGT, born 23 Feb 1808 at Watertown, Miss, Mass; died 15 Nov 1870.
Heir or Proxy: Joseph Fielding Smith
Heir or Proxy: Edna L. Smith
NOTE: All Joseph P. Smith's are also recorded in this record as Joseph Fielding Smith.
Date Sealed: 4 Apr 1899, by John R. Winder
Witnesses: John Nicholson D. H. McAllister

GS# Res. 184,591
Salt Lake Temple Sealing Records-Book E
Page 118
Prophet JOSEPH SMITH
#2046- ELIZABETH THAYER (BUSHITT), born 3 Sep 1817 at Actley, Worce, England; endowed about 1863; LIVING.
Heir or Proxy: Joseph Fielding Smith
Date Sealed: 17 Oct 1900, by James Stratton
Witnesses: John R. Winder, George Hanny, and William N. Riter.
APPENDIX TO SEALING RECORDS:

On page 16 and page 21 of this record is made the statement:
In an index to the ENDOIMENT HOUSE, there is listed in Book #1, mention made of
the Prophet Joseph Smith on page 9 and 27 or #9 and #27. There are to be therefore two entries for the Prophet in "Book #1", which precedes Book C.

These entries were found finally in CG# Res. 183,389,
ENDOIMENT HOUSE SEALINGS FOR THE DEAD BY PROXY, listed as "Book #1. A.
The years covered are 1856-1858. Page 9 is out of order in pagination.
Page 9 is with verso page 7. Verso page 9 is with recto page 10. Recto is the right hand side and verso the left hand side of a book opened up. Therefore:

CG# Res. 183,389
Endowment house sealing records - Book 1. A.

Page 9
JOSEPH SMITH Jr. "The Prophet"; date of death 27 June 1844 at Carthage,
Proxy: Grant, Jed. Morgan
Hancock Co., Illinois
HACHAN KAYALEY IVINS (with an "a" written over the "s" in IVINS.) -LIVING
Born 9 Mar 1821 at Honorstown, Monmouth, New Jersey
Date Sealed: 29 Nov 1856 by B. Y. and B. H.
Witnesses: B. Young
NOTE: Jed. Morgan Grant, the proxy above is listed as born 21 Feb 1816 at

CG# Res. 183,389
Endowment House sealing records - Book 1. A.

Page 27
JOSEPH SMITH, Jr. "The Prophet"; date of death 27 June 1844 at Carthage,
Hancock Co., Illinois
Proxy: Morley, Isaac
SARAH BAPSHIN, born 27 Mar 1792 at Auckn Sussix, England -LIVING
Date Sealed: 11 Mar 1856 by B.Y. and B. H.
Witnesses: L. D. Woolley and W. W. Phelps
NOTE: Isaac Morley, the proxy above is listed as born 11 Mar 1792 at
Montague, Hampshire, Mass.

APPENDIX TO SEALING RECORDS:

On page 42 and 43 of this record, mention is made to the effect that the
author of this record could find no sealings under the Prophet Joseph Smith,
Jr., or heir Joseph F. Smith in the Logan Temple. However, some sealings
were performed under the heir names of JOHN SMITH and JOSIAH FIELDING SMITH;
also, SAMUEL HARRISON BALD SMITH, as follows:

CG# Res. 178,060
Logan Temple Sealings of Couples 1884-1886;
Page 74
#1884- JOSEPH SMITH the Prophet- dead-born 22 Dec 1805 at Sharon, Winston, Vt.
Hi Don and Randy,

Hey I’m trying to figure out the Sarah Bapson thing and encountered something new.

- Tinney page 41 has Sarah Bapson born March 27, 1793, in Ashton, Sussex, England.
- Tinney page 48A has Sarah Rapsin born March 27, 1792 at Ashburn Sussex, England and sealed on March 11, 1856 by proxy to Joseph Smith
- LDSVR (LDS vital records CDROM) has Sarah Royson born March 7, 1791, in Sussex, England (she is listed under the names Poulter and Royson with no Sarah Bapson/Rapsin/Rapsin listed in a search of the LDSVR records)
- IGI has Sarah Royson born March 7, 1891, Sussex, England marrying someone named “Poulterer”
- IGI also has Sarah Rapsin marrying Stephen Poulterer on March 3, 1817, in England (no BD)

Do you recall the information that accompanied the original 1899 temple record (date and place of birth?)

I’m confused – any thoughts?

Thanks,

Brian

**IGI Individual Record**

FamilySearch™ International Genealogical Index v5.0

British Isles

Search Results | Download | Print

---

**SARAH ROYSON**

Female

---

**Event(s):**

Birth: 07 MAR 1791, Sussex, England

---

**Parents:**

Father: THOMAS ROYSON

Mother: ANN
Royson
Royson, Sarah (Female)
Birth: Royson, Sarah (Female)  Date: March 7, 1791  Place: Sussex, ENG
Parents: Royson, Sarah (Female)  Father: Royson, Thomas  Mother: _________, Ann
Marriage Information: Royson, Sarah (Female)  Spouse: Poulterer, _________
Church Ordinance Data: Royson, Sarah (Female)  Patriarchal Blessing
  Date: June 28, 1843  Place: Nauvoo, Hancock, IL, USA  Officiator: Smith, Hyrum

Poulterer
Poulterer, Sara (Female)
Birth: Poulterer, Sara (Female)  Place: ENGLAND
Marriage Information: Royson, Sarah (Female)  Spouse: Poulterer, _________
Book of Patriarchal Blessings Index
Volume: 3  Page: 131
Lake who doubts the fact of that boy being Smith’s own child.” The chief opposing evidence is Hannah’s eternal marriage to Dibble in the Nauvoo temple (Sealing and Adoption Book A, 243). Joseph Smith performed the marriage to Dibble: “On the 11th of February, 1841, I married a second wife—a Widow Smith of Philadelphia, who was living in the family of the Prophet. He performed the ceremony at his house, and Sister Emma Smith insisted upon getting up a wedding supper for us. It was a splendid affair, and quite a large party of our friends were assembled.” Philo Dibble, “Philo Dibble’s Narrative,” Early Scenes in Church History (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1882), 92-93. This does not sound like a “pretend” marriage, as was the case with the Sarah Ann Whitney-Joseph Kingsbury marriage.

3. SARAH BAPSON: Bennett, History of the Saints, 256: “Miss B*****.” The best candidate for this woman is Sarah Bapson, listed in a 4 April 1899 sealing: “The sealings of those named below were performed during the life of the Prophet Joseph but there is no record thereof. President Lorenzo Snow decided that they be repeated in order that a record might exist; and that this explanation be made.” Fannie Alger, Lucinda Harris, Almera W. Johnson, Sarah Bapson, Flora Ann Woodworth, Fanny Young, Hannah Ells, Olive Frost, Sarah M. Cleveland, Sylvia Sessions (Lyon), Ruth Vose. Salt Lake Temple Sealing Records, Book D, 243, GS Film 184,590, Family History Library, as cited in Tinney, “Royal Family,” 41, 63.

4. MRS. G*****: Bennett, History of the Saints, 256. As the other names in Bennett’s list have been reliable, there is no good reason to doubt this one. However, there are at least nine women whose married names start with G, have six letters, and who were in Nauvoo in 1842. Without further evidence, it is difficult to narrow that group down. A leading candidate is Phoebe Palmer (Graves), who received her endowment with Sarah Kingsley (Cleveland) (Smith) on 19 October 1845.


7. MRS. TAILOR: Jackson, A Narrative, 14, links her with Patty Sessions and Elizabeth Durfee. As Patty Sessions and Elizabeth Durfee have been substantiated as wives of Joseph, there is no good reason to suspect Mrs. Tailor. Which Mrs. Tailor is another problem; there are at least three older women in 1842 Nauvoo with the married name Taylor: Agnes Taylor (Taylor), the mother of John Taylor; Elizabeth Patrick (Taylor); and Surviah (Taylor).
Mother Poulterer Dead.—Sister Sarah Poulterer, more commonly known as "Mother Poulterer," died this morning at 1 o'clock at her residence in the 17th Ward. She was well and widely known among the Latter day Saints, with whom she has been identified from the early history of the Church, and remained staunch and faithful to the end. She was born on the 27th day of March, 1793, was originally from England, but came from Philadelphia with President Jedediah M. Grant, arriving here just 27 years ago, on this the day of her death. She was in Nauvoo in early days, and was intimately acquainted with the Prophet Joseph. For the past three months she has been sick abed most of the time, and has slowly dwindled away, dying peacefully of old age. The funeral will take place at the residence to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.
Brian Hales

From: Randall Dixon [dixonwr@yahoo.com]
Sent: Tuesday, November 25, 2008 4:38 PM
To: Brian Hales
Subject: Re: Sarah Royson Information.doc

Brian,

Can you take more complications?

Sarah P. had two patriarchal blessings. One from 28 June 1843 gives her birth date as 7 March 1791 with her maiden name Rapson. A second from 18 May 1853 gives her birth as 7 March 1792 with her maiden name Rapton.

Her obit, however, gives her birth as 27 March 1793, no maiden name mentioned (Deseret Evening News 20 Aug. 1879 [p. 3]. This date agrees with the 1899 temple record. The Salt Lake cemetery record has the same birth date.

Randy
--- On Sun, 11/23/08, Brian Hales <brianhales@msn.com> wrote:

From: Brian Hales <brianhales@msn.com>
Subject: Sarah Royson Information.doc
To: "Don Bradley" <onandagus1@gmail.com>, "Randy Dixon" <dixonwr@yahoo.com>
Date: Sunday, November 23, 2008, 7:47 PM

Hi Don and Randy,

Hey I'm trying to figure out the Sarah Bapson thing and encountered something new.

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- IGI has Sarah Royson born March 7, 1891, Sussex, England marrying someone named "Poulterer"
- IGI also has Sarah Rapson marrying Stephen Poulterer on March 3, 1817, in England (no BD)

Do you recall the information that accompanied the original 1899 temple record (date and place of birth?)

11/26/2008
<table>
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<th>Name and Surname of each Person who abode in the house, on the Night of the 20th March, 1811</th>
<th>Relation to Head of Family</th>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Age of</th>
<th>Rank, Profession, or Occupation</th>
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Brian Hales

From: Don Bradley [onandagus1@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, November 25, 2008 5:45 PM
To: Brian Hales
Cc: Randy Dixon
Subject: Re: Sarah Royson Information.doc
Attachments: Sarah Poulterer 1851 British Census.jpg

Hey Brian,

I've been digging a bit in the genealogical sources on Sarah Rapson Poulterer, and believe I can identify the most solid information.

The Salt Lake City cemetery records, as extracted in the Utah Cemetery Index and other sources, show a Sarah Poulterer, born March 27, 1793, in England, and dying August 20, 1879, in Salt Lake City.


In September of that same year, the couple is shown on various user-provided family trees as having a daughter Sarah Poulterer in Portsmouth. The younger Sarah married a Joseph Harrison in 1836.

The 1850 census for Philadelphia shows a Stephen and Sarah Poulterer, both born in England, but under the ages of 62 and 64, which would have to erroneous. And--remarkably--the 1851 census for the United Kingdom shows Sarah Poulterer (listed as married, but without an accompanying husband) listed with her "son-in-law" Joseph Harrison, her daughter Sarah, their American-born children, and Sarah's own American-born son George W. [Washington] Poulterer, all in Devonshire.

This is no doubt the right family; so Sarah is caught in this snapshot during a visit to England. She is there shown as 58 years old, consistent with a 1793 birth, and is reported to have been born in Chichester, Sussex. (Although I was tipped off to the existence of this record by a partial transcription that has been published, it was very difficult to find because the Ancestry.com indexers misread almost every name on the page. However, the other transcriber shows the names correctly. Because of this source's accuracy, I am also trusting their reading of Sarah's age. The second digit is written oddly, and could be a "6," a "0," or an "8"; but the otherwise accurate transcriber gives it as an "8.")) I'm attaching a copy of this census page.

A "Sarah Poulterer" later shows up in the 1860 Utah Territorial Census, listed as 66 years old and born in Pennsylvania(!). And Sarah seems to disappear entirely from the 1870 census.

Under the name "Sarah Royson," I can find almost nothing, and certainly nothing reflecting this individual. "Royson" is almost certainly just a misreading of the handwritten name "Rapson."

I don't have my transcription from the Salt Lake Temple records at hand, but will check this later. From what I can recall, the temple recorder did not have a great deal of information about Sarah, beyond her (misspelled) name; but I will verify this.

Based on the sources presently available, I think it almost certain that Sarah's married name was Poulterer, and that she was born in England around 1793. I also think her maiden was probably (though not as certainly) Rapson, and that she was born in Chichester in exactly 1793.

Don

11/26/2008
On 11/23/08, Brian Hales <brianhales@msn.com> wrote:

Hi Don and Randy,

Hey I'm trying to figure out the Sarah Bapson thing and encountered something new.

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- LDSVR (LDS vital records CDROM) has Sarah Royson born March 7, 1791, in Sussex, England (she is listed under the names Poulter and Royson with no Sarah Bapson/Rapson/Rapsin listed in a search of the LDSVR CDROM)
- IGI has Sarah Royson born March 7, 1891, Sussex, England marrying someone named "Poulterer"
- IGI also has Sarah Rapson marrying Stephen Poulterer on March 3, 1817, in England (no BD)

Do you recall the information that accompanied the original 1899 temple record (date and place of birth?) Is there any way to look up the other original records referenced by Tinney (Endowment House Sealing Records, Book 1. A, page 27, GS# Res. 183, 389)?

I'm confused – any thoughts?

Thanks,

Brian

IGI Individual Record
SARAH ROYSON
Female

Event(s):
Birth: 07 MAR 1791, Sussex, England
Christening: 
Death: 
Burial: 

Parents:
Father: THOMAS ROYSON
Mother: ANN

Royson

Royson, Sarah (Female)
Birth: Royson, Sarah (Female) Date: March 7, 1791 Place: Sussex, ENG
Parents: Royson, Sarah (Female) Father: Royson, Thomas Mother: ________, Ann
Marriage Information: Royson, Sarah (Female) Spouse: Poulterer, ________
Church Ordinance Data: Royson, Sarah (Female) Patriarchal Blessing
Date: June 28, 1843 Place: Nauvoo, Hancock, IL, USA Officiator: Smith, Hyrum

Poulterer

Poulterer, Sara (Female)
Birth: Poulterer, Sara (Female) Place: ENGLAND

11/26/2008
Marriage Information: **Royson, Sarah** (Female)  
Spouse: **Poulterer, ________**

Book of Patriarchal Blessings Index

Volume: 3 \hspace{1cm} Page: 131
Family Group Record

**Husband's Name**
Thomas Arnold Poulter (AFN:2H9N-0R)
- Born: (50-1841) 181787 Jun
- Christened: (62-1851) 08 1877 Jul
- Married: 26 Sep 1814
- Place: East Molesey, Surrey, England
- Place: Ealing, Middlesex, England
- Father: John Poulter (AFN:4WX-LF)
- Mother: Jane Clifton (Cliffen) (AFN:4WX-FL)

**Wife's Name**
Sarah Davis (AFN:2H9N-1X)
- Born: (45-1841) 07 1794 Oct
- Christened: (57-1851) 02 1794 Nov
- Married: 26 Sep 1814
- Place: East Molesey, Surrey, England
- Place: Ealing, Middlesex, England
- Father: William Davis (AFN:4WX-LG)
- Mother: Ann Leonard (AFN:4WX-HX)

**Children**

1. **Sex Name**
   - F Sarah Ann Poulter (AFN:2H9N-T3)
     - Born: 1815
     - Christened: 13 Jul 1817
     - Place: East Molesey, Surrey, Eng
     - Pedigree

2. **Sex Name**
   - M Charles Thomas Poulter (AFN:2H9N-ZR)
     - Born: 1826
     - Christened: 19 Mar 1826
     - Died: Aft 1851
     - Place: Esther, Surrey, Eng
     - Place:
     - Pedigree

3. **Sex Name**
   - F Charlotte Poulter (AFN:2H9P-28)
     - Born: 1831
     - Christened: 23 Feb 1834
     - Place: Hampton, Middlesex, Eng
     - Pedigree

4. **Sex Name**
   - F Mary Poulter (AFN:2H9P-3F)
     - Born: 1834
     - Christened: 23 Feb 1834
     - Place: Hampton, Middlesex, Eng
     - Pedigree

5. **Sex Name**
   - F Jane Poulter (AFN:2H9N-WF)
     - Born: 30 Jan 1822
     - Christened: 7 Apr 1822
     - Place: Esther, Surrey, Eng
     - Pedigree

6. **Sex Name**
   - F Eliza Poulter (AFN:2H9P-13)
     - Born: 13 Oct 1829
     - Christened: 8 Nov 1829
     - Place: Dorset Wharf, Whitefriars, St. Brides, London, Eng
     - Pedigree

7. **Sex Name**
   - F Ann Poulter (AFN:2H9N-XL)
     - Born: 22 Feb 1824
     - Place: Esther, Surrey, Eng
     - Pedigree

---

**Christening**

Christened: 29 Aug 1824
Place:

---

**Burial**

Buried: 26 Nov 1827
Place: Esther, Surrey, Eng

---

**Death**

Died: 7 Oct 1838
Place:

---

**Birth**

Born: 3 Mar 1820
Place: Esther, Sur., Eng

---

**Death**

Died: 16 Apr 1820
Place: Esther, Sur., Eng

---

**Burial**

Buried: 7 Mar 1868
Place: Ogden Canyon, Weber, Ut

---

**Birth**

Born: 1 Jun 1817
Place: East Molesey, Surrey, England

---

**Death**

Died: 13 Jul 1817
Place: East Molesey, Surrey, England

---

**Burial**

Buried: 17 Jun 1822
Place: Franklin, Franklin, Id

---

**Birth**

Born: 26 Nov 1827
Place: Esther, Surrey, Eng

---

**Death**

Died: 7 Oct 1838
Place:

---

**Burial**

Buried: 20 Jun 1892
Place: Franklin, Franklin, Id

---

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12/1/2008
Family Group Record

Husband's Name
William DAVIS (AFN.4WXL-GR)
Born: 12 Jul 1764
Married: 12 May 1787
Place: East Molesley, Surrey, England

Father: Thomas DAVIS (AFN.CW57-FX)
Mother: Mary WINDER (AFN.CW97-G4)

Wife's Name
Ann LEONARD (AFN.4WXL-HK)
Born: Abt 1764
Married: 12 May 1787
Place: East Molesley, Surrey, England

Father: 
Mother: Died 1817

Children
1. Sex Name
M William DAVIS (AFN.4WXM-46)
Born: 1808
Place: East Molesley, Surrey, England

2. Sex Name
F Mary Ann DAVIS (AFN.4WXM-1N)
Born: 2 Dec 1790 Jan 1789
Place: Mordale, Surrey, England

3. Sex Name
F Sarah DAVIS (AFN.2H9N-1X)
Born: (45-1841) 07 1764 Oct
Christened: (57-1851) 02 1794 Nov
Place: (castle Hotel) East Molesey, Surrey, England

4. Sex Name
M George John DAVIS (AFN.4WXM-5C)
Born: 22 Mar 1825
Place: East Molesley, Surrey, England

5. Sex Name
M William DAVIS (AFN.4WXM-0H)
Born: May 1788
 Died: 25 Jul 1791
Place: Mordale, Surrey, England

6. Sex Name
F Ann Lucy DAVIS (AFN.4WXM-6J)
Born: 17 Jul 1826
Place: East Molesley, Surrey, England

7. Sex Name
F Hannah DAVIS (AFN.4WXM-31)
Born: 17 Sep 1806
Place: East Molesley, Surrey, England

8. Sex Name
F Elizabeth DAVIS (AFN.4WXM-2T)
Born: 7 Nov 1752 Dec 27 1792
Place: East Molesley, Surrey, England

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12/1/2008
12/1/2008
Proxy's relationship to deceased:
Martin Potter was the Father of
Jane Ann Duit.

Date of proxy baptism:
1841

Source: Nauvoo Baptismal Records of the Dead, Book A34.

Proxy: Sarah Poulter
Gender: Female
Surname: Poulter
Given name: Sarah
Maiden name: Davis
Birth date: 7 October 1794
Birth place: East Molesey, Surrey, England
Father: Davis, William
Mother: Leonard, Ann
Spouse: Poulter (Poulterer), Thomas Arnold
  Marriage date: 26 September 1814
  Marriage place: Ealing, Middlesex, England

Source: Nauvoo Baptismal Records of the Dead; FamilySearch, Ancestral File; Black, Membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: 1830–1848, 35:427; Book of Patriarchal Blessings Index, 3:131.

Deceased: Elizabeth Davis
Gender: Female
Surname: Davis
Given name: Elizabeth
Birth date: 7 November 1792
Birth place: East Molesey, Surrey, England
Father: Davis, William
Mother: Leonard, Ann
Spouse: Gains

Proxy's relationship to deceased:
Sarah Poulter was the Sister of Elizabeth Davis.

Date of proxy baptism:
1843


Deceased: Ann Poulter
Gender: Female
Surname: Poulter
Given name: Ann
Birth date: 22 February 1824
Birth place: Esher, Surrey, England
Father: Poulter, Thomas Arnold
Mother: Davis, Sarah
Spouse: Lee, Thomas Henry
  Marriage date: 25 December 1843

Proxy's relationship to deceased:
Sarah Poulter was the Mother of Ann Poulter.

Date of proxy baptism:
1843


Deceased: Thomas Poulter
Gender: Male
Surname: Poulter
Given name: Thomas
Middle name: Arnold
Birth date: 18 June 1787
Birth place: East Molesey, Surrey, England
Father: Poulter, John
Mother: Cliffen, Jane
Spouse: Davis, Sarah
  Marriage date: 26 September 1814
  Marriage place: Ealing, Middlesex, England

Proxy's relationship to deceased:
Sarah Poulter was the Wife of Thomas Poulter.

Date of proxy baptism:
1843


Deceased: Ann Rapson
Gender: Female
Surname: Rapson
Given name: Ann
Maiden name: Leonard
Birth date: about 1764
Birth place: East Molesley, Surrey, England
Spouse: Davis, William
  Marriage date: 12 May 1787

Proxy's relationship to deceased:
  Relationship Not Given.

Date of proxy baptism:
1843


Deceased: Maria Rapson
Gender: Female
Surname: Rapson
Given name: Maria (Mary Ann)
Maiden name: Davis
Birth date: 2 December 1790
Birth date variation: 17 January 1789
Birth place: Mortlake, Surrey, England
Father: Davis, William
Mother: Leonard, Ann
Spouse: Stubell, Richard
  Marriage date: 19 November 1810

Proxy's relationship to deceased:
  Relationship Not Given

Date of proxy baptism:
1843


Deceased: Jonathan Dean
Gender: Male
Surname: Dean
Given name: Jonathan
Birth date: about 1801
Birth place: Guilford County, North Carolina
Spouse: Powell, Elizabeth
  Marriage date: 31 August 1824
  Marriage place: Guilford County, North Carolina

Proxy's relationship to deceased:
  James Powell was the Brother-in-law of Jonathan Dean.

Date of proxy baptism:
3 September 1843

Officiator:
  Leonard Soby


Deceased: Abram Powel
Gender: Male
Surname: Powel
Given name: Abram (Abraham)
Birth date: 1769 (1774)
Birth place: Guilford County, North Carolina
Father: Powell, Abraham
Mother: Millikan, Jane
Spouse: Elizabeth
  Marriage date: about 1790
  Marriage place: Guilford County, North Carolina

Marriage place: Henry County, Indiana
Death date: 22 July 1856
Death place: Ogden, Weber, Utah
Comments: James was endowed on 6 February 1846 in the Nauvoo Temple.

Source: Nauvoo Baptismal Records of the Dead; FamilySearch, Ancestral File; Black, Membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: 1830–1848, 35:450–53; Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register.
Hey Brian,

The source I saw had the wrong date for the Clayton funeral sermon, and the actual material in it was not as detailed as I had hoped. The date is actually December 7, 1879. The 1874 date is the date of an affidavit quoted (by Joseph F. Smith) in the sermon.

This funeral sermon is contained in Journal of Discourses 21:9-13:

LAW OF CELESTIAL MARRIAGE-
THE RESURRECTION AND JUDGMENT-
EXTENT OF THE MISSION OF THE SAVIOR

DISCOURSE BY ELDER JOSEPH F. SMITH,
DELIVERED AT THE FUNERAL SERVICES OVER THE
REMAINS OF ELDER WILLIAM CLAYTON,
HELD IN THE 17TH WARD MEETING HOUSE,
SALT LAKE CITY, DEC. 7TH, 1879.

By request of President John Taylor, I arise to make a few remarks. I deeply and sincerely sympathize with the family, the wives and children of the deceased, Bro. William Clayton, who remain to mourn the loss of the society of their husband and father for a little season. And yet, when we consider all the circumstances, we may conclude that we have not very great cause to mourn. For when a man has lived to a good old age; worn out as it were through toil, passes away, we can realize at least that he has accomplished his mission, that he has performed his work on this earth, and is ready to return to the father from whence he came; behind the vail.

Brother Clayton had reached a ripe age, after laboring unceasingly among his brethren from his first connection with the Church.

He has had a long and varied experience among this people. He was a friend and companion of the Prophet Joseph Smith, and it was to his pen to a very great extent that we are indebted for the history of the Church—that is, the history of the Prophet Joseph, more particularly, during his acquaintance with him and the time he acted for him as his private secretary, in the days of Nauvoo. We have the journals which he kept during that time, in the Historian's Office, from which—in connection with those of Elders Willard Richards and Wilford Woodruff and the Times and Seasons, a
publication of the Church at that time—we have obtained the history the Church during that period. It was his pen that wrote for the first time the revelation in relation to the eternity of the marriage covenant and of a plurality of wives. Although that revelation had been given to the Prophet Joseph many years before, it was not written until the 12th of July, 1843, at which time Elder William Clayton, acting as a scribe for the Prophet, wrote it from his dictation.

I am happy to say that he has left on record a statement in the shape of an affidavit, prepared by himself, in relation to this important subject, for it is a subject that is of the most vital importance, not only to the Latter-day Saints, but to the whole world; for without the knowledge contained in that revelation, we never could consummate the object of our mission to this earth, we never could fulfill the purposes of God in this estate.

I have this paper in my possession, and have had for a number of months past. In fact, it was written at my request, and then given into my care, and I have preserved it with a view, when thought proper, to have it published. And as it is a sermon of itself, it would perhaps be more interesting than anything I could say on the present occasion, and therefore, with President Taylor's permission, I will read it to the congregation.

(The affidavit was then read by Elder Smith.)

He then continued:

As I before said, I felt to read this document because of the instruction it would afford, and for the further object of showing that although "he is dead, he yet speaketh." For this testimony of Brother Clayton will stand forever, though his body moulders into dust. And I am, and so was the deceased when living, at the defiance of the world to dispute those statements. They are made from personal knowledge derived from personal associations with the Prophet Joseph Smith himself, not with a view to gain notoriety, but rather to leave behind him his testimony with regard to this important principle. He has done so. And as he has here stated, as having come from the mouth of the Prophet, this doctrine of eternal union of husband and wife, and of plural marriage, is one of the most important doctrines ever revealed to man in any age of the world. Without it man would come to a full stop; without it we never could be exalted to associate with and become gods, neither could we attain to the power of eternal increase, or the blessings pronounced upon Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the fathers of the faithful.

There are but a few witnesses now living in relation to the coming forth of this revelation; there never were many that were intimately acquainted with the prophet and his teaching upon this subject. I look around me and see a number of persons in this assembly whose hair has grown grey in the service of God, and who had an intimate acquaintance with our martyred prophet; but few, if any of them, were so closely identified with him in this matter as Brother Clayton.
THE AFFECTS OF PLURAL MARRIAGE UPON THE
PRESENT MEMBERSHIP OF THE CHURCH

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE
FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF RELIGION
OF
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE
OF
MASTER OF ARTS

BY
LOUIS O. TURLEY
1950
CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

In consideration of the number of samples employed in the various groups studied, it should be clearly understood that only whole groups are considered when significant distinctions and comparisons are pointed out.

A. An analysis of seventy-eight stake and ward officers who reported being either descendants, or non-descendants of plural marriages indicates as follows:

1. Forty-seven individuals or sixty-six per cent were descendants.

2. The officers' reports disclosed that the numbers who were descendants increased with the upward trend of importance in the Church assignments.

3. The number of children born to the polygamist antecedents, of forty-seven officers who reported, averaged eighteen per family.

4. The descendant group filled sixty-seven per cent of foreign, and fifty-four per cent of stake missions, compared with thirty-three per cent of the foreign and forty-six per cent of stake missions by the non-descendants.
5. The fathers of fifty-four descendant officers had served in fifty-four ward and stake offices, compared with twenty-four for the non-descendants.

6. The present occupations of these officers shows that, excepting the general field of education, there are only minor differences.

7. Regarding the Melchizedek Priesthood offices held by the sixty-four male officers studied, the forty-four descendants held seventy-seven per cent of the high priest offices, sixty-three per cent of the seventy offices, and forty-five per cent of the elder offices reported.

8. Of the 1,230 students surveyed at the Brigham Young University, fifty-two per cent reported being descendants.

9. Student enrollment at the Brigham Young University, for the year 1949-1950, represented forty-six states, in the United States and seventeen foreign countries.

10. Sixty per cent of the 151 missionaries, who left the Church Mission Home on 17 March, 1950, to preach the gospel, were descendants. This particular study indicates that Mormon missionaries are taken from a more homogenous Mormon Church society than were the students at the Brigham Young University.
B. The main study consists of 160 descendant, and eighty non-descendant returned missionaries, disclosing the following information:

1. The descendants served longer in the mission field, completed more foreign and stake missions; but were less stable or permanent after arrival in the fields of labor than were the non-descendants.

2. The descendant group held a greater number of Church offices, in the period preceding their missions, during the period of their missions, and in the period subsequent to their individual releases, than the non-descendant group.

3. Descendants are less active in civil and political offices than the non-descendants; but are exceedingly more active in Church offices.

4. A greater percentage of descendants were:
   a. Married in Mormon temples of the Lord.
   b. Married when interviewed by the writer.
   c. Married to Church members.
   d. Married to spouses who are more active in the Church.
   e. Married prior to their respective missions.

5. Descendants were less resentful than non-descendants:
a. At the time of their respective mission calls.
b. After one month of service in the mission field.
c. After one year of service in the field.

6. Descendants expended considerably larger sums for their respective missions than the non-descendants; but were assisted to a greater extent by "other relatives," than were the non-descendants.

7. An excessively higher percentage of descendants are enrolled in schools or departments of higher education.

   a. The descendants were more numerous among the higher educational classifications, than the descendants and had achieved a higher average number of college years completed.

8. Regarding the respondent's respective self-analysis, on theological and doctrinal subjects, the descendants are more closely in harmony with Church standards.

   a. The non-descendants showed a higher percentage who stated that they were proud of the Latter-day Saints who were called to live the doctrine of plural marriage.

9. This study indicates that forty-eight per cent of all antecedents reported were in the great grandfather classification, followed closely by the grandfathers with forty-five per cent. Only three per cent reported being first generation descendants, which was equalled by the great, great
10. The largest average number of children born to plural wives, in the 158 families studied, was eight. This occurred among families which contained only two wives. The average number for all six classifications listed was six.

11. The largest average number of children born to plural fathers was fifty-two. This occurred among families which contained seven wives. The average number for all six classifications included was twenty-six.

a. Of the 158 families reported, 2,457 children were born to 425 wives, or an average of six children for each wife concerned.

In conclusion this intensive study indicates that, limited to the individuals contained in the groups which were studied or merely included, the descendants were living, working, thinking, believing and responding more closely to the established Church standards than the non-descendants or mixed groups considered.
Suggestions for future study. - Throughout the course of this study, the writer's attention was drawn to various phases of the present study which are in need of more intensive, and more thorough investigation. Several of the most relevant phases are suggested here:

1. It is suggested that further study be employed in most of the divisions disclosed in this thesis, especially on the basis of using a larger sampling in areas that offer samples unlike most of those encountered by the writer. It is believed that many of the minor factors, and exceptions to the norm, which were noted in this particular study, may be found to have significance where larger numbers can be exploited.

2. The purpose of this study was to learn what sort of individual, both individually and collectively, the plural marriage descendant is today; with special emphasis on those who have served their Church in the mission field. It is, therefore, suggested that a still better organized study be made to determine, from a broader field, the proportionate truth of the matter.

3. Further investigation should be made to determine whether careless or unstable answers are closely related to the written or oral questions submitted. Further, there should be studies employed to determine what fosters reticence and conflict in the mind of certain respondents who refuse to cooperate, by omitting to answer questions.

4. It is believed by the writer that an intensive study could well be effected in the marital status of these descendants. A rich field of study relative to more than fifty years of plural marriage unions within the Church exists. There is also the very important, and not less interesting, phase of polygamy which had a tempered, post manifesto setting within the Intermountain, Mexican, and Canadian areas of large scope.

5. One other phase of this intensive subject which has not been thoroughly explored is this: "What has become of the thousands of families, with their descendants, who have become disaffected with the Church, down through the years?"
Brian, 
I’m sorry it’s taken me a week to get back with you on this. I had hoped to sit down with the source material and carefully go through the details point by point. Since I’m still weeks behind on several critical projects and it doesn’t seem to be getting better, I’m going to just give you an undocumented response and try to get you something more detailed in the future.

First, thanks for sending your chart. It looks like you’re carefully considering all the source material. One caveat is that you don’t just look at Fanny Alger in a vacuum. Also look at the first two or three Nauvoo marriages in detail and the things that Joseph’s closest confidants have to say about those marriages (particularly the statements by those who insist that Lucinda Pendleton was his first wife.) I’m not sure what to make of Fanny Alger. I know that Ron Esplin believes that she was Joseph’s first wife and Michael Quinn told him that she had a date for their marriage but was saving it for his book on polygamy he hoped one day to write (but now likely never will).

Here’s what I think I understand about plural marriage in Ohio.

Robert Owen formed a communal group in America that sought among other things to do away with marriage which he and some of his reformers saw as oppressive to women. (It’s a little more convoluted than that but that’s the general gist of his claim.) Although Owen was an atheist and sought to do away with religion as well, he had a number of communities across the country that implemented his reforms in different ways depending on their community make-up. One of these communities was the Kendall Community in Stark County, Ohio. They began in Portage County and included some members of Sidney Rigdon’s Mantua congregation. The Stark County Owenites differed from Owens major group at New Harmony in that they were primarily religious individuals. Some of the members of the Kendall Community were married and had their families as part of the community, but not all did.

The Kendall Community collapsed in early 1829 and many of its members left. Daniel Pratt, a founding member of the community, was a relative of and from the same home town as Parley P. and Orson Pratt but I don’t know what happened to him. However, John Billings went to Kirtland after the community collapsed. Several returned to their families in Mantua, families that were part of Sidney Rigdon’s congregation. Others returned to families in an around Kirtland. I think it is more than a coincidence that the Morley Family began just as the Kendall Community collapsed.

Several descriptions of the Morley Family use terms frequently applied to Owenite communities, such as calling them “communistic.” One observer said they practiced “free love.” No one in the Morley Family ever says what they believed or did as a group, ever. However, when Joseph Smith arrives in Kirtland almost the first thing that happens is that he receives revelatory material dealing with the ten commandments and marriage relationships. As I went through the material in the first part of Section 42 and compared it to Exodus 20:22 I was struck by the fact that Exodus presents the ten commandments and talks about marriage relationships, including how to deal with multiple wives, The Section 42 material conspicuously omits the material on multiple wives. It does confront the issue of marriage, however. In fact, the last half of the section that deals specifically with relationships after leaving a spouse was received a week after the rest of the material, confirming that they discussed the revelation and continued to get information over a period of time. I know that Robert Matthews dates Joseph’s receipt of a revelation on plural marriage to February 1831 when he was working on the book of Genesis. I think Joseph had to confront Genesis in a concrete way because of the beliefs and practices of the Morley Family before he arrived but the revelation came in the context of the published material in Section 42, (The Book of Revelations in the Church archives includes not only this revelation but the questions that were asked to receive the revelation. Going through this material carefully suggests it was all a specific response to issues raised by the Kendall Community a year or two before.) Joseph may have received some information while translating the Book of Mormon (ala Dan Bachman’s thesis) and he may have received additional information at the Johnson home while translating 1 Corinthians and Paul’s discussion of marriage. But I think the major issue he wrestled with and the one that led to later polygamy denials in Kirtland newspapers, etc. was the practices of the Morley Family before he arrived. (I can go through accounts of the behavior of Black Pete and some of the young women in the Morley Family that seem to confirm this if you’re interested.)

How does Fannie/Fanny Alger fit in to this? Although I don’t know what was revealed to Joseph at what stage, I’m very skeptical of identifying her as the first marriage. The term “affair” in Oliver Cowdery’s accusations seems to imply a sexual relationship, however, at that time affair was strictly used as a description of business relationships. The Johnsons had a daughter keeping house for the Smiths who died and it appears that Fanny replaced her as their domestic help. Also, several members of the High Council that listened to whatever Oliver Cowdery had to say about the relationship, later identified Lucinda as his first plural wife. Certainly they should have known better if Oliver Cowdery really thought Joseph was married to Fanny. The only primary sources (as I recall) that identified Fanny as a plural wife were Hancock family members who may have been looking to elevate their status in relation to Joseph and didn’t intentionally lie but took information they had heard about accusations directed to their niece’s 2nd cousin and jumped to unwarranted conclusions.

Finally, Marinda Johnson who later married Joseph said that Joseph had seen she was to be his wife but she married Orson Hyde because he said it was not time to practice plural marriage yet. Why would he let her marry another man if he was already practicing plural marriage? I looked carefully at the whole mobbing issue and Marinda’s later defense of Joseph and his deportment at her parent’s home. It’s clear he did not practice plural marriage at the time. A local historian in the 1870’s when anti-Mormonism was at its height said that the mob had no idea of that “abomination” at the time they attacked Joseph. The accusation of inappropriate behavior came out of the Kelly-Braden debates where it was made wildly because Luke Johnson had said someone suggested that a Dr. Dennison castrated Joseph. Richard Dennison had at least three vials of nitric acid at the mobbing, a deadly substance that would have killed Joseph if he drank it. He certainly planned on murder, not something else. If you look at the Kelly-Braden debates you’ll see that nothing else Braden says can be taken as correct. Fawn Brodie read past all those other wild statements and picked out the one she wanted to believe then passed it on. I’ve attached a copy of my discussion of the mobbing for your reference if you’re interested.

I’ll try to deal with the specific source material in a future response but I’m trying to finish up some other projects so it may take a month or longer to get to it. Thanks for your patience.

Mark

August 8, 2008
Instances of the word “comfort” highlighted as “COMFORT.”

17
Again blessed of the Lord is my father and also my mother and my brothers and my sisters. For they shall find redemption in the House of the Lord and their offspring shall be a blessing, a Joy, and a COMFORT unto them.

28
Our hearts rejoiced and we were COMFORTed with the Holy Spirit. Amen.

90
Sunday the 20th At home all day. Took solle [solid] COMFORT with my family and had many serious reflections. Also Brothers Palmer and Tailor come to see me. I showed them the sacred record to their joy and satisfaction. O may God have mercy upon these men and keep them in the way of Everlasting life in the name of Jesus. Amen. (page 87)

140
Elder Solomon Hancock received a letter to day from Missouri bearing the painful intelligence of the death of his wife. May the Lord bless him and COMFORT him in this hour of affliction.

141
Friday the 18th Attended School with the morning class. At 10 o’clock went to the School house to attend the funeral of Susan Johnson, daughter of Ezekiel Johnson. She is a member of the Church of Latter day Saints and remained strong in the faith until her spirit took its exit from time to eternity. May God bless and COMFORT her afflicted parents, family connexions, and friends. President Rigdon delivered a fine discourse on the occasion and much solemnity prevailed.

160
[14 March 1838] On the next day as we were about entering the town many of the brethren came out to meet us who also with open arms welcomed us to their bosoms. We were immediately received under the hospitable roof of George W. Harris who treated us with all kindness possible. Here we refreshed ourselves with much satisfaction after our long and tedious Journey and the brethren brought in such necessaries as we stood in need of for our present COMFORT and necessities.

192
"Thus Saith the Lord, let the Presidency of my Church take their families as soon as it is practicable and a door is open for them and move to the west as fast as the way is made plain before their faces. And let their hearts be COMFORTed for I will be with them.

While I call up in remembrance before the Lord these men, I would be doing injustice to those who rowed me in the skiff up the river that night, after I parted with the lovely group, who brought me to this my safe and lonely and private retreat, brother Jonathan Dunham and the other whose name I do not know. Many were the thoughts that dwelled my aching heart, while they were toiling faithfully with their oars. They complained not of hardship and fatigue to secure safety. My heart would have been harder than an adamantine stone, if I had not have prayed for them with anxious and fervent desire. I did so, and the still small voice whispered to my soul, these that share your toils with such faithful hearts, shall reign with you in the kingdom of their God. But I parted with them in silence and came to my retreat. I hope shall see them again that I may toil for them and administer to their COMFORT also. They shall not want a friend while I live. My heart shall love those, and my hands shall toil for those, who love and toil for me, and shall ever be found faithful to my friends. Shall I be ungrateful? Verily no! God forbid!

367
"To Marcellus Bates, let me administer COMFORT; you shall soon have the company of your companion in a world of glory and the friend of Bro[ther] Barn[es] and all the Saints who are mourning, this has been a warning voice to us all to be sober and diligent and lay aside mirth, vanity, and folly and be prepared to die tomorrow." (Preached about 2 hours) (page 149)

369
After adjournment, while conversing with Dr. Brink and Esquire Marr, Joseph said he had been called to thousands of cases in sickness and he had never failed of administering COMFORT. Where the patient had thrown themselves unreservedly on him [he had never done harm] and the reason was he never prescribed any[thing] that would injure the patient [even] if it did him no good.

380
Design of the Great God in sending us into this world and organizing us to prepare us for the Eternal World. I shall keep my spirit in my own bosom. We have no claim in our eternal COMFORT in relation to Eternal things (page 217) unless our actions and contracts and all things tend to this end.
FAWN MCKAY BRODIE: AN ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW

THE FOLLOWING is excerpted from a longer interview conducted by Shirley E. Stephenson as part of the Oral History Program at California State University at Fullerton, November 30, 1975.

Mrs. Brodie, to begin, I would like you to tell me about your early background.

As you doubtless know, my parents were devout Mormons and I was brought up in a small Mormon town of very great beauty in Ogden Valley which is just through Ogden Canyon and east of Ogden. There are three small towns there. One is called Huntsville and there is where my grandfather and grandmother, David McKay and Jeanette Evans McKay, built a house which is now over one hundred years old. Last summer [1975] we celebrated what would have been his one hundredth birthday, had he lived. He was born in 1875 in Huntsville, Utah. The children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren gathered for this occasion. It was great fun. My grandfather was one of eight children. There were ten all together but two older sisters died of diptheria in an epidemic. So this was very much the ancestral home; a big, old farmhouse with fourteen rooms and no bathroom.

My father divided his time between city jobs—he was at heart a politician. He was, for a time, president of the Senate in the Utah State Legislature. He then had a job as chairman of the State Utility Commission. So we lived in Huntsville, which we loved madly, despite the difficulties of living in this ancient farmhouse which was hard to heat, hard to clean, but wonderfully spacious and a great place to grow up. There were barns, a creek where we swam, and a river where we swam when we were older. It was an idyllic childhood as far as the freedom and the affection and the sense of belonging to a community was concerned. It was also very parochial.

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How large was your family?

I was one of five. There were four girls and I was the second daughter. The son came in the middle.

How large is the family now, with grandchildren?

Well, there were fifty-six at the reunion. I think there are about sixty-four of us all together.

Would you continue about your family influence and the religious influence?

Well, we were all brought up as very devout Mormons, and I was devout until I went to the University of Utah. Then is when I first began to learn important things. I had no anthropology but I had psychology and sociology. I think most importantly—my field was English literature—that was really important, as I realize now looking back on it, was that I ceased, or one began to move, at any rate, out of the parochialism of the Mormon community. At least I did by being exposed to the great literature of the past. This was a very quiet kind of liberation; there was nothing very spectacular about it. There was not a great trauma. It was a quiet kind of moving out into, what you might call, the larger society and learning that the center of the universe was not Salt Lake City as I had been taught as a child.

But this was slow, and it was not really until I went away to graduate school at the University of Chicago that I understood how much of a liberation the university experience in Salt Lake City had been, because then the confusing aspect of the Mormon religion dropped off within a few weeks. As I've said before, "It was like taking off a hot coat in the summertime." The sense of liberation I had at the University of Chicago was enormously exhilarating. I felt very quickly that I could never return to the old life, and I never did.

Even though I loved going home, it was going back into the past.

My father really never understood the nature of my break with my past. I think he tried to, but it was always very painful for him. He was always pulling me, trying to pull me back into the Mormon community, the Mormon society, back into the community. But he couldn't. I told him the university world was my world and not the church. He finally accepted it, but with a lot of pain because he was very devout and a Mormon preacher of considerable talent. He was rather high in the church hierarchy. As a matter of fact, he was, finally, what we call an assistant pastor and later his brother David became a president of the church, so the church was very important in the family life. My uncle was very much the family patriarch who dominated all of the McKay family, to an extraordinary degree, just like an old Chinese patriarch.

Was this David McKay?
David O. McKay.

What about your mother's reaction?

Mother was a kind of quiet heretic which made it much easier for me. Her father [George H. Brimhall] had been nominally devout but as president of the Brigham Young University he had brought in people like G. Stanley Hall and John Dewey as lecturers, and philosophers and psychologists who were fascinated by the Mormon scene. He was a very open-minded man and a fine educator. Some of this rubbed off on my mother and so I say, "My grandfather was not a heretic, but his children were," or rather some of them were.

Her heresy was very quiet and took the form, mostly, of encouraging me in a quiet way to be on my own. But that made for some family difficulties, too.

What about your brother and sisters?

Well, my brother is still a devout Mormon but my sisters are all, what we call, "Jack Mormons," since they are still technically in the church but they are not active and they don’t go along with the Mormon dogma. They still count themselves Mormons.

Do you?

Oh, no. I am an excommunicated Mormon. I was officially excommunicated when the biography of Joseph Smith was written and published. About six months after publication, there was a formal excommunication.

Would you care to explain more about that?

I was excommunicated for heresy—and I was a heretic—and specifically for writing the book. My husband was teaching at Yale at the time and we were living in New Haven [Connecticut]. Two Mormon missionaries came to the door and presented me with a letter asking me to appear before the bishop’s court in Cambridge, Massachusetts to defend myself against heresy. I simply told them, or wrote a letter telling them, that I would not go because, after all, I was a heretic. So then I was officially excommunicated and got a letter to that effect.

This was because of writing the book No Man Knows My History?

This is right.

Were you allowed ample access to records and manuscripts when you were writing the book?
Almost all of the material in the book came from three great libraries. At the University of Chicago, where I was working after I married Bernad, there was really a great collection of western New York State history. By going through the material I was able to find out something about the sources of Joseph Smith's ideas, particularly the ideas which went into the writing of the Book of Mormon. I finally ended up going to Albany, New York, where all the newspapers were kept which were published in Joseph Smith's own hometown in Palmyra, New York. So I was able to read the newspapers he had read as a young man. This turned out to be an absolute gold mine! A lot of the theories about the American Indians being descendants of the Lost Ten Tribes and the descriptions of what were being found in the Indian mounds were in the newspapers. The speculation was there. That was extremely important as was the anti-Masonic material. The anti-Masonic excitement was very strong at that time. Then I went to the Library of Congress and the New York Public Library. The New York Public Library has the best Mormon collection in the country outside of Salt Lake City.

I did go to the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints at Independence, Missouri, and I did go to the library of Salt Lake City for some periodicals, early Mormon periodicals that I couldn't get anywhere else. I was permitted to see those, but I was not permitted to see any manuscript material.

Are those [church archives] open now? I read a comment indicating that it was believed that your book would open archival material.

It had just the reverse effect. The archives were largely closed to scholars after my book came out.

Was there a fear that someone else would do the same thing you did?

That's right. I think I should be very exact in my statement. It is not quite true to say the manuscript sources were denied to me. I had been told that there was a diary of Joseph Smith in his own handwriting, written when he was in his early twenties. I knew one man at the Brigham Young University, who is now dead, who had seen it and read it. But when I asked to see it, he was told he could not see it. Then I had a very long, and very difficult interview with my uncle, David O. McKay. Afterward, he told me I could see the manuscript, but by this time the family situation had become so delicate that I felt that I would rather not take advantage of my uncle's name to use this material. I wrote to him saying I would not ask for any more material and I never went back to the church library. So, technically, I was given access, but I didn't use it. It was made very clear to me that it was an extremely difficult family situation, so that is the way I handled it.

Was this after you began a career in writing? Had you thought about this long before your days at the university?

Oh, I had always wanted to write fiction. I discovered after writing numerous short stories that this was not my forte. Then after I was married, my husband, who is Jewish and totally new to the Mormon scene, was very fascinated by it. In answering his questions, this stimulated the desire in myself to find out the roots and sources of what Joseph Smith's ideas were. In any case, I started out not to write a biography of Joseph Smith but to write a short article on the sources of the Book of Mormon.

In my research in the University of Chicago library, I thought I had found some answers. But, having done that, I had by that time done enough research to realize first of all there was no good biography of Joseph Smith and also I had to answer the questions myself. If the Book of Mormon came out of his own background in western New York, which he insisted came from golden plates, then what kind of man was this? The whole problem of his credibility, I thought, was crying out for some explanation. So then I moved into the much more difficult task of writing the biography. It was a piece of detective work that I found absolutely compelling. It was fantastic! I was gripped by it. I spent seven years doing the research and writing and I was fascinated the whole time. I was baffled by the complexities of this man and remained somewhat baffled even after the book was finished. It wasn't until fifteen or twenty years later when I had done a lot of reading in psychiatric literature that I felt I had some more explanations. I have tried to put a little bit of this in the supplement which came out in the second edition, in 1971.

If I were to write it over again, knowing what I know now about human behavior, I think I would do a better job; but on the whole, it holds up quite well. I am really proud of the book and stand by everything in it.

What did you include in your supplement that you didn't have in the original edition?

Mostly, it was a matter of trying to let the reader know what had happened in the Mormon research in the twenty to twenty-five years since the first edition. Some very important material had come out of the church library about the so-called “first vision” of Joseph Smith. It turned out there are three versions of the first vision, each one quite different from the other. This bore out my theory of the evolutionary character of the first vision.

Then there were some very important new data about the holy book called the Book of Abraham. I had been told, and everybody thought that the papyri which Joseph Smith is supposed to have translated of the Book of Abraham had been burned in the Chicago fire. It turned out that it had not been, that Emma Smith had sold it and it had ended up in the New York Metropolitan Museum. When that was discovered, it was given back to the church and
It all verifies the original thesis, that his was an evolutionary process from the very beginning, that the visions probably began in some kind of childhood dream and, at any rate, were very, very different from the way he described them when he began writing his history. The fraudulent nature of the Book of Mormon is, I think unmistakable; that has not changed. The devout Mormons still believe it to be the work of God. The "Jack Mormons" are pretty certain it is not, but still respect the organization of the church and feel that it does a great deal of good, so they stay with it. I can see that there are many things about the brotherhood that are very rewarding. But I think there is no question that the Book of Mormon was fraudulently conceived. This will always be a stumbling block to people who are trying to make converts.

Was this part of your change? Did this contribute to your getting away...

I was convinced before I ever began writing the book that Joseph Smith was not a true prophet—to use an old Mormon phrase. Once I learned about the scientific evidence, which is overwhelming, that the American Indians are Mongoloid, I was no longer a good Mormon. That was relatively easy. It seemed to me that it was decisive.

What really prompted you to write about him at that time instead of someone else?

Well, as I say, looking back, it was a rather compulsive thing. I had to. It was partly that I wanted to answer a lot of questions for myself. There were many questions that no one had answered. I had to answer them. I had to give other young doubting Mormons a chance to see the evidence. That, plus the fact that I had always wanted to write, made it possible—not made it possible, but it was imperative that I do a serious piece of history. I found the detective work exciting, but there was always anxiety along with it because I knew it would be difficult for my family.

Were you still at the University of Utah at that time?

No, when I was writing the book, I had a job at the University of Chicago library.

As a librarian?

I was never a trained librarian but I was handing out books in the Circulation Department. I loved it; the women for whom I worked were very sweet, and I had a certain time for reading, especially when I was on the night shift. My
husband was getting his doctoral degree at the university, so I had about two and one half to three years working the library where I was deeply involved in this major research.

_**How long, totally, did it take you to do research?**_

Seven years. But I had a job and was working most of that time. And then the last two years I had a baby, therefore, I never had full time to work on it.

_**Did you have your master’s degree at that point?**_

Yes, in English literature. As an historian, I am completely self-taught. At that time, at the University of Chicago, the emphasis in English literature was on the historical method so I got very good training. Later, it changed and the emphasis was on criticism rather than on history. I received excellent training in historical method.

_**Do you restrict yourself to biographies, exclusively?**_

Yes, except for an occasional thing like the speeches here and there which are on more general historical topics. But I find biography is what I love and I am more comfortable with it. I am happier with the narrative technique than I am with the topical method. Essentially, I am a storyteller.

_**And in this way you manipulate your heroes . . .**_

All historians manipulate by virtue of the selection of the material. “Manipulate” is a nasty word. The good historian tries not to manipulate deliberately but to let the material shape itself. I found, especially with the Joseph Smith book, something fascinating. I was working with non-Mormon, anti-Mormon, and Mormon material and I would get three different versions of the same episode—always two, sometimes three—and when I put them together a picture emerged that I believe had nothing to do with me, nothing to do with my selection. I was just putting all the versions together and then, as I say, it was a little like building a mosaic: you don’t create the materials, the materials are there. But somehow they fell into place, partly like a jigsaw and partly like a mosaic. It was not totally mosaic, it was a combination. It was not totally jigsaw either, but a picture emerged so often as I wrote these chapters that I thought this must be the way it happened. It was different from both the anti-Mormon and the Mormon version, but so often the materials fitted nicely. But what I wrote, of course, has been hotly contested by the Mormons, the devout Mormon historians, who have questioned every single line and who have gone back and read everything I wrote and found every small error and checked every footnote. But, this is the fate of anyone who writes controversial history.
not deserve that reputation. It was a total about face in terms of intention. It was good to be doing a positive thing rather than the destructive thing, because I had always felt guilty about the destructive nature of the Joseph Smith book. Although non-Mormons reading the book would never count it as being destructive, devout Mormons did, and quite properly from their point of view. The non-Mormons' response was extremely favorable, and the historians felt this was the first really fair biography of Joseph Smith. I gave him credit for his genius as a leader as well as exposing his feet of clay.

When and why did you get into psychobiography or psychobiography, or has this been a trend all the way along?

I would say that there is none of it in the Joseph Smith book except by inadvertence. I did read a lot about paranoia when I was writing about Joseph Smith because Bernard De Voto had called Joseph Smith a paranoid, and I felt that he did not follow the classical picture of the paranoid at all, as I read the literature. So I moved back and out of the field of psychological investigation because I was not satisfied with anything that I found. Then, as I say, there have been much better things done since. The article by Greenacre on the “Imposter” [Psychoanalytic Quarterly], much more important research is available now than there was to me then. I still say Joseph Smith was not a classical paranoid, although it may be said that, eventually, he ended up somewhat paranoid because of persecution. But the persecutions were real. If the persecutions are real you cannot say a person is paranoid; it’s only when they are unreal that you say he is paranoid. So I still would not say that he fit into that particular type. His problems were different.

With Jefferson, in handling this very controversial question of whether or not he had a slave mistress, I looked with great interest, for example, in one of his journals written when he was living in France. He had taken a trip to Germany and to Holland. I found that in his descriptions of the landscape he used the word “mulatto” eight times: mulatto hills, somewhat whitish mulatto land. I thought this was very extraordinary since he used the word mulatto only twice in an earlier journal. Although the word mulatto was used to describe landscape in the southern part of the United States, still, I felt it showed a special preoccupation for him since the use of it appeared eight times after the arrival of Sally Hemings in Paris; whereas, the earlier journal had been written before her coming. That is the kind of thing that is the window into the unconscious. It is very treacherous, that kind of material. I have been bitterly attacked by some reviewers for that. I think it is valid data. One must be careful with it, but I do think it is an important window. There are many other kinds, slips of the tongue, for example. It is extremely useful with Nixon who makes so many of them, because he is so tense.

With Burton, there were what you might call “free associations.” Obviously, no historian can put anything on the basis of a free association. When a person is dead, we must make do with what we have. But when Burton wrote about his mother, in his short autobiography, if you look at the paragraphs in which he mentions his mother and note what he said before and afterward, you will find he talks immediately about cheating, decapitation, mutilations, smashing—all the stories and metaphors are violent, negative, and hostile. After he began to write about his mother he was reminded of a mother who killed her children and was guillotined. He saw this woman executed. The immediate association to her from his own mother is very interesting. Again, that is the psychoanalytic approach. It is listening with the third ear. Again it is treacherous, but I think it is an important technique.

You keep using the terms inner versus the intimate, would you . . .

You mean, the inner life and the intimate life. Well, intimate life usually refers to the sex life, or the marriage, or relations with children and family. But the inner life is related to the intimate life. It is obviously bound up with it, but the inner life, insofar as one can get close to it, has to do with the inner conflicts that are at work in the unconscious, that are driving a person—man or woman—driving him to do whatever he is doing without being aware of these inner forces.

The presence of the unconscious has been known for generations, for centuries. When you read Shakespeare’s Macbeth and the sleepwalking scene, you will see that he understood the unconscious mind. But it was Freud who learned how to tap it scientifically and to use it in therapy. We have learned a great deal from him and the clinicians who followed him, about tapping the unconscious mind and looking at inner conflicts. This is different from the so-called intimate life.

You commented that with Smith you did not utilize this as much. There was one article written by Fisher that referred to the epilepsy in Smith’s background and “that you rather dismissed the subject.” He commented that it would be interesting to know what kind of relationship between the epilepsy and psychosis existed in your mind.

Well, I did a lot of reading on epilepsy and decided right away that he was not an epileptic. To me it is inconceivable that anyone who knows anything about epilepsy and reads Joseph Smith’s descriptions of his visions would say epilepsy was involved. An epileptic fit invariably ends in unconsciousness. The man or woman, who has a fit remembers nothing about what happened. So to say that these visions of Joseph Smith were epileptic, is an absurdity. Epilepsy is a disease of the brain which is extremely well-known and a great deal of research has been done on it. Even fifty years ago, enough was known about epilepsy so you could not say these were epileptic fits. I think it was L. Woodbridge Riley who suggested it. He was supposed to have been a psychologist. He obviously did not know anything about epilepsy.

One of the first things I did working with Joseph Smith was to go through all the literature I could find to satisfy myself that it was not a factor. These were not fits that he had. They were dreams or visions. He mixed up dreaming
and vision and dreaming and having visions. In the Book of Mormon, he has a character say, “I dreamed a dream, or, in other words, I had a vision.” I think he mixed up his own dreams and later came to call them visions as indeed his father had. His father was a visionary man, and his mother thought the dreams were so important she wrote them all down. His father’s dreams got into the Book of Mormon. That is one of the reasons why his mother’s volume is so important as a source material because you can compare her descriptions of his father’s dreams and the dreams of Lehi in the Book of Mormon, the great original “Father” of all these sons. They are strikingly similar. At least, I noted when I wrote the book. I was sufficiently sensitive, at that point, to pick that up right away.

Did he include dreams of his brothers at anytime? Or misconstrue them?

We don’t know. If his brothers had dreams, he did not report them—or, at least, his mother did not report them. If he dreamed about his brothers, I don’t know, but certainly the Book of Mormon is a remarkable fantasy, as I said, about brothers killing brothers. But we do know, and again this is one thing. I missed when I wrote it, Joseph Smith was very nearly killed when he was a teenager. Someone shot a gun and barely missed him and hit a cow instead. Nobody knew who did it. What’s more, his older brother died—that I did mention—and for some reason, the body was dug up by the father later, because rumors spread in the town that somebody else had unearthed it. So the death of the older brother, again, I think, was terribly important in his life and I underestimated the importance of it. And the shooting, the near shooting—who was shooting at Joseph Smith? Why? There were all sorts of mysteries here that I didn’t begin to try to explore.

Have you thought about exploring them now?

No, that is too far away. I am interested in other things. Certain things you put behind you and they somehow stay behind you.

It was a terrible ordeal to just go back into the literature and write the supplement. I had been collecting material for twenty years, but I did not want to do it. Friends kept pressuring me so I decided I must do it. I am very glad I did, but it was like walking back into a swamp. Mormon historiography is a swamp. You get up to your neck right away, it is so complicated. What is a fact? That is a big question. No devout Mormon and non-Mormon can agree on what is a fact. So it is terribly hard.

It depends on who does the writing.

Right. Because if you believe that Joseph Smith is a true prophet, you write in one way, and if you believe he was not, you are going to write in another way. There is simply no meeting of minds; there never will be.

What about later leaders of Mormonism?

It is easier, I think, to come to some understanding about them.

Have you anticipated writing about any others...?

No. But as I told you, I thought about writing about Brigham Young many times but I always backed away from it feeling that I had gone the road with the more complicated and more interesting man. I still think Joseph Smith was one of the most fascinating men in American history.

About how long a period of time does it take you, usually, to do a book?

The Jefferson book took five years. The Burton book took five years. I won’t tell how long the Thaddeus Stevens booke took except to tell you a story about my second son. When Nancy Hitch, who was the wife of the former president of the University, Charles Hitch—they happened to be good friends of ours—asked my son, “Bruce, how long did your mother spend writing Thaddeus Stevens?” He said, “I don’t know, Nancy, but it seemed to take all my life.” (laughter) In fact, it took all his growing up [years]. I started when he was well, just after he was born and it took a very long time. Then we had another child and we moved several times, we built two houses and I put it away for a long time. I decided I was through writing. I had three children which was enough. Three children is enormously fulfilling. It wasn’t until my daughter was three or four that I went back to the manuscript and picked it up again and decided I could not leave all those notes unused. I had done a tremendous lot of work and I was not going to stop.

Have you ever thought of writing on women?

Eleanor Roosevelt is the only one I ever wanted to write about. I spent about six months researching her and then my publisher said, “Don’t do it because Lash is doing it and he was her very good friend and had a much better opportunity to meet and know many of her friends and members of her family.” My publisher was right; it was very good advice. I am very glad I didn’t, because I could not have done what Lash did, not without infinitely more work at any rate. But then I went on to do Jefferson and that turned out to be in many ways the most rewarding of all my books. He was an authentic genius in every way, though Burton was a genius, too. Stevens and Joseph Smith had elements of greatness, but nothing like Jefferson. The richness there is beyond belief.

Do you feel that there are females “important” enough, shall we say, that they should be written about?
Oh, yes. There are many that are wonderful and there are books being written about them. There is Golda Meir and Indira Ghandi, two women who are going to be written about extensively by biographers. In American history, I must say, the president's wives are not a very impressive group of women. Most of them fall into the category described in the old cliche about women in Washington: "Washington is made up of talented men, and the women they married when they were very young." I would say this is true of most presidential wives. What a dreary group they are! But a part of the problem, of course, is that there is a tradition that they must not meddle in politics. They must be dutiful wives and mothers and they must not speak out. One did speak out; Mary Lincoln did, and she was bitterly and furiously criticized for it. It was not really until Eleanor Roosevelt that we had a woman who could speak out and did speak out with distinction and talent. She was widely hated but she was a great force for good. We have not had one since. Lady Bird [Johnson] comes the closest with her beautification program, but that is nothing compared to Eleanor Roosevelt's record.

I don't find the suffragettes terribly exciting.

I have some students working with them, and they are writing some very interesting things about suffragettes, but I have not as yet settled on one that I thought I would want to spend five years with. I just find someone like Nixon far more exciting, or more challenging.

How about the modern feminists? Do you go along with some of the actions of the feminists?

People have been so kind to me. I really have managed to get so many rewards without asking for them. I was asked to join the faculty at UCLA by Eugen Weber when I was between books. I didn't have the academic background in terms of a doctor's degree in history. I had a great publication record—great in my eyes—and, apparently, they thought it was good enough to be asked to come into the department. So I have been treated well; I didn't have to fight my way up the ladder. It is only now when I see the trouble my young women graduate students have that I understand what all the complaining is about. For myself, I did not have to fight in there and yell. I have worked extremely hard. I worked much harder than most of the women I know have had to work, but that is because of some kind of mad, inner compulsion which has to do with God knows what. I think I have had the perfect life because I was able to raise my three children and work at home, and not have to abandon them to nursery schools or baby-sitter's. I not only had the pleasure of raising them myself, which was wonderfully rewarding, but I was able to write at the same time. When I see my graduate students having babies and teaching and trying to write, it is an intolerable burden! I think everybody is suffering, the husbands are suffering, the children are suffering, the wives are suffering. I think it is sad. I would like to see some kind of part-time teaching arrangement worked out but that seems to be impossible.

Do you go along with some of the actions of the feminists?

I don't pay very much attention to them, really. A lot of them are shrews. I guess I am terribly old-fashioned in that respect. I agree with my husband when he quotes, I guess it's King Lear, "Her voice was ever soft, gentle, and low, an excellent thing in a woman." And yet, I can't help but admire what they are doing. I believe that women have been abused and are still being abused. I go along with this, it is just that I am not a joiner or an organizer—I work alone.

You are not a feminist exactly in the way they feel?

I am a feminist, yes. I am all in favor of everything they are agitating for, I really am, because I see definite discrepancies in pay. I get paid about one-third less than my husband. We are both full professors and my publication record is as good as his. It came late, but I don't think I would ever have as much. There are very real discrepancies in pay, in the system.

People have been so kind to me. I really have managed to get so many rewards without asking for them. I was asked to join the faculty at UCLA by Eugen Weber when I was between books. I didn't have the academic background in terms of a doctor's degree in history. I had a great publication record—great in my eyes—and, apparently, they thought it was good enough to be asked to come into the department. So I have been treated well; I didn't have to fight my way up the ladder. It is only now when I see the trouble my young women graduate students have that I understand what all the complaining is about. For myself, I did not have to get in there and yell. I have worked extremely hard. I worked much harder than most of the women I know have had to work, but that is because of some kind of mad, inner compulsion which has to do with God knows what. I think I have had the perfect life because I was able to raise my three children and work at home, and not have to abandon them to nursery schools or baby-sitter's. I not only had the pleasure of raising them myself, which was wonderfully rewarding, but I was able to write at the same time. When I see my graduate students having babies and teaching and trying to write, it is an intolerable burden! I think everybody is suffering, the husbands are suffering, the children are suffering, the wives are suffering. I think it is sad. I would like to see some kind of part-time teaching arrangement worked out but that seems to be impossible.
On your awards, I noticed that you had a fellowship and another award with the Commonwealth Club.

Oh, the Commonwealth Club of California. It is up in San Francisco. They give an award to books published by Californians every year. That was for the Stevens book, I think. My first was a Knef fellowship in biography; that was before the book was finished. Knef, in those days, was giving $2,500 to young scholars as a combination. Part of it was an outright grant and part of it was an advance against royalties and I won that before the Joseph Smith book came out. So I was able to spend some money doing traveling to research Joseph Smith which was very nice.

They didn't consider you a Utah resident?

I was living in Washington at the time, as Bernard was in the Navy; that was during the war. The book came out in 1945.

I didn't realize he had been military.

Yes, he was a Navy Lieutenant.

I guess you didn't say too much about him. You started with your family.

That's true. Well, Bernard is marvelous. He has encouraged my writing. Without him I would have never been able to do it. If I had had a husband who was hostile to my writing, as many husbands are, I think it would have been impossible. As it is, he was fascinated—I think he was by Burton, both Joseph Smith and Burton... also Jefferson. He was never as interested in the Stevens book, but he was a very good editor. I would give him my chapters to read when they were written as well as I could do them. He has a fine sense of style and can catch a bad sentence and improve a word here and there. He really read them with great care. He is a very, very fine editor but essentially, it was the encouragement that I got from him which was wonderful. I wouldn't say he coached me, he's never been a women's libber ever, but there was this understanding of how important it was for me to keep doing this. He knew I was a lot happier when I was writing than when I was not writing. When the children were born, he recognized that. So that has been wonderful.

Is your husband from Utah?

No, he is from Chicago. I met him when I went back to do graduate work at the university. I got married the same day I got my master's degree. We married in the morning and I went to the graduation ceremony in the afternoon. I was so exhausted I slept through the whole thing! I don't know what was said or who said it. [laughter] I was just there in my cap and gown.

What of his writing career?

He had published two books by then. His doctoral dissertation, which was Sea Power in the Machine Age; and his second book, which he wrote while we were at Dartmouth, was Guide to Naval Strategy. He has been a very productive scholar in military history and national defense.

More military than political?

It is a combination of the two. He belongs to that group of what they call the "scientific strategists". Henry Kissinger, my husband, Robert Wolsketter, Herman Kahn and a whole group of people, who, especially after the A-Bomb, began to write about the defense systems, the effect of the A-Bomb on world strategy, or national strategy. He joined Rand Corporation after he left Yale. Some of these men were gathered together at Rand and then they all went various ways. Henry Kissinger was never at Rand; he was a consultant. Bernard was one of the earliest of the scientific strategists.

Are there any articles on your list of publications that you highly recommend I read?

If you have read through my books, that's enough. The most important things are in my books. These others are all incidental. I have very mixed feelings about one article on presidential sin. I don't think my husband likes it too well.

Didn't you give a paper like that in Utah?

Yes, I gave it at Utah. There is nothing psychoanalytic in this. It has to do with an old concept: lying and sin. I talk about the Ten Commandments and the Seven Deadly Sins and Quaker Sins. From one point of view, at least.

The Mormon group liked it?

Yes, they were very responsive.

Mrs. Brodie, I certainly thank you for being so gracious. I have really enjoyed the time with you.
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<td>John Lewis</td>
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Family Group Record

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**Husband's Name**
Jonathan Harriman HOLMES (AFN:1HLH-PL)
- Born: 11 Mar 1806  Place: Rowley, Essex, Ma
- Died: 18 Aug 1880  Place: Farmington, Davis, Ut
- Buried: Aug 1880  Place: Farmington City, Farmington, Davis, Ut
- Married: 1 Dec 1842  Place: Nauvoo, Hancock, Il

**Father:** Nathaniel HOLMES (AFN:2540-86)
**Mother:** Sarah HARRIMAN (AFN:228L-CD)

**Wife's Name**
Elvira Annie COWLES (AFN:1SN7-RN)
- Born: 23 Nov 1813  Place: Unadilla, Otsego, Ny
- Died: 10 Mar 1871  Place: Farmington, Davis, Ut
- Buried: Mar 1871  Place: Farmington City Cemetery, , Davis, Ut
- Married: 1 Dec 1842  Place: Nauvoo, Hancock, Il

**Father:** Austin COWLES (AFN:1THM-GB)
**Mother:** Phoebe WILBUR (AFN:1THM-HH)

**Children**

1. **Sex Name**
   - F  Lucy Elvira HOLMES (AFN:1SN8-11)
   - Born: 11 Oct 1845  Place: Nauvoo, Hancock, Illinois
   - Died: 1 Jun 1847  Place:

2. **Sex Name**
   - F  Emma Lucinda HOLMES (AFN:4PQJ-9L)
   - Born: 1 Feb 1856  Place: Farmington, Davis, Ut
   - Died: 11 Jun 1901  Place: Farmington, Davis, Ut
   - Buried: 11 Jun 1901  Place: Farmington, Davis, Ut

3. **Sex Name**
   - F  Phebe Louisa HOLMES (AFN:1RX1-H7)
   - Buried: 2 Jul 1939  Place: Farmington City Cemetery, , Davis, Ut
   - Born: 5 Feb 1851  Place: Farmington, Davis, Ut
   - Died: 30 Jun 1939  Place: Plymouth, Box Elder, Ut

4. **Sex Name**
   - F  Josephine Octavia Ann HOLMES (AFN:1SN8-26)
   - Born: 8 Jul 1854  Place: Farmington, Davis, Ut
   - Died: 1857  Place:

5. **Sex Name**
   - F  Marietta HOLMES (AFN:1P02-JH)
   - Born: 17 Jul 1849  Place: Salt Lake City, Salt Lake, Ut
   - Died: 10 Aug 1905  Place: Riverside, Box Elder, Ut
   - Buried: 12 Aug 1905  Place: Farmington, Davis, Ut

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Husband's Name
Henry Bailey JACOBS (AFN:1ZH6-9X)

Born: 5 May 1817  Place: Manchester, Ontrio, Ny
Died: 1 Aug 1886  Place: Salt Lake City, S.I., Ut
Buried: 4 Aug 1886  Place: Salt Lake, S-Lk, Ut
Married: 7 Mar 1841  Place: Nauvoo, Hancock, Il

Father: Henry JACOBS (AFN:2LPM-C0)
Mother: Maryette (Polly) UDALL (YOUDELL) (AFN:2LPM-D5)

Wife's Name
Zina Diantha HUNTINGTON (AFN:8R65-S9)

Born: 31 Jan 1821  Place: Watertown, Jeffsn., Ny
Died: 27 Aug 1901  Place: Salt Lake City, S.I., Ut
Buried: 1 Sep 1901  Place: Salt Lake, S-Lk, Ut
Married: 7 Mar 1841  Place: Nauvoo, Hancock, Il

Father: William HUNTINGTON (AFN:1P66-QP)
Mother: Zina BAKER (AFN:1P65-V8)

Children

1. Sex Name
M Zebulon William JACOBS (AFN:234B-S6)

Born: 2 Jan 1842  Place: Nauvoo, Hancock, Il
Died: 22 Sep 1914  Place: Salt Lake City, S-Lk, Ut
Buried:  Place: Salt Lake City, Cem. S-Lk City, Ut

2. Sex Name
M Henry Chariton JACOBS (AFN:1875-4N)

Born: 22 Mar 1846  Place: Chariton, Lucas, Iowa, Iowa
Died: 14 Oct 1915  Place: Ogden, Weber, Ut
Buried:  Place: Salt Lake City, Salt Lake, Ut
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Husband
George Washington Harris
Birth:
Christening:
Marriage: 12 JAN 1831, Arkansas
Death:
Burial:

Wife
Lucinda Pendleton
Birth: 27 SEP 1801, Washington, Virginia
Christening:
Marriage: 12 JAN 1831, Arkansas
Death:
Burial:

Children
None

LDS Ordinances
S: CLEARED

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Husband
Jabez Durfee

Birth: 28 DEC 1789 Tiverton, Newport, Rhode Island
Christening:
Marriage: 03 MAR 1834 Clay, Missouri
Death: APR 1868 White Cloud, Mills, Iowa
Burial:

Pedigree
LDS Ordinances
S 12 APR 2002 LOGAN

Wife
Elizabeth Davis

Birth: 11 MAR 1791 Riverhead, Long Island, , Suffolk, New York
Christening: 28 AUG 1791 Mattituck-Auqeb Parish, , Suffolk, New York
Marriage: 03 MAR 1834 Clay, Missouri
Death: 10 NOV 1876 Of, Fanning, Doniphan, Kansas
Burial:

Pedigree
LDS Ordinances
S 12 APR 2002 LOGAN

Children
None

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11/9/2008
Family Group Record

Husband's Name
David SESSIONS (AFN: 1X3C-SW)
- Born: 4 Apr 1870
- Place: Fairley, Orange, Vi
- Died: 11 Aug 1950
- Place: Salt Lake City, S-Lk, Ut
- Buried: 14 Aug 1850
- Place: Salt Lake City, S-Lk, Ut
- Married: 13 Jun 1812
- Place: Newry, Oxford, Me

Father: David SESSIONS (AFN: B4M5-DB)
Mother: Rachel STEVENS (AFN: B4M5-FH)

Wife's Name
Patty BARTLETT (AFN: 173S-K2)
- Born: 4 Feb 1795
- Place: Bethel, Oxford, Maine
- Died: 14 Dec 1893
- Place: Bountiful, Davis, Utah
- Buried: 1 Jan 1895
- Place: Bountiful, Davis, Utah
- Married: 13 Jun 1812
- Place: Newry, Oxford, Me

Father: Enoch BARTLETT (AFN: 173S-19)
Mother: Anna HALL (AFN: 173S-2G)

Children

1. Sex Name
   M Asa SESSIONS (AFN: 1X3D-JN)
   - Born: 20 Sep 1821
   - Place: Newry, Oxford, Me
   - Died: 20 Sep 1821
   - Place:

2. Sex Name
   F Anna B SESSIONS (AFN: 4L2V-XO)
   - Born: 16 Mar 1825
   - Place: Newry, Oxford, Me
   - Died: 10 Aug 1832
   - Place: Newry, Oxford, Maine
   - Buried: 1 Jul 1852
   - Place: Newry, Oxford, Maine

3. Sex Name
   F Amanda SESSIONS (AFN: 3SMV-09)
   - Born: 19 Mar 1817
   - Place: <Newry, Oxford, Me>

4. Sex Name
   F Amanda SESSIONS (AFN: 1X3D-NC)
   - Born: 19 Mar 1817
   - Place: Creek, Far West, Mo
   - Died: 15 May 1841
   - Place: Creek, Far West, Mo
   - Buried: 19 Apr 1841
   - Place: Creek, Far West, Mo

5. Sex Name
   F Anna B SESSIONS (AFN: 1X3D-KT)
   - Born: 21 Mar 1820
   - Place: Newry, Oxford, Me
   - Died: 20 Sep 1826
   - Place: Newry, Oxford, Maine
   - Buried: 20 Sep 1826
   - Place: Newry, Oxford, Maine

6. Sex Name
   M David SESSIONS (AFN: 1WNC-B6)
   - Born: 9 May 1823
   - Place: Newry, Oxford, Me
   - Died: 19 Apr 1826
   - Place: Bountiful, Davis, Ut

Buried: 23 Apr 1896
Place: Bountiful, Davis, Ut

7. Sex Name
   M Sylvanus SESSIONS (AFN: 8LMG-LH)
   - Born: 5 Jun 1816
   - Place: Newry, Oxford, Me
   - Died: 15 Sep 1832
   - Place:

8. Sex Name
   M Penelope SESSIONS (AFN: 175M-TT)
   - Born: 15 Jun 1814
   - Place: Newry, Oxford, Maine, Usa
   - Died: 3 Jun 1893
   - Place: Bountiful, Davis, Utah, Usa
   - Buried: 6 Jun 1893
   - Place: Bountiful, Davis, Utah, Usa

9. Sex Name
   F Sylvia Porter SESSIONS (AFN: 1H4D-3M)
   - Born: 31 Jul 1818
   - Place: Newry, Oxford, Mn
   - Died: 12 Apr 1882
   - Place: Bountiful, Davis, Ut
   - Buried: 14 Apr 1882
   - Place: Bountiful, Davis, Ut

10. Sex Name
    F Porter SESSIONS (AFN: 3SMV-1G)
    - Born: 31 Jul 1822
    - Place: <Newry, Oxford, Me>
    - Died: 12 Apr 1882
    - Place:

11. Sex Name
    M Bartlett SESSIONS (AFN: 4L2V-ZS)
    - Born: 1 Aug 1827
    - Place: Newry, Oxford, Me
    - Died: 15 Feb 1828
    - Place: Newry, Oxford, Maine
    - Buried: Feb 1828
    - Place: Newry, Oxford, Maine

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Family Group Record - Ancestral File

Family Group Record
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Husband's Name
Orson HYDE (AFN:3BS3-21)

- Born: 8 Jan 1855 Place: Oxford, New Haven, Ct
- Died: 28 Nov 1878 Place: Spring City, Sanpete, Ut
- Buried: 4 Sep 1874 Place: Kirland, Geauga, Oh

Father: Nathan HYDE (AFN:49H-M-28)
Mother: Sally THORPE (AFN:49H-M-3F)

Wife's Name
Miranda Nancy JOHNSON (AFN:1WS5-R1)

- Born: 24 Jun 1815 Place: Pomfret, Windsor, Vermont
- Died: 24 May 1886 Place: Spring City, Sanpete, Utah
- Married: 4 Sep 1834 Place: Kirland, Geauga, Oh

Father: John JOHNSON (AFN:1WS5-CX)
Mother: Alice (Eliza) JACOBS (AFN:1WS5-D4)

Children

1. Sex Name
M Nathan HYDE (AFN:3BS3-CX)

- Born: 1835 Place: Kirland, Geauga, Oh

2. Sex Name
M Frank Henry HYDE (AFN:3BS3-HB)

- Born: 23 Jan 1846 Place: Nauvoo, Hancock, Il
- Died: 28 Jun 1908 Place: Salt Lake City, Salt Lake, Utah

3. Sex Name
M Alonzo Eugene HYDE (AFN:3BS2-2J)

- Born: 28 Feb 1848 Place: Council Bluffs, Pottawattamie, Ia
- Died: 14 Jun 1910 Place: Salt Lake City, Salt Lake Co, Ut

4. Sex Name
F Zina Virginia HYDE (AFN:3BS3-MX)

- Born: 23 Apr 1858 Place: Salt Lake City, Salt Lake, Ut
- Died: 24 Feb 1939 Place:

5. Sex Name
F Laura Marinda HYDE (AFN:3BS3-OQ)

- Born: 21 May 1837 Place: Kirland, Lake, Oh
- Died: 10 Aug 1909 Place: Salt Lake City, Salt Lake, Ut
- Buried: Place: (city cemetery), Salt Lake City, Salt Lake, Ut

6. Sex Name
F Mary Lavinia HYDE (AFN:3BS3-5R)

- Born: 10 Jul 1854 Place: Salt Lake City, Salt Lake, Ut
- Died: 29 Jun 1855 Place: Salt Lake City, Salt Lake, Utah

7. Sex Name

8. Sex Name
M Heber John HYDE (AFN:3BS3-KL)

- Born: 10 Nov 1852 Place: Salt Lake City, Salt Lake, Ut
- Died: 11 Nov 1853 Place: Salt Lake City, Salt Lake, Utah

9. Sex Name
F Emily Matilda HYDE (AFN:3BS3-FW)

- Born: 13 Dec 1839 Place: Nauvoo, Hancock, Il
- Died: 9 Dec 1909 Place:

10. Sex Name
F Delta Annette HYDE (AFN:3BS3-JF)

- Born: 28 Dec 1849 Place: Kanesville, Pottawattamie, Ia (council bluffs)
- Died: 25 Dec 1907 Place:

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William Clayton married as a third living wife Alice Hartman, who is my aunt. I also do know that Susan and Lieutenant was a plural wife of William Richards.

I have also heard much said by my father and mother as well as others of the meeting referred to in the Deseret News.

"Yours truly,
Mrs. Alice E. Stephens."

---

1844  Nauvoo Neighbor  plural wives
Mar.  Mar. 20, 1844
9-16

"At your overflowing meetings, the ladies of Nauvoo Members of the Female Melody Society, (each meeting being composed of different members that all might have the opportunity of expressing their feelings,) held at Wm. Smith's large assembly room on Saturdays, the 9th and 16th in March 1844. The following preamble and resolutions were read and unanimously adopted at each
largely departed from the faith, doctrine, laws, ordinances, and usages of the original Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and has incorporated into its system faith, the doctrine of celestial marriage, and a plurality of wives, contrary to the original Church of Joseph Smith. - Date and decision Feb. 1880-

Boston Investigator  
Feb. 12, 1845

Copy of a letter from Henry Rowe to the editor of the Boston Investigator, dated Portland, Me., Feb. 3, 1845

(See large sheet)

1844

Letter from John Taylor to Joseph Smith, dated Harrisville, Utah, Nov. 19, 1889

(See large sheet)
Johnson, Mormon Frank, 13. polygamy
and Book of Mormon

Second chapter of book 3
Jacobcondemnpolygamy

Brown, Illinois, 398 footnote
Brown said in a footnote:
"A new kind of ceremony, appertaining to marriage, has lately been introduced into the municipal regulations of Illinois. Persons, inclined as to do, are married for the next world, as well as this. The ceremony is, therefore, performed in the alternative fortune or
Those married for time, have recently, as we have been informed, been married a second time, for eternity.

Brown could not have written this later than 1844.

Utne, Brigham Young, 113013.

In the discussion of plural marriage practiced at Kaneso before the death of Joseph Smith Utne quotes the following:

1. Roberts, Life of John Taylor, P. 101
2. E.R. Snow, Biography of Lorenzo Snow, P. 769
4. E.D. Littlefield, Reminiscences of Latter-day Saints, giving the statement...
was told by Joseph Smith, the
prophet, three times to go and
take a certain woman, but not
until he had commanded him
in the name of the Lord did he
obey."
Joseph told Kimball not to mention
it for his life was in danger, not
even to his wife. Kimball was in
anguish day and night. His wife,
Glyde, learned from the Lord that
the trouble was extric, and Kimball
made

Gibbs,  
Highlights and Battles, 180-101

Gibbs presents his affidavit by
Mrs. Eliza E. Stephenson made on April 1,
1904 and published in Deseret News, on
April 12, 1904, in which she says that
she had heard her father and mother
and others speak much about the
meeting in Kaneso in which J.
Smith severely taught polygamy.
Can't tell from affidavit whether or not
her parents were present at the meeting. It might have been
heavily with them. She also said
that she knew that William Clayton
married a third living wife, and
that Alice Hardman, her aunt,
and that Susanna Phipps
was a plural wife. J. Willard
Richardson. But the affidavit
does not say where these societies
J. Smith married these women.

1843
Aug.

Gilles, Highlight and Shadow, 97-100  plural wives

Gilles presents an alleged copy of
an affidavit made by Catherine
Phillips Smith on January 28, 1903 and published in the
Record News in 1904, that she was
married to Hyrum Smith in August
1843 at Nauvoo, and that she and
her mother later went to St. Louis
to escape punishment against plural marriage.

2. John Tallal, Notary Public.

1841
April

Gilles, Light and Shadow, 93-99 plural wives

Gilles presents an alleged copy
of an affidavit made by Joseph H.
Noble before the notary public James
Jack in County Salt Lake on June 26,
1869, in which affidavit Noble said
he "was married or sealed" Eliza
Beamum to Joseph Smith on
April 5, 1841 in Nauvoo. Of course Gilles
simply states that it is a copy of such affidavit.
members, in your meeting house, at Alamo in 1878. I had heard him do so many times before that and several times after. Sister N. (?) M. Hyde testified to me and others and at my request wrote her testimony, that your father so informed her, in Nauvoo. Eliza R. Snow bore testimony to the same thing. She herself having been sealed to him prior to 1843, or the date when the revelation was written."

1886
April 21
John Henry Smith to
C. J. Joseph Smith
(see Bill note)

"How can you deny that celestial marriage was taught by your father when John Taylor whose blood mingled with his in Carthage jail, says it was taught to me by him, and when the private journal kept at that time by Willard Richards and William Clayton will show the names, days, and dates, (over)"
when these sealings were done, whether to him, or other men, I cannot comprehend.

My father and grandfather, . . . .
declare that Joseph taught them that
doctrine, and he did command them
to take more wives than one a host of others could be named who bear the
same testimony, and all of them would have willingly given their lives to have
saved that 3 year of fathers.

1886 J. H. Smith to Geo. Smith
April 21 (see end note)

"William Walker has just called in
to see me, [apparently while he was writing]
and I asked him if he knew anything
in regard to the introduction of plural
marriage, and whether B. Young taught
it to him. He says: tell Joseph that
B. Young never taught me that doctrine
but that Joseph Smith the Prophet
did; and he did ask me for my sister Lucy
for a wife for himself.

1883
Aug 19

William Smith to
Joseph Smith
(see end note)

Affidavit denying the Prophet
ever made known revelation
for polygamy—

(see copy on large sheet)
neither had he approved, sanctioned, or condoned in any way, Lagea from the accepted moral code. When asked if she thought it possible that he might have been guilty of polygamy and she not know it, her answer came quick, clear, and positive: "Impossible! We lived too closely together for that!"

1840 Oct. 22
Kirtland Record Book
(see bibl. note)

Elder Henry Moore charged with immoral conduct to a widow woman, & other charges — He was cast off from the Church —

1840 Mar. 13
Kirtland Record Book
(see bibl. note)

Quorum met to try Brother Charles Hook on charges for improper conduct to a sister
1. For improper conversation and conduct toward her
2. For making a proposal to go to be house if she would sleep with him
3. Putting his arm around her neck in a tender and improper manner and speaking abuse by saying many women [sic] had lived that way
4. Try to get her on the bed with him

(over)
"Noted his licence [sic] be taken from him and withheld until [sic] he make satisfaction by confession to the church."

1841
May
Kirtland Record Book
(see bib. note)

"Elder John Samuel was charged with "unchristian conduct manifested to different females [sic]."
Fellowship withdrawn but upon confession it was restored

1842
June 25, 1842
The Wasp

John C. Bennett

Letter from Joseph Smith to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and to all the Honorable Gentlemen of Community, dated
Nauvoo, June 23, 1842:

In which Joseph Smith stated that Bennett seduced several females by telling them that Joseph Smith courted and practiced
promiscuous intercourse between the sexes. When questioned why J. Smith
Personal narrative by Benj. Winchester:

"Up to the year 1843, 'spiritual marriage' of polygamy had never been preached or indelicated as a doctrine of the church. In the autumn of 1843 I moved my family to Nauvoo and there it became fully conscious of the prophetic regard to the polygamous doctrine."
which he sought to engrave into the church. That winter there was a great deal of agitation in Nauvoo over the doctrine of "spiritual marriage," as it was then called, but which was really polygamy. In our social gatherings, many were opposed to it while a considerable number favored it. Brigham Smith, the elder brother of Joseph, had always been a particular friend of mine. He came to see me when I was convalescing after illness and said he had been strenuously opposed to polygamy until he had become convinced that it was the will of the Lord, and advised me to cease my opposition to it. I told him I could not do it for the reason that it was very strongly pointed.
The Latter Day Saints' doctrine was in communion with the Book of Mormon emphatically condemned it. In conversation with Hyrum subsequently, when Joseph spoke to him about the numerical equality of the male and female sexes, he explained that that difficulty could in time be surmounted by making Unuchs of surplus men who should be "worn out" wood and drawn up water, and that the church doergaster and the more worthy brethren would thus be left the choice of plenty of women. Subsequently Joseph Smith sent for the women and explained it in as tangible a manner as he could.

Deseret Evening News  plural wives
April 12, 1904

"After, Uinta Co., July, April 14, 1904.

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

And do also know that Brother
Mr. Editor — I return you my sincere thanks for your liberality in offering the use of your columns to any Mormon wishing to reply to any of my communications. In writing against the Mormons, I feel no ill will personally towards any of them, neither do I fear their abuse. Let them, honorably, defend their doctrines; from, also, if I have made any charges unsustained by evidence, if I have made any charges unsustained, I will soon up. It is my firm, honest belief, that Mormonism, in its present nature, and as such, is an incumbrance on society. My object is, to show it in its true colors; and in striving to do so, I shall strictly adhere to what I know to be true, and what can be sustained by a hundred witnesses.

The 'spiritual wife' doctrine, I will explain as taught me by Elder W——, as taught by Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, Elder Adams, William Smith, and the rest of the quorum, etc., etc. It is as follows: — Joseph had a Revelation from God, that there were a number of spirits to be born into the world, before their exaltation; that Christ would not come until all these spirits received or entered their 'tabernacle glorious'; that these spirits were hovering around the world, and at the doors of bad houses, watching for a chance, however dishonorably, of getting into their tabernacle; that God had provided an honorable...
' Elders of Israel,' sealing up virtuous women, and as there was no provision made for women in the scriptures, their only chance of heaven was to be 'sealed up' to some elder for time and eternity, and be a star in his crown forever; that those who were the cause of bringing forth these spirits would receive a reward— the ratio of which reward should be greater or less, according to the number they were the means of bringing forth.

This, Mr. Editor, is the substance of the 'Mysteries of the Kingdom,' in as few words as I can use to explain it.

The members of the 'spiritual' brotherhood and sisterhood are bound to keep it secret from the world and those of little faith, and if found out, to defend each other to the last. They are at liberty to use the grossest slander and falsehood to terrify into silence those who dare oppose them. They all solemnly declare and disavow it in public, but the proof is now so palpable and self-evident that they must give it. I, as one, can solemnly prove before any court of justice, that the doctrine was taught me, and as for its being most scandalously and unblushingly practiced in Boston, Lowell, New York, Philadelphia, and its outrageous doings in the 'Holy City,' Nauvoo, I shall prove by unimpeachable witnesses.

Respectfully yours,

Henry Rowe

Portland, Feb. 3, 1845.