any attention which the Prophet might bestow. Many a man of higher attainments and superior moral standards might have lost his head under such circumstances. Joseph Smith, the Prophet, the Seer, the Revelator, the representative of God on earth, found himself, with increasing frequency, in conflict with Joe Smith, the man.

Recall again the statement of Jelliffe in his discussion of dementia praecox: 'The paranoid forms seem to come off best in their conflicts. They split least, as it were. They construct a fairly logical system of defense. They find an external cause for their internal wishes, and by this projection mechanism are able to get along fairly well in the social world…'

Brigham Roberts, Mormon historian, in his work, *The Missouri Persecutions*, says: 'In the latter part of that year (1831), especially from November, 1831, and through the early months of 1832, the Prophet, with Sidney Rigdon as his assistant, was earnestly engaged at Hiram… in translating the Jewish Scriptures. It must have been while engaged in that work that the evident approval of God to the plural marriage system of the ancient patriarchs attracted the Prophet's attention and led him to make those inquiries of the Lord to which the opening paragraphs of the revelation [Polygamy Revelation] refer.'

These paragraphs were not written until 1843, and not published until after Joe Smith had been murdered; and the Mormons had reestablished themselves at Salt Lake:

"Verily, thus saith the Lord unto you, my servant, Joseph, that inasmuch as you have inquired of my hand to know and understand wherein I, the Lord, justified my servants Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as also Moses, David, and Solomon, my servants, as touching the principal and doctrine of their having many wives and concubines, behold and lo, I am the Lord thy God, and will answer thee as touching this matter. Abraham received concubines and they bare him children and it was accounted unto him for righteousness because they were given unto him and he abode in my law: as Isaac also and Jacob did none other things than that which they were commanded. David also received many wives and concubines, as also Solomon and Moses, my servants, as also many others of my servants from the beginning of creation until this time, and in nothing did they sin…'

Sitting there in Sidney Rigdon's study at Hiram, with his thumb hooked in the armhole of his vest and a comforting quid in his cheek, Joe listened to the musical, vibrant voice of Sidney Rigdon read of the concubines of Abraham, Isaac, et al., and he sensed that henceforth, if he but play his cards properly, there need be no cause for further conflict between the heavenly mission of Joseph Smith, Jr., Prophet of God, Seer, and Revelator, and the earthly desires of plain Joe Smith.

It might be difficult to convince Emma, but…

All had not been going well with the Kirtland congregation during the fall and winter of 1831, while Joe had been inquiring of the Lord regarding the marital affairs of Abraham and Isaac. Booth and Ryder, who had left the Church soon after their return from the tragi-comic mission to Missouri, had been writing letters to the newspapers, spreading throughout the Western Reserve their version of the Missouri fiasco, as well as numerous other details of the activities and ambitions of the Prophet. There were many others still within the Church who were rebelling at Smith's usurpation of powers and prerogatives; still others who were sick at heart, as, day by day, they became stronger in their suspicion that they had been led astray. And yet, day by day, new faces appeared along the streets of Kirtland and adjoining villages — faces beaming with joy at having found, at last, the true religion, the sure route to salvation!

Joe had fallen out with Oliver Cowdery. In a revelation
brought visitors from neighboring towns; the roads and ferries were crowded. An artillery salute at dawn opened the festivities, and soon thereafter units of the Nauvoo Legion began to assemble. There were fourteen companies in full uniform. Joe’s staff and guard of honor escorted him to the parade ground amid salvos of cheers from the spectators and reverberating salutes from the military.

The Legion passed in review before its officers, then formed itself into marching order, and with the Lieutenant-General at the head, band playing and flags flying, started for the Temple site. Behind the soldiers, marched a troop of young ladies eight abreast, dressed in white and carrying flags, with the visitors and townsfolk following afoot and in carriages.

At the Temple grounds, the Legion formed a hollow square about the excavation, with the band, choir, church dignitaries, and distinguished visitors within. Joe led the congregation in prayer and stepped forward to lay the corner-stone. Within it he placed the customary collection—a copy of *The Book of Mormon*, copies of *Times and Seasons*, *The Book of Doctrine and Covenants*, a plat of the city of Nauvoo.

The corner-stone laid, Joe made some announcements concerning the program for the remainder of the day. The fireworks were over, and the Prophet was beginning to be a bit bored. Nevertheless, he must introduce Sidney Rigdon who was to deliver the corner-stone sermon. ‘The truth is good enough without dressing it up,’ Joe observed by way of introduction, ‘but we will now hear from Brother Sidney, who will dress it up.’

After the ceremonies, the General was host to members of his staff, and their ladies, and distinguished visitors at a big dinner-party. It was a notable occasion in the career of the boy water-witch of Palmyra. Who can blame him if he celebrated it with a few too many glasses of rum? There were toasts to be drunk, certain laws of hospitality that must be observed. Then, too, the Prophet had just acquired a new
bride, Louisa Beman, sometimes listed as the first of his celestial wives, but usually placed as number two, following Fannie Alger.

They had been sealed the day before, according to the sworn testimony of Joseph Bates Noble, by Noble at his home, "According to the order of celestial marriage revealed to the said Joseph Smith."1

Troubles that had been trailing the Prophet for months began to catch up with him. Early in June, 1841, as he was returning from Springfield where he had conferred and dined with Governor Carlin, he was arrested on a Missouri warrant charging him with being a fugitive from the law on charges of theft, arson, and murder. Joe returned with the sheriffs to Quincy and secured his freedom on a writ of habeas corpus. Judge Douglas set the case for June 8, at Monmouth in McDonough County where he was to hold court.

At Monmouth, leaders of the anti-Mormon group, hearing of the trial, hired several attorneys at their own expense to assist the State's attorney in the prosecution. Joe gathered together some fifty friends as bodyguards and witnesses, and retained as counsel Cyrus Walker, of Macomb, O. H. Browning, and Sidney H. Little, Browning's Quincy colleague in the Legislature.

The suave and polished Browning, who never appeared in public save in a ruffled white shirt, broad black stock, and faultlessly tailored black broadcloth suit, took charge of the defense. He told how the Saints, seeking freedom to worship according to their conscience and to live in peace with all men, came to Missouri; how the State, in defiance of all American principle and tradition, denied them freedom of worship, freedom of press, freedom of speech; how the State drove them from their homes, slaughtered those who resisted, destroyed their property, ravished their women. Even the members of the Monmouth bar, employed to aid the prosecution, were seen to ply their handkerchiefs surreptitiously. Joe was acquitted.

That night the Prophet staged a party for his witnesses, counsel, and friends at the leading hotel. More than sixty persons, including the Judge, sat down to supper to celebrate the triumph of Justice. As the party progressed, host and guests succumbed to the influence of the applejack. One of the jurists expressed surprise that the leader of a religious movement should be such a jolly good fellow, and inquired how the Prophet justified himself to his flock.

'If I have to get drunk once in a while, Judge,' Joe replied with the expansive confidentiality of the barroom. 'If I didn't, they would worship me as a God.'1 Later, Smith got a bill from the hotel for one hundred and sixty dollars.

Other events enlivened the summer of 1841; Joe took another 'wife' — Lucinda Harris — and began an ardent courtship of half a dozen more. The editor of The Warsaw Signal printed some complimentary remarks about the Prophet's political activities and about crime conditions in Hancock County, and Joe replied:

Mr. Sharp, Editor, The Warsaw Signal.

Sir:

You will discontinue my paper. Its contents are calculated to pollute me, and to patronize the filthy sheet, that tissue of lies, that sink of iniquity, is disgraceful to any moral man.

Yours with utter contempt

Joseph Smith

P.S. Please publish the above in your contemptible paper.

J. S.

Chief Keokuk, accompanied by about one hundred Sac and

1 Historical Record, vol. VI, p. 221.

2 Caswall, City of the Mormons, p. 49.
CHAPTER IV
WHITTLING DEACONS AND CELESTIAL WIVES

The firm heart of the sage and the patriot is warm'd,
By the grand Nauvoo Legion. The Legion is formed
To oppose vile oppression and nobly to stand,
In defense of the honor and laws of the land.

ELIZA R. SNOW

As the Twelve Apostles returned from England during the summer of 1841, Joe discretely began to prepare them for the new doctrine of 'celestial marriage.' With one of the Twelve, Orson Pratt, the preparation called for a degree of finesse. Orson was one of the most brilliant scholars and theologians in the Church, and his wife, Sarah, one of the most comely and accomplished of the young matrons of Nauvoo. During Pratt's absence, Joe appears to have formed an unrequited attachment toward Sarah. His frequent visits to the Pratt home were noted by the neighbors. Later, they began to note also that the Mayor of Nauvoo, Major-General John C. Bennett, was another frequent caller; and obviously, a more welcome caller than the Prophet. Apparently, everybody in the city was aware of this fact except the Prophet himself.

One day, according to Mary E. V. Smith, who lived across the street, Joe's unexpected arrival at the Pratt home interrupted a rendezvous between the second ranking officer of the Nauvoo Legion and the wife of the Apostle. There was a dramatic scene in which Joe upbraided both parties, and Sarah, in turn, spoke her mind and ordered the Prophet from the house.¹

This scene appears to have been the origin of the ill-feeling between Joe and Bennett, which was to flare forth later with so much violence. When Pratt returned, the gossip reached his ears and he accused Joe of defaming his wife's character.

Joe brought both husband and wife before the Church Council, Orson for disputing with the Prophet, and Sarah for adultery. Both were cut off from the Church. The charge that his wife had been unfaithful nearly drove Pratt insane, and it was months before he recovered from the shock. Brigham Young recorded in his diary that he, Heber Kimball, and George A. Smith 'spent several days laboring with Elder Orson Pratt whose mind became so darkened by the influence and statements of his wife, that he came out in rebellion against Joseph, refusing to believe his testimony, or obey his counsel. He said he would believe his wife in preference to the Prophet.'

'If you do believe your wife and follow her suggestions, you will go to Hell,' Joe informed him. A few months later, Pratt and his wife repented and returned to the church. Orson, subsequently, took four additional wives; but Sarah ever remained his favorite.

The break between Smith and Bennett did not become public until months later; but it had demonstrated to the Prophet that there were many things going on around Nauvoo about which he was uninformed. He decided to organize his own intelligence service. Under the direction of Porter Rockwell and John Doyle Lee, certain trusted and resourceful members of the Danites were organized into a spy brigade with instructions to keep their eyes and ears open at all times and to report all that they saw, heard, or suspected, to headquarters.

As Joe's difficulties with the law became more acute, this organization expanded in personnel and scope. Some of its members shadowed every stranger who entered the city until they found out his mission. If he was suspected of being a Missourian, or a person seeking stolen property, Nauvoo was made so unattractive for him that he departed at once. This division of Joe's secret service became known as 'the Whittling Deacons.'

heard Joe preach at Montrose. Some one had said something derogatory about Emma, and Joe, unable to trace the canal to its source, waxed wroth.

'I hope I may never find that person,' he shouted. 'If I do, my appetite will never be satisfied until I have his blood, and if he ever crosses my path, I will send him to Hell.'

Some of the newly arrived English converts had expressed dissatisfaction with Nauvoo and the Church.

'If they choose to complain, they may,' roared the Prophet. 'But I don't want to listen to their complaints. If they are not satisfied here, I have only this to say to them: 'Don't stay whining about me, but go back to England and be damned.'" And then Joe's speech became more mellow. He explained that all who rejected The Book of Mormon would surely be damned. He painted the glories of Zion and concluded with a personal touch:

'Brethren and sisters,' he said with an air of deep humility, 'I got drunk last week and fell in the ditch. I suppose you have heard of it. I am awfully sorry.' The Prophet paused to let the effect of his confession sink in; then a smile rippled across his countenance as he recalled pleasant memories. 'I am awfully sorry now; but I certainly felt fine at the time.'

The overtures that Joe had made concerning the 'celestial-wife' business had shown him that the mass of the Saints were not prepared for any such doctrine. He found a few who approved. The spy system gave him information concerning others whose private lives indicated they might be willing converts; but the time was not yet ripe.

'The Lord makes manifest to me many things which it is not wisdom for me to make public until others can witness proof of them,' he wrote in his diary on April 29, 1842. And on May 1, he recorded: 'I preached in the Grove on the
Then he sat down and wrote a letter to Nancy, dispatching it at once by messenger.

'That which is wrong under one circumstance may be and often is, right under another,' Joe wrote. 'God said, "Thou shalt not kill"; at another time He said, "Thou shalt utterly destroy." This is the principle on which the government of Heaven is conducted, by revelation adapted to the circumstances in which the children of the Kingdom are placed. Whatever God requires is right, no matter what it is, although we may not see the reason thereof till long after the events transpire. If we seek first the Kingdom of God, all good things will be added.

'So, with Solomon; first he asked wisdom, and God gave it him, and with it every desire of his heart; even things which might be considered abominable to those who understand the order of Heaven only in part, but which, in reality, were right because God gave and sanctioned by special revelation. Everything that God gives us is lawful and right and it is proper that we should enjoy His gifts and blessings whenever and wherever he is disposed to bestow.' The note concluded with the admonition, 'Burn this,' but Nancy showed it to her father.²

Sidney immediately convened a family council and summoned the Prophet to appear and explain his conduct. According to George W. Robinson, who was present at the council, Joe, at first, denied everything; but in the face of Nancy's earnestness and his own letter, he finally admitted the truth. But he had only done it to test Nancy's virtue, he protested. Nancy had made a great mistake in showing the letter to her father. If she had kept quiet, all would have been well: Now, distorted rumors of the event might get noise around and Nancy's reputation be injured.

This attempt to seduce Nancy Rigdon occurred early in May, 1842, but an event of far greater import coincided with

¹ *Millennial Star*, vol. XIX, p. 390 ff.

² Bennett, *History of the Saints*, pp. 243-44.
it and overshadowed it so that it did not become known until later. On May 6, 1842, as ex-Governor Boggs of Missouri was seated by an open window in his home, a man crept up to the window, thrust a pistol loaded with buckshot within a few inches of Boggs's head, and fired. The report spread throughout the country that Boggs had been killed, and it was not until nearly two weeks later that the Mormons at Nauvoo learned that he was only wounded and was on the road to recovery. The enmity of the Saints toward the former governor, and the fact that Joe was generally believed to be planning reprisals against Missouri, caused the Mormons to be suspected.

The Quincy Whig, in its issue of May 21, said: 'There are several rumors in circulation in regard to the horrible affair, one of which throws the crime upon the Mormons; from the fact, we suppose, that Mr. Boggs was governor at the time, and in no small degree instrumental in driving them from the state. Mr. Smith, too, the Mormon Prophet, as we understand, prophesied a year or so ago, his death by violent means, hence there is plenty of foundation for this rumor.'

To this, Joe replied (still believing Boggs to have been murdered):

DEAR SIR: In your paper of the 21st inst. you have done me manifest injustice in ascribing to me a prediction of the demise of Lillburn W. Boggs, Esq., ex-Governor of Missouri, by violent hands. Boggs was a candidate for the State Senate, and I presume fell by the hands of a political opponent, with his hands and face yet dripping with the blood of murder; but he died not through my instrumentality. My hands are clean and my heart pure from the blood of all men.

JOSEPH SMITH, JR.

The day after the attempt on the life of Governor Boggs and several days before news of the affair reached Nauvoo, the 'City of Joseph' celebrated a gala day. Months before, the Lieutenant-General of the Nauvoo Legion had issued an order calling for a grand military review and sham battle to take place on May 7. Two thousand Legionnaires took part in the maneuvers.

An immense crowd was attracted to Nauvoo by the display, including many prominent Gentiles. Judge Douglas, who had been holding court at Carthage, adjourned for the day, and he and all of the lawyers and court attaches attended. They were guests of the Prophet at a dinner-party at the Mansion House, unaware that their host came to the banquet board direct from a celestial bridal chamber and that his high spirits were the result of one of his most gratifying conquests.

The battle was successful both as a spectacle and as a revelation of the potential military strength of the Mormons; but it revealed for the first time the breach between Joe and Bennett. When the lines had been formed for the battle, Bennett approached his superior officer and asked if he would accept the honor of leading the charge of the first cohort. Joe replied brusquely that he would not.

Later, according to Smith's statement, Bennett attempted to separate him from his staff and bodyguard and maneuver him into a position between the rival forces, where amid the confusion of battle he might be dispatched, and his death attributed to an accidental shot from a careless Legionnaire who had loaded his weapon with real bullets instead of blanks.1

It was Bennett's last appearance as a leader of the Saints. On May 17, he resigned as Mayor of Nauvoo, as Major-General of the Legion, and as a member of the Church. The Council passed resolutions thanking him for his great zeal and faithful service, and Bennett, a day or two later, filed an affidavit with the Council in which he testified: 'I have no difficulty with the heads of the Church. I publicly avow that

CHAPTER V
CLOISTERED SISTERS AND CYPRIAN SAINTS
THE KIDNAPPING OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL JOSEPH SMITH

Like bloodhounds fiercely prowling,
With pistols ready drawn,
With oaths like tempests howling,
These kidnappers came on.
He bared his breast before them,
But as they hurried near,
A fearfulness came o'er them —
It was the cowards fear.
Well might their dark souls wither
When he their courage dared.
Their pity fled, O whither!
When he his bosom bared....

ANTICIPATING trouble from Missouri as a result of the attempt to kill Boggs, and from foes closer home who sympathized with Bennett, Joe warned the Danites and Whittling Deacons to be ever on the alert. The night-watch force was augmented by ten men from the Legion. Joe’s house and his person were closely guarded every hour of the twenty-four. Others of the special watchmen were placed on guard at strategic points, or held ready for emergencies, and all through the night certain of the secret agents pussy-footed through the city and the surrounding country. A dozen of them disguised as women descended upon Bennett’s home one night, soon after his resignation as mayor, and attempted to kidnap him, but he drove them off.

A few days later, he appeared before the Nauvoo Masonic Lodge, and was expelled; his resignation from the Legion was ignored, and the court-martial cashiered him. Joe rescinded his honorable withdrawal from the Church and disfellowshipped him. He notified Douglas that the doctor was no longer acceptable as a legislative candidate, and William Smith was given his place on the Democratic ticket. Bennett took the hint, and left Nauvoo without delay.

But his removal did not lift the load from Joe’s mind. He knew that sooner or later Bennett was going to talk freely, loudly, and with bitterness and effect. Then there were financial troubles. His store had been a losing venture. The Illinois State Bank at Shawneetown had failed and money was scarce. Hotchkiss continued to demand interest and principal. The finger of suspicion in the Boggs affair continued to be directed at him. The Prophet’s spirits were low. He talked much about persecution and his moods were reflected in his diary. On June 1, 1842, he wrote: ‘Sent Dr. Richards to Carthage on business. On his return, Old Charley, while on a gallop, struck his knees and breast instead of his feet, fell in the street, and rolled over in an instant, and the doctor narrowly escaped with his life. It was a trick of the Devil to kill my clerk. Similar attacks have been made upon myself of late, and Satan is seeking our destruction on every hand.’

In August, he crossed the river in company with his friend, General James Adams, Hyrum, and others to attend the installation of the Rising Sun Masonic Lodge at Montrose. While the General, as Deputy Grand Master of the Lodge of Illinois, was instructing the newly elected officers, Joe lounged on a bench on the shady side of the lodge hall and recounted the story of the persecution of the Saints to an appreciative audience. He was in a gloomy mood, and that night he wrote: ‘I prophesied that the Saints would continue to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains; many would apostatize, others would be put to death by our persecutors... and some of them would live to go... and build cities... and see the Saints become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains.’ The Rocky Mountains idea traces itself back to the seed dropped, three years previously,
by Henry Clay, 'Why don't you go to Oregon?' and to the naturally restless and roving disposition of the Prophet. Joe's gloomy forebodings were justified. As soon as Governor Boggs recovered sufficiently, he went before a Justice of the Peace and made affidavit that he believed Porter Rockwell fired the shot, and that Joseph Smith was accessory before the fact. Governor Reynolds of Missouri issued a writ calling on the Governor of Illinois to deliver Rockwell and Smith for trial, and Governor Carlin complied. Two days after the lodge meeting at Montrose, the Sheriff of Adams County, Illinois, and a Missouri sheriff, appeared and arrested Joe and his bodyguard.

The prisoners went before the Municipal Court of Nauvoo and applied for release on writs of habeas corpus. The Court ordered the officers to establish the legality of the warrants under which they were acting. This they could not do to the Court's satisfaction, for the Court was a stickler for formalities and technicalities, and interpreted the statutes in such a manner as to leave the sheriffs dumb and dizzy. Nonplussed by this turn of events, the officers left the prisoners in the custody of the Town Marshal of Nauvoo and returned to their respective county seats to seek legal advice.

Joe and Rockwell immediately availed themselves of the exceptional facilities of the Nauvoo region. Since they were in jeopardy both in Illinois and Missouri, they rowed to one of the densely wooded islands between Montrose and Nauvoo. At length, their hiding-place becoming known, Rockwell went East to visit relatives, and Joe returned secretly to Nauvoo, living at the homes of various friends and venturing forth only at night. The States of Illinois and Missouri had offered rewards totaling five hundred dollars for each of the fugitives.

Feeling against the Saints ran high. Bennett was spreading rumors and accusations; lawlessness had increased; the Saints were repudiating their debts. Again, it seemed that violence between the Mormons and their neighbors could not be averted, but Brigham Young decided that the time had come for him to set an example for the more timid brethren. On June 15, he took his first polygamous wife, Lucy Ann Decker, twenty-five years old.¹

General Bennett, upon leaving Nauvoo, repaired to Springfield, where he engaged the ear of the editor of The Sangamo Journal, the most influential Whig newspaper in the State. Through the columns of the Journal, and later, through the newspapers in Louisville, Kentucky, St. Louis, Missouri, and throughout the East, he conducted an exposé of Joe and Mormonism.

Bennett's statements are highly colored and must be discounted to a certain extent, in view of his reputation before joining the Mormons and after. But he was, above all others, in a position to know the truth about the public and private life of the Prophet, and so many of his statements have been corroborated, either by direct testimony of others or by circumstantial evidence, that they must be accepted as presenting, in the main, an accurate picture.

Bennett charged Joe with organizing the Danites to rob and terrorize the Gentile population and so drive them from the vicinity of Nauvoo; of organizing the Legion, and engaging in political maneuvers, so as to secure domination over the whole State of Illinois and later set up a Mormon empire covering the States of Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa; and of introducing and practicing gross immoralities under the guise of religious tenets.²

The celestial-wife doctrine, introduced by Smith to but a few members of the Church at first, was being rapidly ex-

¹ Brigham's first wife died in New York. He married his second, Ann Angell, at Kirtland.
² Bennett, History of the Saints, p. 220 ff.
tended, Bennett charged. Under it, Joe and his followers had
worked out an elaborate system of wholesale seduction, which
would ultimately claim as its victims every woman in Mormon-
dom. There were three orders or groups in this system, he
said:

First, were the girls and young women who had been de-
tected by the Prophet's spies in indiscretions, or who had been
accused of indiscretions. Upon confession or conviction, these
women were relegated to a semi-outcast status. They be-
came, in effect, public property, subject to the attentions of
any of the Elders who had been initiated into the mysteries of
the new order. They were known as 'the Cyprian Saints.'

Above this order were the members of 'the Cloistered
Sisters of Charity,' composed of women who had been given
permits by the Prophet to engage in promiscuous intercourse.
'The Cloistered Saints,' composed of certain women set
apart for the benefit of particular individuals, high in the
Church Councils, composed the aristocracy of this order, he
asserted.

Of the spiritual-wife doctrine, Bennett said: 'When an
Apostle, High Priest, Elder, or Scribe conceives an affection
for a female and he has satisfactorily ascertained that she ex-
periences a mutual claim, he communicates confidentially to
the Prophet his affaires du cœur, and requests him to inquire of
the Lord whether or not it would be right and proper for him
to take unto himself the said woman as his spiritual wife. It is
no obstacle whatever to this spiritual marriage if one or both
parties should happen to have a husband or wife already
united to them according to the laws of the land.'

Bennett's letters were widely reprinted and, finding that he
had tapped a profitable vein, he embarked on a lecture tour,
and later brought out a book, The History of the Saints, or an
Exposé of Joseph Smith and Mormonism. In it, Bennett at-
ttempted to paint himself as an upright and virtuous citizen,
who had never believed in the Mormon imposition, but had
joined them for the purpose of exposing their iniquities. In
this he failed, and his subsequent attempts to worm his way
back to power in the Church give the lie to his protestations.
Despicable as Bennett may have been, he served to focus the
attention of the country upon the dangerous situation Joe was
creating at Nauvoo.

He also kept the Boggs matter stirred up. He quoted an
editorial from Times and Seasons in which Boggs was de-
nounced, and stated, in letters and interviews, that he had
heard Joe say that 'Boggs, the butcher, should be butchered
and that the Danites should do the job.' Also, he declared he
heard Joe at a meeting of the Danites, in the spring of 1842,
offer a reward of five hundred dollars to the man who should
assassinate the Governor.

The Prophet attempted to fight back through the press.
He attacked Bennett's character and asserted that any im-
morality that might exist at Nauvoo was due to Bennett and
no one else. He had one of the Whittling Deacons, named
Markham, issue a statement attacking the character and
virtue of Nancy Rigdon and caused it to be published in Times
and Seasons, but Markham's own reputation was so bad that
the affidavit acted as a boomerang, and in the next issue, Joe
stated that the document was published without his know-
ledge or approval. The press agents were also busy attempting
to combat the charges of theft and lawlessness directed against
the Church and its members. Joe, Hyrum, and the Twelve
Apostles all contributed declarations to Times and Seasons
calculated to set the public right in this matter, and these were
mailed to other newspapers throughout the surrounding
territory:

It has been proclaimed upon the housetops and in the secret
chamber, in the public walks and private circles, throughout
the length and breadth of this vast continent, that stealing by
the Latter-Day Saints has received my approval; nay, that I
have led on the van — than which nothing is more foreign from my heart. I disfellowship the perpetrators of all such abominations; they are devils, and not Saints, totally unfit for the society of Christians or men. It is true that some professing to be Latter-Day Saints have taught such vile heresies, but all are not Israel that are of Israel; and I want it distinctly understood in all coming time that the Church over which I have the honor of presiding, will ever set its brow like brass, and its face like steel, against all such abominable acts of villainy and crime.

Joseph Smith

Joe’s business affairs continued to worry him and necessitated some skullduggery. On paper, he was a wealthy man, but his assets consisted of slow-moving real estate, most of which was heavily mortgaged. He had made himself sole sales agent for all property in and around Nauvoo, save as he granted special perquisites to Brigham Young, Brother Hyrum, or other favorites, and he now transferred from Joseph Smith, Jr., as an individual, to Joseph Smith, Jr., trustee of the Church, for the sum of one dollar, real estate which he afterwards boasted was worth $200,000. With this property out of the reach of creditors, he went to Carthage and declared himself a bankrupt.¹

The Saints also resorted to another subterfuge to defeat their creditors. They instituted the ‘oneness’ of property, an arrangement whereby groups of five or six members pooled their property, making one of their number trustee. Should an individual be sued, or his property attached, one of the other members of the group would be put forward as the real owner, and it would be shown that the party sued was merely a tenant.

Late in August, Joe presided at a general conference to draw up plans for confounding the enemies of the Church. Elders were sent throughout the entire country spreading the Mormon side of the case, denouncing Bennett and Boggs, and Carlin. News that Joe was back in Nauvoo soon reached Sheriff Pittman of Adams County, and the Sheriff dismounted before the Mansion House on September 2, but not before a Whittling Deacon had run across lots and warned the Prophet. The family was at dinner, and had as a guest John Boynton, who went to the door and argued with the Sheriff while Joe slipped into his secret closet and crawled up to the roof. Boynton then permitted the officer to enter, and Joe shinnied down the tree and sneaked through the back yard and a cornfield to the house of Bishop Whitney.

Joe remained in hiding in Nauvoo for several months, dividing his time between a dozen hide-outs — among them homes of Mormons where there were attractive daughters, or where the husbands were away on missionary tours. He seldom appeared at the Mansion House, but he would drop in for prolonged nocturnal calls at other homes, and, to insure himself against loneliness, he took to himself three new wives — Sarah Ann Whitney, Desdemona Fuller, and Helen Mar Kimball.

Joe’s strategy was to mark time and evade the clutches of the law until Carlin left office and a more friendly executive succeeded to the Governorship. Political rivalries had made it expedient for the Democrats, in their search for a candidate to succeed Snyder, to agree upon an individual who had made no enemies within the ranks and could be subjected to no criticism from without. This individual they located in Thomas Ford, an easy-going Circuit Judge with a good record for party regularity, a fine judicial temperament, and no particular political ambitions. He became the party nominee and was elected, the Mormon votes aiding him materially. The same votes sent ‘Bill’ Smith, the Prophet’s brother, to the Legislature. ‘Joe was always called the “genius” of the

pearance that was bewitching and winning; his countenance was that of a plain, honest man, full of benevolence and philanthropy, and void of deceit or hypocrisy. He was resolute and firm of purpose, strong as most men in physical power, and all who saw him were forced to admire him as he then looked and existed. In the sports of the day such as wrestling, etc., he was over the average. Very few of the Saints had the strength to throw him in a fair tussle; in every gathering he was a welcome guest and always added to the amusement of the people, instead of dampening their ardor.  

With increased leisure and freedom from pursuit and worry, Joe had opportunity to extend his researches into the spiritual-wife theory. By this time he had acquired some half-a-dozen wives, and had "sold" the theory to several of the leaders who had begun to acquire celestial harems of their own. One day, early in February, 1843, as he and William Clayton, his secretary, strolled along the river-bank, Joe said: "Brother Clayton, I understand there is a sister back in England to whom you are much attached."  

Clayton stammered that it was purely a platonic attachment—nothing further than that which any brother and sister in the Church might entertain toward each other.  

"Why don't you send for her?" queried the Prophet.  

"Why, in the first place, I have no authority to send for her," Clayton replied, "and if I did have, I haven't money to pay her passage."

"Well, that's all right," Smith assured him. "I will give you authority to send for her, and you can draw on me for the money."

"This was the first time the Prophet Joseph talked to me on the subject of plural marriage," says Clayton. "He informed me that the doctrine was right in the sight of our Heavenly Father and that it was a doctrine which pertained to celestial order and glory. After giving me lengthy instructions, he concluded, "It is your privilege to have as many wives as you want."  

Emma was not unaware of what was going on, and numerous other women, aside from those who had been sealed, had their suspicions aroused by glimpses of the Prophet entering certain back doors late at night and departing surreptitiously early the next morning. Emma, profiting by Joe's success with the Whittling Deacons, commissioned Eliza Roxey Snow, the Mormon poetess, as a 'Whittling Deaconess.'  

Eliza, because of her intellectual and physical charms, was regarded as a highly desirable matrimonial prospect; but to all advances she appeared as frigid as her name. Emma had such confidence in Eliza's virtue that she confided in her regarding Joe's extramarital affairs and detailed her to spy upon the Prophet. The poetess performed these duties con amore and with notable success until Joe became aware of her activities. Thereupon he set out to win Eliza.  

According to Elder Bullock, one of the Church historians, Joe appeared on the morning of the sham battle of the Nauvoo Legion attired with unusual care, and displaying unusual buoyancy of spirit:  

"This is the proudest day of my life," he declared as he took his place in the reviewing stand.  

"Many people believed that this outburst of pride was entirely of military character," says Bullock. "But I, and some other intimate friends of the Prophet, knew very well he was proud of another thing; not of the parade, but of the conquest of Eliza."  

Late in 1842, Sidney Hay Jacobs, who had been informed of Joe's interest in Biblical research, told him that he had

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1 Clayton affidavit, Deseret News, May 20, 1886.  
2 Wyl, Mormon Portraits, p. 58.  
3 Ibid., p. 58.
been doing some research himself and had culled numerous scriptural passages on polygamy. Wouldn't it be a good idea to have them published? Joe agreed that it would, and authorized Jacobs to complete his work and have copies printed at the Times and Seasons office.

'This he did as a feeler among the people to pave the way for celestial marriage,' says Lee. 'This, like all other notions, met with opposition, while a few favored it. The excitement among the people became so great that the subject was laid before the Prophet.'

Joe promptly disclaimed any knowledge of the doctrine or the pamphlet. He branded the book as 'a bundle of nonsense and trash' and put a notice in the paper to the effect that he was not aware that such a book was being issued and had he known it, would have forbidden its publication.

Lee, Mormonism Unveiled, p. 146.

CHAPTER VII

STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

I'll be a little Mormon
And seek to know the ways,
Which God has taught his people
In these — the latter days.
By sacred revelation
Which He to us hath given,
He tells us how to follow
The sacred road to Heaven.
Though I am young and little,
I, too, may learn forthwith
To love the precious gospel
Revealed to Joseph Smith.

Hymns for Children

In February, Joe was reelected Mayor of Nauvoo. A few days before the election, he became enthusiastic over the prospects of converting the world to Mormonism, and he wrote in his diary: 'I will yet take these brethren [the Quorum of Twelve] through the United States and through the world, and will make just as big a wave as God Almighty will let me. We must send kings and governors to Nauvoo, and we will do it.' Queen Victoria and Prince Albert would be a good pair to start with, Joe considered. He ordered Lorenzo Snow to send complimentary copies of The Book of Mormon to each with an invitation to visit Nauvoo and see for themselves the glory that the Saints were storing up. There is no record of Victoria's and Albert's replies.

Joe attended a council meeting on February 25, and waxed irate at the Illinois statute which made property a legal tender for the payment of debts: 'Shall we be such fools as to be governed by their laws which are unconstitutional?' he demanded. 'No! We will make a law for gold and silver; then their law ceases, and we can collect our debts. Powers not
delegated to the States or reserved from the States, are constitutional. The Constitution acknowledges that the people have all power not reserved to itself. I am a lawyer. I am a big lawyer and comprehend Heaven, earth and Hell, to bring forth knowledge that shall cover up all lawyers, doctors and other big-bodies. At its next session, the Council passed such an ordinance, thereby abrogating the laws of Illinois within the city of Nauvoo.

Early in March, Joe participated in his first celestial double wedding. Later he was to establish a record by being sealed to four women in a day. The brides at the double wedding were Eliza and Emily Partridge, two buxom maidens employed as domestics in the Mansion House. They represented a feeble attempt on the part of Emma to control the personelle of the Prophet’s harem. If Joe was sincere in his protestations that he took surplus wives only because the Lord commanded, there could be no objection to Emma selecting the supernumeraries, she contended. To this proposition Joe tactfully acceded, without agreeing to limit himself solely to Emma’s candidates. Emma thought that since the Partridge girls were under her own roof, she could keep them under pretty close observation. In this she was mistaken, because Joe, unknown to her, had initiated Eliza and Emily into the mysteries of celestial wifehood some weeks before. The double ceremony, therefore, was but a gesture.

The Partridge incident tickled Joe immensely. He was in high spirits for weeks. On March 15, he wrote in his diary: ‘I wrestled with William Wall, the best wrestler in Ramus, and threw him. In the afternoon, held a church meeting.’ And a few days later: ‘Josiah Butterfield came to my house and insulted me so outrageously that I kicked him out of the house and across the yard and into the street.’ Some trouble-makers Joe could not subdue by strategy or adroit footwork. Among these were two who were to incubate much dissension, Chauncey L. Higbee and R. D. Foster. Of them, The Nauvoo Neighbor on April 3, said:

‘On Monday last, Chauncey L. Higbee, a lawyer, was brought before Daniel H. Wells, Esq., on the charge of using abusive language to and insulting the city marshal while in the discharge of his duty. He was fined $10.00.

‘On the same day, R. D. Foster, Esq., was taken before Isaac Higbee, J. P., and fined $10.00 for a breach of the ordinance pertaining to gambling.

‘We are sorry to find that our lawyers and magistrates should be taking the lead among gamblers and disorderly persons and be numbered among the lawbreakers rather than supporting the virtue, law, and dignity of the city.’

Another entry in the Prophet’s diary early in April, treats of various Church matters in characteristic vein:

‘At three P.M., I met with Brigham Young, William Smith, P. P. Pratt, O. Pratt, W. Woodruff, J. Taylor, George A. Smith, and Willard Richards, of the Quorum of the Twelve, in my office and told them to go, in the name of the Lord God of Israel, and tell Lucien Woodworth to put the hands to work on the Nauvoo House and begin the work and be patient until means can be provided.

‘Call upon the inhabitants of Nauvoo and get them to bring in their means, then go to La Harpe, and serve them the same. Out of the stock that is handed to me, you shall have as you need, for the laborer is worthy of his hire.

‘I thereby command the hands to go to work at once on the House, trusting in the Lord. Tell Lucien Woodworth to put them on and he shall be backed up with it. You must get cash, property, lands, horses, cattle, flour, corn, wheat, etc…. If you can get the hands on the Nauvoo House, it will give such an impetus to the work, it will take all the devils out of Hell to stop it.

‘Brigham Young asked if any of the Twelve should go to England. I replied, “No! I don’t want the Twelve to go to
England this year — I have sent them to England and broken the ice and now I want to send some of the Elders and try them."

'John Taylor, I believe you can do more good in the editorial department than preaching. You can write for thousands, while you can preach to but few at a time. We have no one else we can trust a paper with, and hardly with you, for you suffer the paper to come out with so many mistakes.

'Brother George A. Smith! I don't know how I can help him to a living, but to go and preach.... The Lord will give him a good pair of lungs yet.'

About this time, Joe summoned Lucy Walker and in his office above the barroom told her that he had been commanded by the Lord to take another wife and the Lord had selected her. He explained the plural marriage system and assured the astounded and bewildered girl that if she would pray for guidance, she would have a revelation from God, assuring her that the Prophet had spoken the truth. Lucy followed his instructions and prayed, but the revelation was delayed. Some weeks later, Joe visited her again. He was stern this time. Polygamy was the will of God, he affirmed, and she was stubbornly setting herself against it. She must cease this stubbornness at once, or the gates of Heaven would be shut against her forever.¹

Lucy retorted that she had prayed in good faith and no revelation had been forthcoming. She would never accept the doctrine without divine authorization, and she defied Joe, or anybody else, to say that the gates of Heaven should be closed against her. Her defiance made her all the more attractive to the Prophet, so he softened his demeanor. He blessed Lucy and told her to keep on praying. The revelation would come if she but have faith. Lucy prayed through many sleepless nights, and at length the revelation came. She and Smith were sealed on May 1, 1843, by William Clayton. She was num-

¹ Littlefield, Reminiscences of Latter Day Saints.

her nine, ten, or eleven, according to various chronologies, and during that month he married four others, bringing his total up to thirteen — or thereabouts.

A few weeks later, on May 18, Joe dined with Judge Douglas at the Hamilton House at Carthage, and he and the Judge talked far into the night on Mormonism and politics, and Joe felt called upon to prophesy: 'Judge, you will aspire to the Presidency of the United States; but if you ever turn against me and the Saints, you will feel the weight of the hand of the Almighty upon you, for the conversation of this day will stick to you through life.'

Shortly after this conference, Brigham Young was sent on a mission and encountered on the steamboat a professor from a Southern college who inquired concerning the rumors of polygamy at Nauvoo.

'Has Joseph Smith more wives than one?' he asked.

'I will admit that he has,' said Brigham, intimating that he admitted the proposition purely for the sake of argument. 'Now let us take a hypothetical question: Suppose a man has a wife and she dies — he marries again, and she dies, and so on until he has had six wives one at a time. What will be done with these women and children at resurrection? And to whom will they belong? And if the man is to have but one wife, which shall it be? Is it any more sinful to have six at a time than six at different times?"¹

Bennett's mission into Missouri was successful. At a special session of the Circuit Court of Daviess County, Missouri, the old charges against Smith were revived, and an indictment returned on June 5, 1843. A week later, Governor Ford, at the request of Missouri, issued a warrant for Joe's arrest. The day before signing the papers, Ford confided his intention to Judge James Adams, Joe's friend, who sent a messenger post-

was elected. Joe had proved himself to be a shade smarter than the smart Walker; he had matched political stratagem with counter-stratagem, and neither Walker nor the Whigs could assert with good grace that they had been betrayed. Nevertheless, Joe's double-cross set ill with them, and the fact that the Prophet and the Church were actively in politics was strikingly brought to the attention of the people of the State.

Joe's action in repudiating Walker and the Whigs crystallized the latent political opposition to the Saints. With a dozen words he knocked the props from under Walker's political aspirations and killed his own dreams of empire.

CHAPTER VIII

'AND LET MINE HANDMAID EMMA RECEIVE ALL —'

LINES TO QUEEN VICTORIA

Oh, would she now, her influence lend —
The influence of royalty —
Messiah's kingdom to extend
And Zion's nursing mother be,
Then, with the glory of her name
Inscribed on Zion's lofty spire,
She'd win a wreath of endless fame
To last when other wreaths expire.

ELIZA R. SNOW

Economic and religious opposition combined to drive the Saints from Ohio. Religious and political opposition forced them from Missouri. Now, in Illinois, after retrieving their fortunes and re-establishing their Zion, they were to find themselves again in mortal conflict with their neighbors. At Nauvoo, the opposition originated at four sources, and proceeded along converging lines until the lines met and consolidated. When that consolidation was effected, the doom of the Saints was sealed.

The source of the political opposition has been noted. Economic opposition developed as a result of the jealousy of other towns over the rapid growth of Nauvoo, the monopoly on business which the Church attempted to set up throughout the Nauvoo region, and the fact that property values declined rapidly. Gentiles refused to buy land in the vicinity and those who owned property could not sell, save to Mormons, who offered long-term notes, or property in Missouri or Ohio, in trade. The purely religious opposition was widespread, and opposition on moral grounds, as a result of the crime situation and the rumors of polygamy, pyramided rapidly. In addition, Joe faced for the first time determined opposition within the ranks, backed by able and vigorous leaders.
Aware of this cumulative enmity which was being marshaled against him and the Church, but underestimating the extent and bitterness of the opposition, Joe went his way, devoting his principal attention to his personal difficulties. Joe’s egotism was stupendous. He felt confident that he could handle the State of Missouri when the need arose; that he was bigger than Governor Ford, or the State of Illinois; that the Nauvoo charter, the Municipal Court, and the Legion rendered him impregnable; that his spies would enable him to anticipate any move on the part of the trouble-makers within the ranks. But Emma presented a problem that called for greater tact and diplomacy, greater force and inspiration, than he had yet been called upon to assert. Emma had never been impressed by Joe’s revelations, was always skeptical of his pretenses, and but mildly enthusiastic over the possibilities of the Mormon movement.

With the passing of the years she had acquired a reserved and dignified bearing, partly as a result of her position as ‘the Elect Lady’ of the Saints, partly as defensive armor. She is described at this period as tall, dark, severe of countenance, ‘very ladylike,’ above the average in ‘talent,’ and well educated for the times. She loved her husband, her children, and her home, and she possessed a naturally jealous disposition. These two traits, her jealousy and her pride in her position, clashed with increasing frequency, as Joe’s sphere expanded and he came more frequently in contact with susceptible females. At Kirtland, there were scenes. Emma resorted to physical violence against both Joe and her rivals, but soon she discovered that violence would not solve her problem. Later, she had resource to strategy, and organized her own spy system, but when Eliza Snow, her trusted friend and most zealous ‘peeker,’ proved false, Emma realized that she was fighting a losing battle. Henceforth, she made no public recognition of her husband’s irregularities. She retired behind her false front

of dignity and reserve. She held her head high and seldom smiled.

At the Mansion House, however, she let Joe know that he was not putting anything over on her and she made things so unpleasant that he had to fall back on the revelations for aid. He explained to Emma that the Lord had commanded him to take these numerous wives, that he had no choice in the matter but to obey; but she was still the ‘Elect Lady’ in his own eyes, and in the eyes of the Lord, and in proof of that fact, the Lord had given him a special revelation for her: As the ‘Elect Lady,’ Emma might enjoy the same freedom in regard to surplus husbands that Joe had been permitted in the matter of wives. This was a very special privilege and was to be delegated to no other woman in the Church. Emma’s response to this proposal sent Joe flying from the house to seek sanctuary in his office. There he called Brother Hyrum into conference. Months before, Joe had broken the news of the forthcoming Polygamy Revelation to his brothers, Hyrum and Don Carlos, and found both of them bitterly opposed.

‘Any man who preaches spiritual wifery will go to Hell—even if he is my brother,’ Don Carlos declared to Ebenezer Robinson.3

‘It will break up the Church and cost you your life,’ Hyrum warned the Prophet.

‘It is a command from God,’ Joe retorted. ‘If you don’t believe it, ask Him yourself.’ Eventually, Hyrum did inquire and the Lord assured him that it was true, even as Joseph said. Joe now called upon Hyrum to act as his ambassador and attempt to placate Emma. ‘Do anything, promise anything, but calm her down, and if possible convince her of the Divine origin of the New Doctrine,’ were the Prophet’s instructions. Behind the locked doors of his office, above the store and barroom, Joe held many secret conferences during the summer of 1843. Here he received the reports of the night-guard, and

1 Wyl, Mormon Portraits, p. 57.

the more confidential reports of the undercover men among the Danites and Whittling Deacons. Here he received numerous brothers and sisters, instructing many in the intricacies of celestial marriage, letting hints fall to others to gauge their reaction, assuring still others that all of this gossip and scandal was merely the work of Bennett and his minions.

At Ramus, he preached on 'The New Priesthood': 'In the celestial glory there are three heavens, or degrees, and in order to obtain the highest, a man must enter into the order of the priesthood, and if he does not, he cannot obtain it.' Only the initiated among his listeners realized 'The New Priesthood' meant the acceptance and practice of polygamy.

He went to the home of B. F. Johnson in Macedon, a Mormon hamlet near Nauvoo, and taught the doctrine to Johnson, then to Johnson's sister, Almera. Almera followed Lucy Walker in the chronological list of Joe's conquests.¹

On the 12th of July, as Joe was sitting in the office talking with William Clayton, Hyrum entered, flushed and excited. He had just come from the Mansion House where he had been arguing with Emma.

'If you will write out the revelation, I will take it and read it to Emma, and I believe I can convince her of its truth and you will hereafter have peace,' Hyrum said. Joe smiled skeptically and replied with the inevitable comeback of misunderstood husbands, 'You don't know Emma as well as I do'; but Hyrum persisted in his optimism.²

'The doctrine is so plain I can convince any reasonable man or woman of its purity, truth, or heavenly origin,' he declared.

'Well,' agreed the Prophet, 'I will write it, and we will see.'³

² The account of writing of the Polygamy Revelation is based on Clayton's affidavit, Deseret News, May 20, 1886.

He ordered Clayton to get writing materials and take dictation.

'Hadn't you better inquire of the Lord through the Urim and Thummim?' suggested Hyrum.

'I know it perfectly from beginning to end,' Joe asserted. Clayton seated himself at the table with pen poised, and Joe, striding back and forth across the room, cleared his throat and began:

'Thus saith the Lord unto my servant, Joseph, that inasmuch as you have inquired of my hand to know and understand wherein I, the Lord, justified my servants Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as also Moses, David, and Solomon, my servants, as touching the principle and doctrine of their having many wives and concubines, Behold! and lo, I am the Lord thy God, and will answer thee as touching this matter; therefore, prepare thy heart to receive and obey the instructions which I am about to give unto you for all those who have this law revealed unto them must obey the same.'

Back and forth across the floor the Prophet paced, his hands clasped beneath his coat-tails, his mind busy rephrasing, strengthening the lucubration which he had been composing in his mind ever since that eventful day, eight years previous, when he sat in Sidney Rigdon's study and heard Sidney read of Abraham and his concubines.

'For, behold, I reveal unto you a new and everlasting covenant, and if ye shall abide not that covenant ye are damned, for no one can reject this covenant and be permitted to enter into my glory.'

A few more short paragraphs reiterating that all who rejected the doctrine were sure to be damned, and Joe realized it was high time the Lord put himself again on record as endorsing the conduct of Joseph Smith, Jr.

'And, verily, I say unto you, that the conditions of the law are these: all covenants, contracts, bonds, obligations, oaths, vows, performances, connections, associations, or expectations
that are not made and entered into and sealed by the holy spirit of promise, of him who is anointed, both as well for time and for all eternity; and that too most holy, by revelation and commandment through the medium of my anointed...'

Joe sensed that he was getting a bit involved here. He didn't quite see how he was going to end the sentence, but he plunged ahead: 'My anointed whom I have appointed on the earth to hold this power (and I have appointed unto my servant Joseph to hold this power in the last days, and there is never but one on the earth at a time on whom this power and the keys of this priesthood are conferred) are of no efficacy, virtue, or force in and after the resurrection of the dead: for all contracts that are not made unto this end have an end when men are dead.'

Joe paused again. He had, finally, through resource to the parenthesis, got the Lord on record in the matter of the exclusive priesthood of Joseph Smith, Jr., but he hadn't made quite clear that idea about marriage vows taken in the old way being outlawed in Heaven. That was one of the points that he must get across; he devoted several paragraphs to the idea without appreciably clarifying it. Clayton's pen flew across the foolscap recording eventually this interesting item:

'Therefore, when they are out of the world, persons married in the existing system neither marry or are given in marriage; but are appointed angels in Heaven, which angels are ministering servants to minister for those who are worthy of a far more, and an exceeding and an eternal weight of glory.

'For these angels did not abide my law; therefore they cannot be enlarged; but remain separately and singly, without exaltation, in their saved condition to all eternity, and from henceforth are not Gods, but angels of God for ever and ever.'

Having thus indicated the lowly estate to be occupied hereafter by those who rejected the polygamy doctrine, Smith now turned his attention to the glories awaiting those who adopted it. 'And again, verily, I say unto you if a man marry a wife by

my word, which is my law and by the new and everlasting covenant and it is sealed unto them by the Holy Spirit of promise, by him who is anointed, unto whom I have appointed this power and keys of this priesthood; and it shall be said unto them "ye shall come forth into the first resurrection," and if it be after the first resurrection, in the next resurrection and shall inherit thrones, kingdoms, principalities and powers, dominions, all heights and depths — then shall it be written in the lamb's book of life that he shall commit no murder whereby to shed innocent blood and if ye abide in my covenant....'

Again Joe found himself inextricably entangled in his own verbiage, but he ploughed through by sheer force, arriving at last within sight of breathing space with the triumphant promise:

'... and they shall pass by the angels and the Gods which are set there, to their exaltation and glory in all things as hath been sealed upon their heads which glory shall be a fullness and a continuation of the seeds for ever and ever.

'Then they shall be Gods because they have no end; therefore they shall be from everlasting to everlasting because they continue.... Then they shall be Gods because they have all power and the angels are subject to them.

'Verily, verily, I say unto you except ye abide my law, ye cannot attain to this glory.'

Joe felt well pleased with himself. There were some other phases of the matter to be cleared up, but the idea occurred to him that here would be an excellent spot to insert a few admonitions to Emma. Surely this revelation with its impressive diction and its stamp of divine authenticity should convince her that his relations with other women had heavenly sanction.

If the revelation and Hyrum's powers of persuasion should prove sufficient to win her over, then it would be foolish to
extend her the privilege of polyandry as he had suggested. He walked back and forth across the floor, stroking his chin. Then he cleared his throat anew and resumed his dictation:

“Verily I say unto you, a commandment I give 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 [the privilege of polyandrous relations] for I did it, saith the Lord, to prove you all as I did Abraham, and that I might require an offering at your hands by covenant and sacrifice.

“And let mine handmaid, Emma Smith, receive all those wives 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.’

It might be a good idea to drop in a hint right here, that he was an up-and-coming Prophet with a great future before him and that Emma could do much worse than to cleave close to him, the Seer and Revelator decided, so he dictated:

“For I am the Lord, thy God, and ye shall obey my voice, and I give unto my servant Joseph that he shall be made ruler over many things; for he hath been faithful over a few things, and from henceforth I will strengthen him.

“And I command mine handmaid, Emma Smith, to abide and cleave unto my servant Joseph and unto none else. But if she will not abide this commandment, she shall be destroyed, saith the Lord, for I am the Lord thy God and will destroy her if she abide not in my law.’ That seemed to cover the situation pretty thoroughly. Joe was about to resume the doctrinal theme of the revelation when a postscript occurred to him. He added: ‘And again, verily, I say, let my handmaid forgive my servant Joseph his trespasses and then shall she be forgiven her trespasses wherein she has trespassed against me, and I, the Lord thy God, will bless her and multiply her and make her heart rejoice.’

Now that Emma’s case was disposed of, Joe continued with the revelation as touching the new order of marriage: ‘And again, as pertaining to the law of the priesthood, if any man espouse a virgin and desire to espouse another and the first give her consent; and if he espouse the second and they are virgins, and have vowed to no other man, then he is justified, he cannot commit adultery with that that belongeth unto him and to no one else.’

That would seem to make the matter clear, but the Prophet decided to make it even stronger:

“And if he have ten virgins given unto him by this law he cannot commit adultery, for they belong to him and they are given unto him, therefore he is justified.

‘But if one, or either, of the ten virgins after she is espoused shall be with another man, she has committed adultery and shall be destroyed....

‘And again verily, verily, I say unto you, if any man have a wife who holds the keys of this power, and he teaches unto her the law of my priesthood as pertaining unto these things, then shall she believe and administer unto him, or she shall be destroyed, saith the Lord thy God, for I will destroy her; for I will magnify my name upon all those who receive and abide in my law.

‘Therefore it shall be lawful in me, if she receive not this law, for him to receive all things whatsoever I, the Lord thy God, will give unto him, because she did not administer unto him according to my word, and she then becomes the transgressor, and she is exempt from the law of Sarah, who administered unto Abraham according to the law, when I commanded Abraham to take Hagar to wife.

‘And now, as pertaining to this law, verily, verily, I say unto you, I will reveal more unto you hereafter, therefore let this suffice for the present. Behold, I am Alpha and Omega. Amen.’

Joe dropped down in his easy-chair, and mopped his brow.
Clayton read his transcription of the revelation and Joe pronounced it correct.

'There is much more I could write on the subject, but what is written is sufficient for the present,' the Prophet announced as he folded the revelation and handed it to Hyrum. Joe and Clayton waited in the office while Hyrum went to reason with Emma, or perhaps they dropped downstairs to sample a few glasses of Brother Turley's brew. Hyrum returned limp, crest-fallen, very much abashed. 'I never got such a talking to in my life,' he declared. 'She is mad, clear through. Such bitterness! You should have heard her!'

'Humph,' commented Joe, 'you don't have to tell me. I said you didn't know Emma as well as I did.'

That evening the Prophet showed the revelation to a few of the Church leaders. Bishop Whitney asked to have a copy of it and Joe had Clayton make one for him. When Joe got home, Emma turned the guns of her wrath upon him, but later she reasoned with him. She quoted Hyrum's statement that the doctrine would be the means of disrupting the Church and bringing about his own death. Admitting that it had the sanction of God, it would be misunderstood by the Gentiles, she protested, and would be used by them as an excuse for further persecutions.

'Give me the revelation,' she pleaded; 'let me burn it.'

Joe yielded to her importunities and handed over the paper. Emma tossed it into the fireplace and applied a match. The paper burst into flame, twisted and curled and was transformed into a little heap of blackened ash. Emma threw her arms around her husband's neck and kissed him.

'There,' she exclaimed, 'it's gone! Now everything will be all right again.'

But Joe knew that Bishop Whitney's copy was safe.

Having gone thus far with his polygamy doctrine, Joe could not retreat. Up to this time most of his converts had been among the lower classes of the Church membership. The leaders had accepted the theory with varying degrees of enthusiasm, but few of them had dared embark upon its practice. Joe realized from the reactions of Hyrum, Emma, and numerous others that the time had not yet arrived for general promulgation of the doctrine. The Saints must be educated to it through a gradual process, and to accomplish this it was necessary that the Church leaders, the Quorum of Twelve, the First Presidency, take the lead. Joe began to bring pressure to bear upon them.

'The world never made a greater mistake than when it supposed that plural marriage was hailed with delight by the leaders who were commanded of the Lord to introduce its practice in this generation,' says Roberts. 'They saw clearly that it would bring additional reproach, that it would run counter to the traditions and prejudices of society, as indeed it was contrary to their own traditions, that their motives would be misunderstood or misconstrued; all this they saw and naturally shrank from the undertaking.'

John Taylor said: 'Joseph told the Twelve that if this law was not practiced, if they would not enter into this covenant, then the kingdom of God could not go one step further. Now we did not feel like preventing the kingdom of God from going forward. We professed to be Apostles of the Lord and we did not feel like putting ourselves in opposition to retard the progress of the kingdom of God. The revelation says that 'All those who have this law revealed unto them must obey the same.' Now that is not my word, I did not make it. It was the Prophet of God who revealed that to us in Nauvoo, and I bear witness to the solemn fact before God that he did reveal this sacred principle to me and others of the Twelve....

'I had always entertained strict ideas of virtue and I felt that, as a married man, this was to me, outside of this prin-

* Roberts, *Rise and Fall of Nauvoo*, p. 117.
principle, an appalling thing to do. The idea of going and asking
a young lady to be married to me when I already had a
wife! It was a thing calculated to stir up feelings from the
innermost depths of the human soul. We, the Twelve, seemed to
put off, as far as we could, what might be termed the evil day.'

'Some time after these things had been known to us,' Tay-
lor, riding out of Nauvoo on horseback, met Joe. The Apostle
expressed the Prophet and continued on his way, noting that Joe
was regarding him intently. He proceeded a few paces when
the Prophet called him back. Again Smith subjected him to a
stern gaze.

'Look here, Brother Taylor,' said Joe, 'those things that
have been spoken of must be fulfilled, and if they are not
entered into right away, the keys will be turned.'

Taylor blushed and gulped. 'Who am I,' he asked himself,
'to stand in the way of this great eternal principle and treat
lightly the things of God?'

'Very well, Brother Joseph,' he replied humbly, 'I will try
and carry these things out.' He did, in moderation, acquiring
three additional wives during the ensuing two years.

Not so docile was William Law. He protested to Joe that
the doctrine was contrary to the true spirit of the Scriptures,
contrary to The Book of Mormon, contrary to The Book of
Doctrine and Covenants.

'Oh,' scoffed Joe, 'that was written when the Church was
young and we had to feed them on milk. Now we have to give
to them strong meat.'

'Well, I'll be damned if I descend to such corruption,' Law
declared.

'You will be damned if you don't,' Joe retorted.

'The marriage relationship, say the Mormons, was intended
as eternal,' John Hyde, Jr., a Mormon apostate wrote. 'as
marriage is a religious ceremony, more than a civil institution,
it must be performed by an ecclesiastical dignitary. All other
marriages are mere contracts, sanctioned by law, but dissol-
vable at the option of both contracting parties. As marriage,
ordinarily administered, is only "till death," it is perfectly null
and void for any period after death. As they believe that unless
married the saved will not enjoy any "glory" in the next world
and if not married on earth, cannot be married afterward,
therefore they "marry for eternity." ... These marriages are
termed "sealings." People, according to Mormon technology,
are "married for time," "sealed for eternity."

Under this system it was possible for a woman to be 'mar-
mited' to one man and 'sealed' to another. Hyde explains how
it worked out:

'A woman has been married to a man she does not like and
sees someone whom she does like. The man's position, how-
ever, is such that she does not wish to leave her husband, but
only desires to secure another for an eternal husband. She can
be sealed to this man and still remain with her first husband;
and the Mormons believe that all her children belong to the
man to whom she is sealed. "No marriage is valid till phys-
ically consummated" is a maxim of all human and divine law.
These marriages or sealings are therefore consummated to
make them valid. But the husband may know of the sealing
ordinance and desire to get his wife sealed to him. To tell him
the real facts might make him apostatize, convert a warm ad-
herent into a devoted enemy; and therefore, the Mormons
will perform a mock ceremony contending that it is better
that one man be deceived rather than the whole church shall
suffer.

'These wives who are married to one man and sealed to an-
other are "spiritual wives" or "celestial wives" sealed for celest-
ial glory. It was Joseph Smith's attempt to convince Mrs.

* Roberts, Rise and Fall of Nauvoo, pp. 116-17.
* Gregg, Prophet of Palmyra, p. 515.
Foster that she should be sealed to him, while married to Dr. Foster, that led to exposure of the celestial-wife doctrine and the Prophet's downfall.

As man's 'kingdom' or celestial glory depended largely upon the size of his family, and as all the children a woman might have were accredited to her sealed husband, whether begotten by him or not, the problem of adding to one's celestial kingdom while on missions abroad, caused much concern. An Elder might be compelled to spend two or three years in England on church missions, leaving four to a dozen wives, so the practice developed of appointing proxies to increase the husband's heavenly estate in his absence.

The practice of baptism for the dead developed a similar system of proxy marriage. Mere baptism was not enough. Unless the dead could be accredited with a large family, they could partake but sparingly of the celestial glory, therefore a system of sealing for the dead was evolved and zealous relatives had themselves sealed to various wives in the names of their deceased fathers, brothers, sons, uncles, nephews, cousins, etc., so that the offspring of such marriages might be accredited to the 'glory account' of the departed.

One hundred and sixty thousand members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, decent, law-abiding, respectable folk, will tell you that Joseph Smith never practiced polygamy; that he never sanctioned it; that it was surreptitiously introduced by corrupt men like Bennett, and later seized upon by the Pretender, Brigham Young, and made a part of the Church creed. The Polygamy Revelation, they will remind you, was not published during the Prophet's lifetime, but was put forth by Brigham after the Saints had reached Utah; the revelation was a forgery, concocted by Brigham as part of his plot to steal the Church from the legitimate successors of Joseph Smith.

Some five hundred and fifty thousand followers of Brigham Young, on the other hand, believe that Joseph did practice polygamy, did receive a revelation from God sanctifying the practice and commanding the Saints to adopt it. They will tell you that the doctrine is essential to salvation and that not a member of the Church could hope to be saved had not the Lord granted them a dispensation. When the United States enacted legislation making polygamy a violation of the federal statutes, the Lord recognized that observance of the practice made criminals out of every member of the Church and led to conflict between Church and State, so rather than subject the Saints to this indignity, he permitted them to waive the creed until such time as the Government of the United States should rescind its unjust statutes.

The polygamy doctrine, they will tell you, has been misunderstood by the world. It is a doctrine based, not on sensuality, but on deep religious convictions. Conceived in purity, it never carried nor implied any license to indulge in promiscuous intercourse. In so far as these latter claims apply to the rank and file of the Mormons at Nauvoo, they are credible. All evidence tends to support the contention that the majority of the Church membership received the doctrine with abhorrence. They adopted the practice against their natural inclinations, and out of fear of the hereafter, rather than from motives of lust. The statements of Roberts and Taylor ring true and are typical of countless others. They express the natural reaction which might be expected from normal folk to such a proposal.

When the members of the Reorganized Church attempt to prove that the Prophet did not practice polygamy, or when the Utah Mormons attempt to extend justification to Joe himself, their arguments collapse. A score of Mormon women have solemnly and proudly testified that they were sealed to Joe at Kirtland or at Nauvoo.

Members of the Reorganized Church will tell you that this
testimony was falsified at the instigation of Brigham; the polygamy that was practiced at Nauvoo, and such immorality as existed, crept in without the Prophet's knowledge and developed despite his denunciations. In the face of the known facts regarding Joe's spy system and his autocratic powers over his subjects, it is inconceivable that such conditions could have existed without his knowledge and approval.

The Polygamy Revelation bears the imprint of Joe's authorship in every line. It is characteristic of the Prophet in style, diction, and thought, and its rambling structure and involved sentences tend to corroborate Clayton's testimony that it was dictated by Joe in a hurry, to give Hyrum material with which to labor in his efforts to convert Emma. The revelation, having failed in this purpose, and the time being recognized as unpropitious for its publication, Joe had no occasion to revise or correct the text, and Whitney's copy of the original thus came to Brigham unchanged. If the Polygamy Revelation is a forgery, then every revelation Joe Smith ever wrote, or dictated, was composed by Brigham!

Polygamy, like The Book of Mormon, was a gradual evolution. Joe's marriage to Emma Smith was a great triumph. She was far more attractive and more intellectual than any young woman with whom the lowly ne'er-do-well had ever come in contact. With his removal to Kirtland, his position offered him new opportunities for meeting people, opportunities for philandering and seduction which Palmyra never afforded. His paranoid tendencies made him unusually susceptible to these opportunities. He found it easy to persuade women that cohabitation with a prophet of God was not a sin; but rather an assurance of divine grace. He found himself able to twist the Scriptures so as to justify these irregularities to himself, if not to Emma.

At Nauvoo, he carried his philandering to a point where it became public knowledge and scandal, and it became imperative for him to obtain the support of public opinion within the church. To secure this it was necessary for him to force the Saints to adopt his own defense mechanism — the theory that polygamy was sanctified and necessary in the opinion of God. To justify his own conduct he had to foist this theory upon the Saints, and so corrupt the entire Church.
Saints wrote down similar statements in their journals or arose in meeting to report them orally.

Another manifestation of the tendency was expressed in the belief that Joseph was to be resurrected from the tomb, like Christ, and resume his post of Prophet, Seer, and Revelator. Many of the Saints reported dreams and visions in which they had seen the Prophet resurrected and these visions did not decrease with the passage of the years, until after 1857, when Brigham Young felt called upon to set the Saints right.

Joseph was not resurrected, he assured them. He had a mission to perform in the spirit world, just as he had on earth, and he could not be resurrected until that mission had been fulfilled.

Mormon historians list twenty-eight women who were married or 'sealed' to the Prophet. They concede that this list is probably incomplete; and it does not include any of the women of Kirtland and Nauvoo who might be considered as common-law wives.

Joseph's wives, listed approximately in their chronological order, are:*

Emma Hale
Fanny Alger
Louisa Beman (April 5, 1841, by Joseph B. Noble)
Lucinda Harris
Zina Huntington Jacobs (October 27, 1841, by D. B. Huntington)
Prescindia Huntington (December 11, 1841)
Eliza Roxey Snow (June, 1842, by Brigham Young)
Sarah Ann Whitney (July 27, 1842)
Desdemona W. Fullmer (1842)
Helen Mar Kimball (May, 1843)

Several other women are mentioned by various Mormon apostates as plural wives of the Prophet. "There is a Mrs. Dibble living in Utah who has a fine son. She was sealed, among others, to Joseph Smith, although living with her present husband before and since," John Hyde wrote in 1857. "On the head of her son, Smith predicted the most startling prophecies about wielding the sword of Laban," revealing the hidden books of Mormon, and translating the sealed part of the records. "There is not a person in Salt Lake who doubts the fact of that boy being Smith's own child."

Mary E. V. Smith, writing about the same time, said: Mrs. Buel had left her husband, a Gentile, to grace the Prophet's routine on horseback when he reviewed the Nauvoo Legion. I heard the latter woman say afterwards in Utah, she


* Mormonism, p. 84.

* One of the warriors of The Book of Mormon.
unions might easily be credited to the legal husbands in the
official records, regardless of what entry might be made in the
book of celestial glory. Then there was the hospital in the
isolated house on the flats.

Emma Smith, on her deathbed, was asked by her son, Joseph
Smith III, to make a final statement on disputed points in
Mormon history. ‘There was no revelation on either polygamy
or spiritual wives,’ Emma said. ‘There were some rumors of
something of the sort, of which I asked my husband. He as-
sumed me that all there was to it was that in a chat about
plural wives he had said, “Well, such a system might be, if
everybody was agreed to it and would behave as they should,
but they would not and besides it was contrary to the will of
Heaven.” No such thing as polygamy, or spiritual wifery, was
taught publicly, or privately, before my husband’s death that
I have now, or ever, had knowledge of.’

‘Did he not have other wives than yourself?’ Joseph III,
inquired.

‘He had no other wife but me; nor did he, to my knowledge,
ever have.’

‘Did he not hold marital relations with women other than
yourself?’

‘He did not have improper relations with any women that
ever came to my knowledge.’

‘Was there nothing about spiritual wives that you recol-
dect?’

‘At one time, my husband came to me and asked me if I had
heard certain rumors about spiritual marriages or anything of
the kind; and assured me that if I had that they were without
foundation, that there was no such doctrine and never should
be with his knowledge or consent. I know that he had no other
wife or wives than myself, in any sense, either spiritual or
otherwise.’

Joseph III asked for her testimony regarding the truth of
Mormonism and Emma replied: ‘I know Mormonism to be
the truth, and believe the church to have been established by
divine direction. In writing for your father, I frequently wrote
day after day, often sitting at the table close by him, he sitting
with his face buried in his hat with the stone in it, and dictat-
ing hour after hour with nothing between us.'

'Had he not a book or manuscript from which he read or
translated to you?'

'He had neither book nor manuscript to read from.'

'Could he not have had and you not know it?'

'If he had had anything of the kind, he could not have con-
celed it from me.'

'Are you sure that he had the plates at the time you were
writing for him?'

'The plates often lay on the table without any attempt at
concealment, wrapped in a small linen tablecloth which I had
given him to fold them in. I once felt the plates as they thus
lay on the table tracing their outline and shape. They seemed
to be pliable like thick paper and would rustle with a metallic
sound when the edges were moved by the thumb as one does
sometimes thumb the edges of a book.'

'Where did Father and Oliver Cowdery write?'

'Oliver Cowdery and your father wrote in the room where I
was at work.'

'Could not Father have dictated The Book of Mormon to
you, or Oliver Cowdery and the others who wrote for him,
after having read it out of some book?'

'Joseph Smith... could neither write nor dictate a coherent
and well-worded sentence, let alone dictating a book like The
Book of Mormon. And though I was an active participant in
the scenes that transpired, it is marvelous to me, "a marvel
and a wonder," as much so as to anybody else.'

Thus, Emma added her bit to the Smith mythology.

1 Autobiographical sketch of Joseph Smith III in Tullidge, *Joseph the Prophet*, p. 792.
previously enlightened on the subject in question. That Comforter which Jesus says shall "lead unto all truth" had penetrated his understanding, and, while in England had given him an intimation of what, at that time, was a secret. This was a result of living near the Lord."

Brigham Young had acquired a total of five wives before Joseph's death. Hyrum Smith had at least one celestial wife, according to Catherine Phillips Smith, who testified that she was sealed to Hyrum by the Prophet himself in August, 1843. There are numerous other authenticated instances of polygamous marriages during the Prophet's lifetime, while the period between his death and the exodus from Nauvoo abounds with them. That such marriages could have been consummated during Joe's lifetime without his consent is inconceivable.}

"Plural marriages were not made public," John Doyle Lee said. "They had to be kept still. A young man did not know when he was talking to a single woman. As far as Brigham Young was concerned, he had no wives at his house, except his first wife, or the one he said was his first wife. Many a night I have gone with him, arm in arm, and guarded him while he spent an hour or two with his young brides, then guarded him home and guarded his house until one o'clock when I was relieved. He used to meet his beloved Emilie at my house."

The one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints was celebrated on April 6, 1930, by two organizations, each of which claims to be the true Church. The larger organization has its headquarters at Salt Lake City, Utah. It had, at the close of 1929, according to its Historian, Joseph Fielding Smith (grandson of Hyrum Smith), a membership of 549,364 in the United States; 13,556 in Canada; 6,000 in Great Britain; and 86,000 scattered throughout other parts of the world, making a grand total of 654,920.

The Reorganized Church has its headquarters at Independence, Missouri, where it still awaits the reestablishment of Zion. Its membership of 160,000 brings the combined forces of the two churches to 814,920. Frederick M. Smith, grandson of the founder of the Church, is its Prophet, Seer, and Revelator, as his father and grandfather were before him. The Church has several court decisions proclaiming it to be the original Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and branding the Utah Mormons, by implication at least, as impostors and seceders; but the Utah "tail" has nearly half a million more members than the Missouri "dog."

Both groups still believe implicitly in the divine origin of The Book of Mormon, and in the divine inspiration of the revelations of Joseph Smith. The Utah branch believes the Polygamy Revelation to be the word of God, but since polygamy is prohibited by the laws of the United States, the Church now orders its members to refrain from carrying out the Lord's wishes until such time as He can influence sufficient Senators and Congressmen to repeal the restraining statutes. The Missouri branch denies that polygamy was ever a tenet of the Church during the life of Joseph Smith, and, therefore, it has no place in the creed. Aside from this, and a few minor doctrinal differences, the two churches are essentially the same.

Like the Lamanites and the Nephites, the rival branches are constantly at war. The descendants of Hyrum Smith are high in the councils of the Utah branch; the descendants of Joseph control the destinies of the Missouri Church. Perhaps, like Lamanite and Nephite, they may yet meet at some Hill Cumorah and battle until one tribe is utterly annihilated.

The political and commercial activities of the Mormons in Utah are too well known to require any recounting here. The activities of the Reorganized Church are not so well known. They have developed the communistic idea of the early

\[\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\text{See Robinson, The Return, vol. I, p. 175.}\]