Joseph Smith's Personal Polygamy

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As a personality of the nineteenth century, Joseph Smith stands out as extraordinary. While many writers have been critical of him and his teachings, most historians are impressed with at least some of his accomplishments, even those who believe he was a charlatan. He published a 500-page book of scripture, organized a new religion, dictated more than a hundred revelations, founded at least three cities, built one temple and began several more, and produced a remarkable theological framework that both expanded and contradicted Christian thinking of the era.[1]

Of all of Joseph Smith's teachings and practices, none has been more controversial than his introduction of the practice of plural marriage among his followers. He reported that an angel commanded him not only to establish it but also to teach it as a doctrinal mandate to other Church members.[2] In the decades that followed, most writers criticized him and the practice using the harshest of terms. According to George T. M. Davis, author of the 1844 *An Authentic Account of the Massacre of Joseph Smith*, Joseph Smith's involvement with plural mar-

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[1]John L. Brooke, *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644–1844* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), xvi.

[2]Brian C. Hales, "Encouraging Joseph Smith to Practice Plural Marriage: The Accounts of the Angel with a Drawn Sword," *Mormon Historical Studies* 11, no. 2 (Fall 2010): 23–39.

riage "outraged every feeling of decency and humanity, in the gratification of his beastly propensities."[3] Marcus Whitman Montgomery, a Congregational clergyman and instructor in the Chicago Theological seminary, condemned "Smith's shocking immoralities."[4]

Scores of nineteenth-century writers saw Joseph Smith's libido as the sole driving force pushing the establishment of plural marriage forward. Benjamin G. Ferris, a political appointee in Utah for the winter of 1852 but who never knew Joseph personally, asserted that polygamy "grew out of the polluted mind of the prophet, who established it as an institution of the Church to legalize his own licentiousness."[5] In his 1857 history, *Illinois As It Is,* Fred Gerhard condemned Joseph Smith: "The animal nature largely preponderating in the man, he had not the genius to form a vast and comprehensive plans for the future; but whatever he did, was merely intended for present convenience, and gratification of his beastly lusts and desires."[6] John C. Bennett, briefly Joseph's associate and a political power in Nauvoo, vigorously denounced him as "an unprincipled libertine, unequalled in the history of civilized man" and lamented that Joseph "should so deliberately and shamelessly have gone to work to gratify, in so monstrous a manner, his abominable lusts."[7] Political writer and analyst of Utah polygamy, Ballard S. Dunn claimed that Joseph Smith "desired many wives; because, to a sensual, fanatical, emotional nature like his, sexuality was the chief good."[8] A. Theodore Schroeder, a sociologist in the late nineteenth century, reasoned: "The natural weakness of the flesh probably made it easy for him [Joseph Smith] to

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[3]George T. M. Davis, *An Authentic Account of the Massacre of Joseph Smith* (St. Louis, Mo.: Chambers and Knapp, 1844), 47.

[4]Marcus Whitman Montgomery, *The Mormon Delusion: Its History, Doctrines and the Outlook in Utah* (Boston: Congregational Sunday School, 1890), 50–54.

[5]Benjamin G. Ferris, *Utah and the Mormons: The History, Government, Doctrines, Customs, and Prospects of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1854), 235.

[6]Fred Gerhard, *Illinois As It Is* (Chicago: Keen and Lee, 1857), 115.

[7]John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints: Or an Exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism* (Boston: Leland & Whiting, 1842), 228, 225.

[8]Ballard S. Dunn, *How to Solve the Mormon Problem* (New York: American News Company, 1877), 7.

accept the teachings and spirit of free love."[9] John Hanson Beadle, who made an excellent living writing sensational fiction and quasi-factual histories, claimed: "It is a notorious fact, that almost from the first, the Prophet had used his powers of fascination to triumph over the virtue of his female devotees."[10] Swedenborgian and English author Edward Brotherton accused Joseph of establishing "a system of . . . universal female prostitution" at Nauvoo.[11] Henry Howe who authored the 1847 best-seller *Historical Collections of Ohio*, alleged: "In order to more readily gratify his passion and to make his very lusts minister to the advancement of his power [Joseph Smith] proclaimed that he had received a revelation from heaven."[12] Joseph H. Jackson, who made literary hay out of a very brief association with Joseph in Nauvoo that he turned into an exposé, wrote: "Joe Smith boasted to me that he . . . from the commencement of his career had seduced 400 women."[13] Other authors wrote of "harems"[14] and "debaucheries."[15]

In addition to these general condemnations, some specific po-

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[9]A. T[heodore]. Schroeder, *Some Facts Concerning Polygamy* (Salt Lake City: n.pub., 1898), 3.

[10]John Hanson Beadle, *Life in Utah: Or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia: National Publishing, 1870), 339.

[11]Edward Brotherton, *Mormonism: Its Rise and Progress and the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Manchester, England: n.pub., 1845), 15; see also John Theobald, *Mormonism Harpooned* (London: W. Horsell, 1858), 17, 19.

[12]Henry Howe, *Historical Collection of the Great West* (1851; 2d ed., Cincinnati, Ohio: H. Howe, 1873), 542.

[13]Joseph H. Jackson, *A Narrative of the Adventures and Experiences of Joseph H. Jackson in Nauvoo, Exposing the Depths of Mormon Villainy* (1844; rpt. for Karl Yost, Morrison, Illinois, 1960), 13, 25.

[14]Harry M. Beardsley, *Joseph Smith and His Mormon Empire* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1931), 390–91; Edward John Bell, *Latter-day Delusions or the Inconsistencies of Mormonism* (Norwich, England: Thomas Priest, 1853), 14; Clark Braden, *Public Discussion of the Issues between the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and the Church of Christ (Disciples) Held in Kirtland, Ohio, Beginning February 12, and Closing March 8, 1884, between E. L. Kelley, of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and Clark Braden, of the Church of Christ* (St. Louis: Clark Braden, 1884), 206.

[15]John C. Bennett, "Letter from John C. Bennett," *Illinois Republican*, July 20, 1842; John C. Van Tramp, *Prairie and Rocky Mountain Adventures*

lygamy-related accusations were also alleged. John C. Bennett ostensibly quoted Sarah Pratt and Sarah Fuller as claiming that Joseph Smith would destroy the reputation of any woman who rejected him.[16] Anglican clergyman and avid anti-Mormon, Henry Caswall wrote that "many English and American women, whose husbands or fathers had been sent by the prophet on distant missions, were induced to become his 'spiritual wives.'"[17] Another Englishman, Joseph Johnson, alleged that Joseph Smith's plural wives were also "evilly disposed" saying, "When the Prophet Smith desired to take a second and many wives, and when his companions were similarly evilly disposed, he had a convenient revelation, his usual custom when purposing any wrong, or immoral indulgence."[18] Excommunicated Mormon and Nauvoo resident Oliver Olney claimed that plural wives were neglected, having "no means with which to get away, and scarce any means of subsistence there."[19] Joseph H. Jackson seemed to agree, writing in 1844: "I have visited frequently, those women whom Joe supported for the gratification of his lust—I have found them subsisting on the coarsest food, and not daring to utter a word of complaint, for they feared Joe Smith more than they did their God."[20] Church of Christ minister Clark Braden, in a "debate" with future RLDS Presiding Bishop Edmund Levi Kelley, stated that "Joe had had scores of spiritual wives before this [1842], but without the farce of a ceremony of marriage."[21] These quotations are but a small sample of the ireful accusations leveled at Joseph Smith and the practice of plural

(Columbus, Mo.: J. and H. Miller, 1867), 313–38.

[16]Bennett, *The History of the Saints*, 231 (Sarah Pratt) and 253 (Widow Fuller).

[17]Henry Caswall, *The Prophet of the Nineteenth Century, or, the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Mormons* . . . (London: J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1843), 226.

[18]Joseph Johnson, *The Great Mormon Fraud* (Manchester, England: Butterworth and Nodal, 1885), 16.

[19]Oliver Olney, *The Absurdities of Mormonism Portrayed: A Brief Sketch*, pamphlet (Hancock County, Ill.: March 3, 1843), 7.

[20]Jackson, *A Narrative of the Adventures and Experiences*, 25.

[21]Braden, *Public Discussion of the Issues*, 202–6. The Church of Christ (Disciples), also known as the Campbellites, should not be confused with the Mormon offshoot, the Church of Christ (Temple Lot).

marriage in the decades following his death.

Providing a contrasting view to the abundant anti-polygamy vitriol are reports from Nauvoo polygamists themselves. While those accounts contain many more details, they are not nearly so numerous. The best source of information would be Joseph Smith; however, he left only one document specifically discussing the subject: his revelation recorded on July 12, 1843, on celestial marriage, now LDS Doctrine and Covenants 132. He dictated two other statements in conjunction with the expansion of polygamy, but neither actually mentions plural marriage. The first is a letter from Joseph to Nancy Rigdon written in the spring of 1842 and first published by John C. Bennett on August 19, 1842.[22] The second is a revelation that Joseph Smith received on behalf of Newel K. Whitney, July 27,1842.[23] Researchers today seeking to understand the details surrounding Joseph Smith's personal practice of plural marriage must acknowledge that the only individual who knew personally about his motives, intentions, and practice of polygamy left no record about these central matters. The only additional pertinent contemporaneous statements are found in William Clayton's journal.[24] Beyond these historical sources, everything learned about Joseph Smith's polygamy is secondhand, coming from later recollections and reminiscences and possi-

[22]John C. Bennett, "Sixth Letter from John C. Bennett," *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield, Illinois), August 19, 1842; rpt. in Bennett, *The History of the Saints*, 243–44. Some historians question whether Joseph Smith was the author. However, I believe that Joseph Smith's decision to approach Nancy Rigdon in the spring of 1842 was partly motivated by the desire to capture the support of Sidney Rigdon, her father and Joseph's first counselor in the First Presidency, for the establishment of plural marriage. I also believe that the letter was written as much to Sidney as to Nancy. See Brian C. Hales, "The First Year of Nauvoo Polygamy: Events Leading to Joseph Smith's Plural Proposal to Nancy Rigdon," *Mormon Historical Studies* (forthcoming).

[23]Revelation for Newel K. Whitney, July 27, 1842, holograph, LDS Church History Library; quoted in H. Michael Marquardt, ed., *The Joseph Smith Revelations: Text and Commentary* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999), 315–16.

[24]William Clayton's journal is restricted and held in the First Presidency's vault, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Administration Building, Salt Lake City. The most widely distributed copy is probably

bly suffering from their own credibility problems.

Given the plethora of accusations from antagonistic writers and the paucity of contemporary documents from participants, authors have been challenged in their attempts to reconstruct the process through which Joseph Smith established the practice of plural marriage. Historians and investigators who have made the attempt include Andrew Jenson (1887), the Temple Lot prosecutors (1892), Joseph Fielding Smith (1905), Charles A. Shook (1914), Fawn Brodie (1945), Kimball Young (1954), Jerald and Sandra Tanner (1967), Danel Bachman (1975), Lawrence Foster (1976, 1981), Richard S. Van Wagoner (1986), Todd Compton (1997), H. Michael Marquardt (2005), and George D. Smith (2008).[25] Useful studies and publications have resulted that attempt to characterize and chronicle the unfolding of the practice. Different opinions have been proposed about

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George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1995). This version contains excerpts compiled George D. Smith from several sources, but primarily consists of excerpts copied by D. Michael Quinn in the 1970s from a transcription (made by an unidentified transcriber) held in the Church Historian's Office. Excerpts can also be found in James B. Allen, *No Toil Nor Labor Fear: The Story of William Clayton* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 2002), 385–413; and Jerald Tanner and Sandra Tanner, eds., *Clayton's Secret Writings Uncovered: Extracts from the Diaries of Joseph Smith's Secretary William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm Co., [1982]); Robert C. Fillerup, comp., "William Clayton's Nauvoo Diaries and Personal Writings," http://www.boap.org/LDS/Early-Saints/clayton-diaries (accessed December 12, 2009).

[25]Andrew Jenson, "Plural Marriage," *Historical Record* 6 (May 1887): 219–34; Eighth District Court, Kansas City, Kansas, with a carbon copy at the Community of Christ Archives; a microfilm and digitized microfilm are held at the LDS Church History Library. See also Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1905; Charles A. Shook, *The True Origin of Mormon Polygamy* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Standard Publishing, 1914); Fawn Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945); Kimball Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough?* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1954); Jerald Tanner and Sandra Tanner, *Joseph Smith and Polygamy* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm, 1967); Danel W. Bachman, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage before the Death of Joseph Smith" (M.A. thesis, Purdue University, 1975); W. Lawrence Foster,

Joseph Smith's motivations and private tendencies as he married polygamously. This article will attempt to examine the historical record to discern which of those personal behaviors are consistent with the critical assessments penned by numerous cynics and skeptics.

In approaching this task, I acknowledge that indisputable conclusions are probably impossible to draw without additional documentation—documentation that may never have existed or has not survived the decades since the 1840s. However, the number of available documents dealing with Joseph Smith's polygamy is finite, and most of them can be consulted today with less effort than was required even a quarter century ago.

PLURAL MARRIAGE WAS DIFFICULT FOR JOSEPH SMITH TO ACCEPT

Numerous narratives support that Joseph Smith initially resisted an angel who commanded him to marry plural wives. Benjamin F. Johnson remembered that Joseph "put it off" and "waited untill an Angel with a drawn Sword Stood before him and declared that if he longer delayed fulfilling that Command he would Slay him."[26] Lorenzo Snow recalled that the Prophet "hesitated and deferred from time to time" and that he "foresaw the trouble that would follow and sought to turn away from the commandment."[27] Erastus Snow reported that the angel accused the Prophet of "being neglectful in the discharges

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"Between Two Worlds: The Origins of Shaker Celibacy, Oneida Community Complex Marriage, and Mormon Polygamy" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1976); Larry Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981); Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986); Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997); H. Michael Marquardt, *The Rise of Mormonism: 1816–1844* (Longwood, Fla.: Xulon Press, 2005); George D. Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy: ". . . but we called it plural marriage"* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2008).

[26]Benjamin F. Johnson, *My Life's Review* (1947; rpt., Mesa, Ariz.: 21st Century Printing, 1992), 95–96, and Dean R. Zimmerman, ed., *I Knew the Prophets: An Analysis of the Letter of Benjamin F. Johnson to George F. Gibbs, Reporting Doctrinal Views of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young* (Bountiful, Utah: Horizon, 1976), 43. See also Zina Huntington quoted in "Joseph, the Prophet, His Life and Mission as Viewed by Intimate Acquaintances," *Salt Lake Herald Church and Farm Supplement*, January 12, 1895, 212.

of his duties" and spoke "of Joseph having to plead on his knees before the Angel for his Life."[28] According to Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, the angel was required to visit Joseph three times between 1834 and 1842 before he fully complied:

> An angel came to him [Joseph Smith] and the last time he came with a drawn sword in his hand and told Joseph if he did not go into that principle, he would slay him. Joseph said he talked to him soberly about it, and told him it was an abomination and quoted scripture to him. He said in the Book of Mormon it was an abomination in the eyes of the Lord, and they were to adhere to these things except the Lord speak . . . [The Prophet reported that] the angel came to me three times between the years of 1834 and 1842 and said I was to obey that principle or he would slay me.[29]

Three of Joseph Smith's other plural wives recalled similar reluctance. Eliza R. Snow described Joseph as "afraid to promulgate it."[30] Helen Mar Kimball Whitney remembered: "Had it not been for the fear of His displeasure, Joseph would have shrunk from the undertaking and would have continued silent, as he did for years, until

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[27]Lorenzo Snow, quoted by Eliza R. Snow in *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Company, 1884), 69–70; Lorenzo Snow, Affidavit, August 18, 1869, in Joseph F. Smith Affidavit Books, 2:19, MS 3423, fd. 5, LDS Church History Library.

[28]Erastus Snow, quoted in A. Karl Larson and Katherine Miles Larson, *Diary of Charles Lowell Walker*, 2 vols. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1980), 2:611, June 17, 1883.

[29]Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner Smith, "Remarks" at Brigham Young University, April 14, 1905, Vault MSS 363, fd. 6, 2–3. See also Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner Smith, "Statement," February 8, 1902, Vesta Crawford Papers, University of Utah, Marriott Library, MS 125, Box 1, fd. 11; original owned by Mrs. Nell Osborne; see also Juanita Brooks Papers, Utah State Historical Society, MS B103, Box 16, fd. 13; Mary E. Lightner, Letter to A. M. Chase, April 20, 1904, quoted in J. D. Stead, *Doctrines and Dogmas of Brighamism Exposed* ([Lamoni, Iowa]: RLDS Church, 1911), 218–19; Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, Letter to Emmeline B. Wells, Summer 1905, MS 282; copy of holograph in Linda King Newell Collection, MS 447, Box 9, fd. 2.

[30]Eliza R. Snow, quoted in J.J.J., "Two Prophets' Widows: A Visit to the Relicts of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, August 18, 1887, 6/E.

an angel of the Lord threatened to slay him if he did not reveal and establish this celestial principle."[31] She also said that "Joseph put off the dreaded day as long as he dared."[32] Lucy Walker reported that Joseph "had his doubts about it for he debated it in his own mind."[33]

Accounts from those who personally heard the Prophet's teachings concerning plural marriage consistently relate that his initial response to the practice was revulsion—a response similar to that of most Mormons in the 1840s. The revelation on celestial and plural marriage seems to anticipate his reluctance as it admonishes him to "prepare thy heart" for the instructions that follow (LDS D&C 132:3). Such language is found in other revelations that discuss difficult challenges (D&C 29:8, 58:6, 109:38).

Additional evidence corroborates that Joseph Smith understood plural marriage as a difficult principle for his followers to accept, especially women. Polygamy on earth expands the man's emotional and sexual relationships (as a husband) as it simultaneously diminishes the woman's emotional and sexual relationship (as a wife). Bathsheba Wilson Bigler Smith remembered that he [Joseph Smith] recognized that it would be a "troubling" doctrine: "I heard the Prophet give instructions concerning plural marriage; he counselled the sisters not to trouble themselves in consequence of it, that all would be right." Then he promised them that "the result would be for their glory and exaltation." Bathsheba also related: "I heard him [Joseph Smith] tell the sisters one time not to feel worried,—that all was right . . . all will be well in the end."[34] The Prophet apparently realized that plural marriage would create anxiety in participants and

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[31]Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, *Why We Practice Plural Marriage* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1884), 53.

[32]Jeni Broberg Holzapfel and Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, eds., *A Woman's View: Helen Mar Whitney's Reminiscences of Early Church History* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1997), 142.

[33]Lucy Walker, Deposition, in *Church of Christ in Missouri v. Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*, 70 F. 179 (8th Cir. 1895), respondent's testimony, Part 3, p. 474, questions 600; copy in my possession; hereafter cited as Temple Lot Transcript.

[34]Bathsheba Wilson Bigler Smith, Autobiography, holograph: MS 8606; typescript: MS 16633, LDS Church History Library; Bathsheba B. Smith, Deposition, Temple Lot Transcript, Respondent's Testimony, Part

sought to assuage those concerns.

To help his potential plural brides overcome their initial disgust at the thought of polygamy, the Prophet promised at least two of them that they could receive their own "spiritual" confirmation that polygamy was right.[35] Whether he approached other potential plural wives with similar promises is unknown. Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner wrote: "I did not believe. If God told him so, why did he not come and tell me? The angel told him I should have a witness. An angel came to me."[36] Similarly, Lucy Walker recalled: "He [Joseph Smith] assured me that this doctrine had been revealed to him of the Lord, and that I was entitled to receive a testimony of its divine origin for myself. He counselled me to pray to the Lord, which I did, and thereupon received from him a powerful and irresistible testimony of the truthfulness and divinity of plural marriage."[37]

Available documents support the view that Joseph Smith re-

3, pp. 291, 313, questions 14, 466. See also Barbara Fluckiger Watt, "Bathsheba B. Smith," in Vicky Burgess-Olson, *Sister Saints* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 206.

[35]See, for example, Desdemona Fullmer, Autobiography, excerpted in D. Michael Quinn Papers, Addition, Uncat WA MS 244, Box 1, Special Collections, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Ithaca, New York; hereafter Quinn Papers. This source should not be confused with the Desdemona Fullmer autobiography catalogued as MS 734 in the LDS Church History Library. See also Helen [Mar Kimball Whitney], Letter to Mary Bond, n.d., 3–4, Biographical Folder Collection, P21, f11 [Myron H. Bond], item 22, 23, 24, Community of Christ Archives. Fawn Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 74, observed: "At an early age [Joseph Smith] had what only the most gifted revivalist preachers could boast of—the talent for making men see visions."

[36]Rollins Lightner, "Statement," February 8, 1902.

[37]Lucy Walker, Affidavit, December 17, 1902, MS 3423, fd. 2; in Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 1:66; 4:68, MS 3423, fds. 5–6, LDS Church History Library. See also Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present), May 1, 1843, LDS Church History Library. It is printed in Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage*, 68–69. A second affidavit containing identical wording is dated October 24, 1902, and headed: "Oath of Lucy Walker Smith: Wife of Joseph Smith, Jr.," photocopy in my possession.

acted to the command to practice polygamy with dismay and that he afterwards sympathized with the challenge that plural marriage represented to Church members, especially sisters.

JOSEPH SMITH DECLINED OPPORTUNITIES TO MARRY ADDITIONAL PLURAL WIVES

During Joseph Smith's life, he was sealed to thirty-four women. (See discussion below.) Evidence is available suggesting that he probably could have been sealed to several more women if he had desired. For example, Benjamin F. Johnson wrote: "The orphan girl—Mary Ann Hale—that my mother had raised from a child, was now living with us . . . and I asked him [Joseph] if he would not like her, as well as Almira [Johnson, Benjamin's sister whom Joseph had already married]. He said, 'No, but she is for you. You keep her and take her for your wife and you will be blessed.'"[38] Benjamin was sealed to Hale on May 17, 1843.[39]

In addition, both Lucy Walker (b. 1826) and her older sister, Catherine (b. 1824), lived with the Prophet in his home. In 1892, Lucy testified that Catherine, who stayed there longer than Lucy, was never married to Joseph Smith and knew nothing of Lucy's own sealing to the Prophet.[40] Either Joseph refrained from approaching her or he proposed and was rejected without any repercussions to Catherine who continued to stay at the Smith home.

Evidence indicates that Joseph Smith used plural marriage as a test for several of the apostles.[41] Included were Heber C. Kimball and John Taylor who, after a period of turmoil, were willing to give their legal wives to the Prophet, if it were required.[42] In both cases, Joseph Smith declined such marriages and sealed the apostle and his wife for

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[38]Johnson, *My Life's Review*, 96; Benjamin F. Johnson, Affidavit, March 4, 1870, Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 2:7.

[39]George D. Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, Appendix B, 599, no. 92.

[40]Lucy Walker, Deposition, Temple Lot Transcript, Respondent's testimony, Part 3, pp. 458, 461, questions 207–9, 283.

[41]Franklin D. Richards, Diary, quoted in *Minutes of the Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1894–1899* (Salt Lake City: Privately Published, 2010), 116.

[42]Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1945), 323–24; John Mills Whitaker, Autobiography and Journals,

time and eternity. To date, no historical documentation has been located showing that the Prophet followed through on a demand that a male follower give his wife to become Joseph's plural spouse, even though some were sufficiently devoted that they reluctantly but sincerely expressed willingness to do so, had the experience not been only a "test."

Two accounts describe how the Prophet sought plural marriages for his brothers Hyrum and William, rather than seeking to marry the women himself. In 1908, Hyrum Belnap approached his mother's sister, Almira Knight Hanscom, to learn if she "had been asked by Hyrum Smith to be his 2nd wife"?[43] Born to Vinson Knight and Martha McBride Knight in 1827, she would have been sixteen in May 1843 when Hyrum Smith accepted plural marriage.[44]

> She looked startled and answered, "Yes and No." She said, "One day mother and I were in the front room and Joseph Smith came walking down the street and turned in at our gate. I had a hunch and as he entered the front door I went out the back and remained until he left. When I returned my Mother told me that Joseph had come at the request of his brother, Hyrum, to ask me to be his wife. And also asked Mother to ask me, seeing I wasn't in. So when my mother said, ["]Almira what do you say about it?" I said, "No."[45]

This account demonstrates that, instead of seeking Almira for

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1883–1960, November 1, 1890, MS 1356, Reel 1, LDS Church History Library. Whitaker's typed version was apparently based on his shorthand original. See also Samuel W. Taylor, *The Kingdom or Nothing: The Life of John Taylor, Militant Mormon* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1976), 80–83, 87–89.

[43]Almira Hanscom, Statement, 1908, in "Autobiography of Hyrum Belnap," from a compilation by Della Belnap, "Biographies of the Belnap and Knight Families" (typescript), copied by BYU Library Staff, 1958; photocopy, L. Tom Perry Special Collections and Manuscripts Division, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, Amer BX 8670.1/ B41. This statement is found on p. 55 of the Della Belnap compilation or p. 20 of the Hyrum Belnap Autobiography.

[44]George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 106; see also Andrew F. Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the Mormon Succession Question" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1982), 56–60.

[45]Hanscom, Statement, 1908.

himself, Joseph Smith sought to facilitate a plural marriage between her and his brother Hyrum. The marriage never took place, and Almira later left the Church.

In another example, Mary Ann Covington (Sheffield Smith Stratton West) recalled her experience in Nauvoo:

> I went to live at Orson Hyde's and soon after that time Joseph Smith wished to have an interview with me at Orson Hyde's. He had the interview with me, and then asked me if I had ever heard of a man's having more wives than one, and I said I had not. He then told me that he had received a revelation from God that [a] man could have more wives than one, and that men were now being married in plural marriage. He told me soon after that his brother William wished to marry me as a wife in plural marriage if I felt willing to consent to it. . . . He said that there was power on earth to seal wives in plural marriages.[46]

Mary Ann was sealed to William Smith by the fall of 1843.[47] It seems likely that she would have been equally willing if Joseph had sought Mary Ann as his own plural wife.

To summarize, while available details are sometimes scant, the historical record cited above indicates that Joseph Smith might have been sealed to these six women; but for reasons he never explained, he declined some plural marriages, accepted others, and arranged polygamous unions for family members and friends.[48]

JOSEPH SMITH CAUTIOUSLY APPROACHED POTENTIAL NEW WIVES

The recollections of Joseph Smith's plural wives are several descriptions of how cautiously he introduced the subject to them, allow-

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[46]Mary Ann West, Deposition, Temple Lot Transcript, Respondent's Testimony, Part 3, pp. 495–96, 504, questions 13, 272. According to West's testimony, this was the only time she discussed plural marriage with the Prophet. Ibid., p. 503, questions 264–65.

[47]George D. Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, Appendix B, 623, no. 156.

[48]Joseph Smith also facilitated the plural marriages of Parley P. Pratt to Elizabeth Brotherton ("Affidavit of Mary Ann Pratt," MS 3423, LDS Church History Library) and Heber C. Kimball to Sarah Noon (Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, "Scenes and Incidents in Nauvoo," *Woman's Exponent* 10 [October 15, 1881]: 74).

ing them time to ponder his proposal and pray for guidance.[49] Emily Dow Partridge recalled in 1892 that Joseph Smith approached her when they were alone "and asked me if I could keep a secret, and I told him I thought I could, and then he told me that he would some time if he had an opportunity,—he would tell me something that would be for my benefit, if I would not betray him, and I told him I wouldn't."[50] Despite this introduction, time passed without more developments. Emily continued:

> Well it run along for a good while,—I don't know just how long, and there was no opportunity of saying anything to me more than he had, and one day he sat in the room alone, and I passed through it and he called to me or spoke to me, and called me to him, and then he said that he had intended to tell me something, but he had no opportunity to do so, and so he would write me a letter, if I would agree to burn it as soon as I read it, and with that I looked frightened, for I thought there was something about it that was not just right, and so I told him that I would rather that he would not write to me,—that he would not write me any letter, and then he asked me if I wanted him to say any more, and I said yes, that I did not want to hear anything more about it at all, for I had got a little frightened about it.[51]

Although Emily does not state the reason for her fears, she un-

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[49]A exception may be Helen Mar Kimball whose father, Heber, initiated her introduction to plural marriage and her sealing to the Prophet when she was fourteen. Joseph participated, but his role, if any, in initiating the proceedings is unknown. I conclude, based on my reading of the available evidence, that this plural marriage did not include conjugality. Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, "Scenes in Nauvoo," *Woman's Exponent* 11, no. 5, (August 1, 1882): 39; and her "Scenes in Nauvoo after the Martyrdom of the Prophet and Patriarch," *Woman's Exponent* 11, no. 19 (March 1, 1883): 146; Helen [Mar Kimball Whitney], Letter to Mary Bond, n.d., 3–4, Biographical Folder Collection, P21, f11 [Myron H. Bond], item 22, 23, 24, Community of Christ Archives; Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, "Autobiography, March 30, 1881, MS 744, LDS Church History Library; typescript and copy of holograph reproduced in Holzapfel and Holzapfel, *A Woman's View*, 482–87. See also Stanley B. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 98.

[50]Emily D. P. Young, Deposition, Temple Lot Transcript, Respondent's Testimony, Part 3, p. 350, question 22.

[51]Ibid., question 22.

doubtedly knew that the subject of the letter was plural marriage, even though rumors of Joseph's personal involvement were not then widespread. Over the ensuing months, Emily's feelings changed:

> Well it went in that condition and there was not anything more said about it for several months, not until 1843 I think,—some time in '43, for he had no other opportunity until then and I did not think he would ever say anything more about it until then, but I had thought a great deal about it in that time, and I had prayed for it to know what it was, and if it was my duty. I thought I ought to have listened to it, that is, to what he was going to tell me or write to me, for I was greatly troubled over it, as I feared I had done wrong in not listening to it,—and so I prayed to be enlightened in regard to what I should have done. Well, in time I became convinced that there was nothing wrong about it, and that it would be right for me to hear what he had to say, but there was nothing more said for a good while after I came to that conclusion. I think it was months before there was anything more said about it, but I don't know just how long it was.[52]

Perhaps sensing Emily's change of heart, the Prophet approached her asking for another "opportunity to speak" and she "granted it. . . . He told me then what he wanted to say to me, and he taught me this principle of plural marriage called polygamy now, but we called it celestial marriage, and he told me that this principle had been revealed to him but it was not generally known; and he went on and said that the Lord had given me to him, and he wanted to know if I would consent to a marriage, and I consented."[53]

Elsewhere Emily recalled that the sealing was performed at the Kimball home quickly at the end of a workday, then "Joseph went home his way, and I going my way alone." She added: "A strange way of getting married, wasn't it?"[54]

In 1883, Almera W. Johnson remembered her own protracted experience in learning about plural marriage "in the years 1842 and 1843":

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[52]Ibid.

[53]Ibid., pp. 350–52, questions 22–24. See also Emily Dow Partridge Smith Young, Affidavit, May 1, 1869, Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 1:11, 13.

[54]Emily D. P. Young, Autobiographical Sketch, "Written Especially for My Children, January 7, 1877," Marriott Library, manuscript owned by Emily Young Knopp, copy of typescript in my possession.

> During that time the Prophet Joseph Smith taught me the principle of Celestial Marriage including plurality of wives and asked me to become his wife. He first spoke to me on this subject at the house of my brother Benjamin F. I also lived a portion of the time at Brother Joseph Smith's in Nauvoo, when many conversations passed between him and myself on this subject. . . . At the time this [plural marriage] took place Hyrum Smith, Joseph's brother, came to me and said, I need not be afraid. I had been fearing and doubting about the principle and so had he, but he now knew it was true.[55]

Almera lived several miles east of Nauvoo in Ramus, which would have presented limited opportunities to discuss the principle with Joseph; so the "many conversations" prior to their sealing would have required perhaps many months.

Another account from Lucy Walker is important because it is sometimes misquoted to make it appear that Joseph Smith proposed to her and then immediately imposed a twenty-four-hour ultimatum.[56] Lucy recalled Joseph's telling her: "I have no flattering words to offer. It is a command of God to you. I will give you until tomorrow to decide this matter. If you reject this message the gate will be closed forever against you."[57]

This time limitation was imposed only after Lucy had wavered for many months, possibly as long as a year. She related: "In the year 1842, President Joseph Smith sought an interview with me, and said: 'I have a message for you. I have been commanded of God to take an-

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[55]Almera W. Johnson, Affidavit, August 1, 1883, digital holograph, MS 3423, LDS Church History Library; typescript published in Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage*, 70–71.

[56]See, for example, George D. Smith, "The Forgotten Story of Nauvoo Celestial Marriage," *Journal of Mormon History* 36, no. 4 (Fall 2010): 157. By selectively quoting Lucy Walker's account, George D. Smith makes it appear that Joseph proposed plural marriage to the young woman and immediately gave her a twenty-four-hour ultimatum in which to make her decision; in reality, many months passed between the two events.

[57]Lucy Walker Kimball, "A Brief Biographical Sketch of the Life and Labors of Lucy Walker Kimball Smith," in Lyman Omer Littlefield, comp., *Reminiscences of Latter-day Saints: Giving an Account of Much Individual Suffering Endured for Religious Conscience* (Logan: Utah Journal Co., 1888), 47; see also Lucy W. Kimball's Testimony," in Andrew Jenson, "Plural Marriage," *Historical Record* 6 (July 1887): 229–30.

other wife, and you are the woman.' My astonishment knew no bounds. This announcement was indeed a thunderbolt to me. He asked me if I believed him to be a prophet of God. 'Most assuredly I do,' I replied. He fully explained to me the principle of plural or celestial marriage."[58]

After this initial introduction, Lucy agonized for many months as the Prophet waited. Although Lucy does not give the actual date in 1842 when Joseph gave his original teachings, it was not until April of 1843 that the ultimatum was given so the span of time was at least four months. Lucy related that, during that interim of between four and sixteen months, "I was tempted and tortured beyond endurance until life was not desirable. Oh that the grave would kindly receive me, that I might find rest. . . . Oh, let this bitter cup pass. And thus I prayed in the agony of my soul. The Prophet discerned my sorrow. He saw how unhappy I was." Lucy does not assign a time period to her agitation, but it seems likely that it lasted for a protracted period. It was after witnessing Lucy's distress that Joseph gave Lucy a time limit. Hours after their conversation, she prayed and just before dawn her "room was lighted up by a heavenly influence . . . like the brilliant sun bursting through the darkest cloud. . . . My soul was filled with a calm."[59] She was sealed to Joseph Smith on May 1, 1843.[60]

At least some extant accounts suggest that premarriage interactions between the Prophet and his prospective plural wives usually involved instructions concerning the underlying theological principles either from Joseph or an intermediary. Although no account specifically describes a number of times such instructional visits occurred, it seems likely that understanding the topic would have required several conversations over time. Typical "courting" behaviors such as walks, buggy rides, the exchange of physical affection, or flirtatious conver-

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[58]Littlefield, *Reminiscences of Latter-day Saints*, 46.

[59]Lucy Walker Kimball, "A Brief Biographical Sketch of the Life and Labors of Lucy Walker Kimball Smith," 46; see also Walker's testimony in Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 229–30.

[60]George D. Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 100. See also William Clayton, Statement, February 16, 1874, MS 3423, fd. 1, images 30–36, LDS Church History Library. Lucy Walker testified that the marriage took place in her family's home. Lucy Walker, Deposition, Temple Lot Transcript, Respondent's Testimony, Part 3, p. 462, questions 321–25.

sations, whether publicly or privately, did not occur. In no cases, is there evidence of a quick sealing as a result of mounting passion or attraction.

Rejections of Joseph Smith's Plural Marriage Proposals

Lucy Walker remembered the Prophet's emphasis that plural wives should not be coerced or manipulated: "A woman would have her choice, this was a privilege that could not be denied her."[61] When arranging a marriage for his brother William Smith, Joseph apparently respected this ideal by inviting the woman, Mary Ann Covington, to participate only if she "felt willing to consent to it."[62] Later sealing ceremonies in the Nauvoo Temple required the acknowledgement that all participants were there by their free will and choice, a requirement that likely began with Joseph. The only recorded ceremony sealing Joseph Smith to a plural wife was dictated by revelation to Bishop Newel K. Whitney who pronounced the ceremony marrying his daughter, Sarah Ann Whitney, to the Prophet. It provided the opportunity for her to decline: "You both mutu[al]ly agree calling them by name to be each others companion so long as you both shall live."[63]

Joseph Smith's offers of plural marriage were apparently turned down by at least seven women. The historical record indicates that his preferred response to these rebuffs was to let the matter rest. No evidence of retaliatory excommunications or other vengeful reactions has been found, although twice he sought to counteract allegations he considered untrue.

Benjamin F. Johnson recorded that, when the Prophet "asked me for my youngest sister, Esther M. I told him she was promised in marriage to my wife's brother. He said, 'Well, let them marry, for it

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[61]Lucy Walker Kimball, "A Brief Biographical Sketch of the Life and Labors of Lucy Walker Kimball Smith," 46.

[62]Mary Ann West, Deposition, Temple Lot Transcript, Respondent's Testimony, Part 3, pp. 495–96, 504, questions 13, 272.

[63]Revelation for Newell K. Whitney, July 27, 1842, holograph in LDS Church History Library, quoted in Marquardt, *The Joseph Smith Revelations*, 315–16; see also "Revelations in Addition to Those Found in the LDS Edition of the D&C," *New Mormon Studies: A Comprehensive Resource Library*, CD-ROM (Salt Lake City: Smith Research Associates, 1998).

will all come right.'"[64] In another version of this incident, Johnson recalled that Joseph said: "If your Sister is engaged, it is all right" and then added "in the presence of my family he talked to her on the Subject, but as I had Suspected, She was promised to be married."[65] The counsel Joseph Smith gave to Esther in the family setting is not mentioned, but it appears that there the matter ended. Esther and her future husband were married by Almon Babbit in Nauvoo on April 4, 1844.[66]

In another case, on September 15, 1843, William Clayton recorded an incident regarding Lydia Moon: "He [Joseph Smith] finally asked if I would not give Lydia Moon to him I said I would so far as I had any thing to do in it. He requested me to talk to her."[67] Two days later, Clayton wrote: "I had some talk with Lydia. She seems to receive it kindly but says she has promised her mother not to marry while her mother lives and she thinks she won't."[68] Lydia was not sealed to Joseph.

Another unsuccessful proposal occurred with Sarah Granger Kimball, who was legally married to non-Mormon Hiram Kimball:

> Early in 1842, Joseph Smith taught me the principle of marriage for eternity, and the doctrine of plural marriage. He said that in teaching this he realized that he jeopardized his life; but God had revealed it to him many years before as a privilege with blessings, now God had revealed it again and instructed him to teach with commandment, as the Church could travel (progress) no further without the introduction of this principle. I asked him to teach it to some one else. He looked at me reprovingly and said, "Will you tell me who to teach it to? God required me to teach it to you, and leave you with the responsibility of believing or disbelieving." He said, "I will not cease to pray for you, and if you will seek unto God in prayer, you will not be led into temptation."[69]

Sarah Kimball's reaction certainly snubbed any further action, but Jo-

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[64]Johnson, *My Life's Review*, 96.

[65]Benjamin F. Johnson, Affidavit, March 4, 1870, Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 2:7–8.

[66]Lyndon W. Cook, comp., *Nauvoo Deaths and Marriages, 1839–1845* (Orem, Utah: Grandin Books, 1994), 97.

[67]George D. Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 120.

[68]Ibid., 120.

[69]Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 232.

seph Smith's response was to encourage her and pray for her.

Cordelia C. Morley recounted a similar situation: "In the spring of forty-four, plural marriage was introduced to me by my parents from Joseph Smith, asking their consent and a request to me to be his wife. Imagine if you can my feelings, to be a plural wife, something I never thought I ever could. I knew nothing of such religion and could not accept it. Neither did I." However, Cordelia had second thoughts and was sealed to the Prophet after his death.[70]

Rachel Ivins Grant's biographer records her response to Joseph's request for "an interview. . . . She believed he wished to ask for her hand in plural marriage. Her personal turmoil over this prospect must have been excruciating. . . . Her initial response was offended outrage, and she vowed with untypical shrillness that she would 'sooner go to hell as a virtuous woman than to heaven as a whore.' . . . She refused to meet with Joseph Smith, yet years later she insisted that her faith in Mormonism never wavered."[71] After Joseph's death, Rachel was sealed to Joseph Smith by proxy in the Endowment House in Salt Lake City, on November 29, 1855.[72]

None of these five rejections resulted in any direct or indirect retaliation from Joseph Smith. Had the woman herself not recounted the episode, knowledge about it would have been lost to later generations. This observation is important because John C. Bennett claimed that Joseph Smith would seek to destroy the reputation of any woman who rejected him, an accusation that is commonly repeated.[73] However, he would defend himself against claims he considered to be

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[70]Cordelia Morley Cox, Autobiography, March 17, 1909, 4, holograph, Perry Special Collections.

[71]Rachel R. Grant, quoted in Ronald W. Walker, "Rachel R. Grant: The Continuing Legacy of the Feminine Ideal," in Donald Q. Cannon and David J. Whittaker, eds., *Supporting Saints: Life Stories of Nineteenth-Century Mormons* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1985), 23–24.

[72]Thomas Milton Tinney, *The Royal Family of the Prophet Joseph Smith, Jr.* (Salt Lake City: Tinney-Greene Family Organization, 1973), 12; handwritten entry.

[73]Bennett, *The History of the Saints*, 231 (Sarah Pratt) and 253 (Widow Fuller). See also http://www.i4m.com/think/history/Joseph_Smith_ mens_ wives.htm; http://www.mormoncurtain.com/topic_josephsmithpolyandry polygamy_section2html; and http://www.ldsfreedom.org/node/7 (accessed October 25, 2011).

false, as the cases of Nancy Rigdon and Sarah Bates Pratt demonstrate.[74] My research suggests that Joseph Smith approached Nancy Rigdon in early 1842 with the hope that she would respond favorably. I hypothesize that, through the process, Joseph hoped that Nancy's father, Sidney (Joseph's counselor in the First Presidency), would also accept and support the practice. I suggest that his dictated letter to Nancy beginning "Happiness is the object and design of our existence" may have been written to influence and teach Sidney as much as to convince Nancy.[75] While she did not publicly accuse the Prophet, her brother, writing in 1904, disgustedly told a correspondent that "she like a fool had to go & blab it."[76] Immediately thereafter, Joseph met with the Rigdon family twice. "Matters were satisfactorily adjusted between them and there the matter ended."[77]

However, months later during the summer of 1842, Joseph Smith's estranged counselor, John C. Bennett, published a letter encouraging Nancy "to come out and tell boldly the base attempt on her virtue" in the *Sangamo Journal*, printed in Springfield, Illinois.[78] He reprinted the letter in a book he published later that same year, based on his newspaper letters, in which he dramatically portrayed himself as saving Nancy from being "ensnared by the *Cyprian*

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[74]See Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 314–18; Gary James Bergera, "John C. Bennett, Joseph Smith, and the Beginnings of Mormon Plural Marriage in Nauvoo," *Journal of the John Whitmer Historical Association* 25 (2005) 52–92; Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 29–40. However, new evidence and observations indicate that traditional interpretations are incomplete. See Brian C. Hales, *Joseph Smith's Polygamy. Vol. 1: History* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, forthcoming), chaps. 19–21.

[75]John C. Bennett, "Sixth letter from John C. Bennett," *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield Ill.), August 19, 1842. This letter has been reprinted in Bennett, *The History of the Saints*, 243–45; *History of the Church*, 5:134; and Joseph Fielding Smith, comp. and ed., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976 printing), 256.

[76]John W. Rigdon, Letter to Arthur Willing, Elder, February 20, 1904, Brooklyn, New York, 7–8, MS 14595, LDS Church History Library.

[77]John W. Rigdon quoted in Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage*, 83–84.

[78]John C. Bennett, "Bennett's Second and Third Letters," *Sangamo Journal*, July 15, 1842.

Saints . . . taken in the net of the *chambered Sisters of Charity* . . . [and avoiding] the poisoned arrows of the *Consecratees of the Cloister*."[79] Joseph publicly denied the Bennett version and his imaginary groups of plural wives.[80] Within weeks, Nancy also denounced Bennett's claims through a statement issued by her father, Sidney Rigdon.[81]

The second case concerns Sarah Bates Pratt, the young wife of missionary Orson Pratt. It is not entirely clear what happened; but it seems probable that Joseph discussed plural marriage with her as he had done with others, possibly including the option of being sealed to him. Rather than quietly declining, Sarah made inflammatory accusations that Joseph flatly denied.[82] A review of available manuscripts demonstrates that two stories were then being promoted. The first version, voiced by John C. Bennett and Sarah Pratt, claimed that Joseph tried to seduce her.[83] In the second, voiced by Joseph Smith and other witnesses, Bennett and Sarah were sexually involved and their allegations against Joseph were an attempt to cover up their own im-

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[79]Bennett, *The History of the Saints*, 241.

[80]Joseph Smith, in Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1980), 125; see also *Affidavits and Certificates, Disproving the Statements and Affidavits Contained in John C. Bennett's Letters* (Nauvoo, Ill.: n.pub., August 31, 1842).

[81]Sidney Rigdon, Letter to the editor, August 27, 1842, *The Wasp*, September 3, 1842, 4; rpt. with the salutation "Editor of the Wasp," *Sangamo Journal*, September 16, 1842.

[82]Minutes [of the] Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, January 20, 1843, in Richard E. Turley, ed., *New Mormon Studies: A Comprehensive Resource Library*, CD-ROM (Salt Lake City: Smith Research Associates, 1998).

[83]Bennett, "Bennett's Second and Third Letters," in his *The History of the Saints*, 228–31. See also W. Wyl (pseud. of Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal), *Mormon Portraits: or the Truth about Mormon Leaders from 1830 to 1886* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing, 1886), 61. See also [unidentified author], "Workings of Mormonism related by Mrs. Orson Pratt," holograph, 1–3, Ms 4048, LDS Church History Library. The level of input given by Sarah Pratt, if she was involved at all, is unclear. The writer mistakenly substitutes the surname "Hyde" for "Pratt" in six different places, three times correcting it and three times not, an error Pratt herself would not have made and would have quickly corrected if she had read the document.

morality.[84] Affidavits were printed by both sides, with charges and counter-charges being launched in multiple volleys. Joseph later confided to Orson Pratt, Sarah's husband, that Sarah "lied about me," adding "I never made the offer which she said I did."[85] Orson later testified that Joseph had told the truth.[86]

Reviewing Joseph Smith's actions in the cases of Nancy Rigdon and Sarah Pratt and comparing them to his calm response when he was rebuffed by Esther M. Johnson, Lydia Moon, Sarah Granger Kimball, Cordelia C. Morley, and Rachel Ivins suggests that, if Nancy and Sarah had kept silent concerning their interviews with Joseph Smith, the public scandals that followed would have been avoided.

JOSEPH SMITH QUIETLY ALLOWED FOR ONE DIVORCE

In the spring of 1843 Joseph Smith was sealed to Flora Ann Woodruff and thereafter presented her with a gold watch.[87] On August 23, 1843, William Clayton reported in his journal a conflict between Emma and Flora Ann: "President Joseph told me that he had

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[84]"Affidavit of J. B. Backenstos," in *Affidavits and Certificates, Disproving the Statements and Affidavits Contained in John C. Bennett's Letters* (Nauvoo, Ill., August 31, 1842); Stephen H. Goddard, Letter to Orson Pratt, July 23, 1842, in *Affidavits and Certificates, Disproving the Statements and Affidavits Contained in John C. Bennett's Letters* (Nauvoo, Ill., August 31, 1842). See also Ebenezer Robinson, "Dr. John C. Bennett Attempts Suicide: Elder Orson Pratt Temporarily Insane," *The Return* (St. Louis), 1, no. 11 (November 1890): 362–63; John D. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled* (St. Louis: Byron, Brand, 1877), 148; Nelson Winch Green, *Fifteen Years among the Mormons: Being the Narrative of Mrs. Mary Ettie V. Smith* (New York: Kessinger Publishing, 1860), 31.

[85]Minutes, of the Quorum of the Twelve, January 20, 1843; see also Richard S. Van Wagoner, "Sarah M. Pratt: The Shaping of an Apostate," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19 (Summer 1986): 80.

[86]Orson Pratt interviewed by Sydney Rigdon in Sydney Rigdon, "Tour East," *Messenger and Advocate of the Church of Christ* (Pittsburgh), 2, no. 2 (December 1845): 1.

[87]No record exists of the exact date of the marriage or when Joseph gave Flora Ann the watch. However, a possible date for their sealing is March 4, 1843. The last line of the Prophet's diary entry for that date appears to have been "Woodworth," which is crossed out and is difficult to discern. Yet the name "Woodworth" reappears interlineally above in short-

difficulty with Emma yesterday. She rode up to Woodworths with him and called while he came to the Temple. When he returned she was demanding the gold watch of Flora [Woodworth]. He reproved her for her evil treatment. On their return home she abused him much."[88] Seymour B. Young, a member of the First Council of Seventy in 1883 and the son of Joseph Young, brother to Brigham, recorded a second-hand account in 1912 that Joseph Smith had "given a gold locket or watch [to Flora] which was stamped under foot by Emma." If this foot-stamping incident actually occurred, it was probably during the better-documented confrontation.[89] Flora reacted radically to the quarrel by marrying Carlos Gove, a nonmember, the very next day.[90]

Malissa Lott recalled in 1887: "Flora Ann Woodworth . . . mar-

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hand. Turley, *Selected Collections*, Vol. 1, DVD #20. See also Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 327, xviii. The Prophet may also have given a gold watch to Eliza R. Snow. Mary Ann Boice, in John Boice and Mary Ann [Barzee] Boice, "Record," 174, MS 8883, microfilm of manuscript, LDS Church History Library, reported that she was "acquainted with Eliza R. Snow Smith, his [Joseph Smith's] wife and saw his gold watch which she carries."

[88]George D. Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 119.

[89]Seymour B. Young, Journal, April 2, 1912, LDS Church History Library, restricted; excerpt in D. Michael Quinn Papers, Addition, Uncat WA MS 244 (Accession:19990209-c), Box 1, Card file, Topic: Polygamy, Joseph Smith's.

[90]Flora Woodworth, Marriage to Carlos Gove, August 23, 1843, in Tri-County Genealogical Society, comp., *Hancock County, Marriage Index, 1829–49* (Augusta, Ill.: Tri-County Genealogical Society, 1983), 19. Helen Mar Kimball recounted a different sequence: "A young man boarding at her father's *after the death of Joseph* not a member of the Church had sought her hand, in time won her heart, and in a reckless moment she was induced to accept his offer and they eloped to Carthage, accompanied by a young lady friend, and were there married by a Justice of the Peace." Helen Mar [Kimball] Whitney, "Travels beyond the Mississippi," *Woman's Exponent* 13, no. 11 (November 1, 1884): 87; emphasis mine. This marriage is not listed in Lyndon Cook, *Nauvoo Deaths and Marriages, 1839–1845* (Orem, Utah: Grandin Book, 1994), possibly because his marriage records are extracted

ried Carlos Gove at Navoo with the consent of the Prophet."[91] Malissa does not specify whether the "consent" was granted before or after Flora's legal marriage to Gove; but after witnessing Emma's confrontation with Flora, Joseph may have returned to the Woodworth home that very evening to discuss the situation. Regardless, he allowed Flora to separate from him without any public repercussions. It seems unlikely but not impossible that Joseph Smith dissolved their plural marriage before Flora legally married Gove. Years earlier in Kirtland, Fanny Alger, whom I see as Joseph's only pre-Nauvoo plural wife, had married a nonmember; but whether Joseph authorized the termination of their marriage is unknown.[92] Flora's eternal sealing to the Prophet may also have been cancelled. She was not one of the twenty-nine women who were sealed by proxy to Joseph Smith in the Nauvoo Temple in 1846.[93]

On a sheet of notes that Jenson created in late 1886 or early 1887, he recorded: "She [Flora Ann Woodword] regretted her last marriage, her husband being an unbeliever, and intended to cling to the Prophet."[94] Helen Mar Kimball Whitney had earlier chronicled: "Flora was never happy with him [Gove] as he hated the Mormons, and she felt condemned for the rash step she had taken. She made this confession to me while I was nursing her, and said she desired to cling to Joseph hereafter. . . . She still expressed herself as strong in the faith of the Gospel, also her great desire to cleave to the Prophet. I never saw her again as she died at that place [Winter

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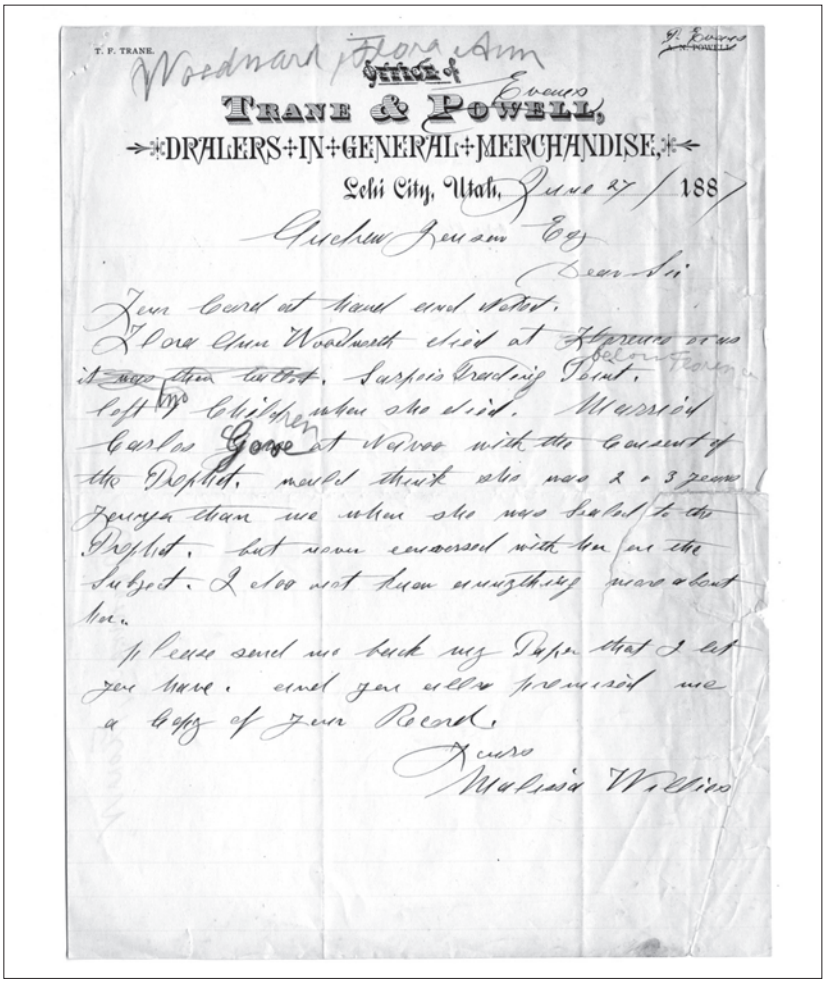
from Church publications and records.

[91]Letter of Malissa Willis to Andrew Jenson, June 27, 1887, in Andrew Jenson Papers (ca. 1871–1942), MS 17956, Document #14, Box 49, fd. 16, LDS Church History Library (hereafter cited by title, document, box, and folder number).

[92]Don Bradley, "Mormon Polygamy before Nauvoo? The Relationship of Joseph Smith and Fanny Alger," in Newell G. Bringhurst and Craig L. Foster, eds., *The Persistence of Polygamy: Joseph Smith and the Origins of Mormon Polygamy* (Independence: John Whitmer Books, 2010), 14–58.

[93]Tinney, *The Royal Family of the Prophet Joseph Smith, Jr.*, 8–12. A proxy sealing was performed for her and Joseph Smith in the Salt Lake Temple in 1899 under the direction of Lorenzo Snow. Ibid., 41.

[94]Andrew Jenson, Document #13, "Flora Ann Woodworth biographical information sheet," in Jenson, Papers, Box 49, fd. 16, Document #13.



T. F. TRANE. G. Evans

Woodward Flora Ann

Office of Evans

TRANE & POWELL,

DEALERS IN GENERAL MERCHANDISE.

Lehi City, Utah, June 27 / 188 7

Andrew Jenson Esq

Dear Sir

Your Card at hand and noted.

Flora Ann Woodworth died at Sarpsis Trading Point, below Florence left two children when she died. Married Carlos Gove at Navoo with the Consent of the Prophet. would think she was 2 or 3 years younger than me when she was Sealed to the Prophet, but never conversed with her on the Subject. I doo not know annything more about her.

Please send me back my Paper that I let you have, and you alls promised me a copy of your Record.

Yours

Malissa Willes

Written on the letterhead of "Trane & Powell, Dealers in General Merchandise," Lehi, and dated June 27, 1887, certainly a bittersweet date, this letter from Malissa Lott Willes to Andrew Jenson reads: " . . . Andrew Jenson Esq. Dear Sir[:] Your card at hand and noted. Flora Ann Woodworth died at Sarpse's [?] Trading Point ^below Florence^, left ^two^ 1 child^ren^ when she died. Married Carlos Gove at Navoo [sic] with the consent of the Prophet. [W]ould think she was 2 or 3 years younger than me when she was sealed to the Prophet but never conversed with her on the subject. I doo not know annything more about her. Please send me back my Paper that I let you have, and you alls [sic] promised me a copy of your Record. [signed] Malissa Willes." Courtesy of the LDS Church History Library.

Quarters], leaving two or three children."[95] Flora Ann's desire to "cling" and "cleave" to the Prophet could be references to an eternal sealing.

These newly discovered evidences concerning Flora Ann Woodworth's plural marriage with Joseph Smith and subsequent separation from him seem to describe real people stumbling as they confront a very difficult religious principle. Emma's frustrations and Flora's apparent hasty reaction no doubt brought sorrow to the Prophet who sought a private resolution, even if a religious divorce (or "cancellation" in modern terminology) was required. No additional evidence has been found to support other divorces in Joseph Smith's plural marriages.

JOSEPH SMITH CONSIDERED HIMSELF A GENUINE HUSBAND TO HIS PLURAL WIVES

In Nauvoo in 1841, John C. Bennett secretly promoted his "spiritual wifery" (actually adultery) at the same time that Joseph Smith was introducing eternal and plural marriage.[96] The two systems differed in many ways, but one significant difference was that "spiritual wifery" did not create genuine married couples. Bennett performed no ceremonies; neither did he teach that marriage vows were needed prior to conjugal relations. It seems that Bennett's "spiritual wives" were "wives" primarily in the sense that they had shared a bed with their spiritual husband, but afterwards, no marital obligations or responsibilities existed. Catherine Fuller testified to the Nauvoo High Council that Bennett propositioned her for sex in May of 1841, only a week after they first met, and that she yielded; but after the sexual act, no commitment existed between them. She also testified that another of Bennett's followers, nonmember "J. B. Backenstos has also been at my house . . . gave me two dollars."[97]

In contrast, existing documents support the view that Joseph

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[95]Whitney, "Travels beyond the Mississippi," 87.

[96]See Brian C. Hales, "John C. Bennett and Joseph Smith's Polygamy: Addressing the Question of Reliability," *Journal of Mormon History*, forthcoming.

[97]Catherine Fuller, Testimony before the Nauvoo High Council, May 25, 1842, copy of holograph, in Valeen Tippetts Avery Collection, MSS 316, Box 24, fd. 14, Merrill-Cazier Library, Utah State University.

Smith always required a priesthood sealing ordinance to create an eternal marriage, either monogamous or polygamous. Thereafter, the man and the woman were married with all the obligations incumbent upon husbands and wives including the revelation that specified: "Women have claim on their husbands for their maintenance" (D&C 83:2).

While little is known concerning Joseph Smith's day-to-day interactions with his plural wives, the historical record indicates that he treated them as genuine spouses and that they viewed him as their eternal husband. Detailed analysis of the living conditions experienced by all thirty-four of Joseph Smith's plural wives in Nauvoo is impossible due to a lack of documentation. However, available evidence indicates that the Prophet accepted his husbandly responsibilities seriously. Historians Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery wrote: "No evidence exists that [Joseph Smith] assumed the support of his wives in the traditional sense of providing them with food, clothing, and shelter, except for the young women in his house." That is, Joseph's plural wives did not all live together either in his house or in a harem-like setting. However, Newell and Avery also note that their material needs were met: "Some remained with their parents; others lived with other plural wives; a few lived with other families where plural marriage was also practiced. Their personal accounts attest that, for the most part, they felt Joseph cared for them deeply and they felt important to him."[98] Typically the Prophet would arrange for the woman to live with a friend, relative, or other provider, thus allowing their material needs to be met. His friends were willing to lend support and keep secrets.

Reportedly, Joseph asked members of the Quorum of the Twelve to marry and care for his widows in the event of his death.[99] Oa J. Cannon, a descendant of Zina D. H. Young and her first husband, Henry Jacobs, and an energetic family historian, wrote: "There is a family tradition that Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and the rest of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles approached the widows of Joseph Smith and offered themselves as husbands. Smith reportedly had asked the apos-

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[98]Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1984), 147.

[99]Brigham Young told Amanda Barnes (who had married two men, both named Warren Smith) that if she had been a plural wife of Joseph Smith, "in Nauvoo, I would have taken you into my family as I did others of

tles to do this if he should die." Cannon added, "Thus Young and Kimball, in approaching Smith's wives, were not simply adding numerous wives to their own polygamous families as quickly as possible; they may have been acting out of a sense of responsibility to their fallen leader."[100] If this tradition is true, it would constitute additional evidence that the Prophet considered his plural wives to be genuine spouses for whom he felt real concern and obligation.

JOSEPH SMITH'S POSSIBLE MOTIVATIONS FOR MARRYING PLURAL WIVES

It appears that during the thirty-one months between April 1841 and November of 1843, Joseph Smith was sealed to thirty-three plural wives; including Fanny Alger married in Kirtland, most probably in 1835, the total is thirty-four.[101] Todd Compton, who wrote biographies of most of those wives, asks a logical question: "One may won-

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the Prophet's wives." Amanda Barnes Smith, quoted in Hulda Cordelia Thurston Smith, "O My Children and Grandchildren," *Nauvoo Journal*, 4 (1992) 7. Catherine Lewis recalled: "The Apostles said they only took Joseph's wives to raise up children, carry them through to the next world, there deliver them up to him, by so doing they should gain his approbation, &c." Catherine Lewis, *Narrative of Some of the Proceedings of the Mormons; Giving an Account of Their Iniquities* (Lynn, Mass: Catherine Lewis, 1848), 19.

[100]Oa J. Cannon, "Zina Diantha Huntington Young," 23, n.d., LDS Church History Library.

[101]Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 4–7, identifies thirty-three plural wives. I agree with his list; and with the help of H. Michael Marquardt, have added one more plural wife, Esther Dutcher (1811–56). See Daniel H. Wells, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, June 25, 1888, MS 1325, Box 16, fd. 9, LDS Church History Library. I would identify Joseph Smith plural wives as Fanny Alger, Patty Bartlett, Louisa Beaman, Agnes M. Coolbrith, Elivira Cowles, Elizabeth Davis, Esther Dutcher, Hannah Ells, Olive G. Frost, Desdemona Fullmer, Presendia Huntington, Zina D. Huntington, Almera Johnson, Delcena Johnson, Marinda N. Johnson, Sarah Kingsley, Helen Mar Kimball, Maria Lawrence, Sarah Lawrence, Malissa Lott, Martha McBride, Eliza Maria Partridge, Emily Dow Partridge, Lucinda Pendleton, Rhoda Richards, Mary E. Rollins, Sylvia Sessions, Eliza R. Snow, Ruth Vose, Lucy Walker, Sarah Ann Whitney, Nancy M. Winchester, Flora Ann Woodworth, and Fanny Young.

der why Smith married so many women when two or three wives would have complied with the reported divine command to enter polygamy."[102]

As discussed above, several witnesses recorded Joseph Smith's references to a sword-bearing angel commanding him to practice plural marriage. However, these accounts include no specific details about the angelic requirement. Did the angel give a specific or desired number of wives (at least five? at least ten?)? Would "eternity-only" sealings suffice? Was Joseph expected to have children with his plural wives (or at least to try)? Precise answers to these questions are unavailable. The various recollections state that the angel demanded the Prophet to "establish that principle upon the earth,"[103] to be "obedient,"[104] to "proceed to fulfill the law that had been given to him,"[105] to no "longer delay fulfilling that Command,"[106] to "move forward and establish plural marriage,"[107] "to have women sealed to him as wives . . . and obey the commandment."[108] Apparently, specific instructions were not included regarding the number and possible advantages of more wives. If the angel imparted such information, the Prophet apparently did not share it with his associates and wives.

Besides an angelic admonition, several other motivations have been hypothesized:

1. Joseph's libido required expanded sexual license.

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[102]Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 10.

[103]Zina D. H. Smith, Statement, December 23, 1894; see also Brian H. Stuy, comp and ed., *Collected Discourses Delivered by Wilford Woodruff, His Two Counselors, the Twelve Apostles, and Others, 1886–1889*, 5 vols. (Burbank, Calif.: BHS Publishing, 1987–92), 5:31.

[104]Helen Mar [Kimball] Whitney, *Plural Marriage as Taught by the Prophet Joseph: A Reply to Joseph Smith [III], Editor of the Lamoni, Iowa "Herald"* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1882), 13.

[105]Benjamin F. Johnson, Affidavit, March 4, 1870, Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 2:8; MS 3423, fd 5. See also Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 222.

[106]Zimmerman, *I Knew the Prophets*, 43.

[107]Eliza R. Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow*, 69–70.

[108]Lorenzo Snow, Affidavit, August 18, 1869, Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 2:19, MS 3423, fd. 5; see also Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 222.

2. He felt physical attraction and/or romantic love for these women.

3. More wives would bring greater exaltation.

4. Such sealings would create dynastic connections with an expanding circle of male believers.

5. He would serve as a proxy husband for women whose husbands were on missions or who preferred Joseph to their legal spouses.

6. He had made premortal promises with some of these women to marry them in mortality.

7. Women sought to be sealed to him and he did not refuse.

Libido and Expanded Sexual License

Although I have not made an actual count, in my reading of historical treatises that mention Joseph Smith's polygamy, the overwhelming majority of the authors assume that his libido was the primary motivator. These authors usually assume that either consciously or unconsciously, Joseph desired to expand his sexual opportunities and employed plural marriage as a doctrinal means to that end.

My current research identifies only four plural marriages (Emily D. Partridge, Almera Johnson, Lucy Walker, and Malissa Lott) that provide first-hand accounts of a sexual component.[109] Credible second-hand evidence exists for an additional seven (Fanny Alger, Louisa Beaman, Eliza D. Partridge, Sylvia Sessions, Olive Frost, and Maria and Sarah Lawrence), for a total of eleven. Ambiguous documentation is available for another three, but credible evidence is lacking or unpersuasive for the remaining twenty, who can be grouped as follows: (1) women sealed for the next life only; (2) sealings to two fourteen-year-olds; and (3) sealings to women who were civilly married and experiencing connubial relations

[109]Zina Huntington is sometimes misquoted as saying she was Joseph Smith's wife "in very deed." Martha Sonntag Bradley and Mary Brown Firmage Woodward, *Four Zinas: A Story of Mothers and Daughters on the Mormon Frontier* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2000), 114–15. In fact, no documentary evidence exists attributing this quotation to Zina. It apparently has been confused with the testimony of Malissa Lott, who, when asked if she were Joseph Smith's wife "in very deed," responded in the affirmative. See Malissa Willes, Notarized Statement, August 4, 1893, in possession of Myrtle Willes Bailey (granddaughter of Malissa Lott Smith Willes), typescript sent to Raymond Bailey on December 11, 1949, and qtd. in Raymond T. Bailey, "Emma Hale: Wife of the Prophet Joseph Smith" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1952), 99–100.

with their legal husbands. Evidence for sexual relations with women to whom he was not married is also lacking.

Even though Joseph Smith taught that sexual relations were justified and expected in polygamous unions "to multiply and replenish the earth" (D&C 132:63), having children was not the primary reason for plurality in his theology. Rather, he gave three reasons for plurality: (1) to restore Old Testament plural marriage as part of the "restitution of all things" (Acts 3:19);[110] (2) to provide physical bodies for noble premortal spirits;[111] and (3) to allow all worthy women to be sealed to a worthy spouse, making them candidates for exaltation (D&C 132:15–17, 19–20). This final reason is the one with the greatest eternal significance. Under other circumstances, the importance of having children may have expanded; but it does not appear that conjugal interactions were a common occurrence in the Prophet's life in Nauvoo. Opportunities to spend intimate time with his plural wives would have been limited by many factors, including his parenting responsibilities at the Homestead and the Nauvoo Mansion, his care for his widowed mother, his duties as Church president, his obligations as mayor and chief judge of the Nauvoo Municipal Court, his role as lieutenant general of the Nauvoo Legion, the constant need for secrecy, and the scrutiny of dissenters and unbelievers. Emma's vigilant and mostly intolerant eyes would have been another significant deterrent. Emily Partridge recalled:

> We [Emily and Eliza Partridge] were sealed in her [Emma's] presence with her full and free consent. It was the 11th of May, [1842?] but before the day was over she turned around or repented of what she had done and kept Joseph up till very late in the night talking to him. She kept close watch of us. If we were missing for a few minutes, and Joseph was not at home, the house was searched from top to bottom and from one end to the other, and if we were not found, the neighborhood was

[110]Joseph A. Kelting, "Statement," loose sheet in Joseph F. Smith, Affidavits, Ms 3423, fd. 2, images 11–16a.

[111]Oliver Preston Robinson ed., *History of Joseph Lee Robinson* (N.p.: n.pub., 2007), 30. Although no publisher is identified, it mentions an online company, "History Comes Home," but several online companies use that name. Also available at http://www.scribd.com/doc/16632700/History-of-Joseph-Lee-Robinson (accessed January 23, 2011).

searched until we were found.[112]

In a recollection probably penned in 1853, Joseph Lee Robinson recorded:

> Ebenezer [Robinson]'s wife, [Angeline], had some time before this . . . watched Brother Joseph the prophet and had seen him go into some house and that she had reported to Sister Emma, the wife of the prophet. It was at a time when she was very suspicious and jealous of him for fear he would get another wife, for she knew the prophet had a revelation on that subject. She (Emma) was determined he should not get another, if he did she was determined to leave and when she heard this, she, Emma, became very angry and said she would leave.[113]

I interpret the available evidence as demonstrating that Joseph and Emma lived an outwardly monogamous lifestyle, especially during the last eight months of his life. That sexual relations with plural wives were uncommon is supported by the fact that only Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, speaking late in life when she was eighty-two, reported about Joseph's children conceived with plural wives: "I know he [Joseph Smith] had three children. They told me. I think two are living today but they are not known as his children as they go by other names."[114] On another occasion, she declared: "I don't know about his having children, but I heard of three that he was the father of."[115]

Assuming that Mary Elizabeth had been correctly informed and, furthermore, was reporting her information correctly, who were these two or possibly three children? The first and, at this point, most probable is Josephine Lyon Fisher. Sylvia Sessions Lyon, one of Joseph's plural wives, was legally married to Windsor

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[112]Emily Dow Partridge Young, "Incidents in the Early Life of Emily Dow Partridge," 5, MS d 2845, fd. 1, typescript in my possession; also in Marriott Library, Special Collections. See also Emily D. P. Young, autobiographical sketch, "Written Especially for My Children, January 7, 1877."

[113]Oliver Preston Robinson, ed., *History of Joseph Lee Robinson*, 54.

[114]Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, "Remarks at Brigham Young University, April 14, 1905," Vault, MSS 363, fd. 6, Perry Special Collections. Mary Ann Barzee Boice stated in her "History," that "some" of Joseph Smith's plural wives "had children." Excerpt in Quinn Papers, WA MS 244 [Accession:19990209-c] box 1.)

[115]Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, quoted in J. D. Stead, *Doctrines and Dogmas of Brighamism Exposed* (Lamoni, Iowa: RLDS Church, 1911), 218.

Lyon in Nauvoo. She gave birth to a daughter, Josephine, on February 8, 1844.[116] In 1905, Angus Cannon, president of Salt Lake Stake and a brother of George Q. Cannon, received a visit from Joseph Smith III, oldest surviving son of Joseph and Emma and president of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints:

> Before we parted . . . I said, "Joseph, you have asked where is the issue in evidence of your father's having married plural wives." I will now refer you to one case where it was said by the girl's grandmother that your father has a daughter born of a plural wife. The girl's grandmother was Mother [Patty Bartlett] Sessions, who lived in Nauvoo and died here in the valley. She [Josephine] was the grand-daughter of Mother Sessions. That girl, I believe, is living today in Bountiful, north of this city. I heard Prest. Young, a short time before his death, refer to the report and remark that he had never seen the girl, but he would like to see her for himself, that he might determine if she bore any likeness to your father. Joseph hereupon said, "Did you ever go and see her?" "No sir, I did not." "Then there is where you have not done what you ought to have done. You should have gone to see her for yourself, and so satisfied your own mind."[117]

The second possible child was born to Olive Frost and either did not live long or may possibly have been born too prematurely to survive.[118] The identity of a third child remains unknown, if in fact a third child fathered by Joseph was born.[119]

The Prophet was virile, having fathered nine children with Emma despite their long periods of separation and challenging sched-

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[116]Josephine R. Fisher, Affidavit, February 24, 1915, Ms 3423, fd. 1, images 48–49, LDS Church History Library; see also Bachman, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage," 141; Richard S. Van Wagoner, "Mormon Polyandry in Nauvoo," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18, no. 3 (Fall 1985): 78 note 12.

[117]Angus Munn Cannon, "Statement of an Interview with Joseph Smith, III, 1905," regarding a conversation on October 12, 1905, MS 3166, LDS Church History Library.

[118]Joseph E. Robinson, Diary, October 26, 1902, MS 7866, LDS Church History Library; see also James Whitehead, interviewed by Joseph Smith III, April 20, 1885, handwritten notes in possession of John Hajicek. Olive Frost died October 6, 1845.

ules.[120] Most of Joseph Smith's plural wives were young and most had children with their other husbands; therefore, they were capable of conception if the timing was right. A review of their childbearing chronology after his death and their remarriages demonstrates impressive fertility in several of the women. Most of them married within two years after the martyrdom and prior to the Saints leaving for the West. Three of the women became pregnant within weeks after remarrying. Sarah Ann Whitney who was sealed to Joseph Smith for twenty-three months (before his death), remarried Heber C. Kimball on March 17, 1845, and, based on the birth date of their first child (David Kimball, born March 8, 1846), became pregnant approximately June 15. She bore Heber Kimball seven children between 1846 and 1858. Lucy Walker who was sealed to the Prophet for fourteen months also married Kimball. About three months after their February 8, 1845, marriage, she became

[119]My research has identified eighteen additional alleged children of Joseph Smith, but evidence is in each case is problematic. See http://www.josephsmithspolygamy.com/images/ChartJSPossibleChildren.html (accessed February 13, 2011). See also Ugo A. Perego, "Joseph Smith, the Question of Polygamous Offspring, and DNA Analysis," in Newell G. Bringhurst and Craig L. Foster, eds., *The Persistence of Polygamy: Joseph Smith and the Origins of Mormon Polygamy* (Independence, Mo.: John Whitmer Books, 2010), 233–56. Charges that Joseph Smith used contraceptives or abortion to limit plural pregnancies have been made by Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 346, and Wyl, *Mormon Portraits*, 59; but I have found no evidence to support these suppositions.

[120]Alvin (June 15, 1828–June 15, 1828); twins Thaddeus and Louisa (April 30, 1831–April 30, 1831); Joseph III (November 6, 1832–December 10, 1914); Frederick Granger Williams (June 29, 1836–April 13, 1862); Alexander Hale (June 2, 1838–August 12, 1909); Don Carlos Smith (1840, died at fourteen months); David Hyrum Smith (November 17, 1844–August 29, 1904). A misreading of Joseph Smith's journal for December 26, 1842, has resulted in the interpretation that Emma suffered a miscarriage that day. The *History of the Church*, 5:209, records: "I found my wife Emma sick. She was delivered of a son, which did not survive its birth." The original text indicates that this passage should read: "Sister Emma sick, had another chill." Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record*, 258.

pregnant.[121] She gave birth to nine of Kimball's children between 1846 and 1864. Malissa Lott who was sealed to Joseph Smith in September 1843 married Ira Jones Willes on May 13, 1849. Their first child was born April 22, 1850, with conception approximately July 30, 1849 (or eleven weeks after the wedding ceremony). Seven Willes children were born between 1850 and 1863. Emily Partridge bore Brigham Young seven offspring between 1845 and 1862. Her sister Eliza married Amasa Lyman, and together they had five children between 1844 and 1860. Several other plural wives like Louisa Beaman, Martha McBride, and Nancy Winchester also remarried and became pregnant. In light of the obvious ability of many of Joseph Smith's plural wives to conceive, it seems that either they bore him children who are unknown today or that sexual relations in the marriages did not occur often.

Both defenders and critics of Joseph Smith's plural marriages have affirmed sexual relations were included and therefore that the birth of children was a possibility. They hypothesized that such children may have been kept secret because of the obvious dangers to Joseph if the existence of the practice were known because it violated state anti-bigamy laws and he may have been incarcerated. Decades after the martyrdom when RLDS Church missionaries were claiming that Joseph Smith was not a polygamist, Utah Church authorities aggressively combatted their claims.[122] It seems likely that, had they known of any children fathered by the Prophet with his plural wives, they would have publicly acknowledged these children to refute RLDS denials; but except for Angus Cannon's conversation with Joseph III quoted above, such efforts are virtually nonexistent.

Polygamous husbands, living when polygamy is illegal and/or unacceptable, face unique challenges as they try to have children with their plural wives. A point arrives at which adding new plural wives does not increase sexual opportunities, because the limiting factor is the man's ability to safely schedule an intimate rendezvous. Such dynamics were almost certainly present in the Prophet's complicated life, so additional sealings beyond a certain point would

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[121]Rachel Sylvia Kimball was born January 28, 1846, with conception approximately May 7, 1845.

[122]Joseph F. Smith, Affidavits, fds. 1–2, Ms 3423, and Affidavit Books 1–4, LDS Church History Library; "Our Own Correspondent," "The Mormon Church War," *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), September 1, 1869.

have brought only minimal increases in his sexual opportunities.

Physical Attraction and/or Romantic Love?

A reasonable question is whether romantic or physical attraction influenced Joseph's decisions about identifying candidate wives; but like most detailed questions regarding Joseph's plural marriages, documentation is skimpy to nonexistent. Lucy Walker recalled that Joseph "often referred to the feelings that should exist between husband and wives, that they, his wives, should be his bosom companions, the nearest and dearest objects on earth in every sense of the word. He said men must beware how they treat their wives."[123] However, Lucy also testified that her sealing to Joseph Smith "was not a love matter."[124] "The Prophet . . . explained it to her, that it was not for voluptuous love."[125] "Men did not take polygamous wives because they loved them or fancied them or because they were voluptuous, but because it was a command of God."[126]

It seems probable that emotional and physical attraction played a part in some of Joseph's plural relationships. It would have been more surprising that such attractions were absent than that they were present. Within Joseph's expanding understanding that God permitted and even commanded plural marriage, then loving feelings and/or physical attraction would have been an acceptable and moral component of such sealings.

More Wives Brings Greater Exaltation

Another possible motive compelling Joseph Smith to marry more wives than two or three is the idea that having more wives brings

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[123]Lucy Walker, "A Brief Biographical Sketch of the Life and Labors of Lucy Walker Kimball Smith," 45–46.

[124]Lucy Walker, Deposition, Temple Lot Transcript, Respondent's Testimony, Part 3, pp. 450, 470, questions 29, 528. William Smith's plural wife Mary Ann West declared that there was no courtship prior to her polygamous marriage. Mary Ann West, Deposition, Temple Lot Transcript, Respondent's Testimony, Part 3, pp. 506, question 333.

[125]"In Honor of Joseph Smith: Anniversary of his Birth Celebrated in the Sixteenth Ward," *Deseret Evening News*, December 25, 1899, 2.

[126]Lucy Walker, "Talks of Polygamy," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 24, 1899.

an eternal benefit. That is, after the resurrection, the man with the most wives will possess more glory, or more exaltation, or more blessings, or will enjoy an advantage over all men with fewer wives. Many different authors have declared or implied that this was an official teaching of the Prophet. For example, in 1849, John Thomas, M.D., President of the South and East Medical College of Virginia, published *Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Dispersion of the Mormons*, and concluded: "Here is the secret of the Spiritual Wife Doctrine: Their kingdom is to consist in their own posterity, and the more wives the greater opportunity of getting a large kingdom."[127] Eight years later, excommunicated Church member John Hyde Jr. claimed: "Mormonism teaches . . . that men's positions here determine their stations hereafter, and as a man can only rule over his family, then, no wife, no family; many wives, much family; much family, much glory; therefore, many wives, much glory and as the selfish desire for glory is the only incentive of Mormon action, so, therefore, he tries to get as many wives as he can."[128]

In an attempt to write an "unbiased" history of the Latter-day Saints, author James H. Kennedy asserted in 1888: "A man's or woman's glory in eternity, is to depend upon the size of . . . her husband's rank in eternity [which] must greatly depend upon the number of his wives, and she will share in that glory whatever it is."[129] Harry M. Beardsley, in his 1931 *Joseph Smith and His Mormon Empire*, commented that a "man's 'kingdom' or celestial glory depended upon the size of his family."[130]

Some Church members also accepted this belief. The most commonly quoted statement is from Benjamin F. Johnson who wrote in

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[127]John Thomas, *Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Dispersion of the Mormons* (London: Arthur Hall, 1849), 21. British poet, songwriter, historian, and journalist Charles Mackay quoted Thomas's statement verbatim in his illustrated *The Mormons or Latter-day Saints: With Memoirs of the Life and Death of Joseph Smith, the American Mahomet* (London: Office of the National Illustrated Library, 1851), 312. See also Leonard J. Arrington, "Charles Mackay and His 'True and Impartial History' of the Mormons," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36 (Winter 1968): 24–40.

[128]John Hyde, *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs* (New York: W. P. Fetridge & Company, 1857), 55.

[129]James H. Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism: Palmyra, Kirtland, and Nauvoo* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1888), 273.

1903: "The Prophet taught us that Dominion & powr in the great Future would be Comensurate with the no of 'Wives Childin & Friends' that we inheret here and that our great mission to earth was to Organize a Neculi of Heaven to take with us. To the increase of which there would be no end."[131] This quotation is very late, made when he was eighty-five, and the term "inheret here" is somewhat ambiguous. Similarly, Joseph Fielding recorded in his Nauvoo diary: "I understand that a man's dominion will be as God's is, over his own creatures and the more numerous they, the greater his dominion."[132] Fielding's reference to "his own creatures" might also include the number of a man's plural wives. Another example is John Smith (1832–1911), fifth presiding patriarch to the Church (1855–1911). Neither he nor his wife, Hellen Fisher Smith, had any desire to enter plural marriage. Nevertheless, John eventually married a second wife, twenty-three-year-old Nancy Melissa Lemmon, on February 18, 1857. By letter, Hellen expressed her distaste for polygamy to her brother-in-law: "Well, John has got another wife, perhaps you know her, her name is Milisa Lemins. Dear Joseph it was a trial to me but thank the Lord it is over with. . . . I care not how many he gits now, the ice is broke as the old saing is, the more the greater glory."[133]

Besides these individuals, "Mormon fundamentalist" polygamists have also promoted this concept since the 1930s.[134] Some historians have also accepted this interpretation. Martha Sonntag Bradley

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[130]Harry M. Beardsley, *Joseph Smith and His Mormon Empire* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1931), 298.

[131]Johnson, Letter to George Gibbs, 1903, published in Zimmerman, *I Knew the Prophets*, 47.

[132]Andrew F. Ehat, ed., "'They Might Have Known That He Was Not a Fallen Prophet': The Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," *BYU Studies* 19 (Winter 1979): 154.

[133]Hellen Smith, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, April 4, 1857, in Eldred G. Smith Personal Records, quoted in Irene M. Bates and E. Gary Smith, *Lost Legacy: The Mormon Office of Presiding Patriarch* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 127. Nancy Melissa Lemmon married John Smith on February 18, 1857, and bore one son, John Lemmon Smith (born March 16, 1858, died May 1, 1867).

[134]Lorin C. Woolley quoted in *Joseph W. Musser: Book of Remembrance*, edited by Drew Briney (Salt Lake City: Hindsight Publications, 2010),

and Mary Brown Firmage Woodward have concluded: "Each new woman brought into an eternal union increased not only the potential size of the family kingdom but the man's exaltation as well."[135] According to Todd Compton, relying on Benjamin F. Johnson's statement: "The greater the number of women married, the greater the man's exaltation, according to nineteenth-century Mormon theology."[136] Recently Richard Abanes, author of several anti-Mormon publications, asserted that an accepted Church doctrine is that "the more wives acquired in this life, the better it would be in the next life."[137]

However, there are no plain declarations from Joseph Smith or other Church leaders that this principle is true. That is, the Prophet did not teach that more wives brings a greater eternal benefit, even though a few quotations may be construed to have that meaning. For example, in February 1847, according to Wilford Woodruff, Brigham Young stated: "Say that I am ruling over 10 sons or subjects ownly & soon each one of them would have 10 men sealed to them & they would be ruler over them & that would make me ruler over 10 Presidents or Kings whareas I was ruler over 10 subjects ownly or in other words I ruled over one Kingdom but now I rule over 10. Then let each one get 10 more. Then I would be ruler over 100 Kingdoms & so on continued to all eternity & the more honor & glory that I could bestow upon my sons the more it would add to my exhaltations."[138] If more sons bring added "exhaltations," then one might surmise that more wives would also. In short, an unambiguous statement from any pre-

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40–41; Joseph White Musser, "Book of Remembrance," 21, holograph, n.d., photocopy in my possession; see also *Items from a Book of Remembrance of Joseph W. Musser* (N.p.: Privately published, n.d.), 16; Moroni Jessop, *Testimony of Moroni Jessop* (N.p.: Privately published, n.d.), 2.

[135]Martha Sonntag Bradley and Mary Brown Firmage Woodward, "Plurality, Patriarchy, and the Priestess: Zina D. H. Young's Nauvoo Marriages," *Journal of Mormon History* 20, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 98. See also Martha Sonntag Bradley and Mary Brown Firmage Woodward, *Four Zinas: A Story of Mothers and Daughters on the Mormon Frontier* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2000), 115.

[136]Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, xiv, 10.

[137]Richard Abanes, *Becoming Gods: A Closer Look at 21st-Century Mormonism* (Eugene, Ore.: Harvest House Publishers, 2004), 233.

[138]Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, typescript, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–85), 2:235; see also *History of the*

siding leaders stating that men should marry as many wives as possible or that a man with five wives will have an eternal advantage over a man of equal worthiness who had married only three wives, does not exist.

The closest evidence supporting this concept that I have been able to locate is Apostle George A. Smith's statement in 1869: "At one of the first interviews [after returning from England] with him [Joseph Smith], I was greatly astonished at hearing from his lips that doctrine of Patriarchal marriage, which he continued to preach to me from time to time. . . . In his last conversation he administered a little chastisement to me for not stepping forward as he had indicated in patriarchal marriage. He assured me that the man who had many virtuous wives had many great prizes, though he admitted that the man who had one virtuous wife had one great prize . . . and said to me 'You should not be behind your privileges.'"[139] However, George A. did not explain how these "prizes" might affect his eternal glory or exaltation—or even whether that was part of Joseph's instructions.

In 1887 when he was seventy-three, William Clayton recalled a parallel but more general admonition from the Prophet: "[In October 1842] the Prophet Joseph talked with me on the subject of plural marriage. He informed me that the doctrine and principle 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 and informations concerning the doctrine of celestial or plural marriage, he concluded his remarks by the words, 'It is your *privilege* to have all the wives you *want*.'"[140] The wording is instructive; it was William's privilege to marry the wives he wanted. Elizabeth Ann Whitney, first wife of Bishop Newel K. Whitney remembered

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Church, 3:136.

[139]George A. Smith, Letter to Joseph Smith III, October 9, 1869, in Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830-present), in Turley, *Selected Collections*, Vol. 2, DVD #5; see also Raymond T. Bailey, "Emma Hale: Wife of the Prophet Joseph Smith" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1952), 83. George A. Smith's first wife, Bathsheba W. Smith, recalled: "I believe that Joseph said that a man that had one wife had a jewel and a man that had more than one wife had more jewels." Bathsheba Smith, Deposition, Temple Lot Transcript, Respondent's Testimony, Part 3, p. 319, question 599.

[140]William Clayton, quoted in Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 225–26;

that Joseph Smith "repeatedly told him to take a wife, or wives."[141] If marrying more wives gave eternal benefit, it seems better counsel would have been for Bishop Whitney to take "wives" rather than "a wife."

When asked by non-Mormon Horace Greeley in 1859: "How general is polygamy among you?" President Brigham Young responded: "I could not say. Some of those present (heads of the Church) have each but one wife; others have more. *Each determines what is his individual duty*."[142] The *Millennial Star* reprinted this statement with the qualifying editorial note: "Although the wording of the conversation might not be exactly as spoken, on the whole, we have no hesitation in endorsing it by republication."[143] In Brigham Young's numerous statements both private and public, he apparently maintained the same position. Phineas Cook recalled that Brigham "said he was ready to give me as many [plural wives] as I wanted."[144] Thus, Brigham apparently never espoused a "more is superior" position.

Nor do the scriptures support a concept that having more wives brings greater eternal glory. David and Solomon had many wives (D&C 132:38–39), Noah was a monogamist when he entered the ark (1 Pet. 3:20), and Abraham took Hagar as a plural wife only at the request of his first wife, Sarai (Gen. 16:1–3). Interestingly, Doctrine and Covenants 132:34–35 states that God "commanded" Abraham to marry Hagar; but in either case, the motivation for this marriage lay elsewhere than Abraham's personal seeking. Similarly,

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emphasis mine.

[141]Elizabeth Ann Whitney, quoted in Carol Cornwall Madsen, ed., *In Their Own Words: Women and the Story of Nauvoo* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994), 202.

[142]Horace Greeley, "Overland Journey, Part 21: Two Hours with Brigham Young," *New-York Daily Tribune*, August 20, 1859, 718. See also Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco in the Summer of 1859* (1860; rpt., Charles T. Duncan, ed., New York: Ballantine Books, 1963), 138; emphasis mine.

[143]Horace Greeley, "Two Hours with Brigham Young," *Millennial Star* 21, no. 38 (September 17, 1859): 608–11; editor's note, 605.

[144]Newel Cook McMillan, comp., *The Life and History of Phineas Wolcott Cook* (Bloomington, Minn.: American Publishing Company for Phineas Wolcott Cook Family Organization, 1980), 57.

Jacob became a polygamist because his father-in-law deceived him into marrying, not his intended wife Rachel, but her sister Leah (Gen. 29:21–30). He became a polygamist a week later by marrying Rachel. He took two additional wives (Leah and Rachel's maids) at their instigation rather than at his own initiative (Gen. 30:1–5, 9). From Jacob's twelve sons by these four wives sprang the twelve tribes of Israel. If more wives brought eternal advantage, Noah's monogamy, Abraham's slow adoption of the practice, and Jacob's stopping at four plural wives is puzzling. Joseph Smith saw himself as restoring Old Testament plural marriage (D&C 132:1–2), but Old Testament narratives provide little support for the argument that the ancient patriarchs believed that more wives were forever better than fewer.[145]

Also it is difficult to ascertain what eternal advantages more wives might bring in light of Joseph Smith's other teachings. Among his Kirtland revelations are statements that inhabitants in the celestial kingdom receive "all that [the] Father hath" (D&C 84:38), even to be "equal in power, and in might, and in dominion" with Him (D&C 76:95, also D&C 88:107). The Prophet reiterated these ideas in Nauvoo in February 1843, suggesting that his beliefs had not changed by that point.[146] Section 132 states that "if a man marry a wife" (monogamously) by proper authority, and they live worthily, "then shall they be gods . . . then shall they be above all, because all things are subject unto them. Then shall they be gods, because they have all power, and the angels are subject unto them" (vv. 19-20). The exalted monogamous couple is promised godhood and "all power." Section 132 authorizes numerous plural wives but does not indicate that "more is better."

Another concern stems from the apparent disadvantage the doctrine would place on righteous monogamists like those of the Book of Mormon or the New Testament. It would also appear to everlastingly compromise the wives themselves through no fault of their own. For example, would the second wife of a man with three plural spouses receive a lesser eternal reward than a woman who was the

[145]Joseph A. Kelting, "Statement," Joseph F. Smith, Affidavits, MS 3423, fd. 2, images 11–16a; see also Joseph A. Kelting, "Statement of Joseph A. Kelting," *Juvenile Instructor* 29 (May 1, 1894): 289–90.

[146]Joseph Smith, "The Answer to W. W. Phelps, Esq. A Vision," *Times and Seasons* 4 (February 1, 1843): 84–85 (vv. 46, 57).

fourth wife of a man with four?

It is true that Joseph Smith was sealed to numerous plural spouses and that some Mormon fundamentalists and scholars today may believe more is better. However, it is unclear that the Prophet was motivated by the idea that each new wife brought an eternal benefit, and persuasive evidence is lacking that any such doctrine has ever existed.

Dynastic Connections?

Several writers have suggested that another primary motive for Joseph Smith's marriage to some of his wives was to form a "dynastic" connection between him and the woman's family. D. Michael Quinn wrote: "The introduction of polygamy added a dimension unavailable to every other dynastic order of the western world. Through polygamy a Mormon general authority could himself marry the close relatives of his associates in the hierarchy, thus reinforcing preexisting kinship connections."[147] Martha Sonntag Bradley and Mary Brown Firmage Woodward observed: "Smith foresaw how plural marriage would connect the families of the most faithful."[148] Danel Bachman wrote: "In at least six cases Smith may have felt that there were good social reasons for his plural marriages."[149]

Todd Compton agreed, labeling eight marriages as "dynastic." (See Table, p. 207.) He calls Joseph's plural marriage to the elderly Rhoda Richards "a pure example of dynastic matrimony," conjecturing: "Willard perhaps, or Joseph, may have suggested that the Richards and Smith families become linked through Rhoda."[150] He also considers Joseph's sealings to the much younger Zina Diantha Huntington, Presendia Lathrop Huntington, Flora Ann Woodworth, and Melissa Lott as "dynastic." In particular, according to Compton, Joseph's sealing to seventeen-year-old Sarah Ann Whitney, "was clearly dynastic.

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[147]D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 188, see also 190. See also Dennis Michael Quinn, "Organizational Development and Social Origins of the Mormon Hierarchy, 1832–1932: A Prosopographical Study" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1973), 125–76; Dennis Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Hierarchy, 1832–1932: An American Elite" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1976), 166.

[148]Bradley and Woodward, "Plurality, Patriarchy, and the Priestess," 91.

[149]Bachman, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage," 119.

[150]Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 568.

TABLE
POSSIBLE "DYNASTIC" MARRIAGES OF JOSEPH SMITH

Woman	*Relative: Focus of Dynamic Link*	*Relation to Woman*	*Significance to Joseph*
Fanny Young	Brigham Young	brother	apostle
Rhoda Richards	Willard Richards	brother	apostle
Helen Mar Kimball	Heber C. Kimball	father	apostle
Zina Diantha Huntington	Dimick Huntington	brother	friend
Presendia Huntington	Dimick Huntington	brother	friend
Flora Ann Woodworth	Lucien Woodworth	father	friend
Melissa Lott	Cornelius Lott	father	bodyguard
Sarah Ann Whitney	Newel K. Whitney	father	bishop

Source: Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness,* 12, 81, 347, 388, 497, 500, 558, 595.

Joseph and Newel had a close friendship, and the sealing would link the families of Newel and Elizabeth Whitney in this life and in the next."[151] As corroboration, he quotes Orson Whitney, who wrote: "The bond of affection . . . was strengthened and intensified by the giving in marriage to [Joseph Smith], the Bishop's eldest daughter."[152] Undoubtedly this is true, but concluding that creating a "dynastic" linkage was a primary or even secondary reason for Joseph, Newel, and/or Sarah to support the nuptial is an assumption for which direct evidence is lacking.[153]

Perhaps the strongest argument for dynastic motivations is the sealing of Joseph to Helen Mar Kimball, daughter of Heber C. Kim-

[151]Ibid., 347; see also 362, 500.

[152]Ibid., 347.

[153]As part of Joseph Smith's plural marriage proposal to Sarah Ann Whitney on July 27, 1842, the Prophet dictated a revelation directed to Sarah's father, Church Bishop Newel K. Whitney. A portion read: "Verily thus saith the Lord unto my servant N. K. Whitney the thing that my servant Joseph Smith has made known unto you and your family and which you have agreed upon is right in mine eyes and shall be crowned upon your heads

ball, which Compton describes as "almost purely dynastic."[154] In her 1881 autobiography, Helen Mar wrote that her father had "a great desire to be connected with the Prophet, Joseph, [so] he offered me to him."[155] Readers may assume that Joseph also desired to be "connected" to Heber and that such a connection would bring advantages

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with honor and immortality and eternal life to all your house both old and young because of the lineage of my priesthood saith the Lord it shall be upon you and upon your children after you from generation to generation By virtue of the Holy promise which I now make unto you saith the Lord." Marquardt, *The Joseph Smith Revelations*, 315. Some observers assume that "the thing" that would crown them "with honor and immortality . . . from generation to generation" was the polygamous union of Sarah Ann to Joseph Smith and that her family was eternally advantaged due to the union. As demonstrated historically in Nauvoo, the Prophet always described plural marriage in the context of the new and everlasting covenant of marriage and eternal sealings. He taught that sealing ordinances, not a polygamous marriage, can seal family lines ("lineages of the priesthood") together "from generation to generation" bringing "honor and immortality." Assuming that "the thing . . . agreed upon" was strictly plural marriage is inconsistent with the blessings promised. It is also important to learn that, after the sealing, the Whitneys did not see themselves as possessing a special tie to Joseph Smith (on earth or in heaven) or that Sarah's plural marriage absolved her or her family of the need to continue to keep the commandments. In a special blessing given to Sarah eight months after her sealing, Joseph Smith declared: "Oh let ^it^ be sealed this day on high that she shall come forth in the first resurrection to receive the same and verily it shall be so saith the Lord *if she* remain in the Everlasting covenant *to the end* as *also all her Fathers* [sic] *house* shall be saved in the same Eternal glory"; emphasis mine. Joseph Smith, Blessing to Sarah Ann Whitney, March 23, 1843, typescript, MS 155, LDS Church History Library. A typescript of this blessing was originally part of the Joseph Smith Collection; but since it was not an original document, it was removed. The location of the original monograph is currently unknown, but is presumed to be uncatalogued at the LDS Church History Library. See also Marquardt, *The Rise of Mormonism*, 586.

[154]Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 497.

[155]Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, "Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, Autobiography," March 30, 1881, in Holzapfel and Holzapfel, *A Woman's View*, 482. She also recalled: "Had I not known [my father] loved me too tenderly to introduce anything that was not strictly pure and exalting in its tenden-

to either or both of them. However, it is only an assumption because Helen says it was her father who desired the "connection," not Joseph. She also recalled that in May 1843 Joseph Smith, "said to me: 'If you will take this step, it will ensure your eternal salvation and exaltation and that of your father's household and all of your kindred.'"[156] Helen Mar's statement is frequently cited as solid evidence that the Prophet promised exaltation to at least one of his plural wives and her family if she would submit to the marriage. Typically omitted from such accounts is the fact that one year later Helen Mar clarified that she may not have understood everything correctly: "I confess that I was too young or too 'foolish' to comprehend and appreciate all" that Joseph Smith then taught.[157] And contemporaneous evidence from more mature family members who were better positioned to "comprehend and appreciate" the Prophet's promises to Helen demonstrates that she did, in fact, misunderstand the blessings predicated on this sealing. None of them subsequently behaved or spoke as if Helen's sealing to Joseph Smith affected their salvation in any way.[158]

The primary problem with "dynastic" plural marriage is that no documents or recollections have survived in which Joseph Smith unambiguously declares that a plural wife's extended family would receive special blessings by virtue of her sealing to him. While some authors have concluded that the families of the women sealed to Joseph

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cies, I could not have believed such a doctrine. I could have sooner believed that he would slay me, than teach me an impure principle. I heard the Prophet teach it more fully, and in the presence of my father and mother." Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, quoted in Augusta Joyce Crocheron, *Representative Women of Deseret: A Book of Biographical Sketches to Accompany the Picture Bearing the Same Title* (Salt Lake City: J. C. Graham, 1884), 110. See also Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, "Scenes and Incidents in Nauvoo," *Woman's Exponent* 11, no. 5 (August 1, 1882): 39–40.

[156]Typescript and copy of holograph reproduced in Holzapfel and Holzapfel, *A Woman's View*, 482–87.

[157]Helen Mar Whitney, *Plural Marriage as Taught by the Prophet Joseph*.

[158]Heber C. Kimball, Letter to Helen Mar Kimball, July 10, 1843, in Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, "Scenes and Incidents in Nauvoo," *Woman's Exponent*, 11, no. 5 (August 1, 1882): 39–40. See also Holzapfel and Holzapfel, *A Woman's View*, 198-99; Vilate Kimball, Letter to Heber C. Kimball, June 8, 1843, MS 6241, LDS Church History Library.

Smith received special benefits in eternity,[159] a close reading of the plural marriage accounts demonstrates that blessings flowed, not from Joseph's sealing to the woman, but from the sealing ordinance itself as those family members implemented it in their own lives as husbands and wives and parents and children, forming a family chain back to Adam.[160]

Another important qualifier of the dynastic argument is that nothing beyond the observation that some of Joseph Smith's plural wives were also relatives of his close friends supports the hypothesis that he desired to create a "dynasty." Compton also acknowledges: "There were complex reasons for these marriages, in which spiritual attraction, sexual attraction, and desired dynastic links all combined. Joseph would have been attracted to the women he knew well, and he simply knew the Mormon elite better than other Mormons."[161] Quinn likewise observed: "Marriages between children of General Authorities . . . were in some ways an inevitable result of the social interaction which occurred between the families of General Authorities."[162]

Undoubtedly Joseph Smith enjoyed the familial relations that resulted from his polygamous marriages. He was not a somber, solitary prophet, but outgoing and social, always desiring to have people around him. Fawn Brodie accurately describes him as "gregarious, ex-

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[159]Rex Eugene Cooper, *Promises Made to the Fathers: Mormon Covenant Organization* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), 141; Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 348, 391, 499, 463; Kathryn M. Daynes, *More Wives Than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840–1910* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 26; Marquardt, *The Rise of Mormonism*, 559.

[160]Joseph Smith, Revelation to Newel K. Whitney, July 27, 1842, in Marquardt, *The Joseph Smith Revelations with Text and Commentary*, 315. See also Lucy Walker, "A Brief Biographical Sketch of the Life and Labors of Lucy Walker Kimball Smith,"46; see also her testimony, quoted in Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 229–30. See also the 1881 statement from Helen Mar Kimball, typescript and copy of holograph reproduced in Holzapfel and Holzapfel, *A Woman's View*, 482–87.

[161]Todd Compton, "A Trajectory of Plurality: An Overview of Joseph Smith's Thirty-Three Plural Wives," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 14 note 38.

[162]Quinn, "Organizational Development and Social Origins of the Mormon Hierarchy, 167.

pansive, and genuinely fond of people."[163] Notwithstanding, portraying the Prophet as marrying women in order to create "dynastic" connections thrusts the women into the roles of pawns in a religious chess game played by an egotistical Joseph with the women's male relatives. Such a view counters Joseph's serious warning that exercising "control or dominion or compulsion upon the souls of the children of men"—for example, treating women as chattel or objects—would constitute "unrighteous dominion" (D&C 121:37, 39). No accounts from Joseph Smith's wives have survived, complaining that he abused them or treated them as objects.

To sum up, then, it appears that besides observing that these women's male relatives were close friends of the Prophet, there is little evidence to support the idea that he was motivated by a desire to form a dynastic link or to create a dynasty. Nor am I aware that Joseph indicated that any of his marriages were chiefly or partially designed to produce a special connection to a specific family. The theory of dynastic connections as a motivation for Joseph Smith's plural marriages would benefit from additional corroborating historical or theological evidence demonstrating its reliability.

To Serve as a Proxy Husband?

An accusation against Joseph Smith that began during the Nauvoo period is that he sent men on missions so he could marry their wives or possibly assume the role of a "proxy husband" for the missionary while he was away. In 1843, Henry Caswall claimed: "Many English and American women, whose husbands or fathers had been sent by the prophet on distant missions, were induced to become his 'spiritual wives,' believing it to be the will of God."[164] Eight years later, the Rev. F. B. Ashley, the Vicar of Wooburn, Bucks, England, repeated the charge: "He [Joseph Smith] induced several American and English women whose husbands or fathers he had sent on distant missions to become his spiritual wives, or 'ladies of the white veil.'"[165]

In 1889, excommunicated Mormon Benjamin Winchester echoed: "It was a subject of common talk among many good people in

[163]Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 294.

[164]Henry Caswall, *The Prophet of the Nineteenth Century, or, the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Mormons* . . . (London: J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1843), 226.

[165]F. B. Ashley, *Mormonism: An Exposure of the Impositions* (London:

Nauvoo that many of the elders were sent off on missions merely to get them out of the way, and that Joseph Smith, John C. Bennett and other prominent Church lights had illicit intercourse with the wives of a number of the missionaries, and that the revelation on spiritual marriage, i.e. polygamy, was gotten up to protect themselves from scandal."[166] Harry M. Beardsley wrote in 1931: "Joe remained in hiding in Nauvoo for several months, dividing his time between a dozen hideouts—among them homes of Mormons where there were attractive daughters, or where the husbands were away on missionary tours."[167]

Despite the accusations, available historical data fail to support the theory that the Prophet deliberately dispatched men as missionaries to create "Church widows," whom he could then approach with plural marriage proposals. Of the eleven "polyandrous" husbands identified by Todd Compton, nine were not on missions at the time Joseph was sealed to their legal wives.[168] Of the remaining two, only Orson Hyde may be a candidate. Orson departed on his mission to dedicate the land of Palestine for the return of the Jews on April 15, 1840. Evidently, two years later, his civil wife, Marinda Nancy Johnson, was sealed to Joseph in Nauvoo, although records exist of two sealing dates, further complicating the reported timeline.[169] Orson returned home December 7, 1842. No other information about this sealing or about Joseph and Marinda's relationship is available. Draw-

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John Hatchard, 1851), 8. Ashley is likely quoting John C. Bennett who spoke of three colors of veils worn by Nauvoo women who were members of the seraglio Bennett ascribed to Joseph Smith. Bennett, *The History of the Saints*, 220–25.

[166]Benjamin Winchester, "Primitive Mormonism," *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, September 22, 1889, 2.

[167]Harry M Beardsley, *Joseph Smith and His Mormon Empire* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1931), 251.

[168]Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 49, 81, 123, 179, 185, 213, 239, 260, 278, 383, and 548.

[169]The first record is "Apr 42," (could also be transcribed: "Spri 42"), recorded on an undated page after the final entry in that journal dated July 14, 1843, by Thomas Bullock. He made these entries at the back of the second of four small books in which Willard Richards recorded Joseph Smith's journal between December 1842 and June 1844. Turley, *Selected Collections*, Vol. 1, DVD #20, MS155_1_6_320.jpg. For a transcript, see Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record*, 396. The second sealing date is given as May 1843

ing further conclusions would be to go beyond the evidence.

The second possible case involves George Harris, who left on his fourteen-month mission in July 1840. However, evidence of a plural sealing between his legal wife, Lucinda Pendleton, and the Prophet is perhaps the least persuasive of all thirty-four polygamous marriages. Importantly, the date of their possible sealing is only conjectural and is disputed.[170]

An additional possible case of proxy husbands involved Albert Smith, whose legal wife, Esther Dutcher, was sealed to Joseph Smith.[171] Albert's son, Azariah, wrote: "Father taking [sic] an active part in building up the city [Nauvoo] and also being called upon, he went on a mission back East."[172] Azariah does not specify either the dates or duration of Albert's mission, and the date of Esther's sealing to Joseph Smith is not known. Thus, no further conclusions are possible.

Non-LDS writer Lawrence Foster conjectured thirty years ago that Joseph Smith or other early polygamists might have served as "proxy husbands" (a form of full polyandry), a view he has continued to argue:

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in an affidavit Marinda signed in 1869. Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 1:15, MS 3423.

[170]Fawn Brodie and Todd Compton speculate that a relationship or plural marriage occurred in 1838. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 335; Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 4. Brodie's chronological reconstruction is in error. I argue that Joseph Smith would not have attempted a plural relationship at the peak of Oliver Cowdery's criticism of him, in part for committing "adultery" with Fanny Alger in Kirtland, Ohio, a few years earlier. See Brian C. Hales, "Fanny Alger and Joseph Smith's Pre-Nauvoo Reputation," *Journal of Mormon History* 35, no. 4 (Fall 2009): 112–90.

[171]Daniel H. Wells, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, June 25, 1888, MS 1325, Box 16, fd. 9, LDS Church History Library, in Turley, *Selected Collections*, Vol. 1, DVD #29. Albert Smith is no known relation to Joseph Smith.

[172]Azariah Smith, Journal [and Autobiography], 1, quoted section probably penned in 1846. In 1846 his journal turns from recollections to daily entries. MS 1834, LDS Church History Library. Esther's status as a Joseph Smith plural wife is mentioned, but without a date, in Daniel H. Wells, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, June 25, 1888, MS 1325, Box 16, fd. 9, LDS Church History Library.

> It may have been possible in some cases for a proxy husband to be assigned by the president of the Mormon church, through the power of the holy anointing, to serve the part of a temporary husband for wives of men absent on long missionary assignments or otherwise unable to have children. The children born under such arrangements could be viewed as belonging to the original husband, who was considered in some sense to have been temporarily "dead." Thus, while a man was absent in the service of his church, his patriarchal "kingdom," which was heavily dependent on the number of his children, would not suffer loss.[173]

As support, Foster quotes excommunicated Church member John Hyde Jr, who wrote in his 1857 exposé:

> As a man's family constitutes his glory, to go on a mission for several years, leaving from two to a dozen wives at home, necessarily causes some loss of family, and consequently, according to Mormon notions, much sacrifice of salvation. This difficulty is however obviated by the appointment of an agent or proxy, who shall stand to themward [sic] in their husband's stead. Many and many a little child has been thus issued into the Mormon World. This is one of the secret principles that as yet is only privately talked of in select circles, and darkly hinted at from their pulpits and in their works. They argue that the old Mosaic law of a "brother raising up seed to his dead brother" is now in force; and as death is only a temporary absence, so they contend a temporary absence is equivalent to death; and if in the case of death it is not only no crime, but proper; so also in this case it is equally lawful and extremely advantageous! This practice, commended by such sophistry, and commanded by such a Prophet was adopted as early as Nauvoo.
>
> Much scandal was caused by others than Smith attempting to carry out this doctrine. Several, who thought that what was good for the Prophet should be good for the people, were crushed down by Smith's heavy hand. Several of those have spoken out to the practices of the "Saints." Much discussion occurred at Salt Lake as to the advisability of revealing the doctrine of polygamy in 1852, and that has caused Brigham to defer the public enunciation of this "proxy doctrine," as it is familiarly called. Many have expected it repeatedly at the late conferences. Reasoning out their premises to their natural and

[173]Lawrence Foster, "Sex and Prophetic Power: A Comparison of John Humphrey Noyes, Founder of the Oneida Community, with Joseph Smith, Jr., the Mormon Prophet," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 31, no. 4 (Winter 1998): 79. He made this argument first in his *Religion and Sexuality*, 163–64.

> necessary consequences, this licentious and infamous dogma is their inevitable result.[174]

Hyde, a British convert in 1848, was in Utah for less than two years before being sent on his mission to Hawaii where he docked at Honolulu in a full state of apostasy. His sources for this claim are unknown, but the situation of expectation and "scandal" he describes in Utah has no other support.[175] Nor is there any evidence that proxy husbands were called to father children on behalf of absent husbands. Such a practice contradicts Joseph Smith's teachings that any form of sexual polyandry was adultery, that if a woman, "after she is espoused, shall be with another man, she has committed adultery, and shall be destroyed" (D&C 132:63).

Lawrence Foster cautiously suggests that an 1857 letter from Brigham Young to a Church member might have authorized her to have sexual relations with someone other than her husband. President Young wrote: "If I was imperfect [unable to father children] and had a good wife I would call on some good bror. to help me. that we might have increase; that a man of this character will have a place in the Temple, receive his endowments and in eternity will be as tho' nothing had happened to him in time."[176] Foster seems to interpret this letter as authorizing sexual intercourse between the wife and "some good brother" not her husband.

Further research identifies this woman as Mary Ann Darrow who married Edmund Richardson on August 2, 1840, making her

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[174]Hyde, *Mormonism*, 87–88. Foster also quotes excommunicated Church member T.B.H. Stenhouse who wrote: "By many elders it has been believed that there was some foundation for the accusation that Joseph had taught some sisters in Nauvoo that it was their privilege to entertain other brethren as 'proxy husbands' during the absence of their liege lords on mission. One lady has informed the Author that Joseph so taught her. All such teaching has never been made public, and it is doubtful if it ever extended very far, if, indeed, at all beyond a momentary combination of passion and fanaticism. T.B.H. Stenhouse, *Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York: Appleton and Company, 1873), 301 note. This idea was echoed by Harry M. Beardsley, *Joseph Smith and His Mormon Empire* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1931), 298.

[175]See Edward L. Hart, "John Hyde, Junior—An Earlier View," The Historian's Corner, *BYU Studies* 16, no. 2 (Winter 1976): 305–12.

[176]Brigham Young, quoted in Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*, 313.

"Mrs. Mary Richardson." Prior to their 1853 baptisms, they were members of a religious group that taught that only two children were permitted. So after their daughter Emma (b. 1841) and son George (b. 1846) were born, Edmund submitted to a surgical procedure rendering him sterile. After their 1857 marriage sealing by Brigham Young, he counseled them to have more children "in the covenant."

Hearing of the importance of expanding their family, they approached President Young for counsel. He explained to Edmund that any added children for him would have to come by proxy. Edmund's biographers quoted Brigham saying: "You will need to give Mary Ann a civil divorce and allow her to have a civil marriage with another man. Any issue from such a marriage," he explained, "would belong to you because you and Mary Ann are sealed for eternity. This is possible only because the Lord has restored polygamy in time to help you." Next, "as governor of the State of Utah, Brigham Young granted Mary Ann Darrow Richardson a civil divorce from her husband Edmund Richardson. Then, on January 9, 1858, he performed a civil marriage between Mary Ann and Fredrick Walter Cox." This civil marriage ended sexual relations between Edmund and Mary Ann. "Edmund voluntarily moved away but sent regular checks or alimony to support his family."[177]

Mary Ann gave birth to two children during the next three years. Shortly after the second child's birth on January 26, 1861, Edmund returned to Mary Ann, Brigham Young divorced her and Cox, and remarried her to Edmund.[178] Thus, Young's counsel to "call on some good bror. to help" them have more children was describing consecutive marriages, not sexual polyandry with a proxy husband.[179]

Importantly, on December 21, 1847, Heber C. Kimball condemned the idea of proxy husbands as "damnable": "Adultery is perverting the right way of the Lord. . . . There has been doctrine taught that a man has can [sic.] act as Proxy for another when absent—It has

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[177]Annie R. Johnson and Elva R. Shumway, *Charles Edmund Richardson, Man of Destiny* (Tempe, Ariz.: Publication Services, 1982), 28–29.

[178]Ibid., 32–34; see also Jeff Richins, *After the Trial of Your Faith: The Story of Edmund and Mary Ann Richardson* ([No city], Ore: Author, 2003), 267–326; Clare B. Christensen, *Before and after Mt. Pisgah* (Salt Lake City: n.pub., 1979), 233–34.

[179]Brigham Young, quoted in Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*, 313.

been practiced & it is known—& its damnable."[180]

Reviewing historical documents fails to identify any specific evidence to support the practice of proxy husbands at Nauvoo or later in Utah; as a doctrine, it appears to contradict Joseph Smith's teachings. The idea of proxy husbands is problematic in other ways. Men called on missions were undoubtedly daunted by the challenges confronting them as missionaries, traveling across the country and perhaps the world, enduring persecutions and deprivations, all to preach the gospel. How much greater would the sacrifices have been if, as the priesthood leader extended a missionary call, he also explained that a stay-at-home man would be providing maintenance for his wife and having children with her that would be part of the missionary's family? It seems highly unlikely that either the missionary or his wife would have accepted, let alone welcomed, such a process or that, even if they had initially accepted it, the missionary could have seamlessly resumed family life upon his return home, that ward members and older children would not have remarked this odd arrangement, and that commentary would not have become part of the documentary record.

Premortal Promises?

One reason Joseph Smith might have married so many plural wives may be associated with premortal promises. Todd Compton wrote: "Sometimes these sacred marriages were felt to fulfill pre-mortal linkings and so justified a sacred marriage superimposed over a secular one."[181] A teaching that has been popular in recent decades among some Latter-day Saints and which was given fictional form in Nephi Anderson's best-selling *Added Upon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1898) is the concept that premortal spirits could experience romantic attractions and subsequently make premortal promises to "find each other" during mortal life. It took musical form in 1974 in *Saturday's Warrior*, which has continued to be performed and

[180]*Minutes of the Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1835–1893*, 160, December 21, 1847; see also 157, December 21, 1847; initial capitals added.

[181]Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 22. Anti-Mormon J. H. Beadle wrote in 1870: "In the pre-existent state souls are mated, male and female, as it is divinely intended they shall fill the marriage relation in this life; or, in more poetic phrase, 'marriages are made in heaven.'" Beadle, *Life in Utah*, 340.

which has circulated to the present as a DVD. Singing, "I've seen that smile somewhere before. I've heard your voice before. It seems we've talked like this before," Julie and Tod encounter each other on earth in a quintessential moment of *déjà vu*.[182]

It appears that certain Church leaders have also expressed this view. In 1857, Apostle John Taylor published a letter in the Church's New York paper, *The Mormon*, written to a Latter-day Saint sister. In it he assured her: "You . . . chose a kindred spirit whom you loved in the spirit world (and who had permission to come to this planet and take a tabernacle), to be your head, stay, husband and protector on the earth and to exalt you in eternal worlds. . . . Thou hast chosen him you loved in the spirit world to be thy companion."[183] The actual source of the doctrine underlying John Taylor's account is unknown, but he may have heard this concept from the Prophet in Nauvoo. Regardless, the idea of premortal marital promises is officially considered unorthodox today.[184]

The only example of this possible phenomenon among Joseph Smith's plural wives is found in a recollection from Mary Elizabeth Lightner who remembered Joseph telling her: "I was created for him before the foundation of the Earth was laid."[185] She also recalled her own feelings that potentially could have been a reflection of a

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[182]"Circle of Our Love," in Doug Stewart and Lex de Azevedo, *Saturday's Warrior* (Salt Lake City: Embryo Music, 1974), 7.

[183]John Taylor, "The Origin and Destiny of Woman," *The Mormon*, August 29, 1857. See also *Latter-day Prophets Speak: Selections from the Sermons and Writings of Church Presidents* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1948), 9.

[184]The official LDS Church position is likely articulated by Apostle Joseph Fielding Smith, *The Way to Perfection* (Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society of Utah, 1940), 44–45: "We have no scriptural justification, however, for the belief that we had the privilege of choosing our parents and our life companions in the spirit world. This belief has been advocated by some, and it is possible that in some instances it is true, but it would require too great a stretch of the imagination to believe it to be so in all, or even in the majority of cases. Most likely we came where those in authority decided to send us. Our agency may not have been exercised to the extent of making choice of parents and posterity."

[185]Mary Elizabeth Lightner Rollins, Letter to Emmeline B. Wells, Summer 1905, Perry Special Collections; copy also at LDS Church History Library.

premortal promise: "I had been dreaming for a number of years I was his wife."[186]

Women May Have Sought to be Sealed to Joseph Smith

There is evidence that at least one woman sought to be sealed to Joseph Smith during his lifetime. (Scores more have been sealed to him posthumously.) At the time that eternal and plural marriage was being introduced in Nauvoo, apparently some women had a choice about the man to whom they would be sealed for eternity. John D. Lee recalled:

> About the same time the doctrine of "sealing" for an eternal state was introduced [1842–43], and the Saints were given to understand that their marriage relations with each other were not valid. That those who had solemnized the rites of matrimony had no authority of God to do so. That the true priesthood was taken from the earth with the death of the Apostles and inspired men of God. That they were married to each other only by their own covenants, and that if their marriage relations had not been productive of blessings and peace, and they felt it oppressive to remain together, they were at liberty to make their own choice, as much as if they had not been married.[187]

While Lee's declarations cannot always be taken at face value, this situation of an eternal sealing to someone other than the woman's legal husband may be accurate. As quoted above, Lucy Walker remembered Joseph's general policy: "A woman would have her choice."[188] Researcher Rex E. Cooper observed: "In some instances . . . women might have just preferred to be sealed eternally to Joseph Smith rather than to the man that they had married by civil authority."[189]

Andrew Jenson interviewed many Nauvoo polygamists in 1886–

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[186]Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, "Remarks at Brigham Young University, April 14, 1905," 2.

[187]John D. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled* (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand & Company, 1877), 146. Because Lee's attorney edited this volume and was paid from the royalties, it may be unreliable on many points.

[188]Lucy Walker Kimball, "A Brief Biographical Sketch of the Life and Labors of Lucy Walker Kimball Smith," 46.

[189]Rex E. Cooper, "The Promises Made to the Father: A Diachronic Analysis of Mormon Covenant Organization with Reference to Puritan Federal Theology" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, June 1985), 321.

87 in preparation for his 1887 *Historical Record* article identifying Joseph Smith's plural wives. In his collected papers at the LDS Church History Library is a scrawled note in his handwriting that one of the Prophet's plural wives, Ruth Vose Sayers, initiated her sealing to Joseph.[190] Ruth had died three years earlier and Jenson did not identify his informant, so the information is obviously secondhand. Ruth Vose Sayers's husband, Edward, was not a member of the Church, which may be why the Prophet hid from Missouri lawmen at their home August 13–17, 1842.[191] Ruth apparently learned that she would need to be sealed to an eternal husband to be exalted; the account indicates that Edward was supportive of her approaching Joseph Smith. On May 1, 1869, she signed an affidavit that she was sealed to Joseph Smith on "February 1843,"[192] but the dating is problematic because she stated that Hyrum Smith performed the sealing, and he did not accept plural marriage until the following May.[193]

Another document apparently dating to 1843 appears to be in the hand of excommunicated Mormon Oliver Olney whose wife, Phebe Wheeler, worked as a domestic in Hyrum Smith's home: "What motive has [S]ayers in it—it is the desire of his heart. . . . Joseph did not pick that woman [Ruth Vose Sayers]. She went to see whether she should marry her husband for eternity."[195] Despite the badly composed and garbled sentences, Olney was evidently gathering information through his wife regarding the event involving the Sayerses and Joseph Smith. The next sentence, transcribed by Michael Quinn, is completely perplexing: "The tribe Astumma [?] is coming on earth—10,000 years a goi." However, it is noteworthy, in my view, because of the 1843 date and the fact that he names Sayers explicitly. It thus corroborates the later account, even though it fails to conclude logically

[190]"Ruth Vose Sayers Biographical Sketch," Andrew Jenson Papers, Box 49, fd. 16, Document 5, transcribed by Don Bradley.

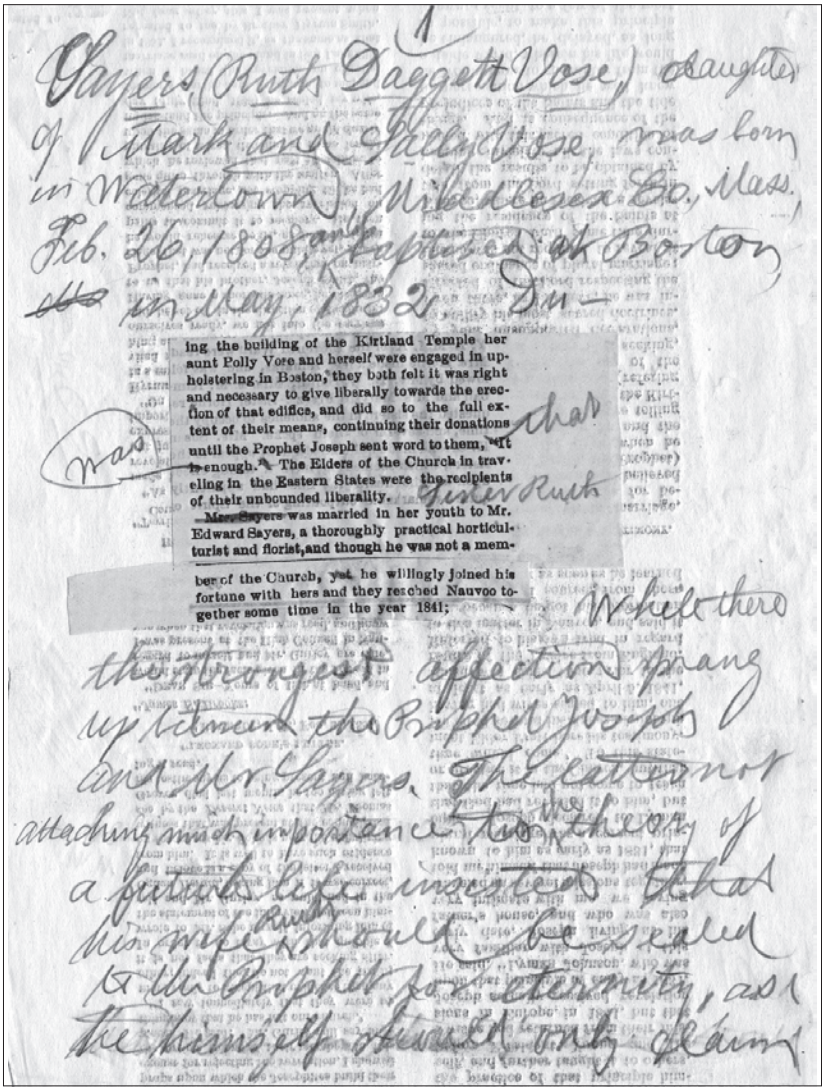
[191]Dean C. Jessee, ed. *The Papers of Joseph Smith: Volume 2, Journal, 1832–1842* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 405, 418.

[192]Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 1:9.

[193]George D. Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 106.

[194]Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 219–40.

[195][Oliver Olney], typescript excerpt in Quinn Papers, WA MS 244 (Accession:19990209-c) Box 1. I have been unable to identify the primary document to verify this quotation.



Sayers (Ruth Daggett Vose) daughter of Mark and Sally Vose, was born in Watertown, Middlesex Co., Mass. Feb. 26, 1808, and baptized at Boston, in May, 1832. Du—

ing the building of the Kirtland Temple her aunt Polly Vose and herself were engaged in upholstering in Boston, they both felt it was right and necessary to give liberally towards the erection of that edifice, and did so to the full extent of their means, continuing their donations until the Prophet Joseph sent word to them, "it is enough." The Elders of the Church in traveling in the Eastern States were the recipients of their unbounded liberality.

Mrs. Sayers was married in her youth to Mr. Edward Sayers, a thoroughly practical horticulturist and florist, and though he was not a member of the Church, yet he willingly joined his fortune with hers and they reached Nauvoo together some time in the year 1841;

Was that Ruth

While there the strongest affection sprang up between the Prophet Joseph and Mr. Sayers. The latter not attaching much importance to the theory of a future life insisted that his wife Ruth should be sealed to the Prophet for eternity, as he himself should only claim her in this life. She was accordingly sealed to the Prophet in Emma Smith's presence and thus ~~were~~ became numbered among the Prophets [sic] plural wives. though she ~~She however~~ continued to live with Mr. Sayers ~~remained with her husband~~ until his death." Jenson Papers, Box 49, fd. 16, Document 5, transcribed by Don Bradley. Courtesy LDS Church History Library.

Andrew Jenson hastily wrote this note on the back of torn pieces of the uncut galleys (containing insertions and proofing marks) of pages from the published May-July 1887 Historical Record. *Part of the handwritten note reads: "While there the strongest affection sprang up between the Prophet Joseph and Mr. Sayers. The latter not attaching much importance to ^the^ theory of a future life insisted that his wife ^Ruth^ should be sealed to the prophet for eternity, as he himself should only claim her in this life. She ^was^ accordingly sealed to the Prophet in Emma Smith's presence and thus ~~were~~ became numbered among the Prophets [sic] plural wives. ^though she^ ~~She however~~ continued to live with Mr. Sayers ~~remained with her husband~~ until his death." Jenson Papers, Box 49, fd. 16, Document 5, transcribed by Don Bradley. Courtesy LDS Church History Library.*

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Another document apparently dating to 1843 appears to be in the hand of excommunicated Mormon Oliver Olney whose wife, Phebe Wheeler, worked as a domestic in Hyrum Smith's home: "What motive has [S]ayers in it—it is the desire of his heart. . . . Joseph did not pick that woman [Ruth Vose Sayers]. She went to see whether she should marry her husband for eternity."[195] Despite the badly composed and garbled sentences, Olney was evidently gathering information through his wife regarding the event involving the Sayerses and Joseph Smith. The next sentence, transcribed by Michael Quinn, is completely perplexing: "The tribe Astumma [?] is coming on earth—10,000 years a goi." However, it is noteworthy, in my view, because of the 1843 date and the fact that he names Sayers explicitly. It thus corroborates the later account, even though it fails to conclude logically by, for example, saying something like: Joseph resolved her dilemma by having Brigham Young seal her to him (Joseph).

It is apparent from this documentary record that at least one of Joseph Smith's plural marriages was for "eternity" only—that is, without sexual relations during mortality. Historical data that are quoted to support the practice of sexual polyandry in any of Joseph Smith's plural marriages are problematic, and the contradictory evidence is compelling.[196] With one exception, the exact wording used to perform any of Joseph Smith's thirty-four plural ceremonies was not recorded.[197] Therefore, it is not possible to confirm or deny that ceremonies were performed during Joseph's lifetime using the language "eternity

[193]George D. Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 106.

[194]Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 219–40.

[195][Oliver Olney], typescript excerpt in Quinn Papers, WA MS 244 (Accession:19990209-c) Box 1. I have been unable to identify the primary document to verify this quotation.

[196]See Brian C. Hales, "Joseph Smith and the Puzzlement of 'Polyandry,'" in Newell G. Bringhurst and Craig L. Foster, eds., *The Persistence of Polygamy: Joseph Smith and the Origins of Mormon Polygamy* (Independence, Mo.: John Whitmer Books, 2010), 99–151.

[197]Joseph Smith, Revelation for Newel K. Whitney, July 27, 1842, quoted in Marquardt, *The Joseph Smith Revelations*, 315–16; see also "Revelations in Addition to Those Found in the LDS Edition of the D&C," in *New Mormon Studies: A Comprehensive Resource Library*, CD-ROM (Salt Lake City: Smith Research Associates, 1998).

Sayers, assuming that the Prophet initiated every plural marriage proposal may not be justified.

The precise dynamics underlying Joseph Smith's incentives for being sealed to thirty-four plural wives remain unclear. To identify only a single motivation would be reductionistic and oversimplified, especially since he left no record concerning his personal thoughts and feelings regarding plural marriage.

SEALINGS AFTER JULY 1843

Available evidence suggests that Emma tried desperately to accept the principle and uphold Joseph in its practice. She participated in four plural sealings in May of 1843 by approving the candidate wives and placing the woman's hand upon Joseph's during the ceremony.[200] However within weeks, her experiences in a plural household became unbearable to her, and she withdrew her support.[201] In response, Hyrum asked Joseph to dictate a revelation justifying the practice. Sure that the infusion of prophetic clarity would assuage Emma's concerns, Hyrum brought her the written document (now LDS D&C 132) on July 12, 1843, and either read it to her or gave it to her to read. Her reaction was not the reconciliation he had hoped for but an outburst of frustration and bitterness.

While some details in the different versions of this episode are contradictory, Emma apparently insisted that the original revelation be burned, although a copy had already been made.[202] Furthermore, she apparently confronted Joseph with an ultimatum that included

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[200]Emily D. P. Young, Deposition, Temple Lot Transcript, Respondent's Testimony, Part 3, pp. 350–51, question 24; Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 1:11, 13; Emily D. P. Young, quoted in Jenson, "Young, (Emily Dow Partridge)" in his "Plural Marriage," 240, February 28, 1887.

[201]Emily Dow Partridge Young, "Incidents in the Early Life of Emily Dow Partridge," MS 2845, fd. 1, LDS Church History Library; see also her "Autobiographical Sketch, Written Especially for My Children"; and her Deposition, Temple Lot Transcript, Respondent's Testimony, Part 3, pp. 366, 384, questions 363, 747.

[202]Orson Pratt, October 7, 1869, *Journal of Discourses*, 13:193; Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 226; Brigham Young, August 9, 1874, *Journal of Discourses*, 17:159; Comments of Joseph F. Smith, at Quarterly conference held March 3–4, 1883, p. 271, Utah State Historical Society #64904; Charles A.

the threat of divorce and/or exposure.[203] On July 13, the day after her explosive meeting with Hyrum, Joseph and Emma came to an agreement that included the transfer of property and other resources into Emma's name, so that if anything happened to him or to their marriage, she could support herself and their children.[204]Joseph Lee Robinson recalled those tensions, although he does not explain how he was privy to the details he declared:

> [There] was at a time when she [Emma] was very suspicious and jealous of him [Joseph] for fear he would get another wife, for she knew the prophet had a revelation on that subject. She (Emma) was determined he should not get another, if he did she was determined to leave and when she heard this, she, Emma, became very angry and said she would leave and was making preparations to go to her people in the State of New York. It came close to breaking up his family. However, he succeeded in saving her at that time but the prophet felt dreadfully bad over it.[205]

An additional condition of their agreement was apparently Joseph's concession not to marry any more plural wives without Emma's permission.[206] He was, in fact, sealed to two additional women after this episode, but each was a special circumstance. Two months

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Shook, *The True Origin of Mormon Polygamy* (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing, 1914, 153; William E. McLellan, M.D., to President Joseph Smith [III], Independence, Jackson Co., Mo., July 1872, original in Community of Christ Archives, copy at LDS Church History Library, MS 9090. See also Mary B. (Smith) Norman, Idaho Falls, Idaho, to Ina (Smith) Coolbrith, March 27, 1908, original and typescript, Miscellaneous Letters and Papers, P13, f951, Community of Christ Archives.

[203]Emily Dow Partridge recalled that, at one point in 1843, Emma threatened Joseph, saying that he should "give up" his plural wives or "blood should flow." Emma said that "she would rather her blood would run pure than be polluted in this manner." Emily D. Partridge Young, Statement beginning "When I was eighteen," 2, n.d., Ms 2845, LDS Church History Library. See also Boice and Boice "Record," 174; George D. Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 110.

[204]George D. Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 110; "The Law Interview," *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 31, 1887.

[205]Oliver Preston Robinson, *History of Joseph Lee Robinson*, 54.

[206]D&C 132:64–65 specifies that once the holder of the priesthood keys (then Joseph Smith) teaches his wife concerning plural marriage, she

after this agreement, at the end of September, Joseph was sealed to Malissa Lott, the nineteen-year-old daughter of Cornelius Lott, the caretaker of Joseph's farm outside of Nauvoo. In 1892, Malissa explained that Joseph "was the one that preached it [plural marriage], and taught it to me."[207] She also testified that Emma "knew all about it. . . . [S]he gave her consent."[208]

If Malissa is correct, Emma apparently permitted this new union after the July 13, 1843, agreement. Therefore, she must have experienced a resurgence of faith in September and early October of 1843. During that time, she received her entire temple ordinances and began administering them to other sisters in the Church. However, her ability to sincerely support polygamy was still shaky. Born in 1824 and working as a domestic in the Nauvoo Mansion, Maria Jane Woodward, recalled her conversation with Emma during this period:

> She looked very sad and cast down, and there she said to me, "The principle of plural marriage is right, but I am like other women, I am naturally jealous hearted and can talk back to Joseph as long as any wife can talk back to her husband, but what I want to say to you is this. You heard me finding fault with the principle. I want to say that that principle is right, it is from our Father in Heaven," and then she again spoke of her jealousy.
>
> Then she continued, "What I said I have got to repent of. The principle is right but I am jealous hearted. Now never tell anybody that you heard me find fault with Joseph of that principle. The principle is right and if I or you or anyone else find fault with that principle we have got to humble ourselves and repent of it."[209]

The second sealing, apparently without Emma's consent, oc-

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must approve future plural marriages.

[207]Malissa Lott, Deposition, Temple Lot Transcript, Respondent's Testimony, Part 3, pp. 102, question 181.

[208]Ibid., pp. 97, 100, questions 102, 156. Rather confusingly, Joseph Smith III, president of the RLDS Church, recalled that he interviewed Malissa in 1885 and she denied that Emma knew anything about plural marriage "before or after." Mary Audentia Smith Anderson, ed., *Joseph Smith III and the Restoration* (Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1952), 374.

[209]Maria Jane Woodward, Statement, attached to George H. Brimhall, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, April 21, 1902, in Turley, *Selected Collections*, Vol. 1, DVD #28.

curred a month and a half later on November 2, when the thirty-seven-year-old Joseph was sealed to Brigham Young's fifty-six-year-old sister, Fanny, who had never married. Brigham recalled:

> I recollect a sister conversing with Joseph Smith on this subject. She told him: "Now, don't talk to me; when I get into the celestial kingdom, if I ever do get there, I shall request the privilege of being a ministering angel; that is the labor that I wish to perform. I don't want any companion in that world; and if the Lord will make me a ministering angel, it is all I want." Joseph said, "Sister, you talk very foolishly, you do not know what you will want." He then said to me: "Here, brother Brigham, you seal this lady to me." I sealed her to him. This was my own sister according to the flesh.[210]

This sealing provided Fanny with a worthy husband in "the celestial kingdom," with no conjugality on earth. Consequently, it may not have been a concern to Emma. According to available historical manuscripts, Joseph Smith did not marry any additional plural wives during the remaining eight months of his life.

Summary

A review of Joseph Smith's personal practice of plural marriage indicates that he was sealed to almost three dozen women but could have been sealed to several more if he had desired. In teaching potential brides, the Prophet manifested awkwardness and concern, along with patience and perseverance, waiting months or longer, as the processes unfolded. His instructions often involved multiple visits to explain the new doctrines. Only in one instance (Lucy Walker) do we hear of an ultimatum and that followed at least four months—and possibly as long as a year—of vacillation on her part.

On several occasions, the prospective wife rejected Joseph Smith's proposal. In those cases, he quietly respected the woman's decision except when she accused him of immoral conduct and made her complaint public. In such cases, he vigorously defended himself. In at least one instance, the Prophet allowed one of his plural wives to divorce him to become the legal wife of a non-Mormon.

Furthermore, Joseph Smith considered himself to be a genuine husband to his plural wives; as far as the limited historical record shows, all of these women received sufficient material support from

[210]Brigham Young, August 31, 1873, *Journal of Discourses*, 16:166–67.

him, either directly or through his friends and other assistants.

Several motivations have been suggested to explain why Joseph Smith was sealed to so many plural wives. Numerous authors have claimed that libido drove his actions, although evidence supporting this theory ignores Joseph's complex theological teachings upon which eternal plural marriage is based and the fact that only two children have been documented as born from all of his plural unions. Another problematic theory is the concept of exaltation being greater in proportion to the number of wives a man married. Other hypotheses are that Joseph sought to create dynastic connections or to serve as a proxy husband after dispatching the husband on a mission. The historical record shows that at least one woman sought to be sealed to him and that one plural marriage may have been to fulfill some kind of a premortal attachment.

Physical attraction and even Joseph Smith's romantic drive may have been factors. He believed plural marriage had been restored to the earth and was a valid—even commanded—practice in the eyes of God. Under such circumstances, he seemed to have experienced no moral qualms about contracting new polygamous unions for the same reasons that monogamists choose to marry.

All of Joseph Smith's Nauvoo sealings occurred during a thirty-one-month period. Such marriages ended in November of 1843, evidently due to an arrangement negotiated between Joseph and Emma by mutual consent.

Numerous authors over the past 170 years have accused Joseph Smith of immorality and debauchery in conjunction with the introduction of plural marriage. In contrast, statements from participants describe him as a hesitant polygamist who eventually embraced plural marriage as a privilege, but also as a commandment. Just weeks before the martyrdom, the Prophet exclaimed: "I never told you I was perfect."[211] His actions implementing the practice personally and among his followers might have been less than idyllic. However, they appear to be the efforts of a sincere man earnestly attempting to follow instructions that he reportedly received from an angel who had

[211]Joseph Smith, Discourse, May 12, 1844, in Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1980), 369. I am indebted to Don Bradley for this insight.

ordered him—even with threats of death—to set the example, despite resistance from his closest relatives and distant strangers. As if to answer the unbelieving critic, a late second-hand account quotes Joseph Smith saying: "They accuse me of polygamy, and of being a false Prophet, and many other things which I do not remember; but I am no false Prophet; I am no impostor; I have had no dark revelations; I have had no revelations from the devil; I made no revelations; I have got nothing up of myself. The same God that thus far dictated me and directed me and strengthened me in this work, gave me this revelation and commandment on celestial and plural mariage and the same God commanded me to obey it. He said to me that unless I accepted it and introduced it, and practiced it, I, together with my people would be damned and cut off from this time henceforth. And they say if I do so, they will kill me! Oh, what shall I do? If I do not practice it, I shall be damned with my people. If I do teach it, and practice it, and urge it, they say they will kill me, and I know they will."[212]

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[212]Horace Cummings, "Conspiracy of Nauvoo," *The Contributor* 5 (April 1884): 259. This quotation is from a late second-hand account that has been discounted by some researchers. Concerning the article's origin, Cummings wrote on August 8, 1932: "The incidents related in that article were related to my parents [and me] by Dennison L. Harris [one of the two participants], who was Bishop of Monroe, Sevier County, at that time, at our home during the spring conference of 1883, Brother Harris stopping at our home as our guest. The incidents seemed so important and so intensely interesting that I wrote them in my journal in detail. As the *Contributor* was offering a prize for a Christmas Story [in 1884], I extended my journal 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 at the time the narration deals with and the incidents happened and of course was 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 elements to the story. When completed, President Taylor gave it his hearty approval for publication as a valuable document concerning Church history which had never been previously published." Horace Cummings, Statement on Council of the Seventy letterhead, August 8, 1932, LDS Church History Library; copy in Alan H. Gerber, comp., "Church Manuscripts," Vol. 11, p. 175, Perry Special Collections.

Reviews

Mark T. Decker and Michael Austin, eds. *Peculiar Portrayals: Mormons on the Page, Stage, and Screen.* Logan: Utah State University Press, 2010. 203 pp. Photographs, index. Paperback: $24.95. ISBN: 978–0874–21773–5

Reviewed by David W. Scott

Peculiar Portrayals: Mormons on the Page, Stage, and Screen is an edited anthology addressing how the LDS Church is situated in contemporary U.S. culture. Edited by Mark T. Decker and Michael Austin, this volume brings together an array of Mormon representations in disparate cultural venues ranging from the serious and influential political discourse of Kushner's Tony Award-winning *Angels in America* to the less serious Trey Parker and Matt Stone's movie *Orgazmo* about a Mormon missionary acting in the adult-film industry to pay for his upcoming temple wedding.

The book has eight essays. Four examine how presentations of Mormonism are riddled with stereotypes that at times indicate the paradoxical nature of contemporary "mainstream" Mormonism given its less-than-mainstream past. These four are Christine Hutchinson-Jones's "Center and Periphery: Mormons and American Culture in Tony Kushner's *Angels in America,"* Michael Austin's "Four Consenting Adults in the Privacy of Their Own Suburb: *Big Love* and the Cultural Significance of Mormon Polygamy," John-Charles Duffy's "Elders on the Big Screen: Film and the Globalized Circulation of Mormon Missionary Images," and Karen D. Austin's "Reality Corrupts; Reality Television Corrupts Absolutely."

Three of the remaining articles present some historical explanations for contemporary manifestations of Mormonism in literature and popular culture: J. Aaron Sanders's "Avenging Angels: The Nephi Archetype and Blood Atonement in Neil LaBute, Brian Evenson, and Levi Peterson, and the Making of the Mormon American Writer" ; Mark T. Decker's "I Constructed in My Mind a Vast, Panoramic Picture: *The Miracle Life of Edgar Mint* and Postmod-

ern, Postdenominational Mormonism" ; and Juliette Wells's "Jane Austen in Mollywood: Mainstreaming Mormonism in Andrew Black's *Pride & Prejudice*." The eighth essay is "Teaching *Under the Banner of Heaven*: Testing the Limits of Tolerance in America," by Kevin Kolkmeyer, a long-awaited explication of how Jon Krakauer's *Under the Banner of Heaven* (New York: Doubleday, 2003) can be used to help disfranchised students recognize the dialectic struggle of maintaining identity while assimilating into the mainstream.

While insightful, the scholarship and historical relevance of this text are as eclectic and varied as the subject matter within. The editors attempt to weave them together in the introduction, noting:

> Most people simply don't have time to think deeply about a group of people who try to present themselves as neat and orderly members of the American mainstream while they are simultaneously haunted by the specter of their nineteenth-century eccentricities. Instead, most people when they think of Mormons at all, take at face value a conflicted public image with a long history. . . . Many unsavory Mormons populated pulp novels of the nineteenth century, and more respectable authors like Mark Twain crafted critical depictions of Mormon customs and theology. Silent film audiences were sometimes treated to the spectacle of beautiful women entrapped by scheming Mormon polygamists. Contemporary portrayals of Latter-day Saints have been no less problematic. (2)

This idea of the struggle that Ladder-day Saints face in reconciling the cultural and theological identities of the past (especially polygamy, blood atonement, and the deeply theocratic nature of early Utah Territory) with the clean-cut identity of contemporary Mormons (think white-shirt-and-tie IBM-esque male missionaries, Utah Republicanism, and Mitt Romney) is a trope that emerges at varying levels throughout the book. If there is a consensus to be made from the somewhat disparate articles offered, it is that the Church—from both a cultural and theological aspect—is still beholden to the politics, criticism, and theology of its past when represented in contemporary culture.

However, despite this introductory assessment, the essays do not all seem to fit quite so precisely into this mold—leaving me, as a reader, wanting a little more by way of historical ties that make relevant popular portrayals of contemporary Mormonism. For example, in "Avenging Angels," Aaron Sanders rejects the suggestion that the violence inherent in LaBute, Evenson, and Peterson's stories are their way of rebelling against contemporary images of clean-cut Mormons, opining instead that "these authors are writing from within a Mormon tradition that is drenched in violence, one rooted in Mormon scripture and history" (105). Yet other than a short reference to *Banner of Heaven* and a few sentences about the flaws of Christopher Cain's 2007 film *September Dawn*, we see little by way of analysis in a historical context that gives rise to such a claim.

Another example of a passing reference to historical context is in Karen

Austin's essay ("Reality Corrupts") that offers an insightful analysis of why Mormons have had such a relevant role in reality television programming of recent years. Among other things, she notes the value of conflict and drama as stereotyped Mormons—"straitlaced, friendly, repressed, and naive" (186) often represent the Other who is pitted against participants more typical of the mainstream values, culture, and rugged American individualism in these reality programs. Yet the historical context is limited to a brief note that nineteenth-century stereotypes of Mormons—"the Mormon man as a sinister, theocratic, polygamist Svengali; and the Mormon woman as a put-upon not-too-bright victim of ultimate patriarchy" (187)—is still prevalent in popular culture. Both these essays, like many that are offered in this book, are insightful at demonstrating some contemporary elements of Mormonism in popular culture. But for readers seeking a historical bent, what is offered only whets one's appetite for more.

However, many of the essays are particularly adept at deconstructing *modern* representations of the faith to show how Mormonism represents a contested struggle for relevance that is equally viable with other disfranchised groups. In Chapter 1 ("Center and Periphery") Hutchinson-Jones delves into Kushner's use of LDS theology, highlighting how the Republican bent of modern LDS politics, rather than LDS theology, is the subtext that carries the play's message. As such, the play brings to the surface the "Mormon Problem" (to use Terryl L. Givens's words) of assimilation into mainstream conservatism with its unusual beginnings—a challenge faced by those within the gay community, especially in the 1980s when the discovery of AIDS coincided with the Republicanism of the Reagan era.

Similarly, Michael Austin argues in Chapter 2 ("Four Consenting Adults") that *Big Love* juxtaposes "good polygamists" with "bad polygamists" to shift viewers away from the stereotypical discourse that all polygamy is harmful or threatening to family values. Austin finds evidence that the creators of *Big Love* use this story to advance political arguments supporting same-sex marriage, namely, that just as all polygamists are not like Warren Jeffs, all same-sex marriages do not carry with them the stereotyped harm to society that is often suggested by LDS Church leaders.

In "Elders on the Big Screen," Duffy juxtaposes the postmodern variant of a Mormon missionary with corporate identity. He notes that just as the

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[1]See Terryl L. Givens's discussion of the "Mormon Problem" generally in "The Mormons," *Frontline: American Experience*, online transcript, http://www.pbs.org/mormons/interviews/givens.html (accessed September 10, 2011); Terryl L. Givens (2007) *People of Paradox: A History of Mormon Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); and his *The Viper on the Hearth: Mormons, Myths, and the Construction of Heresy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

Church has succeeded in branding itself with the missionary uniform, others have co-opted that image to represent other evangelical "missionaries" and also as a symbol of institutional Mormonism. Finally, Karen Austin's chapter ("Reality Corrupts") articulates how the emphasis on conflict in reality television programs leads to narratives that highlight the Mormonism of various contestants. In such programming, the contemporary stereotype of Mormons as clean-cut, naive, do-gooders is strategically juxtaposed against the street smarts of other contestants, not only as a means of elevating the needed conflict present in such programming, but also as a means of allowing non-Mormons to gaze at the peculiarities of Mormons in much the same way they would as oppositional to the "lived experience" of these individuals when placed in these competitive environments.

Despite the editors' introduction suggesting that the dominant theme of this book is to offer examples of the thread tying early Mormon history and culture with contemporary representations of Mormons in various entertainment media, I found the articles that address historical Mormon conundrums (especially blood atonement and polygamy) to be somewhat less than convincing. My criticism, while general, is that these essays added little to our understanding of the historical nature of the Church's culture and doctrine, while at the same time attempting to tie contemporary issues with the past without much more than unqualified assertions.

For example, the one chapter that most fully delved into the Mormon past seemed to me the least convincing in its arguments. In Chapter 4, ("Avenging Angels"), Sanders argues that the historic concept of "blood atonement" (that some sins require shedding one's own blood to achieve forgiveness) is linked to the prevalence of violence in the Book of Mormon, especially the story of the prophet Nephi some 600 years B.C. whom God commanded to kill Laban and thus acquire Laban's sacred records. Sanders alleges that Nephi is thus ". . . an archetypal Mormon hero" and that contemporary Mormon mythos includes the idea that such a hero commits "righteous murder . . . or blood atonement . . ." (89). Sanders uses this mythos to connect the violence in the books of LaBute, Evenson, and Levi Peterson with the blood atonement concept. Sanders argues that the "blood atonement" concept is practically unknown among ordinary Mormons, yet for these three authors, it resonates with a culture of Mormonism that is difficult to ignore.

Furthermore, the argument that the violent stories from the Book of Mormon and early LDS beliefs of blood atonement influence the violence of these LDS writers (based on a reading of their books) is in danger of the post-hoc ergo propter hoc fallacy of assuming that A caused B just because A occurred earlier. Furthermore, Sanders makes some keen observations about parallels between violence in the Book of Mormon, Brigham Young's blood atonement doctrine, and contemporary novels; but these same similarities

could be found in much of the violent fodder used for contemporary fiction and the movie scripts written by non-Mormons.

Yet despite the possible parallels with violent movies like *Pulp Fiction* or *The Godfather*, I doubt that Sanders would find Mormonism's past influencing these non-Mormon works to the same degree. While Sanders's argument is interesting, I think historians might seek less tenuous links (and assumptions) about the supposed mythos of the Mormon hero and the influence of the blood atonement doctrine with the idea of a "righteous" murder.

Is *Peculiar Portrayals* insightful and worth a look? Certainly. Especially because it brings together an array of strategies available to analyze representations of Mormons in today's mediated environment. But for the historian who seeks a deeper analysis of the Mormon paradox arising from its past "peculiar status" vis-à-vis its contemporary public relations approach to appear more mainstream, I would perhaps suggest perhaps sticking with Terryl Givens's *People of Paradox*.

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David L. Bigler and Will Bagley. *The Mormon Rebellion: America's First Civil War, 1857–1858*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011. 384 pp., illustrations, map, notes, bibliography, index. Hardcover: $34.95; ISBN: 9780806141350

Reviewed by Polly Aird

Authors David L. Bigler and Will Bagley explain early in *The Mormon Rebellion: America's First Civil War, 1857–1858* what brought them to write the book and what they hope to accomplish by it. Brought up in Utah in the 1950s, the authors were taught about the "state's glorious history":

> This storied mix of legend and fact celebrated their pioneer ancestors who built the bridges, killed snakes, and fought the Indians, who they learned were the descendants of an ancient branch of the Children of Israel called the Lamanites. A key element of this tale was how the United States in 1857 sent an army to persecute their long-suffering Mormon progenitors, based on nothing more than the malicious reports of corrupt carpetbaggers. Valiant forebears rallied under their inspired leader, Brigham Young, to defeat an invading army using guerrilla tactics that shed not a drop of blood. This brought America to its senses, and the president sent commissioners to negotiate an end to what will be forever

remembered as "Buchanan's blunder." (ix)

This, the authors say, was part "of a much larger mythology calculated to educate and inspire with an appreciation of a noble heritage" (ix). But instead, Bigler and Bagley found the stories improbable; and it was only much later, when they learned about their ancestors "burning an army supply train and murdering a band of passing gamblers" (ix), that they became fascinated with Utah's history. It took the opening of new archival sources—particularly the territorial militia records and the Brigham Young papers—plus the recognition by William P. MacKinnon of the importance of this little-known episode in U.S. history to convince them to study the Mormon side of the Utah War.

"This volume," the authors write, "seeks to correct that [mythical] record and provide a new factual basis for considering the causes and consequences of this largely unknown confrontation. . . . Readers will draw conclusions about the meaning of this story as dramatically different as we have, but we hope our work will shed new light on an important, colorful, and largely forgotten episode in America's past" (9). And in another place: "The evidence that anyone ever learns anything from history is scant indeed, but we hope that some good will come from an honest look at the Utah rebellion of 1857–58, and at the problems the American republic faced and the mistakes it made when it first wrestled with theocracy" (xi).

But Bigler and Bagley make a comparison that initially struck me as gratuitous and unnecessarily offensive to LDS readers: "While we have spent decades seeking out new sources to better understand this conflict, not until the events of 11 September 2001 did we fully realize the present need for a balanced and accurate reinterpretation of this forgotten struggle. The United States finds itself engaged in a battle with theocrats, engaging fanatics who are much more dangerous and perhaps even more committed than the [Mormon] religious rulers who had imposed what President James Buchanan called 'a strange system of terrorism' on the people of Utah Territory" (xi).

The analogy has some merit: Both events came out of zealous, theocratic worldviews, and both resulted in the violent deaths of innocents. But compared to the 120 killed at Mountain Meadows on 9/11/1857, the attack on 9/11/2001 was dramatically more horrendous in scale, in international scope, in duration of the counterinsurgency, and in the resulting restrictions on American liberties. Perhaps I've made too much of this and the authors only meant that it spurred them to write the book. The vivid and memorable comparison, however, may well repel some and keep them from reading further. That would be a shame, for this is a fascinating, well-documented story.

It was President James Buchanan who first applied the term "rebellion" to Brigham Young's belligerent declarations of independence for Utah. In Buchanan's address to Congress on December 8, 1857, he explained why he had sent the troops to Utah, "This is the first rebellion which has existed in our

Territories and humanity itself requires that we should put it down in such a manner that it shall be our last" (3). The authors, in adding the subtitle "America's First Civil War," note that it was "a teapot version of the one that would open in Charleston harbor four years later" (11). They also point out that this was "America's longest struggle between church and state" (9). Young's claims to independence came out of a religious conception of the world that had developed in the early days of Mormonism. He saw his defiance—his rebellion—against the government as the first step toward God's rule on earth.

In Chapter 1, Bigler and Bagley review the theocracy instituted by Joseph Smith which led to conflicts in Missouri and Illinois, and those battles, in turn, to the Utah War. This new millennial-minded religion found it could not live peacefully with its neighbors, and the reason was not simply the oft-repeated story of the persecution of God's people. The authors show that it was much more complicated and related to the Mormon beliefs of how the Lord intended them to live. In every way, these beliefs clashed with those of their neighbors. Instead of the typical frontier homesteading approach to land ownership, the Mormons saw the land as belonging to the Lord as revealed to Joseph Smith in the plan for the City of Zion, "a place of refuge prior to the Lord's imminent arrival and a place of peace and divine rule afterward. In the meantime, however, the concept was coercive and hostile toward neighboring landowners, who depended on their property to survive" (13). Although the City of Zion plan was never carried out in Missouri or even Illinois, it served as the inspiration for future city and town development in Utah.

Bigler and Bagley continue, "If the Mormons' early beliefs about land ownership made nearby residents uneasy and nervous, their doctrines regarding American Indians made their frontier neighbors' hair stand on end" (13). Joseph Smith believed that the American Indians, the Lamanites, would join their Mormon brothers in building the kingdom of God. Reaffirming this idea in 1857, Brigham Young, in one of several instances that could be cited, instructed one of his trusted men to tell the Indians "that if they permit our enemies to kill us they will kill them also" and that the Indians and the Mormon faithful will both "be needed to *carry on the work of the last days*" (14; emphasis in original Young letter; see also 142–43). Other sources of clashes between the Mormons and their neighbors came from the faith's view of revealed law versus "man's law," the organization of a large militia, bloc voting, and Smith's announcement of his intent to run for U.S. president.

The authors do not discount the sufferings of the Mormon people in Missouri, especially at Haun's Mill and when Governor Lilburn W. Boggs's extermination order drove them from the state in winter: "The maltreated Saints meticulously cataloged their grievances in 678 individual affidavits and on a petition signed by 3,419 citizens, which told 'the story of a people wrongfully deprived of their rights as free men and women.' . . . They itemized losses in

land and personal property totaling more than $395,000, while Joseph and Hyrum Smith each claimed $100,000 in damages, in part to cover more than $50,000 in fees paid to Missouri lawyers" (17). The authors see the Nauvoo events as a "replay of Missouri—and for the same reasons" (22), forcing the faithful to flee Illinois, once more in winter.

They also point out that, in spite of Mormon appeals to the government for help in moving west and President Polk's subsequent approval for enlisting 500 Mormons in 1846 "to serve in the Mexican War and keep the faith loyal to the United States" (26), Brigham Young later claimed that the Mormon Battalion was "recruited at the behest of the federal government; it was a ploy to deplete the Saints and further the destruction of the church. . . . The revisionist account reveals a resentful, if not hostile, attitude toward the U.S. government that affected Young's leadership over his thirty-year career in the West and influenced his decision to throw off the federal yoke in 1857" (27). The authors also quote from Wilford Woodruff's journal while the Saints were in Winter Quarters on the Missouri River after their exodus from Nauvoo. Woodruff wrote that Young said many in the U.S. government had "a hand in the death of Joseph & Hyram [*sic*] [Smith] & they should be damned for these things & if they ever sent any men to interfere with us here they shall have there throats cut & sent to hell" (29).

Before leading the pioneer company west, Young and the Council of the Twelve issued a proclamation "that displayed how little they had learned from the Mormon wars in Missouri and Illinois" (23) and that made the conflict in Utah predictable. The authors write, "This remarkable document sets forth the revolutionary beliefs that compelled an expansionist millennial movement to establish divine rule prior to Christ's return and to do so within their own lifetimes" (23). Addressed "To all the Kings of the World; To the President of the United States of America; To the Governors of the several states; And to the Rulers and People of all Nations," it stated that "the kingdom of God has come" with its aim "to reduce all nations and creeds to one political and religious *standard*." If the Gentiles (non-Mormons) did not repent and join them, the Lamanites would come among them to "tear them in pieces, like a lion among the flocks of sheep" and effect "an utter overthrow, and desolation of all our Cities, Forts, and Strong Holds—an entire annihilation of our race" (23–25; emphasis in original proclamation).

This bellicose proclamation, "with the possible exception of Buchanan's 1858 report to Congress," Bigler and Bagley write, "stands alone as the most important source on the causes of the Mormon rebellion. Yet it is also the most ignored" (23). Its basic principle "rested on the belief that God had inspired the framers of the U.S. Constitution to create a land of religious freedom where His Kingdom could be restored and supersede . . . all earthly realms" (24).

The California gold rush of 1849 and the purchase of most of the American Southwest from Mexico in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended the isolation that Brigham Young had sought. The Mormons found themselves squatters on federal land. President Buchanan wrote, "You have settled upon territory which lies geographically in the heart of the Union. The land you live upon was purchased by the United States and paid for out of their treasury. The proprietary right and title to it is in them, and not in you" (31). Here was a frontal threat to divine land ownership. Year after year, Young directed efforts toward Washington, D.C., to create Utah as a government independent of the U.S.—it was to be either a sovereign state or an independent entity. In addition Young and the territorial legislature ruled that any law based on legal precedent or on common law was illegal, for "in a society where perfect justice was divinely revealed, one did not place one's trust in manmade law" (48).

This background of how Mormon millennialist thinking shaped the actions of the Church leaders distinguishes *The Mormon Rebellion* from other treatments of the Utah War and gives a framework for understanding the events that took place. William P. MacKinnon's *At Sword's Point, Part 1* (Norman: Arthur H. Clark, an imprint of the University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), a documentary history of the Utah War, divides its coverage almost equally between the federal government and the Mormons. *The Mormon Rebellion*, on the other hand, focuses primarily on understanding the Mormon perspective of the world and thereby adds depth to that part of MacKinnon's account. Although Bigler and Bagley mostly lay the blame for the conflict on Mormon theocratic, millennialist views, they acknowledge that the government provided its share of blundering. Additionally, it is well to point out that the beliefs of this period are no longer part of Mormon thought.

Besides setting the theological stage of Mormon belief at the time, Bigler and Bagley survey the incidents that led up to the actual conflict. What caused President Buchanan to send the army west was about "six dozen reports, mainly written by U.S. officials from 1851 to 1857, alleging treason, duplicity, disloyalty, and other serious offenses" (11). These documents are discussed in detail in MacKinnon's volume. The so-called "runaway" federal appointees reported fear for their lives and frustration at not being able to carry out their duties. The Mormon leaders were quick to challenge their allegations. The authors comment, "As usually happened in public fights between the Mormons and their neighbors of whatever station, it was impossible for an impartial observer to figure out where the fault lay" (48).

Other events helped escalate tensions with the government, including Young's efforts to forge alliances with Indian tribes; the Mormon campaign in Congress to establish independence; policies to increase the population (including the Perpetual Emigrating Fund, the handcart scheme, polygamy, and falsifying the 1850 federal census) and thereby qualify for statehood; and the

start of the Reformation. "Affronted by Washington's hostility [to the Mormon efforts for statehood], Young crossed the Rubicon and moved to fulfill this vision [of God's kingdom]. On 14 September [1856] he touched off a fiery revival . . . to sanctify the body of Israel and present to the Lord a righteous people worthy of divine favor in the impending conflict with the American republic, which he foresaw and even encouraged" (91).

Chapter 5 on the Reformation, Chapter 7 on the Mountain Meadows Massacre, and Chapter 14 on the efforts of U.S. Judge John Cradlebaugh to bring the perpetrators of the massacre and other crimes to justice are particularly succinct and illuminating. Although much of this ground will be familiar to readers of the *Journal of Mormon History*, a few items will be of particular interest: First, the authors have modified the position Bagley took in his *The Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002) about the September 1, 1857, meeting of Brigham Young with the Indian chiefs from the south. Previously Bagley had written that, when Young promised emigrant cattle to the chiefs, they rushed south and were the Indians involved in the massacre. In *The Mormon Rebellion*, Bigler and Bagley conclude that "whether any of the Indians who met with Young in Salt Lake were on hand six days later at Mountain Meadows to fire the opening volley is uncertain" (171). But whatever the case, they point out that, by presumptuously and illegally giving the Indian leaders other people's property, Young was endangering the lives of emigrants on all the roads that passed through Utah.

Second, did William H. Dame or Isaac C. Haight have orders from Salt Lake City's religious leaders? Bigler and Bagley quote emigrant George Powers who met Col. Dame on Wednesday, September 9, and asked why Dame did not rescue the Fancher and Baker trains. Dame answered that he "could go out and take them away in safety, but he dared not; he dared not disobey counsel" (174). Since Dame and Haight were the senior priesthood authorities in southern Utah, the authors see this reported statement as evidence that they had orders, perhaps from George A. Smith, the most recent apostle with whom they had met. Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley Jr., and Glen M. Leonard, authors of *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), give this same quotation but interpret the counsel Dame referred to as the decision of the Parowan council on Monday night to help only if the emigrants should call for assistance (176).

Bigler and Bagley also raise a central question in regard to the frantic horseback ride of James Haslam to ask Brigham Young what should be done about the Arkansas emigrants: Why did the southern Utah leaders not wait for his answer? "The emigrants trapped at Mountain Meadows were not going anywhere. What made it imperative to kill them rather than wait for Haslam's return with the purported orders? These men acted as if they already had

their orders and hesitated to delay in executing them" (174). Walker, Turley, and Leonard do not address this question directly but suggest that Haight made the fatal decision to finish off the Arkansas companies to cover up the initial attacks, for if the remaining emigrants reached California and told what had happened, there would be retribution indeed for the Mormons (Walker, Turley, and Leonard, 179, 189).

Other salient parts of the volume include the authors' description of Young's plan to move his people north, possibly to Vancouver Island or even Alaska. The Indian attack on Fort Limhi on the Salmon River put an abrupt end to such ideas and made Young realize that not all the Lamanites would join forces with them. The authors also skillfully treat Young's declaration of martial law on September 15, 1857. Taking the law into his own hands in an effort to stop the army from coming into the Salt Lake Valley, Young—who by then knew he was no longer Utah's governor—forbade travel through the western center of the country unless one had a permit from him. The inflammatory act cut off the growing state of California from the rest of the country, escalated tensions between the federal government and the Mormon leaders, and was viewed in Washington as another order of rebellion.

In spite of holding Brigham Young's theocratic ideas as ultimately responsible for the conflict, the authors also give credit where it is to due to Young and the Mormons:

> The stalwarts who made up what they called "The Camp of Israel" were almost all as remarkable as their formidable leader. They were mostly farmers, but the band included architects, blacksmiths, carpenters, mathematicians, musicians, former Indian agents, politicians, potters, printers, slaves, and wagonwrights. They came from England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Denmark, Norway, and virtually every state in the Union. Men of such caliber were responsible for the success of the Latter-day Saints in settling the Great Basin, where they founded and built more than three hundred villages, towns, and cities. As far as possible in a harsh and arid region where only 4 percent of the land was arable, they made "the desert blossom as a rose." Brigham Young was one of the greatest leaders in American history, but such men and women formed the bedrock of his astonishing success: without them, he could have accomplished nothing. (26)

When it came to the skill of the Utah militia, the authors write, "Adding to the Mormons' advantage of terrain was the quality of officers and men in the Nauvoo Legion. Some of them had marched two thousand miles in 1846 from Fort Leavenworth to Los Angeles as members of the Mormon Battalion to occupy Mexico's northernmost province during the War with Mexico. What most lacked in military training, they made up for in leadership skills gained from building settlements and leading closely organized overland companies to Salt Lake Valley, some from as far away as Denmark. They knew the land

they defended and were hardened to the conditions it imposed" (192).

Bigler and Bagley write that Brigham Young's loyalty "first, last, and always, was to God's Kingdom, the theocratic system Joseph Smith had envisioned as a prerequisite of Christ's return in the latter days, which were then at hand." Young believed "that the U.S. Constitution was inspired by God to prepare a land of religious freedom where His kingdom would be established as an earthly entity that would supersede all other earthly realms within Young's lifetime" (356). As the authors point out earlier in the book, "Prior to the millennium, a theocracy, ruled by God from the heavens above, cannot live within a democratic republic, governed by its people from earth below, without civil warfare. By nature, the two governing systems are incompatible and cannot exist side by side, or one within the other, without conflict" (8–9). The authors conclude that the conflict did not end until "the death of Brigham Young brought to a close a thirty-year struggle to establish the primacy of God's Kingdom over the United States and all earthly realms. . . . It was always his [Young's] war. . . . Instead he went to his death believing that he would lead his people back to Missouri and live to see [Joseph] Smith return with Jesus Christ" (362–63).

I do have a few quibbles: The index should have been more comprehensive and has led me to note all kinds of additional entries or subentries as I read the book. Grasshoppers mentioned on pages 85, 194, and 260 were actually the Rocky Mountain locust (*Melanoplus sprectus*), a now-extinct species. The map on page 2 is much too small; it should have been turned upright and spread across two pages. Still, this is altogether a remarkable book, one I highly recommend.

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J. Kenneth Davies and Lorin K. Hansen. *Mormon Gold: Mormons in the California Gold Rush Contributing to the Development of California and the*

Monetary Solvency of Early Utah. North Salt Lake City, Utah: Granite Mountain Publishing Company, 2010. xv, 435 pp. Photographs, maps, notes, appendices, index. Hardback: $49.99. ISBN 098308320–7

Reviewed by Edward Leo Lyman

As J. Kenneth Davies, retired Brigham Young University economics professor, stated in his preface to this book, which he calls its second edition, it has been over twenty-five years since he published the first edition of *Mormon Gold: The Story of California's Mormon Argonauts* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing, 1984). That book was a "detailed account of the Mormon participation in the [major] nineteenth century California gold rush" (xiii). In this even more important second book, Davies, who has a long-standing interest in Mormon mining ventures and working miners, has gathered an amazingly extensive and detailed account of the almost-unknown yet important role of perhaps up to a thousand Latter-day Saint participants (some of whom never returned to Church activity) in the California mother lode country mining operations—particularly its southern half–during the first four years of the gold rush.

Davies probably made an equally significant contribution, which was never adequately recognized nor acknowledged, regarding the essential role that the gold carried back to Utah played in establishing literally the first monetary exchange system in the fledgling Great Basin kingdom then being established. Davies's careful explanation of the activity, adding his professional expertise to his good grasp of the effectively interpreted relevant historical material, offered an unprecedented and invaluable body of knowledge to what Leonard J. Arrington had only begun in his study, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958). In Davies's new edition, co-authored by Lorin K. Hansen, this subject has been further expanded as Chapter 7, "Mormon Valley Currency." Similarly, his discussion of Brigham Young's much-misunderstood, but equally crucial, role in promoting LDS gold mining endeavors, including calling gold-mining missionaries, is also most significant.

However, the first edition of *Mormon Gold* also had several important limitations. A number of individuals were not properly identified, and Davies sometimes posited hypotheses and propositions which could not be properly documented. Therefore, the new edition, featuring a great deal of additional research, and some corrections by Lorin K. Hansen, a well-respected historian with particular expertise in the successful Mormon agricultural operations in the east San Francisco Bay region during the gold rush period. (Davies's health necessitated this assistance.) In short, I consider this "second edition," to be in reality, a virtually new and superior book on *Mormon Gold*.

In the new edition, Hansen fully utilizes the great many items of additional

research and writing accumulated in the generation since the first work appeared, including a companion work by Kenneth N. Owens, *Gold Rush Saints: California Mormons and the Great Rush for Riches* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004). Together, these two books are the best works presently available on the subject.

Hansen included some particularly good treatment of the Mormon contribution to blazing trails across the Sierra Nevada Mountains, transportation, settlement on the Nevada side of the mountains, and mining activities there. Besides this, a great deal of new material describes inns, trading posts, and even saloons operated by Church members on both sides of the mountains.

The larger-page format (8.5x11) allowed gathering some of Davies's biographical material from previously separate publications and including them in *Mormon Gold* as appendices scattered throughout the book. In fact, this is an unusually important portion of the entire work, with some forty lists of individuals and families in various emigration companies and mining camps at various points in time. One of the most outstanding features of the larger work is the massive number of good illustrations, including at least sixty portraits of individual participants in the saga (naturally, their importance varies widely), along with many images of mining and business locations and enterprises. I have written at least four times about Thomas Tomkins and had never seen a photograph of him, but Hansen located and published one and another of his wife (220).

As a fellow historian of the Mormons in California, I have long regretted that LDS history after 1847 almost always focuses primarily on northern Utah. Yet it is difficult to find a more interesting Mormon story than Latter-day Saints in the gold rush. A specific case in point might be that of Mormon Island, its Mormon Battalion veteran discoverers, and the huge community of up to three hundred Church members laboring there. For half a year, they served under the leadership of Mormon apostle Amasa M. Lyman, a situation first recounted in the original edition of *Mormon Gold*. Davies was also the first to cite non-Mormon contemporary author J. M. Letts for Lyman's domination and leadership in that camp. Some have called Mormon Island the richest of all placer gold-producing locations in the entire region. In fact, one of the few minor omissions of both editions might be the failure to utilize or acknowledge early El Dorado County historian Paolo Sioli's *History of El Dorado County, California* (1883; rpt., Georgetown, Calif.: Cedar Ridge Publishing, 1998), who called Mormon Island "the richest placers on earth" (p. 69). Many of the first miners from outside California actually initially flocked to that camp.

Well-circulated maps from the era label at least ten major mining locations with "Mormon" as part of their name. Other important Mormon-dominated camps include Salmon Falls and Greenwood Valley. This work recounts the

history and discusses the involvement of many individual Latter-day Saints in all of these locations.

There are probably arguments both pro and con about dividing the text into twenty-five small chapters and four additional appendices. But for certain, it makes the contents of the book easier to assess and enables the effective location of particular subjects. Chapter 1 treats the arrival of the *Brooklyn* Saints and the Mormon Battalion, along with several others traveling to California earlier than the discovery of gold. Chapter 2, "Gold at Coloma," recounts the momentous initial gold discovery, while Chapter 3 describes activities at "Mormon Island." In Chapter 4, Davies and Hansen describe "The Mormon-Carson Pass Emigrant Trail," which became one of the major routes across the Sierras—located, cleared, and publicized by Church members. Chapter 5 takes "A Message of Gold to Brigham Young," followed by a chapter on "The Mormon '48ers" who traveled from Utah to the gold fields often authorized to do so by Church leaders. Chapter 7, as mentioned above, treats the coining, printing, and even hand writing of money backed by gold.

The next four chapters describe, respectively, "Mormon Guides to the Gold Mines," Amasa M. Lyman's tithing-gathering mission, the arrival of Mormon converts from the American South, and the experiences of Thomas Rhoades, perhaps the most successful Mormon goldminer. Chapter 12 deals with Charles C. Rich in California; Chapter 13 with "The Gentile Pomeroy Wagon Train," a freight wagon company traveling south accompanied by some Mormons; "The Huffaker Company" (Chapter 14), a primarily Mormon emigrant group also traveling south in late 1849; Howard Egan's important "Salt Lake Trading Company" in California (15) ; and Lyman and Rich's "Joint Apostolic Gold Mission," including activities at San Francisco and Sacramento (16). Chapter 17 describes Mormon gold-miners sent on missions to the Society Islands. Chapter 18 documents Mormon companies California-bound in the spring of 1850, then Lyman's successful transporting a substantial amount of gold to Utah.

Chapter 20 describes "maverick Mormon" Abner Blackburn. Chapter 21 depicts activities at Mormon Station and Carson Valley in the Nevada region, followed by a chapter on "San Bernardino Saints," "Proselyting the Gold Fields," and a missionary effort to encourage members to relocate to where the Church was functioning more effectively than in northern California. The final chapter includes some "Reflections" on the significance of Church participation in these momentous historical events.

The four additional appendices are actually seventy pages of supplementary text. Appendix A describes over forty gold-mining communities with substantial Mormon populations; Appendix B analyzes the 1850 census for probable Mormons located in the mother lode counties; Appendix C offers a useful 1845–60 time line, and Appendix D makes a major contribution by

Hansen on "Transportation and Agriculture as Historical Background for the Mormon Gold Story."

This fine book deserves much attention for its content and excellent visual appearance and will likely be the last word on its truly fascinating array of topics for years to come.

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William Logan Hebner, ed. *Southern Paiute: A Portrait.* Photographs by Michael Plyler. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2010. 208 pages. One appendix with maps. Cloth: $34.95. ISBN 978–0–87421–754–4

Reviewed by Todd M. Compton

From 1999 to 2009, William Hebner (with photographer Michael Plyler) recorded thirty wide-ranging oral histories of leading, often older, Southern Paiutes. He had noticed that sometimes Paiutes had been interviewed about specific anthropological details of Paiute culture but not about their life experiences. He decided to try to record life histories and, surmounting considerable difficulties, succeeded in creating this book, which allows thirty Paiutes to speak for themselves. Plyler's photographs are haunting, and the oral histories are wonderful documents, priceless historical records, and moving, involving life stories.

Seventeen women and twelve men were interviewed, grouped in eight sections: San Juan Paiute (three interviews), Kaibab Paiute Tribe (two interviews), Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah (eleven interviews), Caliente Paiute (two interviews), Moapa Band of Paiute Indians (four interviews), Las Vegas Paiute Tribe (one interview), Chemehuevi Indian Tribe (two interviews), and Pahrump Band of Paiutes (two interviews). Thus the book is organized geographically, proceeding from eastern Utah to Nevada. Since Hebner began doing the interviews, ten of these interviewees, Paiute elders, have passed away.

Hebner's general introduction and his introductions to the various Paiute bands give an excellent impressionistic overview of Paiute history, reinforced by historical events as recorded in the oral histories. If I were to make one slight criticism of Hebner's introductions, I would put a bit more emphasis on Mormons, such as Jacob Hamblin, Ammon Tenney, Thales Haskell, William Bailey Maxwell, and Ira Hatch, who tried to help Paiutes, by their own lights, often at considerable sacrifice to themselves, and sometime working at cross purposes with Salt Lake City and local Church leaders.

One of the poignant themes that comes up repeatedly in this book (the histories of Eunice Tillahash Surveyor and Madelan Redfoot are examples) is that Paiute culture is gradually disappearing. There are fewer and fewer speakers of the Paiute language, and fewer who practice the old Paiute religious traditions, thanks to a number of contributing factors. Many Paiutes have intermarried with Indians of other tribes (such as Navajo or Shoshoni, to mention two cases from this book), or with whites, which leaves their children with mixed cultural allegiances. Conversion to Mormonism or other Christian groups, and white education and acculturation, have also been a factor in Paiutes departing from their ancestral culture, though sometimes they have mixed white and Indian beliefs and practices. Alvin Marble discusses the LDS Indian Placement Program in a few devastating sentences: "Most of the kids in the sixties went in the placement program, into the white foster homes. They'd come back home and wouldn't speak Paiute. They'd just look at you" (p. 106.)

Given this constant cultural erosion, we are greatly indebted to Hebner and Plyler for these oral histories and photographs, which preserve the life histories of these Paiute leaders in their own words and also many aspects of Paiute culture, history, and religion. As one example of many historical, cultural parallels, Eleanor Tom, when growing up, remembered that her grandmother would hunt and cook porcupine. It is one example of how the Paiutes would use all elements of their environment—seeds, animals, large and small—for survival. When Thomas Brown, with the first major group of Mormons who came to Dixie in 1854, ate a stew that Paiutes had cooked, he found that one of its components was porcupine head.[1]

In my view, the history of Latter-day Saint interactions with Indians, especially in the nineteenth century, is one of the most important aspects of Utah history and is one of the under-reported aspects of Mormon history.[2] The Book of Mormon, with its focus on the ancestors of the American Indians and its eschatological vision of the "restoration" of the Indians as converts to Mor-

[1]Thomas Brown, Diary, June 7, 1854, in Juanita Brooks, ed., *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission: Diary of Thomas D. Brown*, Vol. 4 in Western Text Society (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1973), 44.

[2]For example, Ronald W. Walker's important "'Seeking the 'Remnant': The Na-

monism, led early Church leaders—beginning with Joseph Smith in 1830–31—to actively pursue and encourage missions to the "Lamanites." This idealistic missionary ardor continued among some Church leaders and Indian missionaries in Utah. However, while there are some individual conversions in the Mormon-Indian record, as a whole it is a tragic, sometimes violent, story.

There was a vast cultural chasm between the whites with their European heritage and the Indians, who had no background in Western science, Western law, biblical studies, etc. In fact, they could not speak English, or read or write, something Mormon missionaries usually took for granted when proselytizing. There were mass baptisms of Indians in early Utah and Arizona, but few real converts. Often early Mormon settlers changed their focus from missionary work among the Indians to surviving as farmers or ranchers in difficult territory. And with this change in focus, along with constantly increasing numbers of settlers sent south by Brigham Young, came competition for resources. Water was in short supply in arid Dixie, and Mormons had to use traditional Paiute water supplies for water-intensive cotton farming, while one of the staples of Paiute life, seeds from grasses, were increasingly cropped by Mormon cattle. Many Paiutes literally faced starvation.[3] In addition, Paiutes fell victim in great numbers to epidemics brought by the whites, such as smallpox and measles. Partially as a result of these and other issues, they responded with thefts and raids on Mormon livestock. There were punitive raids in retaliation, and in the case of the Utes (sometime allied with Navajos and southern Utes/Paiutes), an open war, the Black Hawk War.[4] Paiutes were often relocated in reservations on land that whites did not want and were not integrated into LDS communities.

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tive American during the Joseph Smith Period," *Journal of Mormon History* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 1–33, covers only one period in Mormon history.

[3]See, for example, Franklin H. Head, Letter to Dennis N. Cooley, August 4 1866, Record Group 75, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–80, M234, reel 902, frame 126, National Archives: "Many Indians have perished of starvation, within the past six or eight months. . . . Some of these Indians, to save themselves from actual starvation, have occasionally stolen stock from the miners and settlers. This has led to acts of retaliation." I would disagree with Stoffle and Evans who state that the Kaibab Paiutes "were primarily starved to death" *(Southern Paiute*, 5). I have not seen the evidence to support such a statement; and this statement underplays the contribution of Jacob Hamblin and some other Mormons, who tried to feed Kaibab Paiutes. In my judgment (and direct evidence is often lacking), more Paiutes were killed by epidemics in the nineteenth century than by starvation, though, as Head's quotation above shows, along with other evidence, a significant number of Paiutes died of starvation. Sometimes epidemics spread more disastrously because the victims were suffering from malnutrition.

[4]John Alton Peterson, *Utah's Black Hawk War* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999).

This is not the story of mass conversions along with an apocalyptic end-scene in which Indians played a prominent part for which Mormons hoped. After these tumultuous beginnings, the history of the Southern Paiute has continued to be difficult. For example, a number of Paiute bands were terminated in 1954, meaning that land and government aid were taken from them, largely because Utah's senator Arthur Watkins, chair of the Senate Interior Committee Subcommittee on Indian Affairs and a devout Mormon, was under pressure to produce a termination candidate from his own state, and the Utes (the only logical candidates) were too politically powerful to submit to that process. The Paiutes were not suited for termination; but because they did not have the Utes' political clout, they were forced to become Watkins's example.[5] Many of these oral histories (such as those by McKay Pikyavit and Gevene Savala) testify to the disastrous consequences of Watkins's political action. Yet the senator always considered himself a sincere friend of Indians.

The relationship of the Southern Paiute with the LDS Church is varied and individual. Patrick Charles served a mission for the LDS Church; now, he says, "I feel I'm leaning more toward the Indian ways" (59). Eleanor Tom no longer attends church, says she believes in the "old Indian ways," but still identifies herself as "also an LDS lady. I was a second counselor, did Relief Society" (80). Arthur Richards, who married in the temple and served in a bishopric, combines LDS beliefs and Paiute religion, arguing that they support each other (91–92). Madelan Redfoot pursues a similar fascinating synthesis of cultures (60–63). Lalovi Miller identifies herself as "a jack Mormon," but "the LDS beliefs follow with ours. . . . [O]ur religion follows a lot of the Bible" (138, 140). Eldene Snow Cervantes had orthodox parents who were married in the temple, but she has nothing to do with Mormonism and wonders why Paiutes who became Mormon "weren't stronger" (98). Gertrude Hanks Leivas has three lucky rocks: "One for God, one for Jesus, one for the Holy Ghost. It helps me" (164). Clara Belle Jim rejects "white man religion" completely: "I stay with my own. But when earth was new, Coyote was our god. . . . Beasts were people before us" (183). Mary Ann Owl says that she and her husband Jack "turned to white Christianity," and "Christianity made our prayers strong. Jesus is Shinawav [the Paiute creator-God], born by a woman" (28). Irene Benn identifies herself as a Mormon and describes the good feelings she gets when "blessed by the Mormons." But she feels even better when she receives a Paiute blessing (129).

Some of these interviewees remember some individual white Mormons

[5]Carolyn Grattan-Aiello, "Senator Arthur V. Watkins and the Termination of Utah's Southern Paiute Indians," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 63, no. 3 (Winter 1995): 268–83.

with fondness. Irene Benn, for example, recalls that Bishop Kenneth Jensen "was our friend" (131). Other white Mormons, such as Senator Watkins, are remembered with deep dislike.

One of the complexities of the Paiute and American Indian history is troubled relations between tribes. San Juan Paiutes lost what they considered traditional Paiute land to the Navajos, a loss that still stings. Bessie Owl says, "It really bothers me sometimes, how we lost this land to the Navajos" (32). Here again, because the Paiutes had less political clout, they were not able to stand up for their rights and protect their land. Mary Ann and Jack Owl also tell of the constant influx of Navajos invading their land. On the other hand, tribes that sometimes fought each other have often intermarried. Margaret King had a Navajo father and a Paiute mother. Her daughter-in-law, a Navajo, translated for her during the interview. A prominent Indian in nineteenth-century southern Utah history was Patnish; reportedly a San Juan Paiute or Ute by birth, he was raised by Navajos (possibly as a captive after a raid), so was a Navajo by culture. He led a mixed band of Utes/Paiutes and Navajos.[6] Strict demarcations between tribes often did not exist at that time, and often they blur now. Richard Arnold feels that interrelationships between tribes are always difficult, but Indians nevertheless have "some common bond that will overshadow those differences" (176).

Historian Robert M. Utley, in his *The Indian Frontier, 1846–1890*, argues that whites and Indians were doomed to misunderstand each other in crucial ways on the frontier. Southern Paiute history certainly supports that generalization. On the other hand, Utley felt that the frontier could be a place of valuable cultural interchange, both for Indians and whites.[7] While reading this book, I was attracted to a number of aspects of Paiute culture. One is reverence for the earth. Lila Carter says, "I think our people are closer to the earth. We don't like nothing destroyed" (153). According to Richard Arnold, the Paiutes' communion with animals "gives us such a close relationship to the environment" (176). I was also impressed with the Paiute ideal of leadership through thorough discussion, then consensus, not through dictatorial, autocratic fiat, a tradition that reaches back into the nineteenth century. While one could imagine situations where this process might break down in practical situations, it seems like a refreshing alternative to autocratic political models in our country and state.

This is a great book, full of treasures, and an important record of a generation of Paiutes that is already passing away. Lora Tom says, "Working with the white community, there are so many people who have no clue as to who I am,

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[6]Anthony Ivins, Diary, October 29, 1875, Utah State Historical Society.

[7]Robert M. Utley, *The Indian Frontier, 1846–1890,* 2d ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), xvi.

who I represent. They need to reach out to us. We need to reach out to them" (81). This book will help accomplish that ideal.

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R. Jean Addams. *Upon the Temple Lot: The Church of Christ's Quest to Build the House of the Lord.* Independence: John Whitmer Books, 2010. 167 pp. Photographs, maps, notes, index. Paper. $14.95; ISBN 9781934901342

Reviewed by Steven L. Shields

The story of the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) is a story of commitment, sacrifice, and perseverance—a story not well known by many readers of Latter Day Saint history. Remarkably, this small denomination was the first group of Latter Day Saints to return to the "land of Zion" since the members of the Church were expelled by angry mobs in 1833. This book briefly lays out the history of the founding of the Church of Christ (Temple Lot), its key leader Granville Hedrick, its return to Jackson County, Missouri, its remarkable efforts to build a temple at Independence—and its disappointment in having that dream derailed.

R. Jean Addams has scoured thousands of pages of land records, census records, publications, and Church records; he also conducted numerous interviews. He has brought together in one concise volume a chronology and commentary on a denomination that has occupied one of the most highly contested spots of ground in all of Latter Day Saint history.

Addams tells the story of how leaders of the small denomination approached both the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, or RLDS Church (Community of Christ), and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in the early years of the twentieth century. The Temple Lot leaders proposed that the three denominations unite their efforts to build the temple. Although not explained, I wonder if this was because Latter Day Saints of all denominations believed that the Second Coming would occur in 1929 or 1930—the countdown starting from the reported visit of John the Baptist in May 1829 or from the formal organization of the original church in 1830.

The story of how the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) and Community of Christ forged an agreement, adopted in 1918, permitting members to transfer

between denominations is most interesting but will be seen as rather curious by many readers. With one denomination numbering only a hundred or so members, and the other with tens of thousands, one wonders if the Community of Christ leaders hoped that most of the Temple Lot Church members would move in their direction and thus that Community of Christ would be able to lay claim to the sacred Temple Lot. Some Temple Lot members accused them of such motives (47). An unexpected reaction to Community of Christ President and Prophet Frederick M. Smith's leadership style and policies in the mid-1920s did, in fact, result in two or three thousand Community of Christ members transferring to the Temple Lot Church. This development swelled its ranks from the almost static hundred members it had had for most of its history to the point that former Community of Christ members outnumbered the original Temple Lot membership twenty or thirty to one.

Addams describes for his readers the roller-coaster ride of the next few years of Temple Lot Church history. One of the new apostles and former Community of Christ high priest, Otto Fetting, announced early in 1927 (less than a year after he'd become an apostle) that John the Baptist had returned, visited him, and in subsequent messages, coming every few weeks, commanded the now-enlarged church to build the temple. In Addams's words:

> Fetting's "Fifth Message" electrified the membership of the Church of Christ like nothing had before. The revelation was read on April 9, 1928, to the church at the annual April conference and affirmatively voted upon as "divine." From the moment this message was broadcast throughout the church, the physical undertaking to build the House of the Lord would play a major and pivotal role within the church; both among the members and more especially among the men of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles. Furthermore, the Church of Christ's relationship with the RLDS Church, as well as with other branches or divisions of the Restoration, would be directly affected. (70)

Ground was broken for the temple in April 1929, plans drawn and published (for a drawing of the projected building, see the cover of the Spring 2010 *Journal of Mormon History*), and fund-raising was in full swing. Then within weeks of the groundbreaking ceremony, Fetting reported that God commanded everyone to be rebaptized. The Church split; Fetting and at least a thousand supporters walked out and became their own, separate denomination.

Work on the temple came to a screeching halt, except for a few feeble efforts over the next decade to get the work going again. To make matters worse, as Addams reports, accusations of fiscal impropriety on the part of the Temple Lot bishop emerged in the early 1940s, causing the Church great distress. The "Trowbridge affair" is an important part of the history, and Addams has used sensitivity in dealing with it.

Unfortunately, the book suffers from a lack of editing, a failing of the pub-

lisher and not the author. There are several places in the book where leaders, offices held, and titles are confusing, especially to readers unfamiliar with the details of how the three denominations in the narrative use similar titles, but with different duties in each church. The book needs an explanation of the organizational structure, leadership offices, and priesthood offices of the Temple Lot Church.

There are some places where the reader may be confused. For example, Addams reports a "revelation by President Elbert A. Smith" (85). However, although referred to by the title "president," Elbert A. Smith was not President of Community of Christ, but a counselor in the First Presidency. Readers need to have an explanation about the long-treasured Latter Day Saint tradition of "speaking in prophecy"—a tradition that has largely been lost in modern times. Addams reports another example of this tradition when he tells his readers of a "revelation" by RLDS Apostle Joseph Luff (100). To typify either pronouncement as a "revelation" confuses the revelatory role that is exclusive to the President of the Church.

"Common consent" as practiced by the Church of Christ (Temple Lot), modeled on Community of Christ's practice due to the huge influx of members from that denomination in the 1920s, has unfortunately been confused with "consensus." In several places (95, 96, 98), Addams declares that results of votes were "hardly a consensus," by which he seems to imply that without unanimity the voting was somehow flawed. Common consent in both denominations has long been the norm, where negative votes are not only expected, but also cherished as expressions of democracy. "Consensus," on the other hand, is a different style of decision-making. The reader needs a clear explanation of how the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) conducted its votes, who was eligible to vote, and how negative outcomes do not necessarily imply dissent.

The book has dozens of photos, many of which have never been published before and others that have not been seen for a half century or more. These illustrations are an important contribution of the book and speak well of Addams's dogged research and sifting of source material. I would like to have had a bibliography to save wading through Addams's extensive (but valuable) footnotes to track down books and periodicals quoted.

Despite these shortcomings, *Upon the Temple Lot* and its author, R. Jean Addams, make an important and valuable contribution to the historical task. Addams is to be congratulated for successfully bringing to fruition many years of research in libraries and court records, interviewing dozens of people, and traveling around the wilderness of Illinois and Missouri tracking down many of the places where this history occurred. This book is the first monograph-length study of the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) ever published by a writer who is not and never has been a member of that denomina-

tion. If only for that reason, this book is an important addition to the library of Latter Day Saint history.

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Nathaniel R. Ricks, ed. *"My Candid Opinion": The Sandwich Islands Diaries of Joseph F. Smith, 1856–1857*. Salt Lake City: The Smith-Pettit Foundation, 2011. xxiv, 142 pp. Photograph, notes, index. Cloth: $107.05. ISBN 978–1–56085–220–9

Reviewed by John J Hammond

Nathaniel R. Ricks, who earned an M.A. in history at Brigham Young University–Provo and currently teaches at Pikes Peak Community College and Falcon Middle School in Colorado Springs, has performed an admirable service for those interested in Mormon and Hawaiian history by publishing an annotated typescript of the Sandwich Islands diaries/journals of the teenage missionary Joseph F. Smith.

In a brief but informative eleven-page introduction, Ricks indicates that Joseph F. was the son of the martyred Hyrum Smith and Mary Fielding Smith. No doubt traumatized by his father's violent death and funeral when he was about five, Joseph F. was further traumatized by the death of his mother in 1852 when he was thirteen: "Over the ensuing months and years Joseph F. struggled to find himself," becoming "something of a troublemaker." This difficult period involved "experimentation with both tobacco and alcohol," as well as a physical assault on his male schoolteacher (vii–viii, 23 note 3).

Although Ricks does not mention it, by the spring of 1854 Brigham Young had been informed by leaders in the Hawaiian mission that older men found it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to learn the native language,[1] so fifteen-year-old Joseph F., sixteen-year-old John R. Young (Brigham's nephew), and others in their early twenties, were dispatched to Hawaii—in Joseph F.'s

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[1]See, for example, Phillip B. Lewis, president of the Sandwich Islands Mission, Letter to the First Presidency, March 6, 1853, in Manuscript History of the Hawaiian

case, probably with the double hope that he could boost missionary work in the islands and get "reformed" in the process.

On the first page there is a wonderful photograph of Joseph F., taken just after his return to Utah from the Islands. Before beginning the typescript, Ricks provides six pages of brief but helpful biographical information on seventy-nine "Prominent Characters" whose names appear in the diaries, including Protestant missionaries and other "gentiles." There is a good physical description of the six-volume diary, which consists of makeshift collections of pages sewn together by hand. Unfortunately, the first two volumes were destroyed when a cottage burned in early June 1856 at the mission "gathering place" on Lana'i. (Joseph F. was then on the Big Island of Hawaii.) These lost diaries apparently covered his journey to the islands, his arrival at Honolulu in September 1854, and roughly the first twenty months of his mission, which lasted until October 1857. Virtually all of Joseph F.'s personal possessions in the islands were consumed in the fire, including, he claims, "a deguarian likeness of my father, uncle Joseph [Smith Jr.] and Brigham Young, a present and priceless to me."[2] After painfully listing all his many losses, he wrote: "Well these dear fiew things is gon[e] and not one saved, and now I am destitute, but with old Jobe exclaim: 'The Lord givith and the Lord taketh away, blessed be the name of the Lord.' I am confident that he has and will provide for his servents, so all is well."

Ricks does not tell us much about those months before Joseph F.'s first surviving diary begins, failing to mention a point made by Joseph F.'s biographer Scott Kenney: "Other missionaries received mail routinely, but for six months, none came for him. Finally a letter arrived from [his cousin, once removed] George A. Smith, the first communication from home since he had arrived."[3] Joseph F. learned Hawaiian very quickly, and Ricks points out the fact—clearly evident in Joseph F.'s diaries—that during his mission "he worked to educate and improve himself," reading "voraciously in history, philosophy, poetry, the classics, current events, [and] virtually anything he could acquire" (xiv), including light novels. From a negative standpoint, however, he spent an enormous amount of time on this non-missionary activity.

Joseph F. began his mission on Maui where, on July 24, 1855, he was ap-

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Mission; and Phillip B. Lewis, Letter to Parley P. Pratt, March 19, 1853, MS 2248, both in LDS Church History Library.

[2]Joseph F., Journal, June 26, 1856, 37–39. Ricks notes: "Were this truly a daguerreotype, it was certainly one of a kind and most definitely invaluable. . . . [N]o verified daguerreotypes of Mormonism's founder or of his brother Hyrum are known to have survived" (39 note 43).

[3]Scott G. Kenney, "Before the Beard: Trials of the Young Joseph F. Smith," *Sunstone*, Issue 120 (November 2001): 25.

pointed president of the "Maui Conference," which did not then include the nearby islands of Moloka'i and Lana'i. In April 1856, he was called to preside over one of the two conferences on Hawai'i and, on his way there on April 17, wrote the following grammatically imperfect but aesthetically sophisticated description of his voyage:

> We ware soon left in a compleat callm, the sails flittering and flop-[p]ing at each rock of our appearantly or seemingly deserted and forsaken craft. We ware alone and in silence, the howling of the wind had seased, and and [sic] the swol[l]en wave had sank to its level, and all was still, but now the luminary of midnight had arisen to a considerable highth, its silvery rays shone softly upon the unrippled sea, which threw around us the most loving, and majestic of all sceneries, on our left & right ware the riseing hills of Maui & Lanai towering far above the milky clouds that hung thickly beneath their sum[m]its, and yet a little farther on ware the towering peakes of Maunakea and Maunaloa of Hawaii, with their snowy mantles spread by the hand of nature never to be removed, standing, to defy the tempests of ages gone by and to come, and from it[s] bowels ware belching forth the liquid flames of everlasting torment as is made know by our good and self righteous priests of this progressive and enlightened age.

Doing missionary work in the Sandwich Islands in the 1850s was no easy task. Utah missionaries generally lived with the natives in thatched huts, ate their exotic food, and constantly complained of being bitten all night by ticks and fleas. For example, for "breckfast" on March 19, 1856, Joseph F. "feasted" on "one potatoe and a little salt, Dinner and supper was the same, I had many strong thoughts, but in a oath thanked the lord for the privelige I then enjoyed." The next day he reported: "Last night my rest was disturbed by being bit 4 or 5 times by a centipede which had cralled in my bead [bed]. I sleept no more till morning, (this was about midnight) in the morning attended meeting, and pertook of my breckfast which consisted of one potatoe and salt, as before." Ricks notes that "Hawaiian centipedes vary in size, color, and potency of sting; the largest can reach twelve inches in length." (17 note 30)

Even more candidly, Joseph recorded:

> I have seen whol[e] families who ware on sallid [solid] mass of scabes, (having the itch[)] and every sti[t]ch, or rag they had about them or on their premisis, ware alive with the itch. I have slept in these circumstances, I have shaken handes with those whos[e] body and hands ware a scab! I have eaten food mixed up like unto batter with such handes. . . . I have slept in places where should my hog sleep my stumache would forbid me eating of it. . . . I have slept with my bretheren on the same mat with those who ware rotten! And stunk with diseas! And I have seen more than this, the fact of it is, this nation is rot[t]en, and stink[s] because of, and with their own wickedness, and but fiew are exceptionable, with but fiew exceptions their hogs, doges and cates and they live together, and I have seen doges particularly besides other animals, completely covered with the itch so that their hair had all left their bodies in a scabe. . . . Once I en-

> tered a house where several persons was eating and there was a huge dog [that] stood with his head over the calabash of Poi, his mouth and eyes ware drooling & run[n]ing watter, matter &c. he had some fiew heres [hairs] upon him, but scabes, running sores, some skin, no flesh, bones &c.... (July 4, 1856, 40–41)

The typescript Ricks provides is clearly presented and serviceable, native language words and phrases are helpfully translated, and much useful information is communicated in the footnotes. He seems to have relied a great deal for these annotations on material in the Joseph F. Smith Papers Collection (LDS Church History Library).[4] In footnotes he includes summaries and quotations from almost all of the extensive correspondence Joseph F. received from friends and relatives during the latter part of his mission, although these quotations tend to move the focus of the narrative away from Hawaii and toward Utah.

Ricks sometimes engages in unjustifiable speculations concerning passages in the typescript. For example Joseph F. wrote that he and his companion, Thomas A. Dowell, stayed one night on Moloka'i with "three persons who professed to be mormons. We had to go to bed with out supper after traveling as we did. The folks afforded us one old dirty sheet or Kikei to sleep under, my thoughts have been, curious, a long [while?] back." Ricks comments: "It is unclear on what Joseph F.'s 'curious' thoughts focused. It is possible that he is simply referring to the physical and spiritual degeneracy of the natives, or something completely unrelated. Perhaps this is even a veiled reference to curiosity about sexuality, suggested by the emphasis he places on the phrase and its seeming disjointed [sic] from the previous phrase" (96 and note 8).

The major shortcoming of this work, however, is Ricks's apparent failure to consult any of the numerous journals being kept by Joseph F.'s fellow missionaries. Thus, his knowledge of mission history oftentimes is inadequate. For example, Joseph F.'s long-term companion on the Big Island of Hawaii was Washington B. Rogers. Ricks is apparently unaware that Rogers, early in his mission, was extremely paranoid, convinced that the native brethren on the east coast of Maui were determined to kill him. This episode occurred while Joseph F. also was on Maui and is thoroughly documented in Francis ("Frank") Asbury Hammond's journal.[5] Apparently Rogers had moved past this problem when Joseph F. was his companion on Hawaii, however, since he

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[4]He identifies these documents as being in Richard E. Turley Jr., ed., *Selected Collections from the Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* 2 vols., DVD (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, [December 2002] (viii note 3).

[5]Francis A. Hammond, Journal, December 21–23, 1854–January 12, 1855. The nine-volume holograph diary of Hammond's Hawaiian Mission is in the LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City. Several years ago, I made typescripts of this

notes only that Rogers was a "somewhat deficient" preacher and lacked proficiency in Hawaiian (June 22, 1856; May 5, 1857; 36, 99).

As a second example, Ricks apparently does not know that the whaleboats which were the main means of travel between Maui, Lana'i, and Moloka'i were also powered by sails (23 note 1–2). Third, he states that the Lahainaluna Seminary above Lahaina was a "Methodist-run high school established in 1831." In fact, the "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions" had founded the school, and it was primarily "Congregationalist or Calvinist, but open to other denominations."[6]

Fourth, Ricks quotes from a letter Henry P. Richards on Maui wrote to Joseph F. complaining of the idleness and disobedience of "these infernal servants of Napela's." Ricks suggests that they were "probably native elders" (34–35 note 31); but in addition to being a lawyer, judge, and prominent Mormon convert, Jonathan Napela ran a profitable potato-growing operation at Kula. It seems more likely that Richards was complaining about Napela's employees.

Fifth, on March 29, 1856, Joseph F. had an angry verbal and physical confrontation with another missionary whom he calls "Bro. Linn," and "Bro. G. Linn." Ricks identifies him as "Elder Gordon Linn" (xxii, notes 14, 18–20, 38), but there was no Utah Mormon missionary in the Sandwich Islands in the 1850s by that name. He actually was Gustaf (or maybe Gustov) Linn (or Lynn), whom Henry Bigler baptized on June 29, 1852, on O'ahu.[7] He was an elderly carpenter, married to a native woman, and fluent in Swedish, English, and native Hawaiian. He served a full-time mission on the Big Island of Hawaii with James Keeler and Reddick Allred,[8] and worked with other Utah missionaries on Maui and O'ahu.

The confrontation was over a pair of scissors that Linn had loaned to Joseph F. According to Ricks, the lengthy (page and a half) journal entry describing this event (18–19) is all in Joseph F.'s handwriting, though Joseph F. prefaced his description of the altercation by saying "a scene followed that I shall

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journal and donated copies to the LDS Church History Library and to libraries at the University of Utah, BYU—Provo, BYU—Hawaii, the Utah State Historical Society, and the Maui Historical Society at Wailuku, Maui.

[6]Nicole McMullen, executive director of the Bailey House Museum, Maui Historical Society, Wailuku, Maui, email to John J Hammond, July 29, 2011.

[7]William Farrar, Journal, March 29, April 2, and July 3, 1852, MSS 1521, holograph and typescript, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

[8]James Keeler, Journal, March 11–25, 1854, MSS 834, fd. 3, Perry Special Collections, copy of holograph in my possession; Reddin A. Allred, Journal, July 26, 1854, Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum (Salt Lake City) typescript. Allred calls him "Gustaf Linn."

leave for bro. [Simpson] Molen to describe, as he was a spectator." Ricks speculates that "Molen [Joseph F.'s companion] dictated his version of events to Joseph" (19 note 35). According to this description—which is ambiguous and seemingly very contradictory—Linn asked for his scissors, Joseph F. failed to produce them immediately, Linn became angry, there was a heated verbal exchange, and Linn called him a rude name. At that point, "Linn drawed up and struck him [Joseph Jr.] with his fist on the temple," but everything that follows makes it fairly clear that it was Joseph F. who walked over and punched Linn while the latter was sitting down. Linn rubbed his head, complained about Joseph F.'s action, and threatened: "I will try the law for it and see if it well uphold you in imposeing upon another like this. S[mith said] Go ahead and sue me if you wish." Joseph F. had gotten into several conflicts with other Utah missionaries early in his mission—documented in Hammond's journal—and clearly had a hot temper. The contradictory, problematic account of the altercation with Linn may be an indication that Joseph F. had an uneasy conscience and attempted to cover up his action.

One of the great values of Joseph F.'s diary is its documentation of the serious decline in the mission, especially in the period covered by his extant journals. On Hawaii as early as the summer of 1856, he noted that "we have been nine days on a stretch with out a morsel of meat, and as poor <u>poi</u> as I could eat!" (42) In 1856 and 1857, many of the Utah elders reported that the native Mormons throughout the mission became increasingly unwilling to feed them. On February 9, 1857, Joseph F. struggled to provide a just assessment: "Ware I to speak with Strict verasity I would call this people any thing but Saints, for indeed they are as destitute of that quality as, as the winters' chilliest Blast is ~~of the~~ destitute of the ardent rais [rays] of a Summers' Sun! this is strictly true, yet I will admit that some—a precious fiew!—are honest, Kind and hospitable as their limited knowlage, dispositions, vageres [vagaries] and educations will permit, and I do feel to say god Bless that precious fiew!" (79)

Two months later on Moloka'i, Joseph F. found only lapsed Mormons who totally refused to feed him and his companion. Joseph F. exploded wrathfully:

> I have ate enough dirt and filth, put up with anough inconveniencies, slept sufficiently in their filth, muck & mire, lice and every thing els[e], I have been ill treated, abused, and trod on by these nefarious ethnicks just long enough. I believe it is no longer a virtue, if they will not treat me as I merit, if they will not obey my testimony—and my counsels, but persist in their wickedness, hard heartedness, and indifference, their ~~lyngins~~, lyings, decietfulness, and hard hearted cruelty as regards the servents of the lord, I will not stay with them, but leave them to their fait. (April 8, 1857)

To survive, Smith and his companion (Dowell) milked cows for a non-Mormon dairyman in the area, trying unsuccessfully to convert him and a few

other whites. Joseph F. then ended his mission at the City of Joseph on Lana'i, where he spent most of his time reading books and writing letters. When he left the islands on October 6, 1857, Brigham Young (only in part, one could argue, because of the Utah War) was closing down the mission.

Ricks offers four reasons for the mission's serious decline after 1854. First, "inexperienced" converts were given leadership responsibilities; second, as already noted, the demands of supporting the missionaries were a heavy drain on members' resources; third, "cultural schisms" alienated the members from "the Anglo missionaries"; and fourth, the "Protestant community" experienced "growing anti-Mormon sentiment" (3). In fact, Protestant missionaries had been working vigorously against the Mormons since 1851.

Ricks's first reason—inexperienced local leaders—was less of a problem than traditional Hawaiian sexual promiscuity and missionary inconsistency in dealing with it. Native Elders Jonathan Napela, J. W. H. Kauwahi, and William H. Uaua committed adultery quite regularly, felt great remorse, and were quickly "forgiven" by the Utah elders (who often excommunicated less important native sexual transgressors), because these Hawaiian leaders were crucial to the success of the Mormon effort. While exploiting the social position and affluence of these native Mormon luminaries, the Utah elders patronizingly referred to native priesthood holders in general as "children" and seldom included them in mission decisions. This exclusion certainly led directly to "cultural schisms," and in fact the native brethren angrily "revolted" at the mission conference on Lana'i in late July 1855, though Ricks does not mention it. Their protest was summarily quashed.[9]

As for the financial burden imposed by the missionaries, the mission was required to be self-sustaining, and the missionaries themselves were certainly poor. However, the native Saints resented pressures to pay for the translation of the Book of Mormon and George Q. Cannon's pamphlet in Hawaiian promoting it, but they more deeply resented Brigham Young's order to move what had started out as the "Hawaiian Mission press" (purchased with money principally supplied by the native Saints) to San Francisco where it was employed mostly in publishing the Mormon *Western Standard* in English. The native Saints also sacrificed substantially to underwrite Elder Nathan Tanner's scheme to buy a "mission vessel" in San Francisco (a financial failure) followed by the badly constructed sloop *Lanai,* also a total failure. Furthermore, the missionaries usually took for granted the native Saints' efforts to provide food, lodging, and laundry services. The elders virtually never washed their own clothes and would go to great lengths to

[9]Hammond, Journal, July 23–24, 1855; see also John Stillman Woodbury, Diary, July 23–24, 1855, holograph and typescript, MSS 168, Box 1, fd. 13, Perry Special Collections.

get native women to do it for them.

A further source of disillusionment, not noted by Ricks, was the failed attempt to "gather" all of the native Saints to Palawai on Lanai. Such a move violated the deep-seated commitment of natives to their specific island and traditional village. My great-great-grandfather Frank Hammond was the primary mover in this attempt to create what the native convert "pioneers" on Lana'i took to calling "Zion 2" ("Zion 1" being Utah), and he compounded the problem by attempting to force them to live a radical version of the communitarian Mormon law of consecration. Other major negative factors in the decline of the mission, which Ricks does not mention, were the public announcement in 1852 that polygamy was Mormon Church policy and the failure of priesthood administrations to protect the Oahu and East Maui Saints from a terrible smallpox epidemic in 1853.

These many negative factors led to the publicly proclaimed apostasy in late 1856 of the highly influential Elders Kauwahi and, for a time, Uaua. At about the same time, Utah Mormon missionary John Hyde Jr. immediately apostatized upon reaching Honolulu and, enthusiastically aided by Protestant missionaries, dramatically aired his views in public meetings, newspaper articles, and a pamphlet. Ricks provides useful information regarding these sensational events. In his diary, Joseph F. acknowledged that these developments profoundly troubled the native Saints, caused many of them to drop away, and made others less willing to provide food and laundry services for the Utah elders. He recorded spending most of Sunday, February 25, 1857, in "partially . . . removing the load of cankering doubt resting upon the minds of the people, because of the reasent attempts of Hyde and Kauwahi to thwart Mormonism, and anihiliate its propogaters" (81).

It is clear in Joseph F.'s journal that he became increasingly contemptuous of the native Hawaiian people in general during the mission's decline in 1856 and 1857. In 1864 at age twenty-five, he returned to Hawaii as part of a high-level Church delegation assigned to deal with the problems created by Walter Murray Gibson; and although Brigham Young invited him to remain and assist in reopening and rebuilding the mission, he declined. The next time he returned to Hawaii was in the 1880s to avoid arrest for unlawful cohabitation in Utah.

My criticisms of this edition aside, the book has many positive features, and historians owe Nathan Ricks a debt of gratitude for making much more accessible the mission diaries of Joseph F. Smith, who, despite his extreme youth, was a perceptive and powerful figure in the early Hawaiian Mission and LDS Church.

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Stephen C. Taysom. *Dimensions of Faith: A Mormon Studies Reader*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2011. 500 pp. Paperback: $28.95; ISBN 978–1–56085–212–4

Reviewed by Blair Dee Hodges

As a doctoral student in religious studies, Stephen C. Taysom wished he had a collection of "fine scholarship" he could use to show professors and others "who expressed skepticism about the fitness of Mormonism as an object of serious academic study" what they were missing (vii). Now Taysom is a professor of religious studies at Cleveland State University. His reworked dissertation, *Shakers, Mormons, and Religious Worlds: Conflicting Visions, Contested Boundaries*, was published by Indiana University Press in 2011. Enough has changed within the academy (and within Taysom's own circles) over the past few years to turn his professors' skepticism into inquiry: "I have received requests from colleagues for a selection of readings that might be used profitably in courses dealing with Mormonism," Taysom reports in *Dimensions of Faith: A Mormon Studies Reader* (xi).

His *Reader* is a collection of fifteen essays analyzing Mormonism through literary, ritual, film, gender, folklore, and other studies. Taysom argues that the collection's very existence bears witness that "Mormonism is a rich field of inquiry into which theories and methods of a vast array of disciplines are being widely and skillfully integrated" (viii). Rather than describing a few of the papers Taysom selected and giving them a thumbs up or down, I'd like to use the book as a way to examine a few key issues being debated—or not—in discussions of Mormon studies today.

First, Taysom notes a pressing puzzle regarding the current state of Mormon studies—the fact that "there has been some debate about the term" (viii). What sort of practice does "Mormon studies" refer to, and who are the practi-

tioners? With a few notable exceptions, the discussion is too young to have received much attention in print.[1] More often the debate has occurred in academic conference sessions and blog posts.[2] Attention has been given elsewhere to the increasing number of Mormon-themed courses and the establishment of Mormon chairs in colleges and universities, including those at Utah State University and Claremont Graduate University. In Taysom's view, Mormon studies usually consists of work which "draws on the historical record and applies, tests, works through, and evaluates broader theoretical issues and ideas" (viii). History has indeed been the principal avenue by which scholars have studied and written about Mormonism thus far—a fact which Taysom not only acknowledges, but can't fully escape in the papers he selected for inclusion.

He divides the papers into five "thematic rubrics" (ix): biography, theory, memory, experience, media/literature. I don't quite grasp the utility of this schema, in part because the division is somewhat uneven—two papers in the smallest category (biography), six in the largest (media/literature). Many of the papers seem to elide these categories. Furthermore, six of the fifteen essays deal with polygamy as a central theme. Scholars pursuing research on Mormonism have benefited from an embarrassment of riches for decades, which contributes to this history-focused approach.

This concentration on history calls attention to the fact that much remains to be done in regards to Mormon studies focusing on the twenty-first century, to say nothing of non-historical approaches. Only three of the fifteen chapters deal with Mormonism after the presidency of David O. McKay: Martha Bradley-Evans's "Building Community: The Fundamentalist Mormon Concept of Space" (51–72), Stephen C. Taysom, "A Uniform and Common Recollection: Joseph Smith's Legacy, Polygamy, and Public Memory, 1852–2002" (177–213), and Reinhold R. Hill, "God's Chosen People: Mormon Representations of the Jewish Other in Holocaust Literature" (375–89). Note that only one of the three focuses on Mormon traditions outside of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Taysom is careful to note that the book is not exhaustive: "Readers should think of this book as an introduction to the kind of fine scholarship that is

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[1]The most comprehensive exception is M. Gerald Bradford's "The Study of Mormonism: A Growing Interest in Academia," *FARMS Review* 19, no. 1 (2007): 119–74, http://maxwellinstitute.byu.edu/publications/review/?vol=19&num=1&id=640&cat_id=404 (accessed October 13, 2011).

[2]The Claremont Mormon Studies Student Association's second biennial conference in April 2010 took "What Is Mormon Studies?" as its theme. See http://claremontmormonstudies.org/conferences/past-conferences.html (accessed October 13, 2011).

flowering in the field rather than as anything approaching a comprehensive archive" (vii). The book accurately demonstrates that "Mormon studies" is a contestable term and that most Mormon studies output has focused on historical examination.

Second, the *Mormon Studies Reader* tells us something about the makeup of current practitioners of Mormon studies. Rather than drawing from a "Mormon studies elite," Taysom notes that "a number of the contributors are not professional historians," meaning they don't hold Ph.D's or professorships in history (ix). In addition to work by such duly credentialed participants, we find essays by "a medical doctor, a chemist . . . a professional editor, independent researchers" and a few graduate students (ix). Taysom sees such diversity as "one of the most attractive elements of the current state of Mormon studies." What binds them together is their "commitment to thorough and thoughtful scholarship" (ix). Indeed, some of the finest work in the volume is by authors who make their professional homes outside the halls of the academy. An example is the excellent contribution by Jonathan A. Stapley, a chief technology officer for a natural sweetener company, and Kristine Wright, an independent researcher with an M.A. in history: "The Forms and the Power: The Development of Mormon Ritual Healing to 1847" (135–76).

Further, not all contributions represent an "insider's" perspective, though such voices are fewer. These include Lawrence Foster's "Sex and Prophetic Power: A Comparison of John Humphrey Noyes, Founder of the Oneida Community, with Joseph Smith Jr., the Mormon Prophet" (25–49) and Douglas J. Davies's "Mormon Studies in a European Setting" (73–82). A picture emerges of a group of practitioners from diverse professional and religious backgrounds, though room for more variety exists.

All fifteen of the essays were previously published elsewhere. The publications from which Taysom draws his selections likewise give a picture of the largely internal location of article publications on Mormon topics. Six articles apiece come from *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* and the *Journal of Mormon History*. The other three are from the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, *Communal Societies, Religion, and American Culture*, and *Clio: A Journal of Literature, History, and the Philosophy of History.*

Interestingly, no articles appear from publications of the Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship (formerly FARMS). Though Taysom does not mention the lacuna, M. Gerald Bradford's "The Study of Mormonism: A Growing Interest in Academia," (119–74), contains a pertinent suggestion: "Scholars who in the past have geared their writings about the tradition mainly toward an LDS audience and who want to contribute to the kind of scholarship relied upon by those working in broader religious studies programs will need to write for a wider academic audience if their work is to be published by recognized scholarly presses." That isn't to say the Maxwell Insti-

tute hasn't produced any literature which would fulfill Bradford's description, as his own paper proves. Another example of appropriately ecumenical scholarship from the Maxwell Institute is LDS scholar David Bokovoy's rigorous exchange with Evangelical scholar Michael S. Heiser in the *FARMS Review*, an academic conversation that raises an interesting question about the propriety of including ancient scripture studies under the rubric of Mormon studies.[3] Nevertheless, including Maxwell Institute publications would only tip the scales further toward Mormon-centric publications.

Professor Patrick Q. Mason, who recently succeeded Richard L. Bushman as holder of the Howard W. Hunter Chair of Mormon Studies at Claremont Graduate University, has called for greater participation in wider circles. "I'm convinced," he writes, that those interested in Mormon studies should focus on "reaching out [to be] published in the premier journals of various non-Mormon, and even non-religious, subfields."[4] That this is already occurring, but could occur more frequently, is evident from Taysom's collection.

Third, the *Mormon Studies Reader* tells us something about the makeup of current consumers of Mormon studies. Taysom hopes his collection can reach two broad groups: those with a "casual interest in Mormon studies" and those "of an academic bent" (x). Members of the first group aren't pursuing religion-related academic degrees or hanging out in the archives in their spare time. Many of them "will be tied to Mormonism in some personal way," be they active, participating members in some branch of Mormonism, those who have "left the institutional Church," and those who fit somewhere between these poles (x). Although none of the essays explores this important point, Taysom notes that any one of them has "the potential to change the way readers relate to Mormonism on personal and emotional levels" (x). Members of the second group are those who are already familiar with a good deal of Mormon historiography "but who are looking for a digest of some of the most recent scholarship in the field" (x–xi). Taysom's editorial decisions were "informed by the notion that the book might be deployed in undergraduate classrooms" (xi), a description suggesting that Taysom would disagree with my use of "consumers" as his intended audience. Taysom is looking for something else. "To me," he writes, "reading is not a passive activity. It is a contact sport":

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[3]Michael S. Heiser, "You've Seen One Elohim, You've Seen Them All? A Critique of Mormonism's Use of Psalm 82," *FARMS Review* 19, no. 1 (2007), 221–66, and David Bokovoy, "'Ye Really Are Gods': A Response to Michael Heiser Concerning the LDS Use of Psalm 82 and the Gospel of John," *FARMS Review* 19, no. 1 (2007), 267–313.

[4]"Patrick Mason Answers Your Questions," http://www.juvenileinstructor.org/patrick-mason-answers-your-questions, March 24, 2011 (accessed October 13, 2011).

> I spend most of my time teaching undergraduates. Many of them have never read an academic book. My advice to them is not to merely read this book but to step into a boxing ring with it and engage the ideas they encounter here. Take up a pen and analyze the authors' positions. Interrogate them. Express in the margins your agreement and perplexity and contempt and frustration or, on the other hand, your agreement and surprise and joy at what you learn. I would recommend seizing the arguments and ideas and wringing out their implications (xi).

The physical composition of the book bears this challenge out, printed on pleasingly heavy paper with generous margins all around. This excerpt also points to a key theme in the emerging concept of the purpose of Mormon studies: the placing within, or viewing of Mormonism against, a wider context. Not only will this attitude help readers not to be "unduly influenced by proselytizers," but will also help them better "understand other people's beliefs" (xi). This comparative and contextual approach is frequently championed by those most interested in the future of Mormon studies.[5]

Fourth and finally, Taysom's book is a testament to the fact that the emerging field of Mormon studies is white, already to harvest, "wide enough to accommodate all who put forth the effort and expend the intellectual energy to contribute" (x). This seems to be the primary reason Taysom edited the collection, the success of which can be measured to the extent that "it leads readers to other books and articles in the expanding world of Mormon studies. Moreover, its success will be amplified if it provides writers and researchers with new ideas and approaches to energize their own work" (vii–viii). There is enough diversity and rigor in Taysom's *Mormon Studies Reader* to demonstrate the vibrancy of Mormon studies today, while simultaneously showing us that things are only just beginning. The individual papers are worthy for Taysom's task.

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Brandon G. Kinney. *The Mormon War: Zion and the Missouri Extermination Order of 1838*. Yardley, Penn.: Westholme Publishing, 2011. 236 pp. Notes, bibliography, index, photographs, maps. $28.00. ISBN: 978–1–59416–130–8

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[5]Among other examples, see Matthew Bowman, "Context and the New-New Mormon History," *Journal of Mormon History* 35, no. 3 (Summer 2009): 208–13.

Reviewed by Richard A. McFarlane

It has been almost twenty-five years since Stephen L. LeSueur gave us *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987) and a new treatment of the troubles in Missouri is past due. At first, I was excited and intrigued by the promise that Brandon G. Kinney, a lawyer by training and profession rather than a historian, would offer a fresh and fascinating insight into the Missouri-Mormon conflict of 1837 to 1838 by tying it to the Civil War a quarter century later: "Here in 1830s Missouri, we have the seeds of the Civil War, challenges to core American beliefs in freedom, and an outcome that shaped the future of westward migration" (ix). Alas, this challenging thesis was not developed.

If slavery was the cause of the Civil War, Kinney fails to make the connection between the Missouri troubles and the larger conflict. He mentions the political controversies over the admission of Missouri as a slave state in 1821 (11–21) and the abolitionist attitude of many Mormon immigrants to Missouri, especially those from Canada (109–10) but does not adequately examine Mormon responses to charges of abolitionism nor does he expound on slavery and abolitionism as a cause of the Mormon War. If states rights or some other issue was the cause of the Civil War, Kinney does not explore it at all in the context of Missouri and the Mormon War. He does not expound on "freedom" more generally as a cause or as an effect of the Mormon War, except perhaps in that Missouri became free of Mormons. Further, he does not explain how the Mormon War "shaped the future of westward migration." The Mormons fled Missouri by going east, to Illinois, and only later went west to the Great Salt Lake Valley. While the Mormon contribution to the settlement of the West is considerable, Kinney does not connect the dots from the Mormon War of 1838 to the Mormon exodus of 1846 to Manifest Destiny and the overall westward expansion of the United States.

Kinney correctly states that the Mormon War "is also a stark lesson in the damages of prejudice, a problem that our country has continued to struggle with throughout its history" (ix). He hints at but does not address the important questions that *The Mormon War*, or a book like it, needs to address in a post-9/11 world. What *is* the meaning of "freedom"? What are the limits of religious freedom, if any? What rights do a religious minority, or any minority for that matter, have? More importantly, what rights do they have when the government is their persecutor, rather than their protector? What rights do the majority have in a democracy? Is America a truly pluralistic society? Can it be? Imagine the book rewritten with the word "Muslim" replacing the word "Mormon," and these questions come into sharp focus.

In essence, *The Mormon War* is a mere narrative history of the events in Missouri in the 1830s without offering any new facts or any new insight. The book

begins well enough with a brief chapter on the life of Joseph Smith Jr. and the origins of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, followed by another on the admission of Missouri to the Union. Coincidentally, both the Mormon Church and Missouri began "early in the spring of 1820," when Joseph Smith had his First Vision and when President James Monroe signed the enabling act permitting Missouri to frame a state constitution as a part of the Missouri Compromise. However, the book then digresses to explore the history of the Mormons in Ohio without ever tying events in Ohio to the events in Missouri. The chapter on the Kirtland Safety Society and its collapse (Chapter 6) was particularly distracting. The role of the Danites could have been explained better. To be true to the promises made to his readers in the preface, Kinney ought to have made more of an effort to weave the events in Missouri into the larger tapestry of Jacksonian America.

There is little evidence of original research. Kinney's bibliography mentions the archives of the Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and of the "Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" [sic], but a careful perusal of the endnotes does not indicate that he made much use of them, if any. Although Kinney made use of the "Mormon War Papers, 1837–1841" in the Missouri State Archives, he seems to rely mostly on published primary sources, especially the multi-volume *History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*, and on secondary sources, especially Fawn Brodie's *No Man Knows My History*. Even his use of secondary sources is incomplete; for example he does not cite James L. Bradley's *Zion's Camp 1834: Prelude to Civil War* (Salt Lake City: Publisher's Press, 1990).

There are several factual errors which do not necessarily or directly affect the core of book but which are conspicuous enough to call into question the thoroughness and accuracy of Kinney's research. For example, he states that John Taylor "remained unharmed" during the attack on June 27, 1844, in which Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum were murdered at Carthage Jail in Carthage, Illinois, when, in fact, Taylor was shot four times, though none of the wounds was fatal (199). It was Willard Richards, the fourth member of the Mormon party, whom Kinney does not even mention, who was uninjured except for a clipped earlobe. As another example, Kinney states that John D. Lee, who was an active participant in the Mormon War and whose *Mormonism Unveiled* Kinney cites repeatedly, was "duly hanged" for his role in the Mountain Meadows Massacre of 1857 (202), when, in fact, he was shot by a firing squad. Kinney also fails to mention that the Extermination Order was eventually rescinded in 1976. Finally, the dust jacket depicts, not a Missouri scene, but the "Burning of the Mormon Temple at Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1848" by "Carl" Christensen (should be "C.C.A. Christensen"). This error is probably not the author's fault, but it does reflect badly on the work as a whole.

The Mormon War had great promise. It could have been a significant contribution to the historiography of the Mormons, of Jacksonian America, of Missouri, and even of the Civil War. It could have offered a historical lens through which to view twenty-first-century issues of prejudice, fear of the other, religion, terrorism (state-sponsored and otherwise), ethnic cleansing, and pluralism. Sadly it did not live up to expectations, at least not up to mine.

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Kim Östman. *The Introduction of Mormonism to Finnish Society, 1840–1900*. Åbo (Turku), Finland: Åbo Akademi University Press, 2010. 486 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, appendices, translations, bibliography, index. Soft cover: €32; ISBN: 978–951–765–552–1. A free PDF of the book is also available from the National Library of Finland at {www.doria.fi}.

Reviewed by Paul Wilson

Mormonism in nineteenth-century Finland by the numbers: 25 missionaries, 77 converts, and 3,460 newspaper articles. When proselyting missionaries returned in 1946, only a handful of faithful Mormons remained (in the village of Larsmo), but the media image formed in those newspaper articles still shapes perceptions of Mormonism in Finland today. The history of this community and its encounter with Finnish society is the subject of Kim Östman's dissertation in the history and sociology of religion, completed at Åbo Akademi in Turku, Finland, in 2010. In contrast to the United States, all dissertations are published in Finland. However, a dissertation is only defended when it is ready to stand as a completed book.

Östman clearly states his goals as describing Mormon religious activity in nineteenth-century Finland, analyzing the response of Finnish society to Mormonism, and theorizing this encounter using sociological theory (2–3). He frames the story as a clash between two socially constructed worldviews. The new religion spread primarily through social networks, but the monopolistic religious economy of nineteenth-century Finland impeded its expansion.

The first two chapters situate the study within two academic fields: Mormon history and the history of religion in Finland. Since there is little overlap between them, the first two chapters serve to set both audiences on equal footing. Chapter 1 is a primer for Östman's Finnish audience about the history and distinctive doctrines of the Church, while Chapter 2 summarizes the

nineteenth-century Finnish religious landscape for historians of Mormonism.

The Lutheran Church dominated this landscape. When Finland became a semi-autonomous Grand Duchy of Russia in 1809, the Russians agreed to let it keep the law code from its previous period of Swedish rule. This meant that the Lutheran Church retained its status as a state church even as the Russian Orthodox Church was raised to the same position. However, the number of Russian Orthodox in Finland remained tiny and their local influence negligible, particularly in the Swedish-speaking southern and western coastal areas where Mormon missionary work occurred.[1] Any religious proselytizing or activity outside of the state churches remained illegal until the Dissenter Act was approved in 1889. However, this status did not affect the Mormon Church, since it never applied for official recognition and probably would have received it if it had (81). In spite of this religious monopoly, Östman argues that the period saw "an unprecedented pluralization of the Finnish religious landscape," with the Lutheran Church challenged by internal revivalist movements and smaller Anglo-American religious groups including Mormons, Baptists, Methodists, and others (65).

With Chapter 3, Östman begins his original contribution to the field, by analyzing how printed media had already begun shaping public opinion of Mormonism in 1840. In addition to a few books and magazine articles, his primary sources are 3,460 individual articles mentioning Mormonism in Finnish newspapers. These come from the Historical Newspaper Library of the National Library of Finland, a searchable database of all newspapers printed in Finland between 1771 and 1900. He offers a rigorous discourse analysis of the various representational tropes (almost exclusively negative) used in the stories. Since most of them are examples of "scissor journalism," consisting of material copied from other sources, there are plenty of salacious quotations but no real surprises for anyone familiar with Mormon history (100). The analysis does set up his claim that, "when Mormon missionaries eventually came to Finland to proselytize in 1875, they did not enter a society that knew nothing of them. To the contrary, they entered into a society in which they and their motives tended to be seen as highly controversial" (159). The roles for polygamists, deceivers, and victims had already been written, and missionaries and converts inside Finland were merely fit into them.

The fourth chapter provides a chronological account of Mormon missionary efforts in Finland and allows Östman to demonstrate how the faith

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[1]This fact complicates Zachary R. Jones's study, which frames the missionary effort in Finland primarily as an encounter between Mormonism and the Russian church and state. See Jones, "Conversion amid Conflict: Mormon Proselytizing in Russian Finland, 1861–1914," *Journal of Mormon History* 35, no. 3 (Summer 2009): 1–41.

was spread primarily through social networks. The account paints the missionary efforts led by the Stockholm Conference of the Scandinavian Mission as haphazard at best. No more than one or two missionaries were called at a time, and there were long periods with no missionary activity at all. While the illegality of proselytizing in Finland certainly explains the modestness of this effort, there also seems to have been a lack of commitment from LDS Church authorities in Sweden and Utah. Östman also points out that, in contrast to other Scandinavian countries, no local missionaries (converts called to serve within their own country) were ever used in Finland, reflecting—or perhaps creating—a situation in which "the Mormonism of the Finns appears to have been reactive rather than proactive. They relied strongly on the missionaries and did not actively seem to want to spread the faith themselves" (230).

Östman examines how various elements of Finnish society reacted to Mormon proselytizing in Chapter 5, dividing societal actors into four groups: civil authorities, Lutheran clergy, newspaper writers, and laypeople. As he discusses the responses of these various actors, an organizational limitation of his study becomes apparent. After the extensive analysis of press coverage in Chapter 3, much of what he has to say here begins to be redundant, even though the specific stories and the interpretive framework are different. However, it is interesting to compare his characterizations of the relationships between these actors to those in the Zachary R. Jones article published in this journal in 2009. Whereas Jones's account reads like a thriller with missionaries on the run from the Czar's special police goaded on by Orthodox clergy, Östman sees civil authorities varying greatly in the zealousness of their enforcement and intervening mostly at the insistence of Lutheran clergy or church councils.[2]

Chapter 6 is the most compelling in the book. It gives a narrative account of the Mormon community in the village of Pohja, which became the center of a well-publicized trial. While Östman refers to Pohja as a "microcosm" of the Mormon encounter with Finnish society, the case study also seems to offer a contrast to the Mormon experience elsewhere in Finland. The Mormon community and trial centered on Johan Blom, who joined the Church in Sweden. Instead of encouraging him and his family to immigrate to Utah, the Stockholm Conference president asked him to move with his family to Finland to help establish the Church. Blom found work as a gardener at a local manor in 1880. Over time, a small cluster of members linked through social networks of coworkers, servants, friends, and family members coalesced around him. He ultimately was convicted of baptizing on the Sabbath and distributing unap-

[2]Compare Jones, 18-33 to Östman, 237–70.

proved religious publications, served a prison sentence, and immigrated to Utah in 1886. Although missionaries continued to visit the village and baptisms occurred after these events, the Mormon congregation eventually dispersed and the children of the members never became Mormon. In contrast to the isolated converts sustained only by foreign missionaries elsewhere in Finland, Pohja seems, briefly, to have had a small, but vibrant, Mormon community.

The final chapter explores immigration by Finnish Mormons to Utah. Here, the numbers are even smaller. Subtracting the Blom family who had planned to go to Utah even before they came to Finland, Östman estimates that only eight members emigrated. He explains: "The scattered Mormons in Finland were mostly not able to experience such social cohesion, integration, and mutual reinforcement of excitement and longings for Zion that eventually turned into mobilization and action" (365). While the small number of immigrants makes it hard to extrapolate, he uses this chapter to discuss how the doctrine of the gathering paradoxically contributed to the failure of missionary efforts. He writes, "It does not seem to have been a goal to establish strong local congregations abroad, but rather to 'harvest the crop' and send it home [to Zion]" (377). This "colonial model" worked as long as there were enough local members to sustain the momentum (377). Unfortunately, in Finland it meant that members remained dependent on missionaries—not just to spread the faith, but to sustain any sort of collective religious practice.

The book is comprehensive, impeccably researched, and makes a significant contribution toward globalizing the history of the nineteenth-century Church.

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Book Notices

George W. Givens and Sylvia Givens. *500 Little-Known Facts about Nauvoo*. Springville, Utah: Bonneville Books, 2010. 240 pp. Chronology, recommended sources, index of names. Paper: $18.99. ISBN 978–1–59955–365–8

This book, as the title suggests, asks and answers 500 questions regarding the history of Nauvoo. These questions are organized into chapters that are alphabetized according to topic. Some of the topics include "Food and Drink" (65), "Homes and Construction" (71), "King Follett Discourse" (87), and "Outdoors and Nature" (152).

George and Sylvia Givens published the first edition of this book in 2000. According to Bobbie Givens Goettler, their daughter and author of the Foreword, "My parents spent time as volunteer historians at Nauvoo Restoration, Inc. Although they led the occasional tour, they primarily focused on answering . . . questions Nauvoo visitors had asked but that the guides' scripts did not usually answer. Aware such questions might be asked again and again, and that missionary guides might wish to have a ready source, they compiled those questions and answers here."

The book covers a wide range of topics and questions, some of them assuming considerable background knowledge on the reader's part. For example, one question is: "Who were the Germans who came after the Icarians?" The answer: "Even while the Icarians were here, German and Swiss immigrants learned of the abandoned Mormon city and started settling here. Word went back to their friends and relatives in Europe, and soon Nauvoo had the largest German-speaking population of any city in Illinois. The immigration started about the year the temple was burned. The Germans were the ones who established the wine culture in Nauvoo" (131).

Another example is: "Since the Thompsonian system of natural medicine was prevalent in Nauvoo, we can assume Lyon (the drugstore owner) sold herbal medicines. Did he grow his own herbs?" The answer: "Lyon would have had an herb garden, as did practically every household in Nauvoo. It didn't take the prompting of Thompsonian enthusiasts to encourage the use of herbs. Wives and mothers had used them for centuries, and belief in their curative powers was not lost upon the women of Nauvoo, especially with

their Prophet urging greater reliance on them" (100).

However, other questions and answers are more straightforward. For example, "When and how were the death masks of Joseph and Hyrum made?" The answer: "They were made as the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum were being prepared for burial in Nauvoo by M. Hamlin Cannon, George Q. Cannon's father—who would die two months later—fashioned the molds out of Nauvoo clay, from which the plaster casts were made. The molds were destroyed in the process, but Wilford C. Wood purchased the original casts for his private museum in Woods Cross, Utah. In 1990, the masks were donated to the Church Museum. Since that time, copies have been made of the originals and are not that uncommon" (25). Such questions do not require the reader's personal experience in Nauvoo or previous knowledge to understand the answer.

The appendix includes "A Nauvoo Chronology," which focuses on the history of the city. For example, "April 6, 1845: At this . . . conference, the people vote to change the name of Nauvoo to the 'City of Joseph.' This decision is honored more in the spirit than practice" (251).

The appendix also includes 152 "Recommended Sources" that gives the interested reader a place to begin with further research; and although the book has no subject index, it include an index of individuals named in the book.

Benjamin G. Bistline. *Colorado City Polygamists: An Inside Look for the Outsider*. 1st ed. Phoenix: Agreka Books, 2004. 236 pp. 18 photographs, bibliography. Paper: $18.95. ISBN: 1–888106–85–9

Benjamin Bistline's "family moved to Short Creek, Arizona, in 1945 to join a united order movement, also known as The United Effort Plan" (233), founded in 1942 by polygamists who resisted the cessation of this historic Mormon practice. Bistline's widowed mother remarried as a fifth wife and raised her family in a large polygamous household. Bistline grew up in the community, though he did not practice polygamy. In the 1980s, Bistline "became discouraged with the polygamists due to their changes in religious doctrine," left the community, and joined "the LDS Church in 1992" (233–34).

Part history and part personal commentary, this book documents the history of Colorado City (with less attention to neighboring Hildale) as a polygamist community.

Following Bistline's foreword, a list of scripture references, and an introduction, the book is organized in nineteen sections. These first nine sections comprise the history of Colorado City starting with the "Birth of the Fundamentalists" (5). The section titles that follow chronologically include titles such as, "Failed United Order Now a United Effort," and "The Infamous Short Creek Raid" (5). The last ten sections document the transitions in power and doctrine in the FLDS Church. These changes in doctrine and organiza-

tion have, in turn, directly affected the history of Colorado City. Five sections focus on the intracommunity power struggles of prominent polygamous families while two other sections deal with the evictions of residents accused of sinful behavior. Following these sections is an interview with the author about the state of modern polygamy.

The Fundamentalist movement began with what "is referred to as The Eight Hour Meeting among polygamists" (19) in which LDS Church President John Taylor in 1886 "set [five men] apart and gave them authority to perform [polygamous] marriage ceremonies, and also to set others apart to do the same thing as long as they remained on the earth" (22). A group of people "who live[d] in Short Creek, Arizona . . . came to [these] Brethren and offered their land . . . as a gathering place for polygamists" (30). Accepting this offer, those allegedly entrusted with the continuation of polygamy found a home in Short Creek (renamed Colorado City in 1961 to avoid the "stigma" [85] associated with the 1953 Short Creek Raid by Arizona and federal officials.

Bistline describes FLDS attempts to organize a United Order (30), construct schools, a post office, and a general store (83, 57), dig wells (47), pave roads, and generate electricity. Such improvements were always connected with polygamous leaders. Many of these improvements were tied to Marion Hammon who organized a "missionary" program that performed public works. For example, in 1943 the members constructed a meetinghouse. "The building of a power line was completed in 1959" (80) while 1960 saw the "construction on the [high] school building," and 1962 brought "a new paved highway . . . from Hurricane to Colorado City" (86), all under Hammon's direction. Power struggles among the leaders affected the community's infrastructure, services, and morale. For example, in the 1940s, priesthood "cliques" formed, vying for the "priesthood council's" approval for marriages (45). A "Gestapo-like Goon Squad" emerged in the 1960s (116). Beginning in the 1980s, Short Creek's corrupt (and legally powerless) "chief protector" Sam Barlow illegally evicted targeted residents from their homes (111), under the policy of "Tenant at Will" (158), a policy developed in 1976 by Rulon T. Jeffs.

In the sixteenth section of the book, Bistline appraises Warren Jeffs's methods of consolidating and maintaining his power during the lengthy final illness of his father, Rulon Jeffs. He became the prophet when Rulon died in September of 2002. Although this book ends before Jeffs's arrest in August 2006 or the raid on the FLDS compound in Eldorado, Texas, in April 2008, Bistline, writing in 2004, predicted: "At some point indictments and warrants may be issued for his [Warren Jeffs's] arrest. . . . I do not believe that he would, of his own accord, abandon the project in Texas, since he has put so much effort and money into it. He will try to isolate it so that he will not come under scrutiny of local law enforcement. . . . It is also

my opinion that because of the things Warren Jeffs is doing and the course he is taking (alienating a good many of his followers), he will not be able to maintain control of the community and the people there" (224).

Bistline also urges the decriminalization of polygamy as "the bottom line solution that may produce the greatest gain." As polygamists "come out into the world . . . they will see clearly that they have choices. Stay in polygamy. Or leave. But the choice is theirs" (228).

Richard Clothier. *150 Years of Song: Hymnody in the Reorganization, 1860–2010.* Independence: Herald Publishing House, 2010. iv, 111 pp. Photographs, endnotes, sheet music. Paper: $15.95. ISBN 978–0–830–91419–3

This book takes a brief look into the Community of Christ (former Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints) and its historical tradition of congregational music. It is a collection of sheet music, pictures, and short essays that analyze each piece of music. Richard Clothier, emeritus professor of music at Graceland University, has provided a history of the creation of each of the eleven hymnals from 1835 to the present, and then presents a few selections from each.

Clothier states, "One of the best ways to truly understand our heritage is to not only study the events that happened, but to also try to discover what the people *felt* about what was happening. And, an important path to understanding the beliefs, hopes, and desires of a people can be found in the studying of the hymns that emerged in their worship" (1). Emma Smith has the distinction of compiling four hymnals (110), one in 1835, which was revised and enlarged in 1841 (both, therefore, before Joseph's death), then a second version in 1861 for the newly formed Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, headed by her son, Joseph III, with a revision in 1864 (6).

Between Emma's 1835 hymnal in Kirtland and her 1841 revision in Nauvoo came one published in 1840 in Manchester, England, by Apostles Parley P. Pratt, John Taylor and Brigham Young (6). This hymnal contained many of the hymns that appear in the current LDS hymnal and also in the RLDS hymnals that followed.

Joseph III and Emma's youngest son, David Hyrum, were both published poets; they participated in compiling *The Saints' Harp* (28), in 1870. This was a collection of more than a thousand hymn texts containing two-thirds of Emma's original hymns (29).

The hymn books in the early Church contained only texts; the tunes were not added until the 1889 hymnal, *The Saints' Harmony.* This edition contained both texts and tunes that were interchangeable, allowing the singer to pick a number of tunes that would fit with a text (39). This hymnal was followed by *The Saints' Hymnal* in 1895. This hymnal inserted the text between the staffs making it easier to read the text and

the melodies (52). Because these two hymnals were in use simultaneously, Clothier explains, "it was generally felt that it would be more practical to combine selections from both books into a single volume" (73). The second edition of *The Saints' Hymnal* was compiled in 1933 and was a compilation from the two hymnals.

Zion's Praises was published in 1903 and was used for Sunday School worship. It contained songs that were included in later editions, including possibly the best-loved of all RLDS hymns, "There's an Old, Old Path," written by Vida E. Smith, the daughter of Alexander Hale Smith.

Two more hymnals were published: *The Hymnal* (1953), and the current *Hymns of the Saints* in 1981 (91). Clothier concludes by introducing the new hymnal planned for 2013, which will include "a significant number of indigenous songs of the various countries in which the church has a presence" (101).

Tiffany Fletcher. *Mother had a Secret*. American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 2010. 188 pp. Paper: $14.99. ISBN 978–1–60861–058–7

Tiffany Fletcher grew up with a mother who had dissociative identity disorder. Starting when she was three, Fletcher's mother, Vickie, had been sexually abused by her father (56), resulting in fifteen different personalities, or alters, that would manifest themselves in different situations. She had no control over when one would appear.

Growing up, Fletcher, her five siblings (one older and four younger), and her father had no idea that Vickie had multiple personalities. It wasn't until Fletcher was nineteen that doctors diagnosed her mother. Despite the problem, Tiffany's father, George Young, threatened to leave Vickie but never did because he still loved her. However, he started to work long hours to avoid tensions and uncertainties at home, so Tiffany and her older sister raised her younger sisters.

Tiffany describes her mother as having "been chained down by the depravity of this world. She was a hostage to her own broken and shattered mind" (177). Although Tiffany says that Vickie tried hard to be a good mother, "she seemed to hurt those she loved the most, a tragic destiny for a woman who had so much to give" (177). She succeeded in a partial victory—she never sexually abused her own children—but she was often distant from them, unable to relate to them or comfort them.

Of a lower socio-economic class, the family had no money for therapy but their faith got them through; but although they were not always active in the Church, their faith was usually a source of strength. It was also a relief that Vickie was able to present herself appropriately at church. The children quickly learned to keep the family secret. Tiffany found solace in writing poems. On paper, her thoughts and emotions "would not be inside of me, strangling the life from me. They were . . . apart from

me, a distant thing" (69). Tiffany and her older sister even served missions.

Tiffany begins the narrative at her mother's funeral, when a woman with "expectant eyes" asked how she died. Tiffany immediately could tell that "her question was artificial like everything else at the funeral. She did not care how Mom died. She was testing me to see if I would divulge those indiscretions of my mother—if I would tell her secret. I smiled and said, 'She died on her knees praying.' And that was the truth" (17). Tiffany, however, knew from descriptions that "her head and arms sprawled across the blankets. The vision was horrific like a gothic painter's depiction of the saints lying prostrate before their God" (17).

Tiffany's motivation in writing her story is the memory of having no one to talk to when she was growing up. She wrote her experiences "for all those that suffer in silence. . . . If sharing my story helps even one soul, then everything has been worth it" if even one may "finally find courage to speak" (183)."

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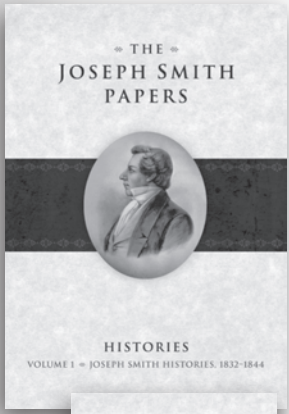

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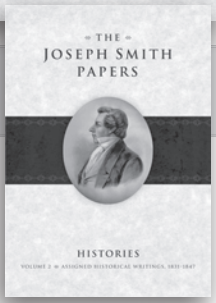

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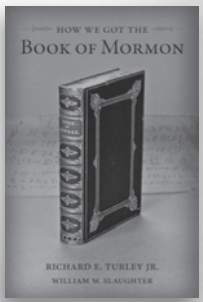

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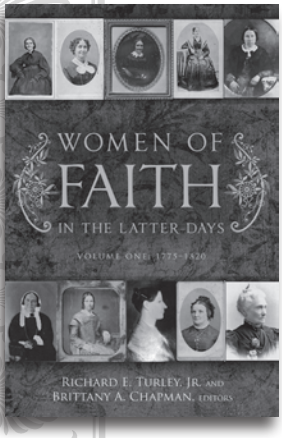

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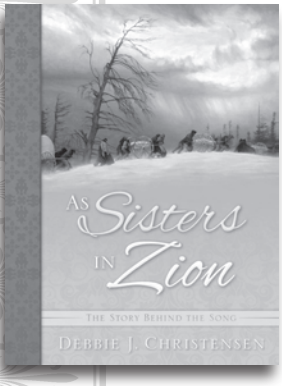

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