

Notes

¹ Brodie, Fawn M. *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*, 2nd rev. ed. New York, 1971, 69.

² Andrew Jenson, *Historical Record*, (May 1887) 6:233-34.

³ Fawn Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith*, 2d ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), 457-88. She updated the text in 1971 second edition.

⁴ See Stanley S. Ivins collection, USHS. This list is reproduced in Tanner, Jerald, and Sandra Tanner, *Joseph Smith and Polygamy*. Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm, n.d. 41-47.

⁵ Bachman, Daniel. "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith." M.A. thesis, Purdue University, 1975, 113-15.

⁶ George D. Smith, "Nauvoo Roots of Mormon Polygamy, 1841-46: A Preliminary Demographic Report," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 9, see also chart, #122. Since Smith's work begins in the Nauvoo period, he does not include Fanny Alger, which most other authors did include.

The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 587-88.

⁸ Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997, 4-8. See also 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): 1-38.

⁹ Richard Lloyd Anderson and Scott H. Faulring, "Review of *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith*, by Todd M. Compton," *FARMS*, Provo, Utah: Maxwell Institute, 10 2 (1998), 75-77. [67-104] See discussion below.

¹⁰ Richard L. Bushman, "A Historian's Perspective of Joseph Smith," on *Joseph Smith's Relationship With God*, Covenant Communications, 2007, CD2, tracks 20-21. Notwithstanding, I believe explanations exist that elucidate Joseph Smith's motives without compromising his role as a righteous prophet.

¹¹ Todd Compton, author of *In Sacred Loneliness*, describes himself as "a practicing Mormon who consider himself believing but who rejects absolutist elements of the fundamentalist world view" (*In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997, 629). Regardless, his approach to Joseph Smith and his plural marriages is very academic and *In Sacred Loneliness* received the Best Book award from the Mormon History Association and the John Whitmer Historical Association. Doubtless by design, Joseph Smith's teachings and actions are consistently attributed to his own devices and intellect.

¹² See Bitton, Davis. "Mormon Polygamy: A Review Article." *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 106-11.

¹³ Foster, Lawrence. *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981, 125.

¹⁴ Even as late as the year 2000, Community of Christ writers, Richard and Pamela Price asserted: "Joseph fought against this doctrine [of polygamy] from the time he was married to Emma in 1827 (even before the Church was organized) until the time of his death. He did not practice polygamy nor teach it to others." (*Joseph Smith Fought Polygamy*, Independence, Missouri: Price Publishing Company, 2000, preface.)

¹⁵ Foster, Lawrence. *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981, 125.

¹⁶ Foster, Lawrence. *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981, 126.

¹⁷ Joseph H. Jackson, *A Narrative of the Adventures and Experiences of Joseph H. Jackson in Nauvoo, Exposing the Depths of Mormon Villainy* (1844), 10, 25, reprinted for Karl Yost, Morrison, Illinois, 1960.

¹⁸ Wyl, W., pseud. [Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal]. *Mormon Portraits, or the Truth About Mormon Leaders From 1830 to 1886*. Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1886, 53.

¹⁹ Wyl, W., pseud. [Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal]. *Mormon Portraits, or the Truth About Mormon Leaders From 1830 to 1886*. Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1886, 69.

²⁰ Wyl, W., pseud. [Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal]. *Mormon Portraits, or the Truth About Mormon Leaders From 1830 to 1886*. Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1886, 70.

²¹ Wyl, W., pseud. [Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal]. *Mormon Portraits, or the Truth About Mormon Leaders From 1830 to 1886*. Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1886, 68.

²² Wyl, W., pseud. [Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal]. *Mormon Portraits, or the Truth About Mormon Leaders From 1830 to 1886*. Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1886, 146.

²³ "The Mormons in Nauvoo: Three Letters from William Law on Mormonism," *The Daily Tribune*, Salt Lake City, July 3, 1887.

²⁴ Bennett, John C. *The History of the Saints: Or an Exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism*. Boston: Leland & Whiting, 1842, 228, 225.

- ²⁵ Benjamin Winchester, "Primitive Mormonism," *The Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, September 22, 1889, 2.
- ²⁶ Froiseth, Jennie Anderson. *The Women of Mormonism; Or, the Story of Polygamy as told by the Victims Themselves*. Detroit, Mich.: C. G. G. Paine, 1882, 33.
- ²⁷ Gunnison, John W. *The Mormons, or Latter-Day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, 1852, 122.
- ²⁸ Wyl, W., pseud. [Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal] *Mormon Portraits, or the Truth About Mormon Leaders From 1830 to 1886*. Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1886, 58.
- ²⁹ Burton, Richard F. *The City of the Saints, and Across the Rocky Mountains to California, 1860*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1862, reprint Niwot, Colorado: University of Colorado, 1990, 426. See also Anonymous, *A Plea for Polygamy: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*, New York: Panurge Press, 1929, 229.
- ³⁰ Young, Ann Eliza. *Wife Number 19, or, The Story of a Life in Bondage, Being a Complete Exposé of Mormonism, and Revealing Sorrows, Sacrifices and Sufferings of Women in Polygamy*. Hartford: Dustin, Gilman, and Co., 1876, 68.
- ³¹ Young, Ann Eliza. *Wife Number 19, or, The Story of a Life in Bondage, Being a Complete Exposé of Mormonism, and Revealing Sorrows, Sacrifices and Sufferings of Women in Polygamy*. Hartford: Dustin, Gilman, and Co., 1876, 71.
- ³² Charles A. Shook, *The True Origin of Mormon Polygamy*, Cincinnati: Standard Publishing, 1914, 39, 40, 45.
- ³³ Beadle, John Hanson. *Life in Utah: Or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism*. Philadelphia: National Publishing Co., 1870, 339-40.
- ³⁴ Beadle, John Hanson. *Life in Utah: Or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism*. Philadelphia: National Publishing Co., 1870, 341.
- ³⁵ Cited in Bitton, Davis. "Mormon Polygamy: A Review Article." *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 101 [101-118]; no reference or date given.
- ³⁶ In Maria Ward (pseudo.), *Female Life Among the Mormons: A Narrative of May Years' Personal Experience by the Wife of a Mormon Elder Recently from Utah*, New York: Derby and Jackson, 1856, 113.
- ³⁷ Sarah Scott to her parents, June 16, 1844; cited in Mulder, William, and A. Russell Mortensen, eds. *Among the Mormons: Historic Accounts by Contemporary Observers*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969, 144.
- ³⁸ Ford, Thomas. *History of Illinois From Its Commencement as a State in 1818 to 1847*, reprint Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995, 229; original Chicago: S. G. Griggs & Co., 1854.
- ³⁹ Stanley P. Hirshson, *The Lion of the Lord, a Biography of Brigham Young*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1969, 222.
- ⁴⁰ Kern, Louis J. *An Ordered Love: The Sex Roles and Sexuality in Victorian Utopias--The Shakers, the Mormons and the Oneida Community*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1981, 140-41.
- ⁴¹ Bitton, Davis. "Mormon Polygamy: A Review Article." *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 109 [101-118]. See also Bunker, Gary L., and Davis Bitton. *The Mormon Graphic Image, 1834-1914: Cartoons, Caricatures, and Illustrations*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983, 16.
- ⁴² Shipps, Jan. "The Principle Revoked: A Closer Look at the Demise of Plural Marriage." *Journal of Mormon History* 11 (1984): 65-66, [65-77].
- ⁴³ Foster, Lawrence. *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981, 126.
- ⁴⁴ B. Carmon Hardy, *Doing the Works of Abraham: Mormon Polygamy, Its Origin, Practice, and Demise*, Norman, Oklahoma: Arthur H. Clark, 2007, 40.
- ⁴⁵ Foster, Lawrence. *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981, 127.
- ⁴⁶ Gary James Bergera, "Joseph Smith and the Hazards of Charismatic Leadership," in Bryan Waterman, *The Prophet Puzzle: Interpretive Essays on Joseph Smith*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999, 242, [239-57].
- ⁴⁷ Riley, Isaac Woodbridge. *The Founder of Mormonism: A Psychological Study of Joseph Smith, Jr.* New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1902, 307.
- ⁴⁸ Riley, Isaac Woodbridge. *The Founder of Mormonism: A Psychological Study of Joseph Smith, Jr.* New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1902, 437. Psychiatrist Robert D. Anderson disagrees: "I. Woodbridge Riley proposed that Smith suffered from a migraine-type of epilepsy, a possibility that no longer fits medical knowledge." (*Inside the Mind of Joseph Smith: Psychobiography and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999, 125.)
- ⁴⁹ Dan Vogel, *Joseph Smith: The Making of a Prophet*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2004, 178.
- ⁵⁰ Kern, Louis J. *An Ordered Love: The Sex Roles and Sexuality in Victorian Utopias--The Shakers, the Mormons and the Oneida Community*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1981, 143.
- ⁵¹ Robert D. Anderson disagrees: "I. Woodbridge Riley proposed that Smith suffered from a migraine-type of epilepsy, a possibility that no longer fits medical knowledge." (*Inside the Mind of Joseph Smith: Psychobiography and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999, 129).

- ⁵² Robert D. Anderson disagrees: "I. Woodbridge Riley proposed that Smith suffered from a migraine-type of epilepsy, a possibility that no longer fits medical knowledge." (*Inside the Mind of Joseph Smith: Psychobiography and the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999, 129)
- ⁵³ Comments from the forward of William D. Morain, *The Sword of Laban: Joseph Smith, Jr. and the Dissociated Mind*, Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Press, Inc., 1998, xii-xiii; italics in original.
- ⁵⁴ William D. Morain, *The Sword of Laban: Joseph Smith, Jr. and the Dissociated Mind*, Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Press, Inc., 1998, 197. Dr. Morain's history seems derivative and his conclusions largely unoriginal. His limited background in psychiatry further undermines his sweeping assertions.
- ⁵⁵ Quote by Lawrence Foster, "The Psychology of Religious Genius: Joseph Smith and the Origins of New Religious Movements," in Bryan Waterman, *The Prophet Puzzle: Interpretive Essays on Joseph Smith*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999, 190. [183-208]
- ⁵⁶ Lawrence Foster, "The Psychology of Religious Genius: Joseph Smith and the Origins of New Religious Movements," in Bryan Waterman, *The Prophet Puzzle: Interpretive Essays on Joseph Smith*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999, 190. [183-208]
- ⁵⁷ Robert D. Anderson, "Toward an Introduction to a Psychobiography of Joseph Smith," in Bryan Waterman, *The Prophet Puzzle: Interpretive Essays on Joseph Smith*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999, 226-29. [209-37]
- ⁵⁸ Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997, 595.
- ⁵⁹ Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997, 228.
- ⁶⁰ Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997, 2; see also 60, 632. Stanley S. Ivins also considered plural marriage an "experiment." (Ivins, Stanley S. "Notes on Mormon Polygamy." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (Fall 1976):312. [309-21]. Alma G. Allred in his review of *In Sacred Loneliness*, critiqued: "Although Compton includes familiar stories that have tended to emphasize the religious aspects of plural marriage, he dilutes this information with personal speculation that constantly questions the propriety of Joseph Smith's actions and suggests that this doctrine was founded in Joseph Smith's fertile mind rather than in revelation from God." ("Variations on a Theme." http://www.shields-research.org/Reviews/Rvw-Sacred_Loneliness_Allred.htm [accessed March 25, 2007].)
- ⁶¹ Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997, 10; see also 20, 28, 495.
- ⁶² Van Wagoner, Richard S. *Mormon Polygamy: A History*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989, 56.
- ⁶³ Charles. L. Cohen, "No Man Knows My Psychology: Fawn Brodie, Joseph Smith, and Psychoanalysis," *BYUS*, 44 (2005) 1: 55. [55-78]
- ⁶⁴ Quoted in Newell G. Bringhurst, *Fawn McKay Brodie: A Biographer's Life*, Norman: U. of Oklahoma, 1999, 88.
- ⁶⁵ Brodie, Fawn M. *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*, 2nd rev. ed. New York, 1971, ix.
- ⁶⁶ Newell G. Bringhurst, *Fawn McKay Brodie: A Biographer's Life*, Norman: U. of Oklahoma, 1999, 89.
- ⁶⁷ Brodie, Fawn M. *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*, 2nd rev. ed. New York, 1971, 70.
- ⁶⁸ Brodie, Fawn M. *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*, 2nd rev. ed. New York, 1971, 187.
- ⁶⁹ Brodie, Fawn M. *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*, 2nd rev. ed. New York, 1971, 297.
- ⁷⁰ Brodie, Fawn M. *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*, 2nd rev. ed. New York, 1971, 297.
- ⁷¹ Brodie, Fawn M. *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*, 2nd rev. ed. New York, 1971, 76.
- ⁷² Newell G. Bringhurst, *Fawn McKay Brodie: A Biographer's Life*, Norman: U. of Oklahoma, 1999, 88.
- ⁷³ Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997, 637.
- ⁷⁴ Hill, Marvin S. "Brodie Revisited: A Reappraisal." *DIALOGUE* 7 (Winter 1972): 75 [72-85]
- ⁷⁵ Bitton, Davis. "Mormon Polygamy: A Review Article," *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 109 [101-118]
- ⁷⁶ Charles. L. Cohen, "No Man Knows My Psychology: Fawn Brodie, Joseph Smith, and Psychoanalysis," *BYUS*, 44 (2005) 1: 67. [55-78]
- ⁷⁷ KUED interview by Doug Fabrizio undated mp3 in my possession. Emma Smith biographer, Linda King Newell, wrote: "Many concluded that the practice of polygamy stemmed from an insatiable sexual drive of Joseph's, fueled by a quest for power." "Emma Hale Smith and the Polygamy Question." *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 4 (1984): 6. [3-15.]

⁷⁸ Apostate William Law reflected this view in 1887: "[Joseph] Smith admired and lusted after many men's wives and daughters... He was a tyrant: self-exaltation and gratification of his grosser passions with an entire disregard of other's rights." (Letter written January 20, 1887; cited in "The Mormons in Nauvoo: Three Letters from William Law on Mormonism. *The Daily Tribune*. Salt Lake City, July 3, 1887.)

⁷⁹ Foster, Lawrence. *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981, 136.

⁸⁰ Hardy, B. Carrion. *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage*. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1992, 10-11.

⁸¹ Bachman, Daniel. "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith." M.A. thesis, Purdue University, 1975, 48.

⁸² Joseph Smith Translation, OT ms. 2, 97, RLDS archives; cited in Michael Marquardt, *The Rise of Mormonism: 1816-1844*, Longwood, Florida: Xulon Press, 2005, 555 fn14. See also *Joseph Smith's "New Translation" of the Bible*, Independence, Missouri, 1970, 16.

⁸³ Joseph Smith Translation, OT ms. 2, 75, RLDS archives; cited in Michael Marquardt, *The Rise of Mormonism: 1816-1844*, Longwood, Florida: Xulon Press, 2005, 554 fn12.

⁸⁴ See *Joseph Smith's "New Translation" of the Bible*, Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1970.

⁸⁵ *Joseph Smith's Translation*, (JST) 5:29-30; Steven J. Hite and Julie M. Hite compilers, *The New Testament with the Joseph Smith Translation*, Orem, Utah: Veritas Group, 1989, 51;

⁸⁶ *Evening and Morning Star*, (July, 1832), "Revelations. Extract From the Laws for the Government of the Church of Christ" page one.

⁸⁷ *Book of Commandments* Chapter XLIV, verses 22-23; Chapter XLVII, verses 5-8. *Pages 12-12*

⁸⁸ 1835 *Doctrine and Covenants*, Section XIII, verses 7, 20, 22. *Pages 79-125*

⁸⁹ *Times and Seasons* Vol. 4, No. 24, Nauvoo, Illinois, November 1, 1843, Whole No. 84, page 369.

⁹⁰ *Evening and Morning Star*, (February, 1833), "A Revelation Given, August 30, 1831, page 67-68-69-70

⁹¹ *Book of Commandments* Chapter LXIV, verses 16-21. *Pages 14-152*

⁹² Vol. 5, No. 6, Nauvoo, Illinois, March 15, 1844, Whole No. 90, page 466. *HO*

⁹³ 1835 *Doctrine and Covenants*, LXXIV, verse 5. *Page 204*

⁹⁴ The revelation comprises 119 verses and was experienced by both men. Fawn Brodie asserted: "At an early age [Joseph Smith] had what only the most gifted revivalist preachers could boast of—the talent for making men see visions" (*No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*, 2nd rev. ed. New York, 1971, 74). Brodie mentioned the revelation in four paragraphs (ibid., 117-118).

⁹⁵ "A Vision, *Evening and Morning Star* (July 1832) p. 16; William Phelps "Commandments," *Evening and Morning Star* (Feb 1833) p. 69.

⁹⁶ "A Vision," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, no. 14, (August 1, 1844), 594.

⁹⁷ Kirtland Council Minute Book, Internally Dated Paginated, June 3, 1833, *New Mormon Studies: A Comprehensive Resource Library*. CD-ROM. Salt Lake City: Smith Research Associates, 1998: *History of the Church* 1:352.

⁹⁸ Kirtland Council Minute Book, Internally Dated Paginated, September 26, 1835, *New Mormon Studies: A Comprehensive Resource Library*. CD-ROM. Salt Lake City: Smith Research Associates, 1998: *History of the Church* 2:265.

⁹⁹ Jessee, Dean C., comp. and ed. *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984, 381.

See also Faulring, Scott H., ed. *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989, 227; *History of the Church*, Vol.3, Ch.15, p.232.

¹⁰⁰ *History of the Church*, Vol.3, Ch.20, p.292; *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, Section Three 1838-39, p.183.

¹⁰¹ *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, Section Three 1838-39, p.177. This was published two years later in the *Times and Seasons*, Vol.1, p.85, April, 1840.

¹⁰² *Times and Seasons*, 378 (February 15, 1842) 701.

¹⁰³ *History of the Church*, Vol.4, Ch.30, p.314. See discussion in Gary James Bergera, "Illicit Intercourse," Plural Marriage, and the Nauvoo Stake High Council, 1840-1844," *The John Whitmer Historical Association Journal*, 23, 2003, 71. [59-91]

¹⁰⁴ Untitled, *The Wap*, Vol. I, No. VI, May 21, 1842, unpaginated front page; reprint, Salt Lake: Greg Kofford Books, 2002, 31.

¹⁰⁵ Pearl of Great Price, Articles of Faith, 13, see also *History of the Church*, 4:536-41; Jessee, Dean C. comp. and ed. *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984, 212-220.

¹⁰⁶ Photos of original notes found in Richard F. Turley, Jr. *Selected Collections from the Archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Provo, Utah: BYU Press, vol. 1, DVD # 19, see also Ehat & Cook, *Words of Nauvoo Relief Society Minutes*, 30 March 1842 (Wednesday), p.110.

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- ¹⁰⁷ *History of the Church*, Vol. 4, Ch. 34, p. 588. Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith, Section Four 1839–42, p. 217
- ¹⁰⁸ The *History of the Church's* first mention on partaking the sacrament was in "early August" of 1830 (1:108).
- ¹⁰⁹ *History of the Church*, Vol. 5, Ch. 1, p. 1–2.
- ¹¹⁰ James E. Talmage, *The House of the Lord*, 84. — Revised edition 1976
- ¹¹¹ "What Is the Law of Chastity? We are to have sexual relations only with our spouse to whom we are legally married. No one, male or female, is to have sexual relations before marriage. After marriage, sexual relations are permitted only with our spouse." (*Gospel Principles*, 240.) Apostle Joseph Fielding Smith explained: "When a man is married in the temple, he takes a solemn covenant before God, angels, and witnesses that he will keep the law of chastity." (Joseph Fielding Smith Jr., *Doctrines of Salvation*, Vol. 2, p. 90.)
- ¹¹² "History of the Church, Vol. 5, Ch. 1, p. 8" — *Excerpt 1955*
- ¹¹³ Gary James Bergera, "Illicit Intercourse, Plural Marriage, and the Nauvoo Stake High Council, 1840-1844," *The John Whitmer Historical Association Journal*, 23, 2003, 64 [59-91]
- ¹¹⁴ *History of the Church*, Vol. 5, Ch. 2, p. 33. Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith, Section Five 1842–43, p. 238.
- ¹¹⁵ Relief Society Minutes, September 28, 1842; photocopies on Richard F. Turley, Jr. *Selected Collections from the Archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Provo, Utah: BYU Press, vol. 1, DVD # 10.
- ¹¹⁶ Ehat & Cook, *Words*, Manuscript History of the Church: 10 April 1842 (Sunday Morning), p. 194.
- ¹¹⁷ The letter was written by Hyrum Smith by order of Joseph Smith. *Millennial Star*, 3 (November 1842) 105.
- ¹¹⁸ *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, Vol. 2, 1841–1845, p. 308; November 25, 1843.
- ¹¹⁹ John D. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled; or the Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop, John D. Lee* . . . St. Louis: Bryan, Brand & Co., 1877, 171.
- ¹²⁰ May 12, 1844, Thomas Bullock Report, in Ehat, Andrew F., 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. *Div. 18412* Nine days later the Prophet admitted: "I don't want you to think I am very righteous, for I am not very righteous" (Joseph Smith Diary, by W. Richards: 21 May 1843 [Sunday Morning], p. 204). — *IBV*
- ¹²¹ Jessee, Dean C. comp. and ed. *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984, 246.
- ¹²² Jessee, Dean C. comp. and ed. *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984, 478.
- ¹²³ Daniel W. Bachman, "The Eternity of the Marriage Relationship," in John K. Challis and John G. Scott eds., *Riches of Eternity: 12 Fundamental Doctrines from the Doctrine and Covenants*, Salt Lake City: Aspen Book, 1993, 198. [195-221]
- ¹²⁴ L. D. Wasson to Joseph and Emma Smith, July 30, 1842, *Journal History*, July 30, 1842, photo reproduction of typescript in Richard E. Turley, Jr. *Selected Collections from the Archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Provo, Utah: BYU Press, vol. 2, DVD # 10, cited in Bailey, Raymond I. "Emma Hale: Wife of the Prophet Joseph Smith." M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1952, 7. *Times and Seasons*, Vol. 3, p. 802.
- ¹²⁵ Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005, 441.
- ¹²⁶ Wyl, W., pseud. [Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal]. *Mormon Portraits, or the Truth About Mormon Leaders From 1830 to 1886*. Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1886, 58.
- ¹²⁷ Jessee, Dean C. comp. and ed. *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984, 582.
- ¹²⁸ George Q. Cannon, First Counselor in the First Presidency in 1894 gave this overview: "Now in relation to virtue. While I think we compare very favorably with many communities, I fear that there is too great a laxity in some quarters in this direction. I know however, that God will cleanse that element from our midst. One of the inevitable consequences of the practice of unchastity is the departure of the Spirit of God from those who indulge in it. They become weak in the faith, and are severed from the Church of Christ. This has been the case from the beginning: it will continue to be the case, for this work has within itself the power of purification." (*Collected Discourses*, Vol. 4, George Q. Cannon, October 7th, 1894.) *Page 181*
- ¹²⁹ Bitton, Davis. "Mormon Polygamy: A Review Article," *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 110. [101-118]
- ¹³⁰ Lee, John D. *Mormonism Unveiled, or: The Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop, John D. Lee*, ed. W. W. Bishop, St. Louis: Byron, Brand, 1877, 146-47.
- ¹³¹ Cited in Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005, 404.
- ¹³² Jeni Broberg Holzapfel and Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, eds., *A Woman's View: Helen Mar Whitney's Reminiscences of Early Church History*, Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, BYU, 1997, 140.
- ¹³³ Helen Mar Whitney, *Plural Marriage as Taught by the Prophet Joseph: A Reply to Joseph Smith, Editor of the Lamoni Iowa "Herald"*. Salt Lake City: Junveile Instructor Office, 1882, 27.
- ¹³⁴ *The Journal of Joseph Lee Robinson: Mormon Pioneer*, ebook, Kevin Merrell ed., http://www.planetnrielsen.com/joseph_lee_robinson_jlr_deluxe_journal.pdf (accessed May 3, 2007), 36.
- ¹³⁵ 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): 38. [1-38.]

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¹³⁶ Cook, Lyndon W., comp. *Civil Marriages in Nauvoo and Some Outlying Areas (1839-1845)*. Provo, Utah: Liberty Publishing, 1980, dates for various marriages found throughout the text.

¹³⁷ See Bachman, Daniel. "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith." M.A. thesis, Purdue University, 1975. 120-33. *REPRINT IN HIS MARRIAGE AS WELL*

¹³⁸ Bruce Van Orden, "Writing to Zion: The William W. Phelps Kirtland Letters (1835-1836)," *BYU Studies* 33:3 (1993) 367; emphasis in original. [542-93]

¹³⁹ See *see 489-114*

¹⁴⁰ Stanley B. Kimball, "Faking Flanders Too Seriously," *Dialogue*, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 180 [177-81]

¹⁴¹ Stenhouse, T. B. H. *Rocky Mountain Saints*. New York: Appleton and Company, 1873. 145.

¹⁴² Jeffrey Nichols, *Prostitution, Polygamy, and Power: Salt Lake City, 1847-1918*, Chicago: University of Illinois, 2002, 28.

¹⁴³ Email correspondence, April 12, 2007.

¹⁴⁴ See Thomas G. Alexander, "'A New and Everlasting Covenant': An Approach to the Theology of Joseph Smith," in Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *New Views of Mormon History: Essays in Honor of Leonard J. Arrington*, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987, 43-62.

¹⁴⁵ Brigham Young, February 8, 1868, *Journal of Discourses*, 12:154-58.

¹⁴⁶ Elder Bruce R. McConkie wrote: "There is no such thing as a second chance to gain salvation by accepting the gospel in the spirit world after spurning, declining, or refusing to accept it in this life. It is true that there may be a second chance to hear and accept the gospel, but those who have thus procrastinated their acceptance of the saving truths will not gain salvation in the celestial kingdom of God." *Mormon Doctrine*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), 685. See also Alma 34:33; D&C 45:2.

¹⁴⁷ Joseph Smith was not the first to suggest that marriage could exist after death. Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) wrote in 1768: "~~As to angels themselves, they are of both sexes, young men and husbands, and maidens and wives, -- maidens so beautiful that there is no likeness of such beauty in the world. Yet the wives are still more beautiful and appear as very effigies of heavenly love. And their husbands appear as effigies of heavenly wisdom, and are all in the bloom of early manhood. And what is more, it is not known there that there is any love of sex other than marriage love; and -- the husbands have a perpetual faculty of enjoyment.~~" (*The Delights of Wisdom Pertaining to Marriage Love: After Which Follow the Pleasures of Insanity Pertaining to Scortatory Love*, Boston: Riverside Press Cambridge, n.d. [original published in Latin in 1768].) B. Carmon Hardy wrote: "To describe heaven as a place where marriage and family relations continue as they are on earth was not unique to Mormons. The visions of Emanuel Swedenborg set forth similar ideas, and these perspectives agreed with Romantic imagery that increasingly portrayed the next life in familiar, anthropocentric terms." (B. Carmon Hardy, *Doing the Works of Abraham: Mormon Polygamy, Its Origin, Practice, and Demise*, Norman, Oklahoma: Arthur H. Clark, 2007, 38.) Notwithstanding these observations, it remains that neither, Christian, Jewish, Islamic, Hindu, Buddhist, or any of the larger religious traditions of the world believe ultimate salvation occurs to heterosexually married couples.

¹⁴⁸ "Speech," *Times and Seasons*, Vol. 6, p. 938. In 1882 Helen wrote: "At that time [in Nauvoo] spiritual wife was the title by which every woman who entered into this order was called, for it was taught and practiced as a spiritual order and not a temporal one." (Helen Mar Whitney, *Plural Marriage as Taught by the Prophet Joseph: A Reply to Joseph Smith, Editor of the Lamoni, [Iowa] Herald*, Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1882, 15.) Historian Linda King Newell observed: "Joseph and the Twelve used the term, and a few women who were his plural wives later referred to themselves as 'spiritual wives,' but when Bennett began to engage in widescale promiscuity while claiming authorization from Joseph, the 'spiritual wife' term rapidly fell into disrepute." (Newell, Linda King, "Emma Hale Smith and the Polygamy Question," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 4 [1984]: 7,) [3-15.]

¹⁴⁹ See Abanes, Richard, *Becoming Gods: A Closer Look at 21st-Century Mormonism*, Eugene, Oregon: Harvest House Publishers, 2004, 210.

¹⁵⁰ Collected Discourses, Vol. 4, George Q. Cannon, April 8, 1894, 4:82; Conference Report, April 1899, p. 20.

¹⁵¹ Rich Deem, "What will heaven be like," <http://www.godandscience.org/doctrine/heaven.html#24> Accessed May 29, 2006. See also Stanton L. Jones and Mark A. Yarhouse, *Homosexuality: The Use of Scientific Research in the Church's Moral Debate*, Downer Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 2000, 161; see also 166, fn 11. Abanes, Richard, *Becoming Gods: A Closer Look at 21st-Century Mormonism*, Eugene, Oregon: Harvest House Publishers, 2004, 304, 307.

¹⁵² Dr. Ralph F. Wilson, "Marriage, the Resurrection, and the Christ (Luke 20:27-44)"

http://www.jesuswalk.com/lessons/20_27-44.htm. Accessed May 29, 2006. An unnamed Christian writer provides a different view: "The Bible is not clear about marriage after death. One or two passages, taken out of context, seem to say that there is no 'marriage' in heaven. Many more passages hint that true marriage is an eternal covenant" ("What the Bible says about... Marriage in Heaven," <http://members.aol.com/johnodhner/Marriageinheaven.html> Accessed May 29, 2006).

¹⁵³ Foster, Lawrence. *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981, 143.

¹⁵⁴ Ehat & Cook, *Words*. Extracts from William Clayton's Private Book: 5 January 1841 (Tuesday), p. 60.

¹⁵⁵ Alma 13:3 states: "In the first place being left to choose good or evil; therefore they having chosen good, and exercising exceedingly great faith, are called with a holy calling." Since the "holy calling" was an ordination "unto the high priesthood of the holy order of God" (v. 6) and only occurs to males, it appears these verses were implying that gender existed "in the first place" – the premortal world. More recently Church leaders through the *The Family: A Proclamation to the World* explained: "All human beings – male and female – are created in the image of God. Each is a beloved spirit son or daughter of heavenly parents... In the premortal realm, spirit sons and daughters knew and worshiped God as their Eternal Father." ("The Family: A Proclamation to the World." *Ensign*, June 2006, 10-11) This proclamation was read by President Gordon B. Hinckley as part of his message at the General Relief Society Meeting held September 23, 1995, in Salt Lake City, Utah.) See also Keller, Jeffrey E. "Question: Is Sexual Gender Eternal?" *Sunstone* 10, No. 11 (1986): 38-69.

¹⁵⁶ *Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 19, p. 315-316. Orson Pratt, October 7, 1867. Apostle Lorenzo Snow taught similarly: "We were born in the image of God our Father; he begot us like unto himself." (*Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 14, p. 302. Lorenzo Snow, January 14, 1872.)

¹⁵⁷ *Discourses of Brigham Young*, 50. JD 4:206-208, 1857

¹⁵⁸ *Gospel Truth*, 5. APRIL 7, 1859 CD 1:222

¹⁵⁹ *The Gospel Kingdom*, p. 12 TES 6:1008

¹⁶⁰ See *Times and Seasons*, 5:748. W.W. Phelps' "THE GOSPEL"

¹⁶¹ JD 18:290. Nov 12 1870 c.p.

¹⁶² *History of the Church*, Vol. 7, Ch. 37, p. 546

¹⁶³ An uncanonized revelation given to President John Taylor, June 25, 1882 emphasizes the need for the authorization from the "one" man who holds the priesthood keys of sealing: "No person, or people, or nation can enter into the principle of celestial marriage unless they come in by me, saith the Lord, and obey the law of my Gospel through the medium of him who is appointed unto this power." ("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.)

¹⁶⁴ Arrington, Leonard, and Davis Bitton. *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints*. New York: Vintage Books, 1980, 186.

¹⁶⁵ Parley Pratt Autobiography (1985), p. 259-60.

¹⁶⁶ Parley P. Pratt, Key to the Science of Theology, Ch 17, p. 178. emphasis in original. see Deseret Book, 1878

¹⁶⁷ *Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 26, p. 7. John Taylor, November 30th, 1884.

¹⁶⁸ *Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 21, p. 10. Joseph J. Smith, December 7th, 1879.

¹⁶⁹ *Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 6, p. 360. Orson Pratt, July 24, 1859

¹⁷⁰ *Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 18, p. 55. Orson Pratt, July 11, 1875

¹⁷¹ *Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 11, p. 210. Brigham Young, August 19, 1866.

¹⁷² *Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 19, p. 246-247. John Taylor, October 21, 1877. P 245

¹⁷³ Wilford Woodruff's Journal, Vol. 3, p. 129-30. see also Kelly, Charles, ed. *The Journals of John D. Lee 1846-47 and 1859*. Salt Lake City: Western Printing Company, 1938, 79-80. see: UCFU Press, 1984

¹⁷⁴ Brigham Young, August 31, 1873, *Journal of Discourses*, 16:166

¹⁷⁵ Brigham Young, "Remarks," October 27, 1875, *Deseret News Weekly*, 24:619.

¹⁷⁶ It is not uncommon for historical works written to the general public to contain a disproportionate number of references to polygamy. For example, according to their respective indexes, non-LDS writer Thomas F. O'Dea refers to polygamy on 35 of the 289 pages in his book, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1957), which constitutes twelve percent of the total. In his tastefully published *A New Zion: the Story of the Latter-day Saints*, (San Diego: Thunder Bay Press, 2004), Bill Harris refers to polygamy on fourteen different pages out of the total of 128 (about eleven percent of the pages in the book).

¹⁷⁷ "Polygamy," *Millennial Star*, 15:11 (March 12, 1853), 165.

¹⁷⁸ Martha Sonntag Bradley, "Out of the Closet and into the Fire: The New Mormon Historians' Take on Polygamy," in *Excavating Mormon Pasts: The New Historiography of the Last Half Century*, Newell G. Bringhurst and Lavina Fielding Anderson, ed. Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2004, 306. [303-22]

¹⁷⁹ Martha Sonntag Bradley might not agree. She wrote: "The principle of plural marriage represented the pinnacle of Mormon marriage, not only for all eternity, but as part of [the] patriarchal order with almost unlimited potential for increase." ("Out of the Closet and into the Fire: The New Mormon Historians' Take on Polygamy," in *Excavating Mormon Pasts: The New Historiography of the Last Half Century*, Newell G. Bringhurst and Lavina Fielding Anderson, ed. Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2004, 303ff. [303-22])