
In 1985 it is difficult to write anything about Emma Hale Smith that doesn't express sympathy or admiration, so much about her trying life is now known. Valeen Tippett Avery and Linda King Newell have nonetheless succeeded in writing 309 pages of extraordinary sentences that express neither too much sympathy nor too much admiration. While they clearly grew to love their subject, their attempt to write objective Mormon history was successful. This is both the strength and the weakness of the book.

We have needed a well-researched biography that looks at Emma the woman, not Emma the wife. We have needed a biography of Emma that rescued her from Brigham Young, who thought her a devil, that took a compassionate but honest look at her knowledge of polygamy and her effort to save her son's church from its influence—a book that recognized Emma's strength and indomitable spirit in the face of the oppression that came from both within and without the church. We have wanted to see Emma's human qualities beyond her nourishing qualities—to see her in the center of relationships, not on the periphery. In short, we needed a more objective look at Emma than anyone had provided before. In *Mormon Enigma* we have an excellent one.

To fill our need for an analysis of a Mormon woman's experience, *Mormon Enigma* is less successful. Emma was a prophet's wife and an "elect lady" of a church, but she was much more. She was a woman whose life was totally taken over by her marriage to Joseph, even into the thirty-five years she lived after he was married to Lewis Bidamon. She gave birth to eight children, adopted two, and saw five die in infancy. She was, of necessity, a "public" woman, who spent most of her life living up to the demands of a public image. Most important, she was a complex woman obscured by her husband in the eyes of their contemporaries as well as in the writings of succeeding generations.

Emma's complexity is seen in this biography—her feelings, quoted from her few extant writings, emit from its pages. But I thirst for more. I want to read what Emma would have written on the night of December 25, 1843, had she had the energy to reflect on the past year. She started and ended the year with extended illnesses, possibly typhoid fever or malaria. In February she discovered Joseph's marriage to Eliza R. Snow, which began her painful struggle with plural marriage that lasted the rest of her life. On September 28, Emma received her second anointing. Then in November her husband accused her of poisoning him. On Christmas Day she served dinner to over 200 guests. The thought of such large-scale hospitality without the amenities of indoor plumbing and microwave ovens is mind-boggling! What would Emma have recorded in her journal about her life that year?

As with all women, the sources from which we can know Emma are too few. She had little time to write and no scribe to record her every word (as Joseph had). Emma, as all historical figures, will remain unreachable to those of us, the authors included, who want to know her better. As with all addictive pleasures, good history makes us yearn to know more.

The authors have provided us with the facts. Yet, history is unavoidably constructed by the historian, no matter how much objectivity is attempted. This book was shaped from the authors' perspective, out of their experience as Mormon women. *Mormon Enigma* sets the stage for comparative analysis. For example, the experience of other Mormon women would be valuable.
be valuable here. Does Sonja Johnson's struggle relate to Emma's? Would the work of feminist scholars, on the different way women view the world, give us some alternate interpretations of Emma's life?

If history is to reflect female experience—which reveals more than fact and which communicates the female struggle—we must understand the different world created, and sometimes inhabited, by women. We must use female language, symbols, and images to describe female lives, recognizing that the basic conditions of women's lives, described in feminist literature, are relevant to the study of all women, historical and contemporary.

Paul Edwards, in his essay on Alice Smith Edwards (included in this issue), provides an excellent illustration of what we must attempt. He uses the concept of women living in exile to reflect on the life of an RLDS woman—a life that exhibits a pattern of exclusion and participation. Emma's life also exhibits such a pattern. Her life was obscured by her husband's. Her constant condition was one of participation—riding next to her husband in a military parade, admired by all—and of exclusion—kept ignorant of her husband's plural wives.

The authors have set the stage for many types of analyses of Emma Hale Smith. I suspect that there is much more in their hearts as well as their heads to write about her. They have generated in their readers an appetite to know more, to use the light of understandings about women's experiences of reality to shine on Emma.

Other reviewers have called this book "a noteworthy contribution to American history" and "one of the finest biographies in the field of Mormon studies." These phrases are far too modest. The authors have interpreted Emma's life in a thoughtful and courageous writing. It may be unfair to ask for more, but it is exactly what we need, want, and what history demands.

Mary Lou Goodyear
Denver, Colorado


Jan Shippy knew little about Mormonism when she found herself living in Logan, Utah, twenty-five years ago. She became interested in Mormon history and has pursued it as her major academic and personal interest in the intervening years. A Methodist, she is now the best known historian of Mormonism from the ranks of the Gentiles, and the only non-Mormon ever to be elected president of the Mormon History Association.

This book is the long-awaited publication of her interpretation of where Mormonism fits among the religions of the Western world. It is her thesis that Mormonism is a new religious tradition. Just as Christianity began within Judaism but eventually came to be seen as a new religious tradition separate from Judaism, so Mormonism began within Christianity but became a separate religious tradition. "Mormonism started to grow away from traditional Christianity almost immediately upon coming into existence," writes the author (p. ix).

For Dr. Shippy, a professor of history at Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis, it is the open canon of scripture (the Book of Mormon and the revelations to a modern prophet) and the historical experiences of the early Mormons that distinguish them from all other existing religious traditions (p. xii).

Shippy defines church, denomination, sect, and cult and places Mormonism in the category of cult. She defines a cult as "a group that coalesces around a leader who mounts a challenge to the fundamental integrity of a tradition's story by adding to it, subtracting from it, or by changing it in some more radical way than merely setting out a new interpretation of the events and happenings in the existing story" (p. 48). She makes a good case for her interpretation, but I think a good case could be made that Mormonism is "merely setting out a new interpretation of the events and happenings in the existing story." While the claim to add to the canon was unusual, the Book of Mormon was a rehash of biblical ideas and the revelations tended to be merely directions for the church. Certainly Mormonism significantly reinterpreted the Judeo-Christian history—often distorting it. But many other sects have placed new interpre-
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they don't have enough information to comment.

Mrs. Newell said she heard of the ban on June 9 from friends who serve in leadership positions in nearby Salt Lake LDS wards and stakes.

Friends reported they had "received instructions in bishopric meetings" not to invite Mrs. Newell or Dr. Avery to speak in church, according to Mrs. Newell.

Mrs. Newell said the stake president, and later, church apostles Neal Maxwell and Dallin Oaks confirmed the order.

"It [the ban] originated at church headquarters by telephone, was set down the communication line through area presidents, then the regional representatives, then stake presidents, then bishops," said Mrs. Newell.

"Needless to say, by the time the message was relayed to us by other concerned friends, it was considerably garbled and came in various versions."

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"By not informing us, established church rules of due process were ignored."

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Contrary to popular Mormon thought, Mrs. Smith did not participate in the organization of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Nor did she encourage her son to become the splinter church's leader, according to the book.

After Joseph Smith's murdering in 1844, Mrs. Smith married Lewis Bidamon, a non-Mormon. Mr. Bidamon later became an illegitimate son whom Emma Smith reared.

On her deathbed, Emma Smith urged her husband Bidamon to marry the child's mother so the boy would be legitimate. She also cared for Joseph Smith's mother Lucy Mack Smith.

Emma Smith died in 1879.

"If I could describe Emma Smith in one word," said Mrs. Newell, "it would be 'compassionate.'"
LDS Officials Ban Authors From Lectures on History

By Dawn Tracy
Tribune Staff Writer

Mormon Church officials have banned the authors of an award-winning book on Emma Smith, wife of church founder Joseph Smith, from speaking on historical topics in church meetings.

Officials from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints refused comment. A church spokesman would not say if the order involves other Mormon writers and historians.

The ban apparently came from the church's ruling First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve Apostles to local church bishops in Utah, Idaho and Arizona.

The author, a Mormon who has served in numerous ward and stake church positions, learned about the ban from friends.

Linda Newell, co-author of "Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith," said church officials told her the speaking ban pertains "only to historical topics" and does not affect her standing in the church.

The book examines polygamy from a woman's point of view.

Mrs. Newell said she had not discussed Mormon historical topics in church sacrament meetings because the subject is too "controversial."

W. Eugene Hansen, an attorney and stake president, said it would be inappropriate to comment except to say Mrs. Newell is in "full fellowship and good standing with the church."

The co-author of "Mormon Enigma", Dr. Valeen Tippetts Avery, a professor of history at Northern Arizona University, could not be reached for comment.

Church spokesman Jerry Cahill said after talking to "appropriate church authorities," he has no comment.

"It is a matter of policy that the church does not comment publicly about what goes on in private meetings with its members," said Mr. Cahill.

When asked for a response to the ban, Mr. Cahill said "I am well aware of the questions but [I will] make no comment. I wouldn't respond in this way if I had not talked to the appropriate officials."

A few months ago, the authors shared a $10,000 prize in this year's David Woolley Evans and Beatrice Cannon Evans Biography Award. Jeffrey Holland, president of the Mormon church-owned Brigham Young University, presented the award personally.

The book also has received Best Book Award for 1984 from the Mormon History Association.

On the book's jacket, former Mormon church historian Leonard J. Arrington praised the work as "One of the great biographies in Mormon and 19th Century American literature."

Other comments on the dust jacket are from James L. Clayton, historian and Dean of the University of Utah Graduate School. Dr. Clayton said the book is "thoroughly researched, clearly written and nicely balanced."

Mr. Arrington and Dr. Clayton said See B-16. Column 4

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LDS Officials Ban Authors’ Lectures On Historical Topics at Meetings

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Stop Domestic Violence
(Continued from page 4)

parental authority, marriage, human sexuality, and the family often contributed to the problem. Misinterpretation and misuse of scripture and Christian tradition have been detrimental.

This is rapidly changing. Today in many RLDS communities, members are exploring ways for the church to become a resource to ministry rather than a roadblock. A number of congregations throughout the church are cooperating with organizations dedicated to the prevention of domestic violence and to healing for the victims. Last year the Herald carried several news stories of congregations working with shelters for battered women and agencies for the prevention of child abuse. Saints in Kansas, Missouri, Maine, and California are among those involved.

There are no simple solutions to this disturbing issue. All the members caught in the crisis of violence are harmed physically, psychologically, and spiritually. Knowledgeable, skilled counseling and support are needed.

Graceland Board of Trustees

In harmony with the action taken by the 1982 Conference in World Conference Resolution 1166, the Higher Education Advisory Board is giving attention to the nominations of Graceland College trustees to be acted on by the 1986 Conference. Church members are encouraged to submit the names of persons whom they wish the board to consider. Each recommendation should be accompanied by current biographical data (preferably typewritten). The one submitting the name must also certify that his/her nominee is willing and able to serve if nominated and elected.

Persons wishing to submit names must mail them in sufficient time that the information will be received no later than November 15, 1985. Board members will consult with the First Church members are wise to recognize the merit of organizations designed to address the problem.

Victims of domestic violence are the "bruised and brokenhearted" whom Christians are called to comfort. Perhaps the greatest ministry that can be given is that of referral to agencies where the whole family can receive healing ministry. Saints can provide both time and money as support to such organizations. Those who have contributed bear witness to the power of God present in the efforts to stop the violence.

B.H.

Office HQ News

submissions are made to the church headquarters with the name on each issue of the church publication.

Letters

The letters column primarily offers "Herald" readers the opportunity to comment on issues presented in earlier issues. Letters should be brief and free from statements that reflect on the integrity of individuals. Address "The Editor, Saints Herald, P.O. Box 1059, Independence, Missouri 64055."

Letters are "freely using the opportunities which church law provides." It is up to those who do not agree with present conditions to try through church law and procedures to bring about a change in the church, but not to voluntarily leave the church or turn in priesthood cards.

We must remember that the Lord is in control and has given us a promise in Doctrine and Covenants 36:12a-g. May the Lord our God and his Son Jesus Christ bless us as we seek to bring forth Zion in this day.

Phillips, Wisconsin
Kip and Janet Davis

March 1, Herald

In response to the statement on "unauthorized assemblies," we agree with the author that the conferences of the church are the recognized arena for debate and change within the framework of the church.

In agreeing with this, we would urge the members who are not in agreement with the present policies of the church to exercise their right to vote at all levels (from branches to World Conference) on all items under consideration. By doing this they would lead to changing a moral line. That line then comes closer to censoring what you can say in this publication.

Sutherland, Oregon
John R. Whelchert
Publisher, The Sun Tribune

I read with interest the editorial by the First Presidency regarding the various newsletters, magazines, and booklets arriving unsolicited in the mail of RLDS members. No other interested groups of persons at their discretion in explorations necessary to determine the strengths of the current Graceland Board of Trustees in filling expiring terms or vacancies.

Names and biographical data should be sent to Jerry C. Bunkle, Higher Education Advisory Board, P.O. Box 1059, Independence, Missouri, 64051.

Freedom of speech and of the press are rights we too often take lightly. It is my personal opinion that you cannot separate radio, television, and brewers from the freedoms that newspapers and citizens rightfully share.

Freely people think and to be as much as they can be should be the basic premise of life and is what the church should have (and does) encourage through education and new forms of worship. Censorship in any form goes against the very agency that God is currently giving each of us.

When you encourage people to seek censornship as a solution you open the door to the eventual censorship of your own speech or publication, because someday your thoughts, ideas, or writings may be perceived as a "problem."

Of course we are free to stand against the free- doms which radio, television, and brewers already have—and possibly there should be some limits—but censorship will not be a cure to alcohol abuse and can only lead to drawing a moral line. That line then comes closer to censoring what you can say in this publication.

Independence, Missouri
Alta M. Witte

March 1, Herald

Concerning the editorial about alcohol advertising may I share a few thoughts? Sometimes it is difficult to see what happens when we react a certain way to a problem, and most of us will admit alcohol can be a problem. I do not want this to appear to be a defense for alcohol or its abuse, but I do want to stand up for the freedom of expression that should be available to all.

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JANUARY 1 HERALD

On Thursday night, December 27, I received a telephone call from the presiding elder of our congregation in Jackson, Ohio. The city police had just arrested a fifteen-year-old boy for vandalizing the nursery classroom at our church and several cars belonging to residents of the neighborhood. There seemed to be no reason for these senseless acts. The boy was apparently intoxicated at the time.

Fortunately, damage to the church was minimal, although there was a lot of broken glass in the toy box and playpen. A speaker connecting to the main sanctuary had been destroyed, but everyone agreed that the damage could have been a lot worse.

Brother Ervin called me to let me know what had happened since, besides being a preacher, he is also a reporter for the local triweekly paper, and a part of my beat is to cover police department news. Jackson is a small town—population 6,600—and there are very few secrets, so Brother Ervin told me who the boy was. A long-haired, sulky kid with an earring in one ear, he delivered the Columbus paper to my door every day.

My first reaction was I would cancel the paper and register my complaint to the circulation manager. My wife, who had spent a lot of time in the nursery with our two-year-old son, shared my view. As soon as I had expressed this anger, however. I realized that I could do nothing to change the fact that the boy had been arrested.

We then started to prepare for the senior high church school class I teach, discussing the lesson that was also on forgiveness. I realized that the boy who was arrested was the same age as some of the well-behaved, well-behaved teenagers I have in my class. And so, on Sunday, December 30, I presented the matter to them: can we forgive this boy enough to invite him to attend our church?

I placed three blank greeting cards in the classroom, and said, "I know how to get in touch with the boy. If any of you would like to invite him to church school, these cards are for that purpose." I then left to help prepare for the next service.

When I returned, one girl had written an invitation to the youth to come to church. I later found out an adult member of the congregation had extended a similar invitation to both the boy and his family.

Through a number of coincidences the official asked branch representatives what suggestions they would have for sentencing the boy. One member suggested, half-seriously, "Why not sentence him to Sunday School with us for awhile? Maybe we can show him what goes on here and teach him something that will help him." To make a long story short, the officials liked the idea, and now this young man is attending services at our church and will continue to do so for the next nine months.

Our new friend made his first appearance January 20. There had been tremendous preparation for his coming by prayerful members of the congregation, and he was met, on his first day, by a spirit of love that may have been beyond his comprehension. There was no denying the smile that came across his face when the congregation burst into a chorus of "Happy Birthday" for him. We had learned he had turned sixteen just two days before, so we included him in our list of salutes to members' birthdays and anniversaries.

We are trying to make ourselves carefree in our relationship with this young man. We have one goal: simply to love him for the person he is with us, and give him something good to take with him all his life.

When he has "done his time" with us, we realize we may never see him again at church. But we also realize that there could be an exciting and happy end to this story. No matter how it turns out, this is a mowntainop experience for all of us Saints in Jackson, Ohio.

We will appreciate prayers of support from all our brothers and sisters in the World Church.

Jackson, Ohio

Clifton Spires, Jr.

NOTE OF APPRECIATION

I must write to say how much I enjoy reading the Herald. The December issue was excellent. I read and reread all of the articles ("The Love Connection" was a masterpiece). I am a seventy-five-year-old widow and live twenty-five miles from the nearest branch, so reading church material is very important to me. I was converted after reading the Book of Mormon, given to me by a friend in Kansas City; I went there to be baptized.

The group at Sparta, Illinois, is small, but we have a wonderful spirit present every time we meet. We are studying The Life and Ministry of Jesus, as teacher of the class, I have learned much.

My life has been made full by the reading and studying I have done. Keep the Herald full of good articles.

Ava, Illinois

Grace Lively
Book Review


Emma Hale Smith is one of the least understood figures in Latter Day Saint history. As the wife of a charismatic religious leader who himself remains largely obscure to his friends and enemies alike, she was destined to become an enigma to all who might seek to grasp the inner truth of her complex and painful life. All that has ever been written about Emma Smith has sorely needed revision if not outright rejection as useless biography. Whether coming from a Mormon or an RLDS perspective, attempts to either chronicle or synthesize the meaning of her life have fallen far short of their objectives. Mormon writers have maligned Emma as a heretic from Mormonism. RLDS authors, on the other hand, have nearly defied her and placed her in fantasy worlds for the supposed benefit of their partisan audience. For years the time has been ripe for a new and more balanced treatment of the life of Emma Hale Smith Bidamon.

Now—after some eight-plus years of exhaustive research, writing, and re-writing—Linda Newell and Valeen Avery offer the world their tome on the life of the "Elect Lady" of Mormonism. The title itself indicates the limitations the authors felt in trying to solve the riddles of Emma's life and impact on Mormonism from its founding in western New York to the present. They are correct: she remains enigmatic, even despite their comprehensive biography. I welcome the chance to review this splendid work, for it centers me in a continuing struggle to grasp, with mind, imagination, and emotion, some dim hint of what it might have been like as a nineteenth-century woman to endure the oppression of male ecclesiastical, economic, political, and social power. In the end, a biography about such a woman—written by two women who have learned to cope with those types of male power in this American culture—deserves the kind of review that only a woman could produce.

That such a sizable work on Emma Smith could be written is a tribute to the authors' tireless quest for documentation, since there is only a handful of Emma Smith papers. The reconstruction of such a complex life was made more difficult by that lack, but in the long run, the breadth of sources lends much to the quality of the finished work. Acknowledging their own rich Mormon heritage and present connection, the authors try to allay the readers' possible fears of friendly bias by subscribing to themselves a laudable degree of historical detachment.

We have written neither to support nor to dispute doctrine and have used accounts both favorable to and critical of the new religion that Joseph Smith established. We also recognize the difficulty of maintaining balance in describing historical events that many people hold sacred. The solution Brigham H. Roberts expressed in the Preface to the Comprehensive History of the Church became ours: "to frankly state events as they occurred, in full consideration of all related circumstances, allowing the line of condemnation or justification to fall where it may, being confident that in the sum of things justice will follow truth" (Introduction, xiii).

A major aspect of Emma's life was the pain of deprivation—physical, psychological, and emotional. Sensitive and insightful throughout the book, the authors set forth the myriad events which epitomized those aspects of her suffering, beginning with her separation from her family not long after she met Joseph Smith, Jr. Their marriage permanently alienated her from her parents, particularly her father Isaac, although several letters passed between Emma and her parents and other family members in later years. Her departure from New York to Ohio in early 1831 began her lifelong exile from her natal home. She never saw her parents again. The authors see her life and relationships as unfolding against the backdrop of personal tragedy and trauma occasioned by (1) ill-timed moves, (2) forced flights from "the enemy," (3) the deaths of five of the nine children she bore—either at their births or shortly thereafter—between the years 1825 and 1842, (4) marital conflict and crisis not only as a prophet's wife (1827-1844) but as spouse to L. C. Bidamon (1847-1879), (5) debilitating family illnesses and crises of all sorts, and (6) immensely painful burdens imposed by family, neighbors, and strangers. The entire volume is an absorbing story of a multidimensional person living in a complex and rapidly changing social milieu. The authors possess literary skills that bring Emma Hale Smith to life for those who care enough to wrestle today with the questions she raised for her own time.

A central issue is plural marriage and its effect on Emma's relationship to Joseph and their family, as well as its impact on early Mormonism. This is a difficult matter to address, primarily because for over a century the LDS and RLDS churches have held fiercely to such conflicting views about polygamy's origin in those early years. Mormons have long been champions of the position that Joseph Smith, Jr., both taught and practiced polygamy—thus legitimating for them its continuance in Utah Territory during the post-Nauvoo period. They have therefore produced many sources linking polygamy's origin to Joseph—several documents of particularly dubious authenticity fixing its inception as far back as 1831. The RLDS church, on the other hand, from its origin in 1852 in Wisconsin, has condemned plural marriage as a heresy. From about the mid-1870s until very recent times RLDS leaders and members used every possible means to link Joseph Smith's name with polygamy only on the basis of his strong opposition to it. They have placed unbounded trust, in this connection, in his published denials of plural marriage and other wrongs in the Times and Seasons in 1844. Equally important to RLDS convictions was the "Last Testament" of Emma Smith, further strengthened by the fact that no records exist proving Joseph's parentage of any children born to his alleged polygamous wives.

In view of these opposing biases of both churches on this issue, therefore, and given the strong LDS Mormon affiliation and heritage of both authors, the reader should be cautioned in advance as to the positions to which the evidence presented by the authors will lead. The basic thesis of their book on the issue of polygamy can be summarized as follows:

- Joseph Smith, Jr., sought to introduce the doctrine and practice of polygamy among a few selected leaders of the church as early as 1831.

(Continued on page 24)
Book Review
(Continued from page 6)

- He encountered early opposition at Kirtland in the 1830s but finally was able to set the doctrine and practice in place secretly in Nauvoo.

- Emma Smith was a strong opponent of polygamy from her first awareness of its invasion of her household; she was, however, compelled by her situation to endure the anguish.

- During her RLDS years (1860-1879) she was forced by circumstances to deny flatly both the fact of Nauvoo polygamy and any and all accusations of her husband's complicity in its inception. After all, her son Joseph III from start to finish of his fifty-four-year RLDS presidency stoutly maintained that his father could never have sponsored or practiced polygamy.

That the polygamy issue is vital to the entire conceptualization of Emma Smith's personhood is seen in the proportion of the book the authors devote to discussions of its origin, impact on her, and ramifications in the early Mormon experience. Of the book's twenty-three chapters the polygamy issue appears in fourteen, being center stage on some one hundred pages in all—exclusive of the endnotes. This is an analytical—not a pejorative—observation, as it suggests what to look for in understanding the authors' views of the essential meanings of Emma Smith's existence. In the end there is much in the book's documentation to engage the reader in many hours of pondering Emma's difficult life situation as it was touched by the polygamy controversy and the complex motives underlying her responses to it.

One would be justified in questioning the dates, precise origin, and therefore the reliability of many of the sources cited by the authors to show Joseph Smith, Jr.'s personal involvement in both teaching and practicing plural marriage. Some of those sources suffer from the lateness of their origin (1860s to 1931) or from their essentially hearsay character. For example, the authors give a detailed, "factual" account of the secret marriage of Joseph to Louisa Beaman (she was attired as a man) in the dark of night, across the river in Montrose, on April 5, 1841 (page 95). Nearly every source cited (note #1, page 322) was created many years later in Utah, during the very time that Utahans were frantically trying to authenticate polygamy in reaction to governmental prosecution of illegal polygamous unions in territories administered by the U.S. Congress. Other sources of this kind include Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner's "remaks" given at BYU in 1905; Ebenezer Robinson's Return, 1890; Helen Mar Whitney's Life Incidents," published in Woman's Exponent in 1881; unspecified evidence which the authors state "links Joseph to at least three previous ones [plural wives, in addition to Louisa Beaman] in the city: Prescindia Huntington Buell, Nancy Marinda Johnson Hyde, and Clarissa Hancock." Also the so-called "Diary of William Clayton" is cited, not in its original form but either in a recently produced partial typescript or in terms of excerpts published in the 1880s by Andrew Jensen in his Historical Record in Utah.

The preceding paragraph shows a predictable RLDS bias, which is a reality for me as I deal with this issue and its varying types of documentation in this book. After all, there is no body of "legal-proof" evidence establishing beyond any doubt that Joseph Smith, Jr., either was or was not a polygamist, in the sense of being married to more than one woman at any time prior to his death, or that he either did or did not teach others that such was enjoined by divine revelation. I must also note, however, that a large dimension of circumstantial evidence inheres in the Newell-Avery presentation, pointing to the probability of Joseph's involvement in the inception of plural marriage in early Mormonism. With all the questionable proofs introduced by the authors, there remain sufficiently strong evidences giving rise to (1) a sort of unassailable logic, and (2) an emotional identification with Emma's plight.

The cumulative effect of the book, therefore, is more than a little persuasive, but not so much because of air-tight evidences. Rather the Emma Smith so poignantly revealed is a very believable person who abhorred polygamy from 1842 until the end of her life, and who did so out of the deepest kind of personal hurt over the issue. Emma traveled a long, traumatic road from "Elec Lady" (1830) to strong foe of polygamy (1842-43) to stout denials of anything akin to marital irregularity. The depth of her "too deep for words" pain over polygamy did not destroy Emma's fundamental empathy toward her husband and family or the many others who leaned on her in their own need. In this book Emma is portrayed as a powerless woman who in the end exercised qualities of power and authority forever denied most persons caught up in the quest to gain and hold power over the lives of others. When L. C. Bidamon's mistress Nancy Abercrombie bore a son by him, Emma did what only a woman of her empathetic depth would do: when little Charlie was four (1868), she took him in and raised him. Later she even employed Miss Abercrombie, so that mother and son could be closer (pages 275-277).

Many LDS readers may not accept such a kind assessment of the woman whom Brigham Young called the "damnedest liar I ever met." Some RLDS readers may argue vehemently with many of the details and evidences in this new interpretation of Emma Hale Smith in terms of what is presented on the matter of the relation of Joseph Smith to the inception of Mormon polygamy. Whatever they may think and feel about that issue, they can rest assured that Emma has been dealt with fairly, and her life's meanings have been gently held and turned over and over in the light of competent scholarship. Perhaps most important of all, this book represents a labor of love by two sincere and able scholars who, in the process of their work discovered a new depth of love for their subject. When one explores this book the likelihood is strong that that same love, refined by respect and a sense of woe, will come alive; Emma's pain and invincible kindness will apprehend the reader. The enigma—the mystery—endures, but not just that of Emma. The authors convey in this book a truth much larger than perhaps they intended: life is enigma. . .life is mystery. At the deepest core of every human is that which is hidden and can never be fully revealed. In the face of that inscrutable puzzle, Linda Newell and Valeen Avery launched their eight-year pilgrimage. Whoever ponders the fruit of their quest will confront the depth of her/his own mystery, the enigma of friend, neighbor, and enemy, the hiddenness of the whole truth of any life.

Richard P. Howard

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Notes

AUTHORS’ NOTE: The original manuscript submitted for publication was a thousand pages. To lower the cost we deleted more than three hundred pages. Copies of the longer manuscript are available in the libraries of the University of Utah, Brigham Young University, Utah State University, and the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Missouri.

CHAPTER 1 Emma and Joseph

1. Inez Kennedy, Pioneers of Lee County, p. 96.
5. Emily C. Blackman, History of Susquehanna County, p. 103.
7. Mark H. Forscutt, "Commemorative Discourse on the Death of Mrs. Emma Bidamon," p. 1. This story was disputed by some members of Emma’s family. The Amboy (III.) Journal quoted Edwin Cadwell in the spring of 1879: "It was under the influence of her (Mrs. Joseph Smith) secret prayers, when she was seven or eight years of age, that her deutical father, who accidentally overheard her, was converted to faith in the divine mission of Christ." Mr. Alva Hale says: "There is not a word of truth in this statement of Elder Cadwell. That his father, Isaac Hale, was converted, joined the church, and he believes was class-leader, before his daughter Emma (the wife of Joseph Smith) was born" (Joseph Lewis, "Review of Mormonism," Amboy Journal, 11 June 1879). William W. Blair entered the debate and used Michael Morse, who married Emma’s sister Tryal, as his source to assert that “[Isaac] Hale always claimed that he was converted from desis to faith in Christ ... by a secret prayer of Emma’s.” (W. W. Blair, letter, 22 May 1879, published in Saints’ Herald 20, No. 12 [15 June 1879]). See note to Elder Cadwell, p. 67, by Karl Lewis, "[Amboy, May 7, 1879]."
10. Ibid., p. 428.
11. Vesta Crawford notes, Univ. of Utah.

NOTES

13. Wesley P. Walters, Joseph Smith’s Bainbridge, N.Y., Court Trials, p. 125.
15. Lucy Smith, Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations, p. 92. Hereafter cited as Joseph the Prophet. Lucy Smith dictated her manuscript to Martha Corey shortly after Joseph’s death in 1844. It was published in England in 1853, but Brigham Young called it “a tissue of lies from beginning to end” and suppressed it. Modern scholars consider the book basically accurate. See Richard L. Anderson, Reliability of the Early History of Lucy and Joseph Smith.” A corrected edition was edited by Preston Nibley and published by Bookcraft in 1958. We have used a 1969 reprint of the 1853 edition. The original manuscript is in the LDS Archives and contains more information than the 1853 book. Most of the pages are unnumbered. The manuscript is hereafter cited as Lucy Smith, Prelim. Ms.
16. Amboy (III.) Journal, Wednesday, 30 April 1879. Josiah Stowell was acquainted with Joseph Smith before he hired him to work.
23. JOC 1:11-12.
27. Statement of Isaac Hale, Susquehanna Register (Montrose, Pa.), 1 May 1844; reprinted in Eber D. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, p. 263.
28. Stowell to J. S. Fuller, 17 February 1843. Original in LDS Archives.
29. Marietta Cutwell to Wilford C. Wood, 19 October 1946, Wilford C. Wood collection, microfilm, LDS Archives. The letter says, “It was here that the Mormon Prophet Joseph Smith boarded and lived while working in the woods getting timber.”
31. Statement of Isaac Hale in Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, p. 263.
33. See W. D. Purple, Chenango Union, New York, 3 May 1877; Latter-day Saints’ Messenger and Advocate, October 1835, p. 201; and Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate 2 (9 April 1831). For a discussion of the three possible results of the trial, see Donna Hill, Joseph Smith: The First Mormon, p. 56.
34. JS to OC published in Messenger and Advocate, December 1834, as cited in
35. Donua Hill, Joseph Smith: The First Mormon, p. 68.
36. Lucy Smith, Prelim. Ms.
40. Statement of Peter Ingersoll, ibid., p. 235.
41. Lucy Smith, Joseph the Prophet, p. 99. The account that follows of Emma’s and Joseph’s visit to the hill Cumorah is also found here, pp. 100–106.
42. Saints’ Herald 28, No. 2 (June 1881):167.
43. Lucy Smith, Joseph the Prophet, p. 109.
44. Ibid., p. 113.

CHAPTER 2 The “Clearest Light”

2. Amboy Journal, 11 June and 30 April 1879. In 1879 Joseph and Hiel Lewis, sons of Uncle Nathaniel Lewis, debated with a Mormon named Edwin Cadwell over events in Harmony while Emma and Joseph lived there. The Amboy Journal reproduced their letters.
3. Interview of Emma Smith Bidamon by Nels Madison and Parley P. Pratt, Jr., 1877, LDS Archives.
7. Statement of Isaac Hale in Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, p. 265.
10. In 1890 this document was presented to the LDS Church by a young collector named Mark Hoffman and is presently in the LDS Archives. This is not the version traditionally published in the Book of Mormon.
11. Lucy Smith, Joseph the Prophet, pp. 115–117.
12. Most accounts refer to this child as Alva. Emma’s Bible in the Buffy Young private collection records the name in her own hand as Alvin. The birth date is sometimes disputed also. The Bible lists it as 16 June but is not in Emma’s hand and was written later. The gravestone and the Preface section of the Latter-day Saints Manuscript History (Book A:1) in the handwriting of Oliver Cowdery dates it 15 June.
13. Amboy Journal, 6 August 1879. Later Rhoda Skinner, who married Emma’s brother David, signed an affidavit that appeared in Howe, Mormonism Unveiled. The two accounts were given years apart and in separate locales, giving credence to the women’s claims. Same.
15. Lucy Smith, Joseph the Prophet, pp. 118–21.
16. Ibid., pp. 126–31. Dean Jesse of the LDS Archives has examined fragments of the original manuscripts of the Book of Mormon. Most of the manuscript is in

OLIVER COWDERY’S HANDWRITING. A number of unidentified scribes wrote for Joseph but none of the handwriting can be definitely identified as Emma’s. She may have acted as scribe for part of the one hundred sixteen pages Martin Harris kept, or she could have written some sections that are missing from the original manuscript. A third possibility is that Oliver Cowdery may have recopied some parts of it. See Dean C. Jesse, "The Original Book of Mormon Manuscript," pp. 272–73. For Joseph’s parents’ visit see Lucy Smith, Joseph the Prophet, pp. 146–50, and Lucy Mack Smith to Mary Pierce, 23 January 1829, photocopy of original LDS Archives.
18. Lucy Smith, Joseph the Prophet, p. 139.
22. LDS D & C 21:1–5; RLDS D & C 19:1–2b. These books are published by both branches of the Mormon church and are considered scriptural; therefore they are cited without an author. Joseph Smith originally compiled his revelations into the Book of Commandments, which went through several revisions until the book was renamed. The LDS Church published its book however the revelations fitted upon the page; the RLDS Church published its book in somewhat chronological order. Both citations will be used.
23. "Remarks," Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, given at BYU, 14 April 1905; typescript, BYU.
28. LDS D & C 27:3; RLDS D & C 26:1, HC 1:108.
30. Keith E. Melder, Beginnings of Sisterhood, pp. 49–61. We are indebted to Thaynes Anderson of Dillingham, Alas., for bringing this conflict to our attention.
32. HC 1:108.
33. Lucy Smith, Joseph the Prophet, p. 163.
34. Lucy Smith, Prelim. Ms.
35. Joseph and his followers never considered the church to be Protestant because they had not broken away. They believed they were restoring Christ’s church.
36. Joseph was preaching at his parents’ home but apparently still living at the Whitmer farm in Fayette. Joseph, Sr., and Lucy, according to local tradition, were living in a small unincorporated village between Waterloo and Seneca Falls called The Kingdom. The meeting was a small gathering as opposed to the central group in Fayette.

CHAPTER 3 Gathering in 04/04

2. Elizabeth Ann Whitney, "A Leaf from an Autobiography," Woman’s Exponent 7, Nos. 7–8 (June–December 1906):51. This is a lengthy article that ran over several issues of the Exponent and was written after the Mormons immigrated to Utah.
collection of statements by the Smiths' neighbors attesting to their upright character.
(RLDS Library-Archives) Brodie's analysis of those affidavits dealing with the Spaulding-Rigdon theory throws doubt on many others Hurbut collected. We have used only those statements that we, through our own research, have been able to authenticate. 27. Statement of Isaac Hale, Eber D. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, pp. 265-66. 28. HC 1:379. 29. Ibid., 374-376. 30. Reminiscence of Emily Dow Partridge Young. Typescript in LDS Archives, Univ. of U. and BYU. 31. Edward and Nancy Larkey, "Personal Reminiscence," Saints' Herald 26, No. 11 (June 18---August 1854); 138-145. 32. Donna Hill, Joseph Smith: The First Mormon, pp. 170-71. 33. Franklin D. Richards, "Bibliography of Utah," p. 3, as quoted in Dean C. Jessee, "The Writing of Joseph's History," p. 458. 34. JS to ES, 18 May 1834; original in RLDS Library-Archives. 35. JS to ES, 4 June 1834, Joseph Smith letterbooks, LDS Archives. 36. The anonymous announcement of Joseph's death was published in the Western Courier (Ravena, OH) 24 July 1834; the Telegraph (Painesville, OH) 18 July 1834; and the Ohio Atlas and Engraver's Advertiser, 17 July 1834.

CHAPTER 4 "Life and Tribulations"

1. Journal of Arent Lucius Hale, p. 2, LDS Archives. 2. Edward W. Tullidge, Women of Mormonism, p. 76. 3. Lucy Smith, Prelim. Ms. 4. Journal of Caroline Barnes Cosby, 1851-82, USHS. 5. Oliver Cowdery to Elizabeth Cowdery, 1 January 1834, Huntington Library, dce. 6. Joseph Smith, Sr., blessing given to ES, photocopy, RLDS Library-Archives, a copy was given to the author by Paul M. Edwards. 7. HC 2:294, tense changed to facilitate dialogue. 8. This argument is scattered in the HC 2:294-355. 9. Ibid., 298, 304. 10. Jonathan Crosby, "A Biographical Sketch," p. 15, LDS Archives. 11. Journal of Caroline Cosby, LDS Archives. 12. Statement of W. R. Hines, Arthur B. Denning, ed., in Naked Truths About Mormonism, No. 1. Letters extant from Emma's brothers to her indicate that they communicated, supporting Hine's comment about carrying letters. Hines described an argument between Sidney Rigdon and Joseph over Emma that has no support either in accounts of Rigdon's and Joseph's lives, or in our study; therefore it has not been mentioned here. 13. Jonathan Crosby, "A Biographical Sketch," December 1834, LDS Archives. 14. Joseph III, Joseph Smith III and the Restoration, p. 27. 15. We thank Peter Crawley for his help in dating the publication. Several hymns published in the Latter-day Saints' Messenger and Advocate were printed in February or March of 1836 from the same type as the ones in the hymnbook, indicating that they were still printing the book. 16. Nancy Naomi Alexander Tracy, "Incidents, Travels, and Life," typescript at BYU. 17. HC 2:428. 18. George D. Watt, ed., ID 2:215 (George A. Smith address, 18 March 1855). 19. Fawn Brodie in her revised edition of No Man Knows My History evaluated the statements Phillies Hurbut collected concerning the Spaulding-Rigdon theory of the origin of the Book of Mormon. She concludes that Hurbut wrote the affidavits in well, putting to rest the theory that the Book of Mormon was a product of Solomon Kimball or Sidney Rigdon (Brodie, Appendix B, pp. 442-56). But she used the same affidavits but concerning the reputation of the Smith family as evidence that they were "destitute of moral character and addicted to vicious habits" (italics in Brodie; rev., pp. 17-18 and Appendix A, pp. 432-41). Suggested by an anonymous reviewer.
ism, and Revealing the Sorrows, Sacrifices and Sufferings of Women in Polygamy, pp. 66-67.

44. Fanny Alger, Levi Hancock’s niece, moved to Indiana and never confirmed or denied her association with Joseph. The Church Records of the Lima, Ill., Branch (1830-45) list several Algers (Samuel, Clarissa, John, Alva, Samuel, Jr., Thomas, and another Clarissa) and directly following them is a Fanny Carter, who in old handwriting was probably “Custer.” Thomas Milton Tunney, in his “The Royal Family of the Prophet Joseph Smith, Junior: First President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints” (typescript, 1963, USHS and Univ. of U.), states that Fanny Alger married Solomon Custer, as do other family and church sources.

45. GC to Warren Cowery, 21 January 1838, original in Huntington Library. Oliver copied a letter he had written to Joseph Smith on this same day into this letter to Warren Cowery. After Oliver left the church, Brigham Young commented that on 26 July 1872 Oliver had taken a plural wife named Annie Lyman, but at the present we cannot determine whether this is correct.

46. GC to Warren Cowery, 21 January 1838, original in Huntington Library. Oliver copied a letter he had written to Joseph Smith on this same day into this letter to Warren Cowery. After Oliver left the church, Brigham Young commented that on 26 July 1872 Oliver had taken a plural wife named Annie Lyman, but at the present we cannot determine whether this is correct.

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4. The High Council meeting, 10 March 1838, in HC 3:8-10. The charges against Oliver Cowdery are in HC 5:16, 17.

5. William Swartzell, Mormonism Exposed, Being a Journal of a Residence in Missouri From the 28th of May to the 20th of August, 1839 (Pekin, Ill., 1840), pp. 22-23, as quoted in Harold Schindler, Orrin Porter Rockwell. Man of God, Son of Thunder, p. 45.

6. Joseph had this speech reprinted under the name Oration Delivered by Mr. S. Rigdon on the 4th of July, 1838, at Far West, Missouri (Far West, Mo.: The Journal Office, 1838), Chicago Historical Society.

7. Lucy Smith, Joseph the Prophet, p. 227.

8. Crawford notes.


10. Crawford notes.

11. HC 3:175: David Patten was buried 27 October 1838, the same day Governor Boggs of Missouri issued his extermination order against the Mormons.


13. HC 3:177. Missouri Governor Christopher S. Bond, at the suggestion of Lyman Edwards, rescinded the order in 1876 and apologized to the LDS and RLDS churches.


15. Diary of William Huntington, p. 23, typescr ipt at BYU.

16. HC 3:177-213. The execution order and Doniphan's response are on pp. 190-91.

17. The introduction to HC 3 mentions the incidence of rape in Far West.


20. JS to ES, 4 November 1838, RLDS Library-Archives.

21. JS to ES, 12 November 1838, RLDS Library-Archives.

22. JS to ES, 1 December 1838, Joseph Smith papers, LDS Archives.

23. These first two visits are described by Joseph III in Joseph Smith III and the Restoration, pp. 13-14.

24. Journal of John Lowe Butler, LDS Archives, p. 20; punctuation added and some changed to accommodate dialoge; see also HC 3:286-88.

25. Don Cecil Corbett, Mary Fielding, Daughter of Britain, pp. 82-87; Joseph III & A.V. Gibbons, 1 June 1893, and Joseph III to J. W. Davis, 10 June 1893, both in Joseph III Letterbook No. 4, RLDS Library-Archives. See also Lyman Wight to James Strang’s Northern Islanders, July 1855, Lyman Wight letterbook, RLDS Library-Archives. The letter said in part: "If you [had] been present when Joseph called on me shortly after [we] came out of jail to lay hands with him on the head of a youth and had him cry aloud you are my successor when I depart and heard the blessings poured n his head I say had you heard all this and seen the tears streaming from his eyes you could not have been led by blind fanaticism or zeal without knowledge."


27. Journal of David Pettigrew, p. 17, BYU.


33. BT to Mary Ann Angel Young, 15 January 1841, Univ. of U.


38. Blum, Naomi, Gateway to the West, pp. 58–60.

39. Vesta Crawford notes, Univ. of U. Crawford calls the Rigdon child "Lucy" as does Rigdon family genealogy. The 1842 Nauvoo census listing the Rigdon children gives the name of this girl as Lucy, which is probably an error.

40. Ibid.


43. Lucy Smith, Joseph the Prophet, pp. 264–70.

44. Flanders, Naomi, p. 120.


46. See Flanders, Naomi, pp. 92–106.

47. Emmeline B. Wells, "LDS Women of the Past: Personal Impressions," Woman's Exponent 36, No. 7 (February 1908); see also the Journal History, LDS Archives, 4 July 1842.


49. Crawford notes, Univ. of U.


CHAPTER 7

A New Order of Marriage

1. Sources for this are numerous. They include: Joseph B. Noble, address, 11 June 1883, at Stake Conference in Centerville, Ut.; Journal History, LDS Archives; Joseph Bates Noble, deposition, Circuit Court Testimony, 1892; Andrew Jensen, compiler, Historical Record 6:232; journal of Franklin D. Richards papers, LDS Archives; journal of Wilford Woodruff, 22 January 1869, microfilm of original, LDS Archives; Joseph P. Smith, "40 Affidavits on Celestial Marriage," Book I, p. 38, as cited in Andrew P. Ehat, "An Overview of the Introduction of Eternal Marriage in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," unpublished paper, pp. 7–9, used with author's permission. Also see Fawn M. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, p. 465, for composite accounts of the Noble-Beanan story. LDS accounts of this marriage usually refer to it as the first plural marriage performed in Nauvoo. Evidence links Joseph to at least three previous ones in the city: Pricedena Huntington Buell, Nancy Marinda Johnson Hyac, and Clarissa Hancock. 1


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Church Archives, dated this speech as "previous to the return of the Apostles from Europe in 1841." 1


Ibid., pp. 142–51.


Andrew Jensen's work is printed in the Historical Record 6, Nos. 3–5:233–34; Daniel W. Bachman, A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith (Master's thesis), pp. 107–12, concludes that "scholars have not adequately contested sixteen ill-supported names." From Brodie in No Man Knows My History, which lists forty-eight; Stanley S. Ivins's collection is in the USHS. Further documentation for Joseph's involvement in plural marriage is extensive and varied. In the RLDS Library-Erries see letters from William McClellin to Joseph III, 10 January 1861 and July 1872; also High Council minutes. Other sources are readily available to the reader in Donna Hill, Joseph Smith, The First Mormon, Foster, Religion and Sexuality, 7.

Charles A. Shook, The True Origins of Mormon Polygamy, Joseph Fielding Smith, Blood Attonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage, and in personal accounts reprinted throughout the Woman's Exponent.

Fanny Alger, Eliza R. Snow, Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, Eliza Partridge, Emily Partridge, Sarah Lawrence, and Maria Lawrence.

Diary of William Clayton, as reprinted in Jensen, Historical Record 6, No. 3–5 (May 1887)225.


Ida Blum, Naomi, Gateway to the West, p. 63.


Foster, Religion and Sexuality, p. 157.


Journal of Joseph Lee Robinson, p. 22; see also Foster, Religion and Sexuality, p. 148.

Sarah Melissa Granger Kimball affidavit in Jensen, Historical Record 6:232.

Two women in particular, Martha Brotherton, Sarah Pratt, and Nancy Rigdon, voiced their objections to plural marriage. Brotherton's story is recounted in Mrs.
NOTES

religious systems have developed independently of each other. For a discussion of initia-
tion rites, a classic starting point is Arnold Van Gennep, The Rites of Passage, trans.
Monika B. Vulezom and Gabriele L. Caffé (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,
Aldine Publishing Co., 1969), further explores and extends many of Van Gennep's
insights. On the similarities between religious belief systems and practices in many
different cultures, see the extensive writings of Mircea Eliade, including his Rites and
Symbols of Initiation: The Mysteries of Birth and Rebirth (New York: Harper & Row,
1965).

Through Alexander Neibaur, Joseph Smith had access to ancient Jewish rites
called cabalism at the same time he claimed to be translating the papyri from the
Egyptian manuscripts purchased from Michael Chandler. The Book of Abraham pub-
lished by the Mormons as coming from these papyri contains parallels to the endow-
ment for discussions on the Joseph Smith papyri and Book of Abraham, see Dialogue
3, No. 2 (Summer 1968): 66-105. This issue devoted six articles to that topic. See also
Benjamin Urrutia, "The Joseph Smith Papyri," Dialogue 4, No. 2 (Summer 1969):120-

37. Heber C. Kimball to Parley P. Pratt, 17 June 1842, Parley P. Pratt papers,
LDS Archives.

38. Diary of Joseph Fielding, a private Smith family publication, June 1863,
typed from written volumes of original diary. This letter is from Book 5, p. 22, of the
original, statement of Jesse C. Little, as cited in Richard F. Burton, The City of The

39. Albert G. Mackey, A Lexicon of Freemasonry, 7th ed., pp. 9-12; Albert G.

40. These phrases appear throughout "A Record of the Organization and Pro-
ceedings of The Female Relief Society of Nauvoo," microfilm of original, Joseph Smith
collection, LDS Archives.

41. Lucy M. Smith testimony, "Latter Day Saints Abstract of Evidence: Temple
Lot Case," LDS Archives.

CHAPTER 8 In Search of the Temple Record...

129, and see the Woman's Exponent 7, No. 3 (1 July 1878):18.

2. HC 4:552. All the information for the meetings from 17 March to 28 Septem-
ber 1842 is from the minutes, "A Record of the Organization and Proceedings of The
Female Relief Society of Nauvoo," microfilm of original, Joseph Smith collection, LDS
Archives. Hereafter cited as RS Minutes. The Sasa Young Gates collection, LDS
Archives, has a typescript of these minutes. This copy contains errors, but they do not
vary widely from what is cited here. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter
Day Saints Library-Archives in Independence, Mo., has a microfilm copy of the original
minutes.

3. Questions in regard to ordaining women would continue to surface. Finally in
1880 John Taylor explained in a general conference of the church that "some of the
sisters have thought that these sisters mentioned were, in this ordination ordained to
the priesthood. . . . I will say, it is not the calling of these sisters to hold the Priest-
hood, only in connection with their husbands, they being one with their husbands." JD
4. Keith E. Melder, *Beginnings of Sisterhood*, discusses the rise of women's societies and other organizations to which Emma probably referred.

5. Unless cited otherwise, all information for this meeting is from the RS Minutes, 2nd meeting, 24 March 1842, LDS Archives.

6. The name in question is most likely Sarah Noon, Heber C. Kimball's first plural wife.

7. RS Minutes, 18th meeting, 28 September 1842. The Clarissa Marvel statement of 2 April 1844, naming Agnes Smith, was added at the close of the Relief Society year because it was omitted earlier.


9. The term "Mother in Israel" seemed to have two meanings, one referring to the fulfillment of a woman's destiny in the church and to her faith, as when John Taylor blessed Emma to be a Mother in Israel in the first Relief Society meeting. Joseph H. Jackson, in the article titled, "Wonderful Ducksaukee Respecting Mormons," *New York Herald*, 5 September 1844, as quoted in Stanley Irsine's notebook, states that a "Mrs. Talor, old Madam Durfee and old Madam Sessions" were "Mothers in Israel" employed by Joseph to convert young girls to polygamy. Further documentation that these women contacted plural wives for Joseph is found in Emily D. F. Young, "Incidents in the Early Life of Emily Dow Partridge," Univ. of U. This is further discussed in Chapter 10.

10. For Clarissa Marvel's statement, see RS Minutes, 18th meeting, 28 September 1842. For Emma's statement, see 6th meeting, 28 April 1842. Agnes Coolidge Smith, widow of Don Carlos Smith, is not included on any list of Joseph's wives. Pawn Brodie in *No Man Knows My History*, p. 669, lists a Mrs. A***** S**** and gives John C. Bennett's *History of the Saints: Or an Exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism* as her source. That the woman in question is a "Mrs." and the number of asterisks in the name match "Agnes Smith" suggest that it is she to whom alluded William Richards and Joseph dined with Agnes Smith 17 January 1842, *H.C. 4:494*, see also D. Michael Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," 79-105, *p. 95n. 15."

11. RS Minutes, 5th meeting, 19 April 1842.

12. RS Minutes, 6th meeting, 28 April 1842.


14. RS Minutes, 6th meeting, 28 April 1842, italics added. For further detail on George A. Smith's role in rewriting the history of the church, see Dean C. Jessee, *The Writings of Joseph Smith's History*, p. 458.


16. An article does not appear in the 30 March minutes but is inserted after the last meeting of the year on 28 September. The secretary was absent "at the time of its reading else it would have appear'd in its proper place."

17. *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 August 1842):865-76. Affidavits concerning John C. Bennett's, Chauncey Higbee's, and Darwin Chase's proposals to women for sexual intercourse were apparently published in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* (HC 6:407). Originals of these affidavits are in the LDS Archives.

18. The letter appears in *HC* 5:134-36 as an "essay." Van Hale in "The Purported Letter of Joseph Smith to Nancy Rigdon," unpublished paper in possession of the authors, authenticates the letter as being from Joseph Smith to Nancy Rigdon and places the date around 15 April 1842, instead of the *HC* date of 27 August 1842. Hale also gives convincing evidence that Willard Richards was the scribe.


20. Brigham Young's statement is in *Times and Seasons* 5 (15 May 1844):539; Hyrum Smith's statement is in *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 August 1842):906, and Bennett's reaction is in *HC* 5:118.

21. RS Minutes, 12th meeting, 23 June 1842. Slight changes in Emma's words facilitate the dialogue.

22. The Ford comment is found in Harry M. Beardsley, *Joseph Smith and His Mormon Empire*, pp. 107-8.

23. Vesta Crawford notes, Univ. of U.

24. George A. Smith to Joseph III, 9 October 1869, RLDS Library-Archives.


26. RS Minutes, 6th meeting, 28 April 1842.


28. Vienna Jacobs told her story to Joseph III when he visited her in the Utah territory in 1876. Joseph III said of that interview, "I need not attempt to relate all the communication which passed between us," then proceeded with his account of the conversation that supported his position against plural marriage, *Joseph Smith III*, p. 263-64. Several other women interviewed by Joseph III left statements of their meetings with him. Some were taken under oath in the Temple Lot Suit.

29. RS Minutes, 8th meeting, n.d., 1842.

30. Ibid., 9th meeting, 26 May 1842, verb tense and pronouns changed to facilitate dialogue.

31. Ibid., 10th meeting, 27 May 1842.

32. Ibid., 11th meeting, 6 June 1842.

33. Ibid., 14th meeting, 17 July 1842.

34. Ibid., 15th meeting, 4 August 1842.

35. Ibid., 14th meeting, 14 July 1842. The minutes for the year 1842 name only ten women who were desirous of membership, or investigated. Among these were Clarissa Marvel on 23 March, and Harriet P. Decker, C. Wood, and Angelina Robinson on 28 April. A committee was formed to look into the cases of the latter three and Harriet P. Decker's name was cleared by the next meeting (25 May) as the women accepted her into the society. The other two apparently never received membership, at least their names do not appear on the rolls. At the 23 June meeting "objections were remov'd against" Elizabeth Garlick, Mary Garlick, Hannah Garlick, and Talithacuma Garlick. On 7 July "the case of Sus Nightman, wishing admissance, was also presented and objected." This was the same day the debate over Sus. Brown began. There may have been more women who were rejected but were never brought before a vote of the society, for a committee was appointed to review names submitted for membership.


Chapter 9

1. The inscription reads, "This Album was politely presented to Eliza R. Snow By Mrs. Sarah M. Kimball City of Nauvoo, March 1842." Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, ed., *Eliza R. Snow's Nauvoo Journal.* Hereafter cited as Beecher, "E. R.
Snow’s Nauvoo Journal.” Sources for the marriage are Eliza R. Snow, “Sketch of My Life,” original at Bancroft Library, University of California, microfilm at LDS Archives; Eliza R. Snow, Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow, p. 68; affidavit of Lorenzo Snow, 28 August 1869, LDS Archives. Eliza’s brother stated that in April 1843 Joseph Smith “further said that my sister Eliza R. Snow had been sealed to him as his wife for time and eternity,” Jensen, The Historical Record, 6, Nos. 3–5 (May 1887):222, Eliza R. Snow’s letter to Daniel Munns, 30 May 1877, RLDS Library-Archives, reads to part, “I trust that my word may be sufficient. I was married to Joseph Smith the Prophet, more than two years previous to his death”; Eliza R. Snow to Joseph F. Smith, n.d., LDS Archives, “At the time the sisters of the Relief Society signed our article I was married to the Prophet.”


3. Nauvoo city tax records, 1842, and Hancock County tax records; Nauvoo Restoration, LDS Archives. Both Mormon and anti-Mormon sources name Sarah Cleveland as a plural wife. See Jensen, The Historical Record 5, May 1887:234; Fawn Brodie in No Man Knows My History, p. 449, quotes Sarah Pratt in Wyl’s Mormon Portraits, p. 90, as saying, “Sarah Cleveland kept a kind of assignation house for the Prophet and Eliza R. Snow.” Angus M. Cannon, 12 October 1905 interview with Joseph III. Cannon was Eliza’s state president at the time of his conversation with her. (A stake in the Mormon church is comparable to a Catholic diocese in that it is composed of several congregations under the direction of an ecclesiastical leader called a stake president.) He also took the aged woman for rides in his carriage three times a week “when she was helpless as a child,” (p. 12) and quotes her as saying, “Sister Emma . . . took my hand and put it in the hand of her husband, Brother Joseph, and gave me to him to wife.” This is improbable. On the surface the account seems reliable, but a closer look at the entire interview reveals some problems in testimony for the sixty-one-year-old Angus Cannon on other matters. Eliza’s own sworn affidavit does not mention Emma. It states “She was married or sealed to Joseph Smith by Brigham Young in the presence of Sarah M. Cleveland.” Affidavit of Eliza R. Snow Smith, Joseph F. Smith affidavit collection, Book 1, p. 25, LDS Archives. None of Eliza’s own writings ever mentions that Emma was present at the marriage or gave her consent. It must be assumed then that Cannon was in error in his report.


5. The Wasp (Nauvoo, Ill.), 20 August 1842.

6. HC 5:45.


8. HC 5:83.

9. Lorenzo Wannion to JS and ES, 30 July 1842, Times and Seasons, 15 August 1842, pp. 891–92; Joseph’s request that Emma write to Wannion, HC 5:105.

10. HC 5:69.

11. Ibid., 91–92; Daniel Bachman, “A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith” (Master’s thesis), Appendix C, and Fawn Brodie, No Man Knows My History, p. 450, both list Edward Savery’s wife, Ruth Vose, as a plural wife of Joseph.


15. Ibid., 92.

16. Ibid., 103–5.

17. Ibid., 107.
37. HC 5:150-61.

CHAPTER 10 More Wives and a Revelation
[Conf, Nov-4 Jul 1853]

1. HC 5:21, 25, 172, etc.
2. ES to Sidney Rigdon, 12 September 1842, and Rigdon to ES, 12 September 1842, both in LDS Archives.
3. Emma’s illness began September and was of such severity that Joseph’s history makes note of it on nine different days: October 3-7, 10, 20, November 1, and December 1, 1842. HC 5:366-67. For Vilate Kimball’s letter, see Vilate Kimball to Heber C. Kimball, 16 October 1842, as published in “Heber Mar Kimball, Scenes and Incidents in Nauvoo,” Woman’s Exponent 11, No. 1 (1 June 1882):1-2.
5. HC 5:172.
6. Ibid., 182.
8. HC 5:183, 536. Lucy Walker Kimball in the Temple Lot Suit papers, LDS Archives, identified the house as the “Prophet’s House” before the expansion.
12. Diary of Joseph Smith, 1 January 1843, LDS Archives. Tense changed to facilitate dialogue. See also HC 5:253. The marriage date was 18 January 1827. It was their sixteenth anniversary rather than the fifteenth.
15. William Wyd (Wymetel), Joseph Smith the Prophet: His Family and His Friends (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1886), p. 58. On page 57 Wyd recites another tale about Emma, only the Eliza involved was Eliza Partridge. He said, “Eliza Partridge — used to sew in Emma’s room. Once, while Joseph was absent, Emma got to fighting with Eliza and threw her down the stairs,” thus confusing the two Elizas.
17. John R. Young to Vesta P. Crawford, April 1931, John Ray Young scrapbook, 1928-30, LDS Archives.
20. LeRoi C. Snow cited an 11 August 1844 letter from W. Aird Macdonald as his source for the Rich account. Charles C. Rich’s son, Ben E., was the mission president of Macdonald in 1906-8. Since the letter has not been found, we can only assume that Ben Rich may have heard the story from his father, then passed it on to his mission president, who told it in a letter to LeRoi Snow, who then recorded it in his papers. Snow told his own version of the story before he received the Rich account.
23. Eliza R. Snow to Dariel Munns, 30 May 1877, RLDS Library-Archives. Eliza indicated that Emma knew that she was married to Joseph, although she never said at what point Emma knew. Sometimes David McKay (father of David O. McKay) drove Eliza Snow from Huntsville to Eden and had a conversation with her which he recalled in a letter of 16 March 1916 to Mrs. James Hood, Glasgow, Scotland. He asked Eliza, “Did Emma Hale Smith know that you were married to her husband, Joseph Smith?” Her reply was, “Just as well as you know that you are sitting by my side in this buggy.” The original of this letter is in private possession, and the authors were shown a copy of it by Maureen Ursenbach Beecher.
28. Ibid., p. 403, later published under the title “As I Believe,” and dedicated to Heber C. Kimball when he was president of the church.
30. Emily D. P. Young, “Incidents of the Early Life of Emily Dow Partridge,” December 1876, Salt Lake City, typescript Univ. of U. and LDS Archives. Tense changed to facilitate dialogue.
31. Ibid.
32. Eliza M. Partridge, “Reminiscences,” in private possession.
34. Emily Partridge, “Emily Dow Partridge Young—From Her Writings,” in private possession.
36. HC 5:386-90.
37. See Elden Jay Watson, ed., Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1801–1844, p. 116. HC 5:1-2 lists the men included in this first group and does not include William Law and William Marks. This error is evident when the names are checked against the journal of Heber C. Kimball (1840-45) (“Strange Events” section) and his 1845-46 journal, 21 December 1845. For publication of Joseph Smith’s accounts, see Quinn, “Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles,” p. 81, n. 21. Contemporary diary and journal references called the group the Quorum of the Anointed, the Anointed Quorum, or abbrev-
ations of those titles. Historians have more recently called it “Joseph Smith’s Prayer Circle” (Quinn, “Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles”).

38. Statement of Eliza M. A. Muma, Church Manuscript collection, compiled by Alan H. Gerber, microfilm, BYU.
39. RS Minutes, 10th meeting, 27 May 1842.

41. Latter-day Saints clearly separate exaltation and salvation in their doctrine. They teach “that through the atonement of Christ all mankind may be saved” in the kingdom of God. Only those who have received temple ordinances of washing, anointing, endowment, and marriage for eternity can be exalted with the potential, through the principle of eternal progression, to become like God.

42. For further discussion of this thesis, see Andrew F. Ehat, “Joseph Smith’s Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Succession Question,” (Master’s thesis) pp. 59–62.
43. Ibid.
44. Diary of Levi Richards, 14 May 1843, BYU, states: “A.M. Hyrum Smith addressed the people—subjects from Book of Mormon 2nd chap. Jacob . . . said there were many that had a great deal to say about the ancient order of things as Solomon & David having many wives & Concubines—but it’s an abomination in the Sight of God.”

45. The plan to expose Joseph and the others in plural marriage is from William Clayton’s diary, 23 May 1843, as cited in Lyndon W. Cook, “William Law: Nauvoo Dissenter.” Brigham Young confirmed that it was William Marks and William Law who were working in concert with Hyrum. See Brigham Young address, 8 October 1866, Brigham Young papers, LDS Archives.

46. Hyrum’s statement to Ebenzer Robinson is found in Ebenzer Robinson, “Affidavit,” 12 December 1873 and 24 October 1885, reprinted in Charles A. Shook, The True Origins of Mormon Polygamy, p. 164. William Marks’s account of his conversation with Hyrum Smith is in the Council of the Twelve Minutes, Book A, 6 April 1865 to 12 April 1889, p. 11, RLDS Library-Archives.
47. Brigham Young address, 8 October 1866. Young began this speech by correcting the church historian, George A. Smith, on some details of history. He said, “It is important that history should go down to our children divested of all mistakes as far as possible.” However, he apparently remembered the year of his conversation with Hyrum incorrectly. Contemporary accounts such as William Clayton’s diary place the incident on 26 or 27 May 1843.

48. Address of Hyrum Smith at the General Conference of the Church, 5 April 1844, Miscellaneous Minutes collection, LDS Archives. Also in the “Manuscript History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.” Although the published History of the Church has parts of Hyrum’s address, the portions quoted here are not included.
50. William C. Staines told his story to Joseph’s scribe, Thomas Bullock, who wrote it on a small scrap of paper, probably sometime between 1845 and the mid-1850s. Bullock, during this time, collected bits of history pertaining to Joseph Smith for the “Manuscript History of the Church” begun in 1838 and finished in 1856. In the Joseph Smith Papers it is found another item from Staines entitled, “Proverbs of Joseph Smith.” Heber C. Kimball mentions Staines reminiscing of Joseph Smith in the

Deseret News, 23 November 1854, and The Contributor printed his reminiscences. Van Hale pointed this out to us.

51. Bachman, “Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith” (Master’s thesis), Appendix C, pp. 336–36, lists forty-eight women who were possibly married to Joseph Smith. Although Bachman claims that a number of those are questionable, most can be documented. The dates of marriages that took place before the time now under discussion are listed by Bachman as follows: Prescinda Huntington (11 December 1841), Marianna Johnson (May 1843), Louisa Beaman (5 June 1841), Zina Huntington (27 October 1841), Mary Rolles (February 1842), Patty Sessions (9 March 1843), Eliza A. Snow (29 June 1842), Sarah Whitney (27 July 1842), Ruth Vose (February 1842), Lucy Walker (1 May 1843), Eliza Partridge (8 March 1843), and her sister Emily Partridge (4 March 1843). These last two women will be discussed in detail in the text of this chapter.

Bachman also included a Mrs. A.S. with no known date. This is Agnes Coolboth Smith, widow of Joseph’s brother Don Carlos. She became Joseph’s plural wife early in 1842. See Chapter 6, p. 10, for documentation of this marriage. Bachman named twelve more women who were presumed to have been married to Joseph by the spring of 1843, but for whom there are no known dates. They are: Fanny Alger, Lucinda Morgan, Decenna Johnson, Mrs. Durfee, Sally Fuller, Sarah Cleveland, Flora Woodworth, Hannah Ellis, Olive G. Proctor, Sylvia Sessions, Sarah Lawrence and her sister Maria Lawrence (listed incorrectly by Bachman as Mona Lawrence). The rest were either married after the spring of 1843, or their date of marriage is not known, or they have questionable documentation as plural wives of Joseph Smith. For short biographical sketches of most of the above women, see Brodie, No Man Knows My History, Appendix C, pp. 457–88.


53. The three short quotations in this paragraph come from Jensen, Historical Record 6:240 Temple Lot Suit, p. 251 (answer to question 31), LDS Archives, and Emily D. Young, “Incidents of the Early Life of Emily Dow Partridge,” p. 5 of typescript, Univ. of U.

54. The first quotation is taken from Emily D. Young, “Incidents of the Early Life,” p. 5 of typescript, Univ. of U.; the second appears in her “Autobiography, Woman’s Exponent 14:37. Emily recorded her marriage as 11 May. Judge Adam’s was not in Nauvoo on that date but he did arrive in Nauvoo on 21 May 1843. Under cross-examination in the Temple Lot suit she realized that she had not remembered the date correctly but swore under oath to the rest of the information surrounding her marriages to Joseph. Joseph’s diary entry for 23 May, two days after her arrival, states, “At home. In conversation with Judge Adamus, and others.” Judge Adamus probably married her to Joseph on 23 May 1843 instead of 11 May.

55. For Emma’s and Joseph’s sealing date, see diary of Joseph Smith, 28 May 1843, LDS Archives. Part of this entry is written in the now defunct Taylor shorthand. La Jea Pursell of the Harold B. Lee Library aided Andrew F. Ehat in transcribing portions of Joseph’s diary that William Richards wrote, thus revealing the sealing date for Emma and Joseph (Ehat, “Joseph Smith’s Temple Ordinances,” pp. 61–62).

56. Currently the temple ordinances of washing, anointing, and the endowment precede the eternal marriage ceremony in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This was not the case in 1843. Emma’s endowment will be discussed more fully in the following chapter.

57. Emily Dow Partridge Smith Young, “Testimony That Cannot Be Refuted,”
56. James B. Allen notes on the diary of William Clayton, 23 May 1843. The full quote can be found in Beecher et al., “Emma, Eliza, and the Stairs: An Investigation,” pp. 86-96. According to Clayton’s diary, Joseph was inquiring about Joseph Jackson’s conduct toward Eliza Partridge. Jackson was a traveler who had come to Nauvoo, by his own admission, to expose Joseph. On this particular day Joseph told Clayton that Jackson was “rotten hearted.” From the tone of the conversation, Jackson may have made advances toward Eliza Partridge. That Joseph was capable of jealousy is illustrated in another of Clayton’s diary entries less than a week later. On May 29 Joseph records in his diary: “I told William Clayton that he felt as though William had not been treating him ‘exactly right,’ and asked if he had ‘used any familiarity with Emma’.” Clayton told him “by no means,” and this answer satisfied Joseph. Joseph did not question Clayton again on the subject, so the entry should be taken as a momentary misunderstanding between the two men. Courtesy of James B. Allen.
57. Emily D. P. Young, “Incidents of the Early Life,” p. 5 of typescript.
58. Temple Lot Suit, Emily D. P. Young testimony, pp. 363-64, questions 309-24, 371, questions 480-84.
59. Woman’s Exponent 14:38. Also see the affidavit of Lovina Walker, Historical Record 6:223 and the court testimony of Lucy Walker, Temple Lot Suit, p. 371.
60. “The Mormons in Nauvoo,” Daily Tribune, Salt Lake City, Ut.; interviews with William Law, “Letters,” 7, 20, 27 January 1866. Sarah and Maria Lawrence inherited the money from their father’s estate. The Aaronic Priesthood census of 1842 listed their mother, Margaret Lawrence, with Josiah Butterfield and several of the Lawrence children. On 20 May 1843 she sold lot 4 in the block 47 to Hiram Dayton and his wife. In that transaction she is referred to as Margaret Butterfield, late Margaret Lawrence.” Nauvoo Restoration, LDS Archives.
61. HC 5:415, 418. Diary of Joseph Smith entry for this same day does not include this statement. It was reconstructed later, probably from a diary entry of William Clayton.
62. For the incident with Butterfield, see HC 5:516. For Joseph’s conversation with John Taylor, see: HC 6:427. Diary of Joseph Smith correlates with this history entry.
63. Testimony of Lucy Walker Kimball in Jensen, Historical Record 6, Nos. 3-5 (May 1887).229-30.
64. Alice Cannon Lambert, “Leonora Cannon Taylor,” Young Women’s Journal 19 (1960) 347. For Orson Pratt’s statement, see his discourse of 7 October 1869, ID 13:194. For Zina Young’s comment, see Minutes, “Sister’s Meeting Held in Creation Room,” 22 November 1895, LDS Archives.
66. HC 5:391, and Benjamin F. Johnson to George F. Gibbs, n.d. This letter published in full with an introduction, notes, and comments by Dean R. Zimmerman, I Knew the Prophets, An Analysis of the Joseph Smith Diary, p. 40. By 1902 or 1903, when the letter is believed to have been written, Johnson was an old man and although his story is supported by other documents such as Joseph’s diary and Emily Partridge’s testimony in the Temple Lot Suit, his memory of dates is not so clear. He said it was only a month after Joseph visited with the Partridge woman that Joseph shared the same bedroom with Alma. It was more likely closer to three months later, for Alma’s marriage did not take place until August 1_.
67. Zimmerman, I Knew the Prophets, p. 44.
68. HC 5:400. See also diary of Joseph Smith, 30 June 1843, LDS Archives.
69. Description of Emma comes from Emma’s letter of 20 February 1849, “LDS Women of the Past: Personal Impressions,” Woman’s Exponent 36, No. 7 (February 1969), the “fishing” incident is in Vesta Crawford notes, Univ. of U.; and the story about the meat is in James Henry Rollins, Reminiscences, 1886, LDS Archives.
70. HC 5:239.
71. Letter notes.
73. Stanly Ivins index, 7:167, Mary E. Lightner to A. M. Chase, 20 April 1904.
74. HC 5:490-91. See also diary of Joseph Smith, 30 June 1843, LDS Archives.
75. HC 5:490-91. See also diary of Joseph Smith, 30 June 1843, LDS Archives.
76. HC 5:490-91. See also diary of Joseph Smith, 30 June 1843, LDS Archives.
77. The LDS Women of the Past: Personal Impressions; Woman’s Exponent 36, No. 7 (February 1969), the “fishing” incident is in Vesta Crawford notes, Univ. of U.; and the story about the meat is in James Henry Rollins, Reminiscences, 1886, LDS Archives.
78. HC 5:239.
79. Letter notes.
81. HC 5:490-91. See also diary of Joseph Smith, 30 June 1843, LDS Archives.
82. HC 5:490-91. See also diary of Joseph Smith, 30 June 1843, LDS Archives.
83. HC 5:490-91. See also diary of Joseph Smith, 30 June 1843, LDS Archives.
84. Description of Emma comes from Emma’s letter of 20 February 1849, “LDS Women of the Past: Personal Impressions,” Woman’s Exponent 36, No. 7 (February 1969), the “fishing” incident is in Vesta Crawford notes, Univ. of U.; and the story about the meat is in James Henry Rollins, Reminiscences, 1886, LDS Archives.
85. HC 5:239.
86. Letter notes.
she did not believe a word of it and appeared very rebellious." William Clayton diary as quoted in Lyndon W. Cook, The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith, p. 294.

90. Diary of JS, 13 July 1843.
92. All quotations from Section 132, LDS D & C. This revelation does not appear in RLDS D & C. Contemporary evidence for the existence of the revelation in Nauvoo and that Joseph Smith authored it will be presented throughout the next three chapters of the book. For an in-depth analysis of the handwriting of the two manuscript versions, see Bachman, "Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith" (Master's thesis), pp. 208-11.

93. Lyndon W. Cook, The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith, p. 347. The women who were married to Joseph before his death were sealed to him again by proxy at the time they received their own endowments in the Nauvoo temple after 1844.

94. William Clayton statement in Jensen, Historical Record, p. 126.
95. Ibid. Italics added.
96. Isaac Sheen became editor of the Saints' Herald in 1860. In the March 1860 issue, p. 64, he discussed the doctrine of plural wives, saying, "Joseph Smith repented of his connection with this doctrine and said that it was not of the devil," and then discussed the burning of the revelation. Cited in Shook, The True Origins of Mormon Polygamy, pp. 152.

99. Mary Bailey Smith Norman to Ina Coolbrith, 27 March 1908, RLDS Library-Archives. Ina Coolbrith was Don Carlos Smith's daughter but took her mother's maiden name after moving to California.
100. "Manuscript History of the Church"; diary of JS, 21 December to 10 March 1843, see notations for 12, 13, 14 and 15 July 1843, LDS Archives.
102. William M. Thompson, statement, LDS Archives. Thompson may well have been carrying favor among the Utah leaders by this time.
104. Susa Young Gates collection, "My Recollections of Brigham Young's Wives," USHS. Susa was born to Brigham Young and his twenty-second wife, Lucy Bigelow, on 18 March 1856 and was Young's forty-first child. She became a prominent and well-known woman in Utah.
106. HC 5:515.

CHAPTER 11 The Meeting June-December 1872

2. Clayton's reaction is in James E. Allen, "One Man's Nauvoo: The Mormon Experience in Illinois as Seen and Felt by William Clayton," p. 44, n. 17. A week later, on August 18, Newel K. Whitney told Clayton that Aaron Farr, a young man who had attended Margaret Moon, was plotting with the Walker boys and girls and Emma to bring about Clayton's downfall. Clayton does not name the Walker children who

Whitney said were involved. Margaret Moon had told Aaron Farr of her polygamous marriage to Clayton and in his hurt and angry state Farr could have turned to frie like Emma and the young Walkers for sympathy and help. But either the plotting was no more than a rumor or nothing came of it; Clayton does not mention it again although he does remain suspicious toward Emma. (Information courtesy of James Allen, "One Man's Nauvoo," 45, n. 17. Austin Cowles is not mentioned in Minutes of Council of Twelve the RLDS, Book A, p. 11, line 14, RLDS Library-Archives. The date is listed "Wednesday Morning," possibly 3 May 1855. The division of the council is documented in David Fuller and Leonard Soby, affidavits, which are published in Chart A. Shook, The True Origins of Mormon Polygamy, pp. 97-101. Austin Cowles is not times referred to as "Cole." His daughter Elvira had married Joseph 1 June 1843 the presence of Vilate Kimball and Eliza Partridge. Elvira A. C. Hoimes, affidavit, August 1862, LDS Archives."

7. Diary of William Clayton, Excerpts. Joseph's marriage to Flora Woodworth documented from Jensen, Historical Record 6:225. See also Pawn Brodie, No Man Knows My History, p. 481. The gold watch that Joseph gave to Eliza Snow is in possession of the LDS Church. For more information on Eliza's watch, see Mar Belnap Lowe, statement, Ogden, Ut., 12 May 1841, LDS Archives. What exactly did she do?"
8. The information about Emma's health during this period can be found in Vest, "A handful notes, Unv. of U.; Lucy Smith, Joseph the Prophet, p. 274; HC 6:31 diary of JS, 11 September 1843, RS Minutes, 11th and 12th meetings, 15 September 1843.
9. For incident with Butterfield, see HC 5:316. See also journal of Aaret Luciu Hale, p. 24, LDS Archives. diary of JS, 30 July 1843, LDS Archives; and HC 5:522 524. This last incident does not appear in Joseph's diary and was either reconstruct later for the publicized history or taken from a contemporary account.
10. HC 6:42-43.
12. We are indebted to several of Maria Jane Johnston Johnson Woodworth's descendants, Roselyn W. Slade, Bea Mendenhall Jensen, Mac K. Johnson, and Mildred Johnston. Maria Jane did not learn to read and write until after she arrived in the Utah Territory she dictated her memoirs to a relative in her later years wherein she said and she "learned to dearly love the Prophet, Emma, and Hyrum." The incident with Emma is attached to a letter from George H. Brimall to Joseph F. Smith, 21 April 1902, LDS Archives.
13. Salt Lake City, Tribune, 1886.
15. Ibid.
16. See Allen, "One Man's Nauvoo," pp. 44-45, n. 17. Joseph also conformed to Clayton that Emma had been "announced" and agreed with that Clayton should
take Margaret into his own home. Clayton recorded Joseph's solution to any trouble that might result from such an action: "... if they raise trouble about it and bring you before me I will give you an awful scourging & probably cut you off from the church and then I will baptize you & set you ahead as good as ever." (Diary of William Clayton, Excerpts; 19 October, 21 November 1843). Clayton's relief over Emma's change in attitude was short-lived. A month later Hyrum Smith told him that "[E]mma... had power to prevent [his] being admitted to J's Lodge [or Prayer Circle] for the present." How much confidence Emma had in determining who would be admitted to Joseph's Prayer Circle or Endowment Council is questionable. Surely Joseph invited whom he wanted but may have heeded to choose Clayton because he did not want to upset Emma any further.

18. HC 6:649.
19. The basic information for this account is taken from the "Life Sketch of Jane Elizabeth James Young James," Wilford Woodruff papers, LDS Archives. Dilapidated by June later in her life, this manuscript contains a few errors, i.e., historical evidence indicates Jane arrived in Nauvoo in late fall 1843 rather than 1840. Others in her group were her brothers Isaac and Peter, her sisters Angeline and Sarah, Sarah's husband, Anthony Stebbings, and a sister-in-law, Lucinda Manning, Jane's small son Sylvester, and her mother, Eliza. All the dialogue is taken from Jane's "Life Sketch." See also Henry J. Wollinger, "A Test of Faith: Jane Elizabeth James and the Origins of the Utah Black Community," Social Accommodations in Utah (American West Center Occasional Papers), No. 6 (1975):128-29.
20. Henry J. Wollinger, "A Test of Faith." Documents relating to Jane E. James (pp. 16-19) established that Jane repeatedly asked to receive her endowments and sealings and the turn of the century and was denied because of her race. That policy in the LDS Church was changed in 1978 and Jane's temple work has been done.
22. HC 6:100-54.
23. Statement of Emily D. P. Young Smith, Salt Lake City, 27 June 1893, LDS Archives.
25. Brigham Young address, 7 October 1866, in Semi-annual Convention, Brigham Young papers, LDS Archives. Young had mentioned the poisoning on at least two previous occasions other than the speech quoted here: 25 February 1855 and 7 October 1863. Charles Jessell Walker, recorded in his diary that Solon Foster said that Emma tried to poison Joseph. Walker's diary entry is dated 17 December 1826, ten years after Brigham Young's speech, and was probably hearsay.
26. Diary of JS, 5 November 1843, LDS Archives.
27. Ibid., 15 December 1843, LDS Archives; see also HC 6:115-16, 183, 285, 346.
28. H. Winter Griffith, M.D., Instructions for Patients, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, London: T. W. B. Saunders Co., 1975), pp. 235-36. When the authors described Joseph's symptoms to modern physicians, they universally rejected poisoning as a cause. They disclaim absolute diagnosis one hundred and forty years after the patient's death, of course, but they indicate that the factors of the symptoms together with the stressful life-style Joseph followed point most clearly to peptic ulcers. Personal interviews with George Yard, M.D., and Corwin DeMarce, M.D., Flagstaff, Ariz. HC 6:665-116; diary of JS, 6 November 1843, and 15 December 1843.
29. For the Eliza story, see Mary Bailey Smith Norman to Ina Coolbrith, n.d., RLDS Library-Archives. Eliza did not not live at the Smith home at this time nor would she live there again. The charges were without foundation. For the Fuller account, see biographies of Deserenda Widawson Pulser, 1868, LDS Archives. According to the 1840 affidavit, Brigham Young married her to Joseph in July 1843, Temple Lot: Suit. See also Emily Partridge, "Incidents of the Early Life," December 1876, p. 5, Univ. of U.
31. HC 6:134.
34. Dean R. Zimmerman, 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, p. 18.
35. HC 6:31, 39, 42, 53, and see references to prayer meetings from 1 September to 27 December 1843. William Law's service to the church is impressive. He became a counselor to Joseph in the first presidency in January 1841. (JS Nauvoo Day Book 1 July 1841-July 1843, Cedar Rapids, Ia, Masonic Lodge, microfilm copy in LDS Archives, and William Law Day Book [27 April 1843-9 July 1842], Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New Haven, Conn.) From June to August 1841 Law served a mission to Philadelphia (HC 4:258-86 and 5:37). During 1840-43 many church meetings were held in the Law home and William preached often in the Iowa Territory. (Nauvoo High Council Minutes, LDS Archives, has references to meetings at Law's house; also HC 4:254-53, the journal of Wilford Woodruff [10 April 1842], LDS Archives, and James E. Allen and Thomas G. Alexander, eds., Manchester History: The Journal of William Clayton (1840-1842), p. 212.) In 1842 William Law publicly defended Joseph's character in the wake of John C. Bennett's charges (Lyndon W. Cook, "The Autumn Law: Nauvoo Dissenter," in September 1842 he left on a second mission to the Eastern states on this time preached against John C. Bennett and "regulate[d] church affairs" (Times and Seasons 3 [1 August 1842]:72-73, and HC 5:149, 160, 183). In May 1842 William Law received his endowments with eight others (Journal of Heber C. Kimball, 1840-45, "Strange Events" entry, LDS Archives, and Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Temple Ordinances" (Master's thesis), pp. 102-3.) During Joseph's period of hiding from August to December 1842, Law assisted him in a variety of ways (HC 5:103, 119). Both William and his brother Wilson also aided Joseph financially in the January 1843 trial at Springfield.
36. Description of Law is in Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star 3 (3 May 1842):9.
37. Salt Lake City Tribune, 1886, for Law's properties and his conversation with Joseph. 38. This section of the 1835 D & C remains in the RLDS D & C today as Section 111.
40. Brigham Young address, 8 October 1866, Brigham Young papers, LDS Archives.
42. HC 6:151-52.
43. ibid., 6:70-72. HC 6:165 adds the following comment attributed to Joseph:
44. "What can be the matter with these men? Is it that the wicked flee when no man
time she learned that the Partridge and Lawrence sisters were Joseph's plural wives. Jane did not arrive in Nauvoo until late in October 1844.
14. Eucodia Baldwin Marsh, "When the Mormons Dwelt Among Us," The Bellman, 1 April 1916, p. 375.
15. Lucy A. Young to Joseph III, 22 May, no year, RLDS Library-Archives; and journal of David Osborn, 1835-1860, typescript, BYU.
17. HEC 6:225, "The Voice of Innocence," manuscript copy, LDS Archives.
18. HEC 6:242, "Voice of Innocence."
20. JS and others to the Relief Society. This letter was first read 30 March 1842 but was not recorded in the minutes until 28 September 1842.
21. RS Minutes, 2nd meeting, 16 March 1840.
23. Speech dated 9 March 1845, Seventies Record, LDS Archives. The Relief Society did not meet again for ten years and did not formally organize for twenty-two years, when Brigham Young called Eliza Snow to become president in 1867. According to Maurine Harris Beecher, Eliza's biographer, Eliza's date of death in her "Sketch of My Life" it off by one year.
29. Jackson, Adventures and Experience, p. 20. See also diary of JS, 29 December 1842. HEC 6:149.
30. Lucy Smith, Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations, pp. 275-76.
31. Jackson, Adventures and Experience, p. 21. Neither Jackson nor any other of the sources cited give a date for Joseph's alleged interactions with Jane Law. It is probable that it occurred in the spring 1844.
32. William Law to Dr. W. Wyl, 7 January 1887, printed in the Salt Lake City Daily Tribune, January 1887. Italics in Tribune.
34. LDS D & C 132:51-52. A discussion of a different interpretation of this
passage is in Danel Bachman, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith" (Master's thesis). 36.

36. Ebeneezer Robinson owned the southeast corner of lot 149; William Law owned the southwest corner of lot 148. The two properties faced each other across Granger Street. For the Robinson account, see journal of Joseph Lee Robinson, p. 27, LDS Archives; Joseph III's description of Jane Law is in Joseph III to E. C. Brant, 26 January 1894, Joseph III Letterbook No. 4, RLDS Library-Archives.
40. St. Louis Republican, 23 April 1844, as reprinted in Boston Post, 24, No. 108 (6 May 1844).
41. Boston Post, 24, No. 117 (16 May 1844), and Almira Covel to Harriet Whittimore, Nauvoo, 30 July 1844.
42. Joseph III, Joseph Smith III and the Restoration, pp. 74-75.
44. William Marks, Zion's Harbinger and Bannerny's Organ (St. Louis, Mo.), 3, No. 7 (7 July 1853):53. Isaac Sheen stated that "(Joseph) abhorred and repented of this iniquity." Statement reprinted in Charles A. Shook, The True Origins of Mormon Polygamy, p. 155.
45. Council of the Twelve Minutes, Book A, 6 April 1865-12 April 1889, RLDS Library-Archives. In the minutes E. Ellis quotes Herringshaw. E. Ellis may have been a son of Joseph Ellis, a physician whose daughter, Hannah Ellis, served as secretary to the Relief Society in 1844 and was Joseph's plural wife. Ellis followed James J. Young after Joseph's death and later joined the Reorganization. Hugh Herringshaw was a member of the church and owned a tract of land in Nauvoo. Like Ellis, Herringshaw followed Young after Joseph's death.
46. Brigham Young address, 8 October 1866, Brigham Young papers, LDS Archives; and Mary Bailey to Ina Coolbrith, n.d., ca. January to March 1908, RLDS library-Archives.
48. JS to Sarah and Maria Lawrence, 23 June 1844. This letter will be discussed in detail in Chapter 13.
49. Diary of JS, 23 May 1844, LDS Archives, HCH 6:397-402.
51. Sections of this speech have been distributed by some persons in an attempt to embarrass the LDS Church without explaining the circumstances surrounding Joseph's discourse. It may be found in its entirety in HCH 6: 408-12, and in Andrew F. Britton and Lyndon W. Cook, The Words of Joseph Smith, pp. 73-78.
52. Ibid. At the organization of the West Jordan Relief Society the minutes read: "[Eliza R. Snow] wished to correct one error[i] it has been said that the Society in Nauvoo did more harm than good but it was not so. Emma Smith was Presidentess. She gave it up so as not to lead the Society in error[i]. The Society did a great deal of good [and] saved a great many lives &c." ("A Book of Records Containing the Minutes of the

NOTES

Organization of Proceedings of the Female Relief Society of West Jordan Ward," 12 April 1868 (LR 10051 Series 14 Reel #2).
53. HCH 6:411.
54. Nauvoo Expositor, 7 June 1844, p. 4.
55. Ibid., p. 2.
56. HCH 6:432.
57. Ibid., 7:123.

CHAPTER 13 A Final Farewell

2. HCH 6:479-500.
3. Ibid., 486-519.
6. JS to Thomas Ford, 22 June 1844, HCH 6:539.
7. HCH 6:545.
8. JS to ES, 23 June 1844, original in RLDS Library-Archives. This letter and a similar letter from JS to Sarah and Maria Lawrence dated the same day confirm that Joseph intended to go to Washington rather than "away to the west." Copies of both letters are in LDS Archives.
10. JS to ES, 23 June 1844, RLDS Library-Archives.
11. JS to Sarah and Maria Lawrence, 23 June 1844, LDS Archives.
12. HCH 6:549, 549.
13. Stephen Markham to Wilford Woodruff, 20 June 1856, LDS Archives. Henry G. Sherrard places himself in company with Alpheus Cutler on that morning. He said that Emma wanted him and Cutler to go across the river and bring Joseph back to Nauvoo, but he refused (Henry G. Sherrard statement, Joseph Smith collection, LDS Archives). Markham, on the other hand, said the group of men, with Cutler included, solicited his help in getting Joseph to come back to Nauvoo. Two of the group, Kimball and Cahoon, would later have to answer to Brigham Young for their part in Joseph's surrender at Carthage, and apparently said Emma made them do it. Sherrard may have taken a similar position and signed his own statement against Emma to vindicate himself. The correct quotations are taken from Markham's statement. For Joseph's instructions to Porter Rockwell, see HCH 6:548, for Emma's statement to Markham, see Markham to Woodruff, 20 June 1856, LDS Archives.
14. Markham to Woodruff, 20 June 1856. Cutler's and Cahoon's overriding interest in property is corroborated by a statement in the HCH 6:427 that is attributed to Joseph: "Alpheus Cutler and Reynolds Cahoon are so anxious to get property, they will all flat out as soon as the Temple is completed and the faith of the Saints ceases from them &c." HCH 6:338 relates a conflict between Joseph and Hiram Cahoon over ownership of the wharves where the riverboats docked.
15. Journal of Wandle Mac, LDS Archives, typescript BYU.
18. Lorenzo Wason, Emma’s nephew, was present because Emma trusted him, not because he was concerned about his property. He owned only a small lot—6 \times 22 rods—that he purchased from Brigham Young in 1844. The HF 6:549 says he joined in the name-calling with Cahoon and Kimball. Other evidence, such as Joseph’s reliance on him in the following days, suggests that Wason was implicated falsely in this incident, probably because he was Emma’s relative.
19. HF 6:549
22. Vilate Kimball to Heber Kimball, 9, 16, and 24 June 1844, LDS Archives.
24. History’s Office Journal, 24 July 1869, LDS Archives. This journal entry tells briefly of Brigham Young’s address to the School of the Prophets on this day. Oliver B. Huntington, “History of the Life of Oliver B. Huntington,” p. 406, LDS Archives.
25. Statement of Sarah Louise Dalton Elder, Church Manuscripts collection compiled by Alan H. Gerber, Microfilm Reel 2, Vol. 9, p. 85, BYU. The statement was given on or about 10 October 1931.
26. Mary B. Smith Norman to Ina Smith Coolbrith, 27 March 1908, RLDS Library-Archives. Joseph apparently made similar statements to others throughout the day. For a full account of Joseph’s statements foreshadowing his death, see Richard L. Anderson, “Joseph Smith’s Prophecies of Martyrdom,” unpublished papers delivered at the Sidney B. Sperry Symposium, Brigham Young University, 26 January 1980.
29. Almina Covey to Harriet Whittemore, 18 July 1844, Nauvoo, Ill., original in private possession, typescript LDS Archives.
30. The blessing is unsaid but external evidence suggests that she wrote it while Joseph was at Carthage. Juanita Brooks found this document in the possession of Ralph J. Delong of Pangautch, Ut., in the 1930s. It had been part of Joseph Smith’s papers, which Joseph Hoywood, acting on behalf of the leaders of the church, took west. Somehow it remained in Hoywood’s possession. Brooks described both the blessing and a letter from Emma to Joseph Hoywood as being in the same handwriting. Raymond T. Foley, in his 1952 Master’s thesis, “Emma Hale: Wife of the Prophet Joseph Smith,” said the “blessing was folded, and worn along the folds, but was repaired and the original sent to the office of the Church Historian of the Latter-day Saint Church.” Apparently the document was misplaced, for only typescripts of both the letter and the blessing are there now. Edythe Hoanton Hindley, a descendant of Joseph Hoywood, located the original letter from Emma Smith to Joseph Hoywood dated 15 October 1844, and provided the authors with a photocopy. By authenticating the letter, which indeed, in Emma’s hand, there can be little doubt that the blessing Brooks described as being with it is also authentic. Brooks’ description of the documents and typescripts is each can be found in the USHS.
31. JS to ES, 25 June 1844, original in Joseph Smith collection, LDS Archives.
did about Joseph's return, and were earnest advocates of HER SUGGESTION."

(George Q. Cannon, ed., Juvenile Instructor 5 (5 February 1870):21–22.)

" Went to the tabernacle. Elder Woodruff . . . referred to the time when the Prophet Joseph crossed the River from Nauvoo and sent for his horses, his wife Emma LOCKED THE STABLE DOOR and refused to let them go. Said that if Bro. Brigham had been there at that time he would have smashed the doors into kindlings and sent the horses to Joseph."

(Diary of Charles L. Walker, 12 November 1876, LDS Archives.)

"What move did the Prophet Joseph make late in the evening June 22nd, 1844? A. He left Nauvoo and crossed the Mississippi River. 2) By whom was he accompanied? A. Hyrum Smith and Willard Richards. 3) What object had they in thus leaving Nauvoo? A. To flee to the west and thus escape from their enemies. 4) Did they pursue their journey? A. No; through the solicitations of Emma Smith and other SUPPOSED friends, Joseph and his companions returned to Nauvoo." (Juvenile Instructor 13 [15 March 1888]:86.)


52. Ibid.

53. Significantly, Huntington kept a detailed journal at the time, but did not remember Emma’s words until 1888 when the missionary efforts of Emma’s sons, on behalf of the Reorganized Church, had become an issue in Utah. Denunciations of her became a popular topic throughout the Utah Territory. The climate and the inflated rhetoric of the time cast serious questions on Huntington’s account.


56. B. W. Richmond’s statement, "The Prophet’s Death," Deseret News 27 November 1875, reprinted from the Chicago Times. W. W. Wyl wrote that Sarah Pratt told him, "Mrs. Harris was a married lady, a very great friend of mine. When Joseph made his last attempt on me, I went to Mrs. Harris to unburden my grief to her. To my utter astonishment, she said laughingly, ‘How foolish you are! Why do I am his mistress since four years!’" (W. Wyl, "Mormon Portraits," p. 50, as cited in Biddle, No Man Knows My History, Appendix C, pp. 436–37.) This statement was stated in 1842, dating the Smith-Harris relationship to Far West, Mo., ca. 1837–38. Quite possibly Joseph had taken her as a plural wife and the label "mistress" was an embellishment by either Sarah Pratt or W. Wyl. Mormon scholars prefer to list her as a plural wife.


58. Sarah Griffith Richards to Zina D. Young, 17 July 1889, LDS Archives.

CHAPTER 14 The Lure and the Lion


2. Richards to Young, 30 June 1844, Journal History, LDS Archives.


4. Dallin H. Oaks and Joseph I. Bentley, "Joseph Smith and Legal Process: In
49. Tax receipts for 1847 and 1849, Lewis C. Bidamon collection, RLDS Library-Archives.

Joseph III, in a letter to John H. Hansen on 19 May 1875, detailed Emma's holdings at the time of his father's death and said her entire estate "was probably worth, at that time, not far from $10,000.00 a liberal estimate might send it up to $12,000.00." The letter also tells what property was later sold at auction, what the courts allowed his mother to keep, and what her children eventually received. RLDS Library-Archives.

50. Jacob Scott to Mary Scott Warnock, 5 January 1844, RLDS Library-Archives.

CHAPTER 15

1. A lease between ES and William Marks, 25 August 1844, RLDS Library-Archives.

2. HC 7:280.

3. Ibid., 291-96.

4. Joseph III, Joseph Smith III and the Restoration, indicates that during the period that Marks lived, pp. 102-22. The family lived "much of the time in the old house, but the Nauvoo Neighbor, 13 November 1844, reports that she moved "last week," which would be the week of 4 November. Joseph III also says they moved back into the Mansion after Marks left on 12 March, but it is clear from a number of sources that the Twelve were "in control" of the Mansion for a while after that. Although they did not lease it from her, according to the Nauvoo Neighbor, 7 May 1845, Emma still lived in the Homestead. She leased it to a Mr. Stirling later.


7. Emily D. P. Young, "Incidents of the Early Life of Emily Dow Partridge," December 1876, Univ. of U.

8. Oliver B. Huntington, "History of the Life of Oliver B. Huntington also His Travels and Troubles Written by Himself," typescript, LDS Archives.

9. Statement of Lucy Meserve Smith, 18 May 1892, George A. Smith collection, Univ. of U.

10. Most frequently the plural wife and the woman of the house in which she was staying were together in confinement and the child was presented as being the child of the mistress of the house. Joseph was also sealed to some women who were already married to living husbands (for example, Sarah Cleveland and Zina Huntington Jacobs) which introduces another possibility for concealing children that he may have fathered. For an in-depth discussion of women being married to more than one man at a time see Richard Var Vagner, "When Is a Wife Not a Wife? Mormon Polyandry in Theory and Practice," forthcoming in Dialogue.

11. Statement of Lucy Meserve Smith, 18 May 1892, George A. Smith collection, Univ. of U.

12. For the 1842 accounts, see HC 5:85 and note, also "The Life and Record of Anson Call," Huntington Library. For the 1844 meeting, see "Minutes of the Twelve," 21 February 1844, as reprinted in HC 6:223.


15. S. O. Bensen to Heber J. Grant and Counselors, 21 January 1928, LDS Archives.

16. Rumors to this effect circulated since before Joseph's death and long after her
marriage to Lewis Bidamon in 1847. A. W. Babbitt to Heber C. Kimball, 31 January 1848, LDS Archives; John Fullmer to Brigham Young, 26 January 1848, LDS Archives.

17. Times and Seasons 5 (15 January 1845): 776-77. William Lawrence Foster, in his doctoral dissertation, "Between Two Worlds: The Origins of Slaker Celibacy, Oneida Community Complex Marriage, and Mormon Polygamy," p. 329, states that the tone of the above statement "is similar to the tone of other statements which tried to discourage Rigdon from writing exposes," indicating that it was a move to counter Emma, rather than support her.

18. Joseph III, Joseph Smith III, p. 87; Mary B. Norman to Ina Coolbrith, 24 April 1906, RLDS Library-Archives; and diary of Allen Joseph Stout, November 1844 to March 1845, LDS Archives, give detail on homes guarded and duties of the guards.

19. HC 7:387.

20. Statement of William Marks in Zion's Harbinger and Bannem's Organ (St. Louis, Mo.), 3, No. 7:53.

21. Diary of James Monroe, Yale University, microfilm copy in USHS. All the quotations concerning Monroe in this section are taken from that diary, unless cited otherwise. James Monroe met an untimely death in Utah. A man by the name of Howard Egan became states after his wife had given birth to Monroe's child. The journal of Lorenzo Brown, 26 January 1856, recorded that "Egan went east about 70 miles to meet Monroe who had charge of [a] Merchant train, took him aside & while in conversation coolly & deliberately drew a revolver & blew out his brains. The pistol not being more than six or eight inches from his head."

22. Journal of Oliver Huntington, pp. 54-55, LDS Archives.

23. Caroline suffered from congestive heart failure. The information about Caroline Grant Smith's relationship with Emma is a firm impression garnered by Gene A. Sessions while researching the life of Caroline's brother, Jedediah.Morgan Grant. Session's work resulted in the book, Mormon Thunder, A Documentary History of Jedediah Morgan Grant (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982).

24. William Smith to Brigham Young, 24 August 1844, Brigham Young collection, LDS Archives.

25. For the best account of the acquittal of those accused of Joseph's and Hyrum's murders, see Dallin H. Oaks and Marvin S. Hill, Carthage Conspiracy: The Trial of the Accused Assassins of Joseph Smith.

26. HC 7:420.

27. Thomas Ford, History of Illinois, from its Commencement as a State in 1818 to 1847, p. 350.

28. Diary of James Monroe, 30 May 1845. Temple change to facilitate the dialogue.

29. Brigham Young to William Smith, 10 August 1845, LDS Archives. This letter has particular significance for the twentieth-century Mormon church since the president of the church who "holds the keys" no longer authorizes plural marriage. Therefore anyone who either preaches it as a current practice or practices the doctrine is excommunicated from the church.

30. Brigham Young to William Smith, 30 June 1845, LDS Archives.

31. HC 7:433. The Twelve also offered to publish Lucy's history around this same time.

32. HC 7:434.

33. Brigham Young Conference address, 7 October 1866, and HC 7:434.

34. Lucy Smith, Joseph the Prophet, p. 169.

35. New York Sun, October 1845, Library of Congress copy.

36. HC 7:443.

8. James Arthur Bennet to Brigham Young, 18 November 1845, LDS Archives.

9. "Mrs. Athens, widow of the Mormon Prophet," New York Sun, 9 December 1845, p. 3. photostop of original Sun article was given to the author by Donna Hill. See also Raymond T. Bailey, "Emma Hale," pp. 192-43.


12. Ibid., 4 January 1846.

13. Bennet to Young, 18 November 1845, LDS Archives. Interestingly, this letter is dated 18 December before the date on the "Emma" Sun letter.


15. New York Sun, 25 January 1846. See also Saints' Herald, October 1905, p. 168.

16. James Arthur Bennet to Brigham Young, 22 June 1851, LDS Archives.

17. ESB to Joseph III, 21 January 1870, RLDS Library-Archives. Buddy Youngren located this letter and provided us with a typewritten copy of it. For a discussion of other possible authors of the Sun letter that we considered, then discarded, see Linda K. Newell and Valerie T. Avery, "New Light on the Sun: Emma Smith and the New York Sun Letter," pp. 23-35.


21. HC 7:577.


23. The five known widows of Joseph Smith who married Heber C. Kimball were Priscilla Huntington, Lucy Walker, Sarah Lawrence, Martha McBride, and Sarah Ann Whitney. Kimball family genealogy was published by Stanley Kimball. The eight wives whom Brigham Young married were Olive Andrews, Emily D. Partridge, Louisa Beaman, Mary Elizabeth R. Lightner, Zina D. Huntington, Rhoda Richards, Olive G. Pratt, and Eliza R. Snow. See Dean Jessue, "Brigham Young and the Wilderness Years," BYU Studies 19, No. 4 (Summer 1979):476. Some of these women were wives in name only.

24. Vesta Crawford notes, Univ. of U.


26. Addresses of Brigham Young, October 1863-64, reported by G. D. Watt, 7 October 1863, Brigham Young collection, LDS Archives.

27. Some of the women had apparently approached Brigham Young about convening the Relief Society meetings again. Brigham remarked: "It is proper to call them and discuss the affairs of the kingdom of God . . . they can hold the keys of the Priesthood apart from their husbands. When I want Sisters or the Wives of the members of the church to get up Relief Society I will summon them to my aid but until that time let them stay at home & if you see Females huddling together veto the concern and if they say Joseph started it tell them it is a damned lie for I know he never encouraged it.

. . . I am determined to stay these proceedings for by it our best men have been taken from us. One ounce of prevention is better than one pound of cure" (Seventies Record, 9 March 1845, LDS Archives). The Relief Society would not organize again under church direction until Brigham Young called Eliza R. Snow to be president in 1867.

28. For several years before that women would meet in sporadic, informal meetings and a few words or congregations would organize their own Relief Societies but without official church direction (History of the Relief Society 1842-1966, pp. 27-30).


30. All three of the gift stories are related by Joseph III in his memoirs. The desk he used until 1850, at which time he gave it to his brother David (Joseph III, Joseph Smith III and the Restoration, pp. 54-57). It remains today in the home of David's grandson, Lynn E. Smith, in Independence, Mo.

31. Brigham Young address, 7 October 1866, Brigham Young collection, LDS Archives.


34. Joseph L. Heywood background comes from an unpublished Heywood family history. Our thanks to Edythe H. Hinckley for sharing this information.

35. HC 2:252.

36. Journal History, 10 August 1842.

37. For Babbitt's legal background, see Kate B. Carter, compiler, Our Pioneer Heritage 11 (1968):720-21. For his refusal to help Joseph at the time of the martyrdom, see HC 6:600.

38. Crecent City Oracle, 22 May 1857, attributed Babbitt's death to "Mormon mausers sent from Salt Lake City for that purpose . . . under direct orders of the presidency of the Church of the Latter-day Saints," but a band of Cherokees had killed him, then tried to sell or trade the bounty from Babbitt's wagon and some of his personal effects at nearby trading posts. See also Richard S. Van Wagoner and Stephen C. Walker, A Book of Mormon, p. 9.

CHAPTER 17

1. Diary of James Monroe, 30 April 1845, LDS Archives.

2. James J. Strang to ES, 22 February 1846, original in Bienencke Rare Books and Manuscript Library, New Haven, Conn.

3. William Smith, Propositions to the agents of the Twelve, March 1846, RLDS Library-Archives.

4. Although one name is listed as Nancy Milliken it is very likely Lucy, probably a printer's error. William Smith to James J. Strang, 1 March 1846, as published in the Saints' Herald, 26 March 1899. Original in Strang collection, Yale University.

5. William Smith to James J. Strang, 25 December 1846, Strang Collection, Yale University. Voorhees (Wm.) Herald, March 1846, reprinted the story of Emma and Joseph III from the Cincinnati Daily Commercial. Voorhees Record, 6 April 1846, reports Marks's activities at the conference.

6. John C. Bennett often advised Strang and later became a counselor to him. In a 2 April 1846 letter, Bennett told Strang to offer William Smith the office of Patriarch if he would take to Voorhees "his Mother, with the Mummies and papyri—the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum—etc. etc."
13. The information about John, Lewis, and Christian Bidamon came from a personal interview with Lewis C. Bidamon's grandson, Tom Bidamon, 25 November 1978, Nauvoo Restoration papers, LDS Archives, and Edward Luce, "The Bidamon Story," unpublished manuscript. Original in possession of Mr. Luce, who kindly shared a copy with the authors.

14. Thirty-three Mormon Broadsides, Chicago Historical Society; microfilm copies in Stanley Kimball's Mormon collection, Southern Illinois University. In this collection is a proclamation from John C. Bidamon, Special Constable, calling for "all Law abiding Citizens of Hancock County, to meet ... on the Public Square, East of the Temple," and form a posse whose purpose was to arrest more than forty anti-Mormons, including Francis M. Hygbee.

15. Journal History, 1846, LDS Archives.

16. Luce, "The Bidamon Story."


21. John M. Bernshiel to Brigham Young, 14 October 1846, LDS Archives.


23. John M. Bernshiel recorded his conversation with Emma in a letter to Brigham Young, 14 October 1846. Emma's decision to leave the Mansion is found in Joseph III, Joseph Smith III, p. 91. See Nauvoo Restoration records for the date of the lease, LDS Archives; also Hancock III, Eagle 10 and 24 April 1845, and 1 May 1845.

24. Jesse Hale to ES, 30 March 1845, typescript at BYU.

25. Knight to R. Fisk, 23 February 1847, original in private possession. Mr. Ralph M. McGraw supplied us with a photocopy of the letter.

26. Journal of Curtis Edwin Bolton, as quoted in Ida Blum, Nauvoo, Gateway to the West, p. 89.

27. Ibid.

28. Journal of Wandle Mace, p. 207. Terms of the treaty are also from this source.


30. Journal of Wandle Mace, p. 206; emphasis in original. For a more detailed account of the treaty at Nauvoo and the occupation by Brockman's troops, see David E. Miller and Della S. Miller, Nauvoo: The City of Joseph, pp. 185-212.

31. Most sources, including the Times and Seasons and the Nauvoo Neighbor, put the peak population at 20,000 to 25,000. Census records indicate that number is too high. A more accurate count places the number between 11,000 and 12,000 for Nauvoo, and if we include the immediate area around the city, the number is around 14,000.


34. Diary of Abbey Jenks Rice, 1836-83. The diary is owned by Jane Gustafson, who graciously shared excerpts with the authors.

35. Fulton (Ill.) Journal, 30 May 1879.

36. John M. Bernshiel to Brigham Young, 14 October 1846, and John M. Bernshiel to Heber C. Kimball, 13 January 1847. Both letters are in LDS Archives.

37. Joseph L. Heywood to Brigham Young, 2 October 1846, LDS Archives.

CHAPTER 18 The Major

1. Lewis Bidamon to ES, 11 January 1847, RLDS Library-Archives.


3. Veita Crawford notes, Univ. of U.

4. Ibid. Both the incident with Mr. Stark and the one about the flour came from information Crawford obtained from Audenta Smith Anderson, a daughter of Joseph III.

5. Caroline R. Smauck account, as quoted in Crawford notes.


7. An account of a visit to Nauvoo in July or August 1847 by J. H. Buckingham, in Harry E. Pratt, ed., Papers in Illinois History and Transactions for the Year 1847, p. 169. Typescript of this account is in the Illinois State Historical Society and indicates that the book by Pratt is in the Nauvoo Public Library. No further information is given.

8. The Nauvoo temple records confirm that John Milton Bernshiel was married to Mary, Later. See also Ada M. Earle to Audenta Smith Anderson, Inez Smith Davis collection, RLDS Library-Archives. Mrs. Earle is a granddaughter of John M. Bernshiel and discusses one of his plural wives in the letter.

9. John M. Bernshiel to ES, 9 October 1847, photocopy of the original at RLDS Library-Archives.


11. Ibid., pp. 88-89. Tense change to facilitate dialogue.

12. Ibid., p. 94.


15. Nancy Bidamon Kalk interview. A number of sources, particularly RLDS writings, give the marriage date as 27 December 1847. The marriage certificate and the Hancock County marriage records establish the date as 23 December 1847. The clerk, however, wrote the wrong date in the record book. It appears there as 13 December 1847.

16. Kimball to Hyde, 2 January 1848, LDS Archives. Sarah was only twenty-two years old at the founding of the Relief Society. She initiated the idea of the Nauvoo Relief Society in 1842, then watched Emma Smith become president, and other women appoint counselors, secretary, and treasurer. Sarah may have felt some resentment. She distinguished herself in Utah as a Relief Society president for thirty years, an advocate of women's rights, and a suffragist. (For a more complete account of Sarah M. Kimball, see J.C. Mulfay [Deer], "The Liberal Shall Be Blessed: Sarah M. Kimball." This article is the source for the information concerning Sarah M. Kimball after her death in Nauvoo.)
17. For Lewis Bidamon’s marriage contract with Mary Ann Douglass, see Lewis C. Bidamon to Armstrong, Joel C., and John Walker, 29 December 1842, Huntington Library. Deeds, ES to Lorin Walker, Lorin Walker to ES, 21 December 1847, RLDS Library-Archives.

18. Fullner to Brigham Young, 26 January 1848, Crawford notes.

19. Almon Babbitt to Brigham Young, 31 January 1848, and Almon Babbitt to Heber C. Kimball, 31 January 1848. Both letters are in the Journal History. The authors thank Dale Whitman, attorney, for calling our attention to a misinterpretation of this issue in Valeen T. Avery and Linda K. Newell, “The Lion and the Lady: Brigham Young and Emma Smith,” p. 95. Mr. Whitman assisted us in unraveling the issue and we are grateful to him for his help here.

20. Babbitt to Young, 31 January 1848, and Babbitt to Kimball, 31 January 1848. Both letters are in the Journal History.

21. John M. Bernhisel to Brigham Young, 10 September 1848, LDS Archives.

22. Diary of David H. Smith, 1853-64, 17 February [1862], RLDS Library-Archives.

23. Diary of Alonzo Winters, 21 January 1877, original in possession of Alvira Alonzo Winters.

24. Nancy Abercrombie Bidamon’s great-grandson, Edward Luce, has collected Bidamon family information. Its unpublished compilation of information is called “The Bidamon Story.” Much of Lewis Bidamon’s background is from this source.

25. Lewis Bidamon to Armstrong, Joel C., and John Walker, 29 December 1842, Bidamon collection, Huntington Library.


27. Ibid., p. 465.

28. Ibid., pp. 86-88.


30. H&C says November 19. The actual date is early morning on 9 October.

31. From the Keokuk (Ia.) Register, as quoted in E. Cecil McGavin, Nauvoo the Beautiful, p. 283.


33. For the three newspaper reports, see Nauvoo Patriot, as quoted in E. Cecil McGavin, Nauvoo the Beautiful, p. 282; Keokuk (Ia.) Register, ibid., p. 283; Ida Blum, Nauvoo, Gateway to the West, p. 76.

34. Confession of Joseph Agnew as told to George Rudull of Bowling Green, Fla., and reproduced in McGavin, Nauvoo the Beautiful, pp. 285-87.

35. H&C 7:618.

36. Lewis Bidamon to ESB, 4 May 1849, RLDS Library-Archives.

37. Lewis Bidamon to ESB, 5 July, 16 July, 16 August 1849, RLDS Library-Archives.

38. Ibid. Lorenzo Wason’s death is described in Audencia Anderson, Ancestry and Paternity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale, p. 305.


40. ESB to Lewis C. Bidamon, 7 January 1850, RLDS Library-Archives. In this letter Mary Elizabeth’s married name appears to be “Gleason” but other sources indicate that her married name was “Gibson” as appears in the text. Emma stated that she had already written Lewis four letters, but because she was not sure he had received them she briefly recapped for him “the most important items.” Unfortunately, the first four letters are not extant.

41. George A. Smith to Joseph III, 13 March 1849, RLDS Library-Archives.

42. Bernhisel to Young, 10 September 1849, LDS Archives.

43. ESB to Lewis C. Bidamon, 7 January 1850, RLDS Library-Archives.

CHAPTER 19

1. ESB to Lewis Bidamon, 7 January 1850, RLDS Library-Archives. All information in this section came from this letter.

2. Emma also noted that she had received two letters from Lewis that had been written in July. One had been mailed in Kanawha, Ia., and had reached her in a timely manner.

3. The other had a Salt Lake City postmark of October 11. She received it in December. Kanawha was a small Mormon settlement on the western edge of Iowa and Emma concluded that someone there had seen the letters and sent it on to Salt Lake to be examined, even copied, before sending it on to her. Lewis, however, explained to her when he answered on 20 April 1850 that he had not finished the letter at the time it was dictated and when he arrived at Goose Creek, 1,100 miles from Nauvoo, he gave it to a Mormon there who promised to mail it from Salt Lake City. Thus the delay (ESB to Lewis Bidamon, 7 January 1850, and Lewis Bidamon to ESB, 20 April 1850, RLDS Library-Archives.)

4. Lewis Bidamon to ESB, 20 April 1850, RLDS Library-Archives.

5. Ida Blum, Nauvoo, Gateway to the West, pp. 102-8. Emma’s friend was Ida Blum’s grandmother.


7. “Bidamon Story” in possession of Edward Luce, Veta Crawford notes, Univ. of U.

8. In 1834 Robert E. Lee was given governmental orders to survey the Mississippi rapids between Warsaw and Nauvoo, then widen the passage and make the river navigable year around. Lee purchased a small steamboat and launching equipment and, with a crew, worked during the summers of 1838 and 1839. Lee sold his equipment at a government auction in Quincy, 10 September 1840, to a Mormon businessman named Peter Haws. Bishop George Miller, his brother Henry, and Joseph and Hyrum Smith signed a surety for Haws, who paid with a $4,866.34 promissory note signed by the five men. The note would come due 10 May 1841. Charles B. Street bought into the proposed hauling business with a note for the same amount as Haws. The captain wrecked the steamboat, now rechristened the Nauvoo, within a month or two of its purchase. The Miller’s and the Smith’s said Street for his “$4,000 due on the boat,” Street and his associates refused on the grounds that the boat no longer existed. The due date on the note passed, and the solicitor general of the U. S. Treasury had the U.S. attorney in St. Louis try to arrest Haws, the Millers, and the Smiths, but he did not find them. He then told Justin Butterfield, the U.S. attorney in Illinois, to collect. Butterfield summoned the men to appear in court on the first Monday in June 1842 and subsequently assigned three more dates, but no one appeared, so Judge Nathaniel Pope entered a default judgment of $7,870.21 against the defendant. This figure represented interest and court costs and was almost twice the original purchase price. The judgment became a lien on all real estate owned by Joseph Smith. (Dallin H. Oaks and Joseph T. Bentley, “Joseph Smith and the Legal Process: In the Wake of the Steamship Nauvoo,” pp. 735-72.)

9. By the end of 1849 thirty-one creditors had filed claims totaling $25,023.45.
against the estate. The administrators of the estate had earlier paid approximately $1,000 for additional small claims and funeral costs. Four claimants asked for $21,500 or 62 percent of the total. They were Phineas Kimball, who had notes from Joseph amounting to about $2,800, Hallett Haines and Co. for a debt left over from the Kirtland days totaling $7,349, Almon Babbitt acting in behalf of the Lawrence sisters' estate, $4,033.87, and the United States Government, which now asked for $5,184.31 for the boat debt (see Oaks and Bentley, "Joseph Smith and Legal Process," p. 769).

10. Ibid., pp. 765-69. See also Record of the United States Circuit Court for the District of Illinois, No. 1603, 18 June 1841 through 17 July 1852. This volume is located at the Federal Records Center in Chicago; a copy of this case is filed in the BYU Archives, Max/SC 174.


12. Record of United States Circuit Court.


14. John M. Bernhisel to ESB, 3 May 1856, LDS Archives.

15. Oaks and Bentley, "Joseph Smith and Legal Process," pp. 780-81; see also Nauvoo land records, Nauvoo Restoration papers, LDS Archives.


17. Journal and Reminiscences of Hannah Tapfield King, 12 May 1853, original and typescript in LDS Archives; see also the section titled "Except from letters."

18. Accounts of those visits will be discussed in later chapters.

19. Julia Dixon to Joseph III, 10 July 1855, RLDS Library-Archives.


22. Julia Dixon to ESB, 18 March 1853, Bidamon collection, Huntington Library.


24. For descriptions of Emma's children, see Linsford, ed., Route from Liverpool, pp. 63-66. For description of Emma, see Brenda Angell, "My Milton History," copy in possession of Tauna Navalta.


26. Lewis Bidamon expense list, Lewis C. Bidamon papers, Huntington Library.


28. Vesta Crawford notes, Univ. of U.


30. Almira Swiggart to Lewis Bidamon, 3 March 1855 and 24 March 1854, Huntington Library.

31. Joseph III to Emma Knight, 14 April 1855, Knight family papers, USHS.

32. Crawford notes.

33. Joseph III to ESB, 15 June 1855, RLDS Library-Archives.

34. ESB to Joseph III, 11 October 1866, RLDS Library-Archives.

35. Julia Dixon Smith to Joseph III, 10 July 1855, RLDS Library-Archives.


37. Joseph III to E. L. Kelly, 7 August 1884, RLDS Library-Archives.


39. Joseph Smith to Emma Knight, 4 December 1855, Knight family papers, USHS.


41. Journal and reminiscences of Hannah Tapfield King, 12 May 1853, LDS Archives.
15. Robert D. Hutchinson, "Joseph III: Moderate Mormon" (Master's thesis), p. 64. Hutchinson disagrees on the order of the ceremony. Here we follow the Amboy Times account. Hutch discusds the LDS-RLDS argument over the priesthood authority of Carley, Blair, and Marks in ordaining Joseph III. "The ordination of Joseph III by these men has long been attacked theologically and emotionally by the Utah Mormon Church. Joseph ... attempted to explain ... that holders of a lesser priesthood can ordain someone to a higher priesthood by stating: "The objector [the Utah Mormon] sometimes uses the argument that a stream cannot rise higher than its foundation. It is answered, that to locate the fountain of the priesthood in the man ordaining, is a mistake, with the fountain is God. Hence as God is higher than the President of the Church, the objector does not prove by this analogy what he seeks to prove."
16. Joseph III was baptized by his own father at the age of ten (Joseph III to A. V. Gibbons, 1 June 1879, Joseph III Letterbook No. 4, RLDS Library-Archives, Joseph III, Joseph Smith III, p. 166).
20. Amboy Times, 7 June and 14 June 1860, Amboy News, 15 December 1863, Anderson, Ancestry and Postscript, pp. 3-5. This tornado took a hundred lives throughout Illinois, but the Mormons were the only fatalities in the Amboy-Donna area.
21. Hancock County, Ill., U.S. Government, Ninth DECENNIAL CENSUS, copy in the Genealogy Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Ut.
22. Joseph Fielding Smith to Levisa Smith, 28 June 1860, LDS Archives. Emma's comment to her nephew went through some interesting changes as years passed. By 1895 it was "Why as I live it is Joseph. Why Joseph, I would have known you in hell, you look just like your father!" ("Shining Lights," Contributor, 16:69-70, January 1895; Church Manuscripts compiled by Alan H. Gerber, on microfilm at BYU). By 1980 a woman who lived in Utah and claimed to have researched Emma's life said that Joseph F. walked up to the Mansion House and saw a hard-looking old woman sitting in a rocking chair on the front porch with a crock of porridge clutched to her bosom. Squinting, she examined Joseph. Suddenly she pulled the pipe from her mouth and cackled, "Why, if it ain't Joseph F. I'd a knowed ya in hell!" Joseph F. Smith's own account, written to his sister within days of the event, is undoubtedly correct.
23. Samuel H. B. Smith to George A. Smith, July 1860, LDS Archives.
25. McLellin to Joseph III, 10 January 1861, RLDS Library-Archives.
27. Joseph III, Joseph Smith III, pp. 202-3, Anderson, Ancestry and Postscript, p. 580. On 23 June 1861 Alexander had married Elizabeth Kendall in the parlor of the Mansion House when he was twenty-three and Elizabeth was sixteen. Alexander's and Elizabeth's first baby arrived six and a half months after their marriage. The baby seemed well and healthy, and thus probably was not premature.
28. Julia M. Middleton to Frederick Smith, 4 April 1862, Jane Smith Davis papers, RLDS Library-Archives.
29. Ida Blum, Nauvoo, Gateway to the West, pp. 113-14.
50. ESJ to Joseph III, 2 December 1867, RLDS Library-Archives. Information in next two paragraphs from same source.
51. ESJ to Joseph III, 27 December 1868, RLDS Library-Archives.

CHAPTER 21

Josephites and Brighamites

3. Journal of Edmund C. Briggs, No. 2, 1863-64 (11 August 1863), RLDS Library-Archives. The full account of this visit, including information and quotations in the next two paragraphs, is from this journal.
5. Journal of Edmund C. Briggs, No. 2, 1863-64 (11 August 1863). We have corrected spelling and changed the tense to facilitate dialogue.
7. Alexander Smith’s journal was the basis for an account titled "The Story of Alexander Smith," written by his daughter Vida E. Smith. Unpublished Ms. courtesy of Grace Denning, Alexander’s great-great-granddaughter. His trip to Utah is described in Vol. 4, 1911.
8. Journal of Brigham Young, 1858-63, 28 February 1860, LDS Archives.
10. Robert Flanders first used this phrase in his address, “Brother Brigham and Sister Emma.” It is so apt that it should become a classic statement about the dilemma of the Mormon churches, and it is gratefully acknowledged here.
12. "The Testimony of the Prophet Joseph Young, October 1863-1865. Remarks by President Brigham Young, G.S.L. City Bowery," 7 October 1863, as reported by G. D. Watt, Brigham Young collection, LDS Archives.
13. ESJ to Joseph III, 30 August 1869, RLDS Library-Archives.
14. ESJ to Joseph III, 19 August 1866, RLDS Library-Archives.
16. ESJ to Joseph III, 19 August 1866, RLDS Library-Archives.
17. "Remarks of Brigham Young, October 1863-1865. Remarks by President Brigham Young, G.S.L. City Bowery," 7 October 1863, as reported by G. D. Watt, Brigham Young collection, LDS Archives.
18. Vida Smith, "Story of Alexander," 5 (1912): 8–11; Vesta Crawford notes, Univ. of U., Saints’ Herald 16 (9 July 1869): 85–86. These sources describe in detail this encounter between Alexander and David Smith and Brigham Young. Each of the two successive years, in General Conference addresses, Brigham Young had stated that Emma had taken from the widow’s jewelry and Don Carlos rings that had belonged to their husbands. “I think she also took a portrait of Hyrum,” he remarked. Brigham charged that Emma "surreptitiously" obtained the jewelry "by misrepresentation." The statement suggests that Mrs. W. and Agnes gave the rings to her for a purpose which she, for some unknown reason, did not carry through. (Brigham Young address, 7 October 1866; and Brigham Young address, 1 April 1867, both documents in Brigham Young collection, LDS Archives. Emphasis added.) On 11 June 1899 Joseph III visited his cousin Ina C. Coolbrith in Oakland, California. He reported that ‘during her father’s..."
Ill, but his name does not appear as a member of the RLDS Church nor can we identify him other than as signer of the papers.

39. David Smith to Joseph III, 22 October 1872, RLDS Library-Archives. See also F. Mark McKerman, "David H. Smith: A Son of the Prophet," pp. 233-45. McKerman’s thesis is that David did suffer from hypoglycemia, but we have not been able to confirm or refute his conclusions.

40. David H. Smith and Elbert A. Smith, Hesperia, p. 103. The original Hesperia was incorporated in this work by his son Elbert.

41. David Smith to ESB, 2 November 1872, Kalk-Boes collection, LDS Archives.

For the revelation, see RLDS D & C 117:3a.

42. Statement of Judge D. H. Morris, 12 June 1930, given in the office of Samuel O. Bennion, LDS Archives.

43. David Smith to ESB, 4 January 1874, Marcia Vogel collection, LDS Archives.

44. David Hale to ESB, 12 February 1873, RLDS Library-Archives.

45. ESB to Joseph III, 22 October 1866, RLDS Library-Archives.

46. Joseph III to Emma Knight, 24 May 1855, USHS.

47. Council of the Twelve Minutes, Book A, 6 April 1865–12 April 1889, p. 11, line 15 (Wednesday Morning, apparently 2 May 1865), and p. 34, line 21 (Tuesday, 9 April 1867), RLDS Library-Archives.

48. McLellin to Joseph III, 7 July 1872, RLDS Library-Archives; and ESB to Joseph III, 2 February 1866, RLDS Library-Archives. The contents of this letter indicate that Emma did not write the year, 1867, correctly.


51. John R. Young to Vesta P. Crawford, April 1931. The Precilla Buel Kimball referred to is Pescindia Huntington Buel. For Jesse Smith’s comments, see Minutes, Parowan School of the Prophets, 22 July 1871, p. 113, LDS Archives.

52. Samuel H. B. Smith to Joseph F. Smith, 13 August 1874, LDS Archives; Samuel’s information about David came from conversations with Alexander in Colorado (Samuel H. B. Smith to Joseph F. Smith, 18 December 1874, and 5 September 1874, LDS Archives). Joseph F. Smith was in Liverpool, England, but his letters to Samuel H. B. Smith request any information available about David.

53. Joseph III to ESB, 13 November 1875, RLDS Library-Archives; ESB to Mrs. Pilgrim, 27 March 1876, RLDS Library-Archives.


55. David Smith to Joseph III, 14 March 1872, RLDS Library-Archives.

56. George A. Smith to Joseph III, 9 October 1869, RLDS Library-Archives.


60. Diary of Junius F. Wells, 13 March 1876, LDS Archives; Deseret New Weekly, 3 July 1878; Deseret News Daily, 12, 22 June 1878.

61. Julia Middleton to Joseph III, 5 January 1877, in possession of Lynn Smith; and David Smith to ESB, n.d., Buddy Younggreen collection, used with permission.

62. Joseph III to Dr. E. A. Kilbourne, 4 January and 11 January 1877; Joseph III to Charles Derby, 24 January 1877, RLDS Library-Archives. Photocopies of third legal documents dealing with David’s commitment are in the LDS Archives and RLDS Library-Archives. For David’s release from the First Presidency in the LDS D & C 1.

63. Shipley, "Voices of Dissent," pp. 73-75, discusses the controversy between the two churches over David’s commitment.


CHAPTER 22 The Last Days


2. The first and third accounts can be found in the Vesta Crawford papers, Un of U., the second account is in “Recollections of Nauvoo,” Saints’ Herald, (1907) 141-42.


4. Diary of Junius F. Wells, 13 March 1876, LDS Archives.

5. Statement of Nels Madsen, 27 November 1831, LDS Archives. Madsen a compared Pratt on his visit to Nauvoo.

6. William Adams, "History of William Adams," LDS Archives. Several other less interesting accounts of visitors from Salt Lake City including Ed H. Pierce, who as Emma late in 1877 and said Emma "was not at all communicative, but enough we elicited to know that she felt keenly the one false and fatal step of her life—that c leaving the Church and uniting herself, heart and hand, with an infidel, after havin raised a family to one of the greatest and noblest of the creations of God" (as printed i Eliza R. Snow, Biography and Family Record of Eliza R. Snow, Biography and Family Record of Eliza R. Snow). Woman’s Emancipation 5 No. 3:213 published a letter from Nathan Wood Pratt that he had written after being in Nauvoo in 1877. He only mentioned that Emma and took dinner at his place.

7. Diary of Emily Dow Partridge Young, 29 August 1877, LDS Archives.

8. James Burgess to ESB, 30 January 1878, Kalk-Boes collection, LDS Archives

Emma never visited Utah.

9. ESB to Joseph III, 2 December 1867; Edmund C. Briggs to R. J. Hawkins, 28 March 1908, RLDS Library-Archives.


11. ESB to Joseph III, 2 February 1866 (correct date is 1867), RLDS Library-Archives.


14. ESB to Joseph III, 17 (no month) 1869, RLDS Library-Archives.

15. Ibid.


17. Journal of W. W. Blair, 13, 17 June 1874, RLDS Library-Archives. Five years earlier, on 16 June 1869, Hyrum Smith’s daughter in Utah signed an affidavit that Emma had discussed the marriage of the Lawrence and Partridge sisters with her. It states: "I Livia Walker hereby certify, that while I was living with Aunt Emma Smith, in Fulton City, Fulton Co., Illinois, in the year 1846, that she told me, that she, Emma
1. Accounts of Emma’s funeral are found in the Nauvoo Neighbor as quoted in The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 8 vols. (Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1973), 4268-70; diary of Joseph III, 2 May 1879, RLDS Library-Archives; Vesta Crawford notes, Univ. of U.

2. Deseret News (Salt Lake City, Ut.), 31 January 1828.

3. Ibid., and S. O. Bennion to President Heber J. Grant and Councilors, 21 January 1928, LDS Archives. The descendants of Hyrum Smith and leaders of the Utah church were angered that Frederick M. Smith would disturb the graves, particularly without notifying relatives in the West. S. O. Bennion, a Utah Mormon, witnessed the rebuke. In his report to the First Presidency, he wrote, “It is my impression Brethren that he had heard the reports that Brigham Young took the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum to Utah and that he wanted to prove it untrue. He did not mention that but in an indirect way he did. I said to him didn’t your father tell you where these bodies were laid and he answered yes. I told him Father had told me where they were and that I was convinced that they were close to the foot of Emma Smith’s grave.”


5. Joseph III to E. A. Kilbourne, 6 May 1879; Joseph III to David Smith, 6 May 1879, both in RLDS Library-Archives.


7. Photocopy of the marriage license of Lewis Bidamon and Nancy Abercrombie in possession of authors. In later years Emma’s descendants were编写ed by Charles E. Bailey. In a letter to a Brother Davey to J. A. Bailey, 12 July 1937 (RLDS Library-Archives), Mr. David asked who Charles Bidamon was. A handwritten note in the margin reads, “Inez Davis (a great-granddaughter of Emma) says . . . child of Lewis Bidamon and servant girl—illegitimate. Family does not discuss.” Three of Charles Bidamon’s children and his grandson have given access to private papers of Lewis and Emma Bidamon that they have inherited.

8. Joseph III, Joseph Smith III, pp. 646-67; L. C. Bidamon, Last Will and Testament, n.d., LDS Archives, as quoted in Dean C. Jessee, “The Original Book of Mormon Manuscript,” 265-66; Mrs. Sarah M. Kimball, the onetime resident, to Nauvoo who had written in 1847 to her friend in Winter Quarter of Emma’s and Lewis’s marriage, returned to visit her former home in Nauvoo and called on Lewis Bidamon. She remembered the box deposited in the cornerstone and asked Lewis about it. He said the box “had been so long exposed to the wet and weather that its contents were nearly ruined.” He had given Joseph III a coin and “the manuscript of the Book of Mormon, but it was so much injured that he did not care for it.” Bidamon’s wife Nancy Abercrombie, brought in a box with the decaying manuscript and gave it to Sarah, who asked, “Mr. B. How much for his relic?” He replied, “Nothing from you you are welcome to anything you like from the box.” This part of the original manuscript of the Book of Mormon is now in the possession of the Utah Church.


10. Amboy (Ill.) Journal, 2 July 1879.


17. Polygamy loomed large in the new Reorganization, but there were many other factors that shaped the doctrine and practices of the RLDS Church. Some ideas and practices can be traced back to the Kirtland era (see William McLellin to Joseph III, 10 January 1861 and July 1872). Alma Blair in his essay, “Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints: Moderate Mormonism” (F. Mark McKinnon, et al., The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History), gives excellent background on the development of the Reorganization. See also Hutchins, “Joseph Smith III: Moderate Mormon.”


19. William Smith to Joseph III, n.d., and Joseph III to William B. Smith, 26 October 1893. Both in RLDS Library-Archives. Hutchins offers an explanation for Joseph’s quest to clear the family name. “The point was critical to Joseph III’s way of thinking. He believed his father had to be a good man since the revelation of 1833
had promised him that the 'keys of the kingdom would never be taken from him.' It then followed that his father would never be guilty of such a heinous sin as plural marriage, then he would indeed have been a fallen prophet. If Joseph had been a fallen prophet, then his blessing of his son was not valid. Without a valid blessing and ordination, Joseph III would have no legitimate authority to lead the Reorganized Church. This fear forced Joseph to ignore weighty evidence that not only had his father introduced plural marriage to the church, but that he had also practiced it. Hutchins, "Joseph Smith III: Moderate Mormon," p. 76.
21. Emily D. P. Young, "Incidents of the Early Life of Emily Partridge," Univ. of U.

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