

## Three Accusations from Clark Braden from the 1884 *Braden-Kelley Debate*

#10 - Clark Braden quoting an unknown source regarding:

### Marinda Nancy Johnson Hyde in 1832:

In March, 1832, Smith was stopping at Mr. Johnson's in Hiram, Ohio, and was mobbed. The mob was led by Eli Johnson, who blamed Smith with being too intimate with his sister Marinda, who afterwards married Orson Hyde. Brigham Young, in after years, twitted Hyde with this fact, and Hyde, on learning its truth, put away his wife, although they had several children."<sup>1</sup> [Marinda was sealed to Joseph Smith in 1842, this allegation is regarding a sexual relationship ten years earlier.]

### Discussion:

Throughout Joseph Smith's life, the worst treatment he received from his enemies occurred on March 24, 1832. Sidney Rigdon's son, John, provided this detailed account:

Not long after [Sidney Rigdon] had moved to [Hiram, Ohio], J. Smith came there to live and sometime during the winter or early spring of the year J. Smith and Sidney Rigdon were one morning before daylight taken out of bed and tarred and feathered by a mob. The mob came and got Rigdon first. He was a man weighing about 225. As they dragged him some distance over the frozen ground by his heels bumping the back of his head so that when they got him to the place where they were to put the tar and feathers on him he was insensible. They covered him with tar and feathers and pounded him till they thought he was dead and then went to get J. Smith. He fought them but they got hold of him at last and carried him out and they took him where Rigdon lay and Joseph thought he was dead. The mob covered him with tar and feathers and pounded him till they got tired and left them both on the ground. J. Smith soon after the mob left got up and went home not very badly hurt. He was bruised some about the head. My father must have lain on the ground when the mob left him for some time. At last he got up in a dozed condition did not know where he was nor where to go but at last got his face turned toward his home more by accident than design and went reeling along the road not knowing where he was and would have passed his house but my mother was out the door watching for him and went out as he came along and got him in the house. She got the tar and feathers off from him as best she could and got him to bed. In the morning J. Smith came over to see him but he was crazy. He wanted him to get him his razor. J. Smith wanted to know what he wanted it for he said he wanted to kill his wife. J. Smith soothe him as best he could and left him. In a few days my father regained his mind.<sup>2</sup>

The possible motives for this gang assault have been discussed by numerous authors over the decades since 1832. However, the very first time anyone alleged it was provoked by Joseph Smith's inappropriate behavior with Marinda Johnson was in 1884. Clark Braden, a Church of Christ minister,<sup>3</sup> debated RLDS member E. L. Kelley that year making the allegation.<sup>4</sup> A review of books written between 1832 and 1844 indicates that authors chronicling the activities of the "Mormons" did not refer to the mobbing until after an account of it had been published in the *Times and Seasons*, in 1844.<sup>5</sup> Importantly, current research supports that the accusation was not included in any publication printed during the sixty-two years prior to the 1884 debate.<sup>6</sup>

For example, in their 1861 publication, *A Journey to Great Salt Lake City*, Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley fail to accuse Joseph Smith of any sexual impropriety when discussing the 1832 mobbing.<sup>7</sup> Neither does antagonistic author John H. Beadle in his 1870 exposé, *Polygamy; or Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism*, who specifically lists as the reasons: "for attempting to establish communism, for forgery and dishonorable dealing."<sup>8</sup> If immoral conduct was involved, undoubtedly Beadle would have included it.<sup>9</sup> Also Amos S. Hayden's *Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve* published in 1875, provides a lengthy explanation of the causative factors in the mobbing attributing it to "a plot... laid to take their property from them."<sup>10</sup>

In April, 1881, an unidentified writer using the penname "Historicus," published a piece dealing with the 1832 mobbing in the *Anti-Polygamy Standard*, a Salt Lake newspaper: "Joseph told Lyman E. Johnson confidentially that polygamy was a true principle... In addition to Lyman, three others, Eli, Edward and John Jr., joined the new church but apostatized in the winter of 1831-32. When the fact is known that these brothers assisted in the tarring and feathering of the prophet, it is not a very far-fetched conclusion to arrive at that they knew of what Smith had told their brother Lyman about polygamy."<sup>11</sup> This article demonstrates that as late as 1881, publications devoted to stamping out polygamy and exposing Joseph Smith as a fraud, like the *Anti-Polygamy Standard*, were still ignorant of any possible connection between the Prophet and Marinda Johnson in 1832. With honest candor, the author "Historicus" acknowledged that his conclusions were based upon

conjecture, not evidence. Importantly, he speculated that the mobbing may have occurred as the Johnson brothers' rejected polygamy, with no allegation of any impropriety between the Prophet and their sister Marinda.

Braden's story has other problems because Marinda had no brother named "Eli," although the *Times and Seasons* also lists "Eli Johnson" as a participant.<sup>12</sup> Marinda's brothers' names were John (b. 1805), Luke Samuel (b. 1807), Olmstead G. (b. 1809), Lyman Eugene (b. 1811), and Justin Jacob (b. 1820). Perhaps "Eli" was a nickname for one of the brothers or even a fictional detail. Marinda did have an uncle named Eliphaz Johnson (b. 1782), but it is unclear whether he was living in the area at that time or participated in the persecution. Importantly, Luke Johnson's account strongly suggests that the mobsters were primarily concerned that Sidney Rigdon and Joseph Smith's alleged attempt to confiscate their property. Hiram, Ohio was one of the first locations where the law of consecration was attempted.<sup>13</sup>

Accounts show that the brutal attack occurred to both Sidney Rigdon and Joseph Smith. In his biography of Sidney entitled, *Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess*, Richard Van Wagoner wrote that Rigdon was the primary target.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, during his brief apostasy from the Church, Orson Hyde charged Rigdon with trying to usurp control over the Johnson farm.<sup>15</sup> Symonds Ryder, one of the mob leaders later wrote:

When [Joseph Smith and other leaders] went to Missouri to lay the foundation of the splendid city of Zion, and also of the temple, they left their papers behind [in Hiram, Ohio]. This gave their new converts an opportunity to become acquainted with the internal arrangement of their church, which revealed to them the horrid fact that a plot was laid to take their property from them [under the law of consecration] and place it under the control of Joseph Smith the prophet. This was too much for the Hiramites... "Determined not to let it pass with impunity; and, accordingly, a company was formed of citizens... in March, 1832, and proceeded to headquarters in the darkness of night, and took Smith and Rigdon from their beds, and tarred and feathered them both, and let them go. This had the desired effect, which was to get ride of them. They soon left for Kirtland."<sup>16</sup>

This account says nothing of possible sexual misbehavior of Joseph Smith with anyone in Hiram, Ohio, providing an alternative motive for the mobbing that night.

It seems improbable that Braden in 1884 would have discovered new evidence, previously unknown for over fifty-two years. Most likely, he simply read the account, which was available in L.D.S. and R.L.D.S. publications, and assumed that since emasculation was mentioned, at least some of Joseph Smith's offenses were sexual in nature. If Braden had evidence beyond his own assumptions, he never shared it with anyone. Todd Compton summarized: "There is no good evidence supporting the position (found in Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 119, 462) that Joseph Smith was married to Marinda Johnson... or had an affair with her, in 1831, and was mobbed by 'her brother Eli' and others as a result."<sup>17</sup> Marinda herself recalled in 1877: "I feel like bearing my testimony that during the whole year that Joseph was an inmate of my father's house I never saw aught in his daily life or conversation to make me doubt his divine mission."<sup>18</sup>

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#11 - Clark Braden quoting unknown source regarding:

### **Julia Murdock (Joseph and Emma's adopted daughter):**

[Joseph Smith's] intimacy with Julia Murdock, his adopted daughter, caused trouble with his wife, who sent the girl to her father.<sup>19</sup>

#### *Discussion:*

Julia Murdock was born in Orange, Cuyahoga Co. Ohio, April 30, 1831, to John Murdock and Julia Clapp Murdock, being named after her mother who died the day of her birth.<sup>20</sup> Emma Smith, the Prophet's wife, lost twins of her own at the same time and so Julia and her brother, Joseph, were adopted into Joseph Smith's family at the age of nine days. Joseph died before his one year birthday on March 29, 1832.

It appears that Julia experienced a close relationship with her adoptive parents in her early years. A letter written to Joseph from Emma dated April 25, 1837 states: "I could hardly pacify Julia and Joseph when they found out you were not coming home soon."<sup>21</sup> Similarly, Joseph wrote to Emma November 12, 1838: "Tell little Joseph he must be a good boy; father loves him with a perfect love; he is the eldest must not hurt those that are smaller than him, but comfort them. Tell little Frederick, Father loves him with all his heart; he is a lovely boy. Julia is a lovely little girl; I love her also. She is a promising child; tell her, Father wants her to remember him and be a good girl."<sup>22</sup> On April 4, 1839, he penned: "I want to see little Frederick, Joseph, Julia, and Alexander, Joana, and old major."<sup>23</sup>

In 1858 Julia recounted the heartbreaking experience of learning of her adoption: "Until I was a child of five years old, I was happy. It was then I was first told I was not a Smith and by Mrs. Walker. She was little older than myself, and done it through spite. God forgive as I have done long ago. But from that hour I was changed; I was bitter even as a child."<sup>24</sup>

Julia would have been barely thirteen at the Prophet's death.<sup>25</sup> At age seventeen, she eloped with Elisha Dixon, who was killed five years later in an explosion of a steamship on Red River, Texas.<sup>26</sup> Julia returned to Nauvoo where she married John J. Middleton, a Catholic and staunch anti-Mormon, November 19, 1856.<sup>27</sup> She bore no children to either husband, dying at the home of Mr. James Moffatt near Nauvoo in 1880.

In his allegations, Clark Braden indicts Joseph Smith with the worst case of pedophilia of any of the Prophet's accusers. Julia could have only been eleven, twelve, or thirteen years of age. No other source of this complaint has been identified. Available circumstantial evidence fails to substantiate such a dark encounter (or encounters) between Joseph and Julia. An incident in 1844 suggests that the then thirteen year old Julia possessed normal teenage desires. Biographer S. Reed Murdock recounted how Oliver Huntington had asked her to attend a wedding celebration with him. She "treated it with disrespect" but when Oliver went without her, "she had a fit and uttered some unkind things about Oliver." The two reconciled later.<sup>28</sup>

Concerning Joseph Smith's relationship with the young Julia, Lucy Mesereve Smith recalled in 1892: "Julia said her Pa was such a good man, and she hoped she would be prepared to meet him: 'As Papa talked to me before he went away and told me to be a good girl and never mistreat any of my playmates then he should be happy to meet me.' 'Oh,' said she, 'how bad I should feel if I thought I wouldn't be good enough to meet my Dear Papa.'"<sup>29</sup>

Historian Sunny McClellan Morton wrote: "Julia's feelings in adulthood toward Joseph Smith are not known. Joseph's early death denied her the opportunity to develop a mature relationship with him. She rarely mentioned him in letters. Along with her childhood love for him, she perhaps came to feel some ambivalence toward him or perhaps some resentment toward him for the religious faith that cost him his life."<sup>30</sup>

Regarding Braden's second allegation that Emma "sent the girl to her father" because of the alleged improper relations, historical research demonstrates convincingly that it never happened. In a letter to her biological brother, John R. Murdock, dated November 2, 1858, Julia reflected on the love she felt being raised in Joseph and Emma's family: "I shunned you and my own father and why? Because I had a dread of being taken from those I was raised with and loved with the same love that should have been yours."<sup>31</sup>

In his autobiography, Julia's biological father, John Murdock, explained the basis for the estrangement: "Sister [Emma] Smith requested me not to make myself known to the children [Julia and her brother Joseph who died in 1832] as being their father. It was a hard request and I said but little on the subject. She wanted to bring the children up as her own and never have them know anything to the contrary."<sup>32</sup> In fact, all available evidence supports that he indeed did not interact with Julia as her father in any way until the late 1850s, when correspondence began between Julia and her brother John R. Murdock. John R. shared the letters with his father who wrote an impassioned correspondence on January 20, 1859:

It was January 12<sup>th</sup> we received our letter directed to my son, J. R. Murdock, in answer to his to you in June last. It was a great treat, for it was to us all and more especially myself like receiving intelligence from the dead; and I could truly say the dead is alive and the lost is found. For my Dear Julia, *you have been a lost child to me all your days.* And I feel like Jacob of old when his sons brought him word of Joseph in Egypt and like him I can say shall I live to see my daughter?<sup>33</sup> (Italics added.)

Other evidences support a complete disconnect between Julia and her father from her birth until the late 1850s, showing that she could not have been "sent to her father" sometime in the early 1840s.

During the Clark Braden – E. L. Kelley debates, Kelley wrote a letter to then RLDS President Joseph Smith, III. Joseph was raised with Julia as her sibling and was an eye witness to the proceedings in the Smith home. Joseph responded on August 7, 1884 saying "[Julia] lived with mother till" 1850, and added: "Braden is a jackal in spirit if he attempts to fix polygamic origin on her."<sup>34</sup>

In summary, nothing beyond Braden's speculation has been located to support an improper intimacy between Joseph Smith and Julia Murdock. In addition, good documentation has been located refuting Braden's claim that Julia was sent to live with her father in consequence of an alleged impropriety.

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#12 - Clark Braden quoting an unidentified Mrs. Hansbury quoting an unidentified Mr. Moreton quoting an unknown source

### **"Girl name of Knight"**

"Mr. Moreton one of the first Apostles, told his daughter, Mrs. Hansbury, and her husband that Emma Smith detected Joe in adultery with a girl by the name of Knight, and that Joe confessed the crime to the officers of the Church."<sup>35</sup>

*Discussion:*

There are several obvious incongruities with this account. At no time has there been a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles with the surname of "Moreton." Neither does there appear to be any record of a woman named "Hansbury" associated with the early history of the Church. In addition, no other accusation against Joseph Smith pairs him with a "girl" named Knight.

In Nauvoo, Vinson Knight died in July of 1842. The following month his widow, Martha McBride Knight was sealed to the Prophet. Born in 1805, Martha would have been thirty-seven years old and hardly a "girl." Due to the sealing ceremonies, any relations between the two would not have constituted "adultery." Other than the name of "Knight," nothing in the story resembles Martha McBride's life in any way.

The narrative itself bears vague similarities to the Fanny Alger story. William McLellin claimed that Emma found Fanny and Joseph together.<sup>36</sup> Joseph did discuss Oliver Cowdery's claims regarding some "girl business" before the Far West High Council.<sup>37</sup> In Kirtland, there was a Church member, John Moreton, who apostatized for reasons that are unclear, but Moreton was never a Church leader of any significance.<sup>38</sup> If Braden was just confusing the story with the Fanny Alger plural marriage, then again "adultery" would not have been committed.

Clark Braden's accusation involving Joseph Smith and a "girl by the name of Knight" contains a number of details, all of which appear to be contradicted by reliable historical research. Perhaps this is simply another example of Braden's willingness to repeat or even concoct rumors to advance his goal of disparaging the Prophet.

### Six Accusations from Wilhelm Wyl's *Mormon Portraits*, 1886

#13 - Wyl quoting a "Valuable Witness" allegedly quoting Richard Rushton regarding:

**"Mrs. Edward Blossum":**

Elder Richard Rushton, the trusty steward employed by Joseph in the Mansion House in Nauvoo... was a good, honest man of fine instincts, and had served faithfully for some years, holding that position when the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum were brought to Nauvoo, and he received them. It was his duty to lock up, every night, most of the rooms, especially the pantry, storeroom, larder etc., and then to give the keys to "Sister Emma." She would, on retiring, place the bunch of keys in a large packet that was nailed on the wall at the head of her bed. About 4 o'clock every morning Brother Rushton would tap at the bedroom door in order to receive the keys and open the hotel. Emma on hearing the raps would say, "Come in, Brother Rushton," and would hand him the keys from the pocked, and give such orders as were needed.

It so "came to pass" once upon a time, that the groceries and other provisions necessary for the use of the hotel were nearly exhausted, and a famine seemed pending in the larder... [Joseph] mustered up about nine hundred dollars, which he cheerfully placed in Emma's hands, saying: "We are out of provision: take this and go down to St. Louis, and buy what is needed. Capt. Dan Jones will fire up the 'Maid of Iowa' (a little steam boat always ready for church use) and take you down."

Emma started for St. Louis. The going, purchasing and return occupied about a week. At night, after the departure of the 'elect lady,' the steward gave the keys to the prophet, and in the morning he as usual stepped lightly and rapped at the door of the bed-room. A voice, strange to his ear, yet of feminine softness, rather startled him in response with the words, "Come in." He entered timidly, when lo and behold! There lay in Emma's bed and stead the beautiful and attractive young wife of Elder Edward Blossum, a high councilor of Zion, (afterwards exalted to the apostleship by Brigham Young). With a pair of laughing, glistening eyes and with a smile of happy sweetness, she spoke in soft and pleading accents: "*I suppose, Brother Rushton, I shall have to be Sister Emma to you this morning,*" and she gracefully handed the keys to him.

Astonished and blushing, the faithful steward left the room to resume his duties, leaving the adulterous prophet and his charmer to themselves. The same thing was repeated each morning during the week Emma was away purchasing supplies for the prophet's hotel...

In relating this occurrence to another of my most precise and valuable witnesses, Brother Rushton, though no seeker after effect, added the following picturesque details: 'Emma used to keep the keys of the hotel in a richly ornamented wallet given to her by some well-to-do English friends. When Joseph saw how dumbfounded I was he sat up in his red flannel night robe and said in a hasty, commanding tone: "*That's all right, Brother Rushton,*" making a movement with his outstretched right hand toward me. The prophet's gesture and tone gave me to understand that I was to go and keep my mouth shut.<sup>39</sup>

*Discussion:*

The primary player in Wyl's narrative is the described informant, Richard Rushton, Jr. (Richard Rushton, Sr. died in October 1843), was baptized in England in 1840 and left for America in March of 1841.<sup>40</sup> Arriving in Nauvoo in May, he and his wife spent one year in the town until Richard was called on a mission. In May of 1842 he left for his home country. After a successful ministry of a few months there, he boarded a ship with eighty-two

other Saints (including his mother) to gather again at Nauvoo and was selected as the “President” of the company of Saints on that voyage. The *History of the Church* records for March 8, 1843: “The ship Yorkshire left Liverpool, England, with eighty-three Saints on board, under the supervision of Elders Thomas Bullock and Richard Rushton.”<sup>41</sup> They arrived in Nauvoo on May 31, 1843.<sup>42</sup>

The historical record provides few clues as to Richard’s activities in Nauvoo. William E. Perkes, biographer of Richard Rushton, Sr., was unsuccessful in identifying a residence for the younger Richard in the sprawling town.<sup>43</sup> The only other mention of him in the *History of the Church* occurs on Christmas Day, 1843:

This morning, about one o'clock, I was aroused by an English sister, Lettice Rushton, widow of Richard Rushton, Senior, (who, ten years ago, lost her sight,) accompanied by three of her sons [she only had three sons so apparently Richard was a participant], with their wives, and her two daughters, with their husbands, and several of her neighbors, singing, "Mortals, awake I with angels join," &c., which caused a thrill of pleasure to run through my soul. All of my family and boarders arose to hear the serenade, and I felt to thank my Heavenly Father for their visit, and blessed them in the name of the Lord.<sup>44</sup>

After the death of Joseph Smith, on September 30, 1845, Thomas Bullock recorded his kindness in Nauvoo: “Richard [Rushton came] to bring wife 2 apples.”<sup>45</sup> Two months later ordinance work began in the Nauvoo temple, but Richard is not mentioned as receiving his endowment there, although his mother did participate.<sup>46</sup> This may be due to his having moved to St. Louis or to other factors. The 1847 St. Louis City directory includes mention of Richard as does the 1850 census. Curiously, his name pops up in 1853, as crossing the Des Moines River with Saints apparently headed to the west.<sup>47</sup> But the censuses for 1860 and 1870 also include Richard’s domicile as St. Louis. It appears that in 1879 he made the trip to Utah where the 1880 census of Salt Lake City places him living with his brother, Edwin.<sup>48</sup> William E. Perkes provided this summary:

L.D.S. Church records were searched for St. Louis from 1847 to 1877 and no record of Richard Rushton, Jr. or his family was found. While the records are not complete, they are the best we have to judge the church activity of this family after they left Nauvoo. Could this man who proved to be a most dedicated missionary, who bore a very strong testimony as a missionary, who had personal acquaintance with the Prophet Joseph Smith, George A. Smith, Wilford Woodruff and other early apostles, have become inactive? The records show he and his wife Eliza did not go to the Nauvoo Temple to receive their endowments when other family members went. Did he move to St. Louis before endowments were given and didn’t come back, or was it a matter of eligibility or choice?<sup>49</sup>

An evaluation of the chronology asserted by Wyl’s story shows that the episode could only have occurred after September 15, 1843. On that date, Joseph Smith penned: “I put up a sign, ‘NAUVOO MANSION’... I have been reduced to the necessity of opening ‘The Mansion’ as a hotel. I have provided the best table accommodations in the city; and the Mansion, being large and convenient, renders travelers more comfortable than any other place on the Upper Mississippi.”<sup>50</sup>

Wyl states that Rushton was “employed by Joseph in the Mansion House in Nauvoo... and had served faithfully for some years.” In fact, the most Rushton could have served in the Mansion was nine months prior to the martyrdom. My research fails to identify Rushton serving as a steward in the Prophet’s home at any time.

Technically, after January 22, 1844, the Mansion was no longer “the prophet’s hotel” because on that date, Joseph rented it to Ebenezer Robinson and from that time forward, Robinson was responsible for the Hotel portion.<sup>51</sup> Regardless, Emma journeyed to St. Louis only once after the Smith’s moved into the Nauvoo Mansion, that trip occurring on April 20, 1844. The *History of the Church* reports: “Emma started for St. Louis to purchase goods.”<sup>52</sup> Five days later Joseph noted: “Emma returned from St. Louis.”<sup>53</sup>

At that time, Church members in Nauvoo and outsiders were closely monitoring Joseph and his marriage to Emma. The *Boston Post* for May 6, 1844 printed: “Joe Smith’s wife – The St. Louis Republican of the 23rd says the Mormon prophet, Joe Smith, has turned his wife out of doors, for being in conversation with a gentleman of the sect, which she hesitated or refused to disclose.”<sup>54</sup> However, a retraction was published ten days later: “From Nauvoo, News has reached us, that Jo Smith’s wife did not leave him for good; she only went to St. Louis on business, and has returned to Mahomet.”<sup>55</sup>

According to Wyl’s narrative, in this environment Joseph Smith freely supplanted Emma in their bedroom with the wife of a high councilor for six nights in a row. By providing many details, Wyl initially enhanced the overall believability of his story. Possibly this is why Fawn Brodie included “Mrs. Edward Blossum” on her list of forty-eight plural wives of Joseph Smith.<sup>56</sup>

However, an examination of those details demonstrates numerous discrepancies and inconsistencies. Undoubtedly the most glaring problem is the fact that the Church has never had an apostle by the name of Edward Blossom. Vesta Pierce Crawford sought evidence for the existence of an “Edward Blossom” in Nauvoo and in Utah and concluded: “There are some references to the name of Blossom, but none to Edward Blossom or anyone related to him.”<sup>57</sup> No Edward Blossoms were found in the 1842 Nauvoo census of about 4000 names. Neither is there a record of an “Elder Edward Blossom” in on the High Council at Nauvoo.

In Nauvoo in 1844, Rushton and any other informed individuals could only have viewed Joseph Smith's alleged involvement with the "charmer" as adultery. Even polyandrous sexuality would have been viewed as fornication, since no other context was available for interpreting such behavior any other way. It is doubtful that Joseph Smith would engage in such brazen debauchery. Sarah Kimball recalled the Prophet's concerns when he introduced her to the principle: "He said that in teaching this he realized that he jeopardized his life."<sup>58</sup>

It also stretches the imagination to believe that another Church sister, would, without apology, be as cavalier and indiscreet as described. To think that a woman, with "a pair of laughing, glistening eyes and with a smile of happy sweetness," would blatantly assume the role of "Emma to [Rushton that] morning" by sleeping with Joseph and then interacting with Mansion servants afterwards is questionable. It would also represent an immense humiliation of Emma (though absent), which is doubtful the Prophet would permit to occur. Reportedly, "when one of his [plural] wives spoke to [Joseph] in a complaining manner of Emma, the Prophet turned to her and said, 'If you desire my love, you must never speak evil of Emma.'"<sup>59</sup> That such behavior could have been kept secret from Emma upon her return is also unlikely.

Even the normal day-to-day family dynamics as described are suspect. When Emma was present with the Prophet in the Mansion in the morning, it seems improbable that they would have invited a non-family member into their bedroom while they were still reclining in their nightclothes. It seems that such an invitation would be even less likely if Joseph were sequestered in the bedroom with a courtesan, a plural wife, or a polyandrous companion, taking Emma's place. Nor is it credible that any of Joseph's sealed wives would dare make the statement "I suppose, Brother Rushton, I shall have to be Sister Emma to you this morning" for fear that Emma would learn of such presumptuous behavior and respond intolerantly.

Equally problematic is the idea that a simple stern look from the Prophet would be sufficient to assure his described adulterous union would be completely kept secret. How could the Prophet assure that a direct "gesture" would be sufficient to maintain secrecy? Did no other servants or occupants of the Mansion House witness this liaison that reportedly occurred for six mornings straight? Were "commanding tones" used throughout the home to assure silences from all other witnesses? The whole scene as described is unconvincing.

In looking at genuine Nauvoo High Counselors who later became Apostles in Utah who might have been confused with Wyl's Edward Blossum, the only possible candidate is Charles C. Rich. Technically, Rich spent most of his time in Nauvoo as a counselor to William Marks, Nauvoo Stake President, serving as a member of the high council only occasionally. Regardless, nothing else in Wyl's story resembles Rich.<sup>60</sup>

Other problems with the account include the fact that the alleged storyteller, whose tale was filtered through an additional "witness," was unable to review the story immediately before publication or to respond to it after publication. Rushton died in 1884 and Wyl's narrative was published two years later. In addition, no timetable is provided defining the year Rushton purportedly scandalized the Prophet or how long after that conversation the "witness" quoted Rushton verbatim to create Wyl's report. Perhaps Rushton really gave the statement printed by Wyl. Or possibly the unnamed "witness" exaggerated Rushton's story or Wyl greatly embellished the narrative to the point of creating fictional characters named Mr. and Mrs. Edward Blossum.

Possibly the greatest implausibility comes from the observation that no one mentioned the alleged misconduct for over forty years. Then the accusation emerges from obscurity into print as a third-hand, late, and singular account from an antagonistic source. When compared to Joseph and Emma's known behavior, numerous details emerge that are implausible, inconsistent, or impossible.

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#14 - Wilhelm Wyl quoting "Mr Wa." [probably Mr. Joseph R. Walker]<sup>61</sup> quoting "a servant" regarding:

**"Mrs. Ford":**

*Mr. Wa.:* I used to employ a poor Mormon woman for domestic sewing. She had been a fanatic Mormon in her time, but had cooled down considerably in consequence of her experience in the direction of celestial marriage. Her husband had taken 'another woman' and entirely neglected her and that is what made her shaky in the faith.

She once felt very dull, and in this mood she told me the following little story:

"When in Nauvoo, I was a very young girl, and there I happened to be witness of an event that gave me the first doubt about Joseph the prophet. I was a servant in the house of a Mr. Ford, a merchant who had a store in Nauvoo. He was want to go by steamer to St. Louis, to make purchases. Whenever Mr. Ford was absent from his house, the prophet used to call on Mrs. Ford. He would come, chat with her a while, and then they would retire to the lady's chamber. For a while I saw nothing in this, being a very young, innocent girl, and very strong in the faith. But some way or other suspicion arose in my mind. So when Joseph called again – Mr. Ford had gone to St. Louis the day before – I could not master my curiosity any more. I followed the pair stealthily, and putting my eye to the keyhole I saw -----."

Here the poor woman gave me a description of a scene which was surely calculated to shake even the most fanatic faith. But this is not all. She said: "Whenever Mr. Ford came home from St. Louis, he used to complain about business: 'I cannot understand it,' he used to say, 'when I am here money comes in all the time, and when I am away not a red cent gets into the house.'"

Now the explanation is very simple. Whenever Joseph had *prayed* with Mrs. Ford, she used to give him all the money in the till, to the last cent.\*

\*This story has been told the author by a perfectly reliable gentleman, a business man of high and long standing in Salt Lake.<sup>62</sup>

*Discussion:*

This account is problematic in several ways. First it is third-hand, late and from an antagonistic source. Second involves its reliability. Wyl's witness, who preferred to not be identified, provided a verbatim quote from a woman he "used to employ." How much time had elapsed since he employed her? How good was "Mr. Wa's" memory that allegedly allowed him to accurately produce the word-for-word conversation provided?

The story's most damaging allegation against Joseph Smith stems from the report that a "very young girl" was able to witness through a keyhole, some sexual interaction between Joseph Smith and "Mrs. Ford." A keyhole view might provide a useful view to things situated at some distance from the door, but most bedrooms in Nauvoo homes were built with small dimensions. It is true that some keyholes are unintentionally located so as to permit a useful view of things transpiring within the opposing room. However, most keyholes are not so situated.

Regardless, "Mr. Wa" recalled that the scene was so troublesome that it reportedly would "shake even the most fanatic faith." Yet curiously, the witness thereafter became a "fanatic Mormon" and eventually followed the Latter-day Saints to Salt Lake City, where she was employed by the "businessman" narrator.

No information on the identity of Mr. Ford or his wife is provided. My research fails to identify any Nauvoo merchants with the surname of Ford. Neither found is a home or store owned by anyone named Ford.

A review of Wyl's story identifies details that are self-contradictory and unverifiable, despite intense research.

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#15 - Wyl quoting "Mrs. D." quoting unknown source regarding:

**An unidentified woman:**

A Mrs. Granger proved a very reliable and useful friend to the prophet. He was once at her house, in bed, and not alone. The bed had old-fashioned curtains. All at once Sister Emma, the prophet's wife came in, and said excitedly to Mrs. Granger: "Is Brother Joseph here?" "No," said Mrs. Granger, "he has just been in, but went out again," getting Sister Emma out of the house as hurriedly as possible. Joseph used to tell his intimate friends how dreadfully he had felt in that bed, expecting every moment that his wife might look behind the curtains.<sup>63</sup>

*Discussion:*

We note that Wyl is the solo source for this third-hand accusation, which comes to us late and from an antagonistic source.

One difficulty with the story is believing the described behavior of Emma Smith, who was ever vigilant in thwarting Joseph's rendezvous with his plural wives. The likelihood that she would have traced his footsteps to a room or bedroom with a curtained bed, and then refrained from investigating whether Joseph was hidden within its draperies seems quite illogical.

One also wonders how readily Joseph Smith or his plural wife (or non-wife) might have engaged in sexual activity with only a curtain separating him from others in the room.

The true identities of the two women mentioned are unknown. The guardian woman, "Mrs. Granger," might have been Sarah Stiles Granger.<sup>64</sup> Church Historian Andrew Jenson recorded that on August 18, 1842: "Rumors being afloat that the Prophet's hiding place was discovered, he changed his quarters from the house of Edward Sayer to that of Carlos Granger, who lived in the northeast part of Nauvoo."<sup>65</sup> In 1840, Carlos wrote: "I am not nor never have been a member of the church of Jesus Christ of Latter day saints called Mormons."<sup>66</sup> Perhaps his non-member status made his home a desirable hideout for the Prophet.

It is possible that the story itself contains elements of truth. However, if the companion of Joseph Smith reportedly sequestered with him in the "old-fashioned" bed was a plural wife, then this account would not represent an incident of sexual misconduct. Though as presented, the details are difficult to accept as true.

It also seems less likely that Joseph would tell the tale to "his intimate friends." Or that they would retell it so that Wyl would eventually pick it up from an unidentified "Mrs. D."

### Three Accusations from Wilhelm Wyl Ostensibly Quoting Sarah Pratt<sup>67</sup>

#16 - Wyl quoting Sarah Pratt regarding:

#### “One single woman”:

Next door to my house was a house of bad reputation. One single woman lived there, not very attractive. She used to be visited by people from Carthage whenever they came to Nauvoo. Joseph used to come on horseback, ride up to the house and tie his horse to a tree, many of which stood before the house. Then he would enter the house of the woman from the back. I have seen him do this repeatedly.<sup>68</sup>

#### *Discussion:*

This account is late, from an antagonistic source, and singular. Perhaps the greatest difficulty affecting its credibility is associated with Joseph Smith’s described brazenness. Learning that the Prophet would openly “ride up to the house [of prostitution] and tie his horse to a tree,” then freely enter in order to participate in its activities sharply contrasts contemporary accounts of his behavior regarding moral issues. Historical research demonstrates that Joseph Smith exercised discretion and confidentiality regarding his relationships with his plural wives. No credible evidence exists supporting that Joseph Smith was ever sexually involved with a woman to whom he was not sealed married.

Pratt suggests that Joseph Smith flaunted his hypocrisy and sexual appetite for the entire world to see, displaying it sufficiently for her to witness it “repeatedly.” It seems likely that such egregious behavior would also have been noticed by other Nauvooans. Such allegations seem implausible in light of Joseph’s intense insistence on secrecy. Almost any Church member might have seen such unconcealed activities and started a rumor that would not have been easy to stifle. Yet, no rumors of that nature are found except for Sarah Pratt’s accusation. Believers would have been disillusioned at his double standard and enemies would have undoubtedly exploited the reports in many ways.

Nauvoo City Council minutes for October 23, 1841 discuss the brothel on the hill behind the temple site. This “house on the hill” was ordered to be “removed.”<sup>69</sup> John Taylor (not the apostle), recalled Joseph Smith’s personal involvement during its razing:

John C. Bennett... built an ill famed house there near the temple, and there was a meeting ground in the oak grove nearby there, and they put up an ill fame house right by there, and after they had put it up, John C. Bennett and the Fosters...wrote on it in large letters what it was for, - an ill fame house, and the sign that they put on it proclaimed what it was, and what it was there for...

Well when we went to meeting we could not get there, - that is, we couldn’t get to meeting without passing this house there looking right at it, for it was close to the meeting grounds, and a thousand or two thousand would go there to meeting on a sabbath day, and they didn’t feel very good seeing that house there with these great big capital letters right there facing them when they would look at it. Well that house was build right there close there to the temple and the meeting ground, for it was right on the same street but a little north of the temple...

Well the city council held a counsel over it, and they considered it was a nuisance to the city, and they so declared it to be a nuisance. They considered that house was a nuisance, and the authorities passed an ordinance against it, and notified them to move the nuisance outside of the city limits, and gave them time sufficient to do so. Well they paid no attention to that order for they did not feel inclined to obey it and they did not move it.

They had some furniture in it, - not much, - and the police gathered around and one of the policemen went to go in to move some of the furniture, or some things that were in it out, and John Eagle, - a man by the name of Eagle, - a tall raw boned stout man that weight over two hundred pounds, -they called him “Bully, and he was a bully to look at him, -he hit the policeman and knocked him down, and Joseph Smith took him by here (indicating the seat of his

breeches and the nape of his neck), - he took him by the breeches there and here, and he pitched him right out, and [said] "that is the way we do, away down east" said Joseph, and that settled it.

Well they went in then and took the building and put it on rollers, and there was a deep gully there and they pitched the house in it, - they just rolled the house off and tipped it over in this gully shingles and all, - down it all went into that gully, and that was the end of that transaction. That was the end of that bad house.<sup>70</sup>

Apparently other brothels could be found in the city, houses that were dealt with later. On May 14, 1842, Joseph recorded: "I attended city council in the morning, and advocated strongly the necessity of some active measures being taken to suppress houses and acts of infamy in the city; for the protection of the innocent and virtuous, and the good of public morals; showing clearly that there were certain characters in the place, who were disposed to corrupt the morals and chastity of our citizens, and that houses of infamy did exist, upon which a city ordinance concerning brothels and disorderly characters was passed, to prohibit such things."<sup>71</sup>

Pratt is a lone voice describing these activities that seem inconsistent with Joseph Smith's documented patterns of behavior and teachings. The lack of other witnesses seems to contradict the alleged openness Pratt reported he exhibited "repeatedly." Overall, there are numerous inconsistencies in this account when compared to more reliable historical data.

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#17 - Wyl quoting Sarah Pratt regarding:

### **Elizabeth Ann Whitney**

"Elizabeth Ann Whitney, the second 'lady,' [of the Relief Society], had been seduced by Joseph."<sup>72</sup>

#### *Discussion*

This quotation is late and singular. The source of Pratt's information is not provided and due to her reputation in Nauvoo, it is doubtful that Elizabeth would have divulged such information to her, even if it might have been true. Elizabeth Ann Whitney was the wife of Bishop Newell K. Whitney. She and her husband were converted to the principle in the summer of 1842 and subsequently consented to the plural marriage of their daughter to Joseph Smith. Three days later, Elizabeth and Newell were sealed for time and eternity by the Prophet. In 1878, Elizabeth recalled:

It was during the time we lived at the brick store that Joseph received the revelation pertaining to celestial marriage [D&C 132]... He had been strictly charged by the angel who committed these precious things into his keeping that he should only reveal them to such persons as were pure, full of integrity to the truth, and worthy to be entrusted with divine messages; that to spread them abroad would only be like casting pearls before swine, and that the most profound secrecy must be maintained, until the Lord saw fit to make it known publicly through His servants.

Joseph had the most implicit confidence in my husband's uprightness and integrity of character; he knew him capable of keeping a secret, and was not afraid to confide in him... He therefore confided to him, and a few others, the principles set forth in that revelation, and also gave him the privilege to read it and to make a copy of it, knowing it would be perfectly safe with him. It was this veritable copy, which was preserved, in the providence of God, that has since been published to the world...

My husband revealed these things to me; we had always been united, and had the utmost faith and confidence in each other. We pondered upon them continually, and our prayers were unceasing that the Lord would grant us some special manifestation concerning this new and strange doctrine.

The Lord was very merciful to us; He revealed unto us His power and glory. We were seemingly wrapt in a heavenly vision, a halo of light encircled us, and we were convinced in our own minds that God heard and approved our prayers and intercedings before Him. Our hearts were comforted, and our faith made so perfect that we were willing to give our eldest daughter, then only seventeen years of age, to Joseph, in the holy order of plural marriage. She had been raised in the strictest manner as regarded propriety, virtue and chastity; she was as pure in thought, in feeling and in impulse as it was possible for a young girl to be. Yet, laying aside all our traditions and former notions in regard to marriage, we gave her with our mutual consent. She was the first woman ever given in plural marriage by or with the consent of both parents. Of course these things had to be kept an inviolate secret; and as some were false to their vows and pledges, persecution arose, and caused grievous sorrow to those who had obeyed, in all purity and sincerity, the requirements of the celestial order of marriage.<sup>73</sup>

This account contradicts Sarah Pratt's claim. Importantly, no other author, apologist or antagonist, has asserted an illicit relationship between Joseph and Elizabeth.

#18 - Wyl quoting Sarah Pratt quoting Mrs. White regarding:

**“Mrs. White”:**

“I have told you that the prophet Joseph used to frequent houses of ill-fame. Mrs. White, a very pretty and attractive woman, once confessed to me that she made a business of it to be hospitable to the captains of the Mississippi steamboats. She told me that Joseph had made her acquaintance very soon after his arrival in Nauvoo, and that he had visited her dozens of times.”<sup>74</sup>

*Discussion:*

This quotation is third-hand, late, from an antagonistic source, and singular. The informant is reportedly a Mrs. White, the proprietor of a brothel. She corresponds to the Emeline White, who Bennett claimed received saucy letters from Joseph Smith, signing them, “Old White Hat.” the madam of a brothel. It seems very possible that Sarah Pratt’s memory was primarily based upon her friend, John C. Bennett’s claims from the 1842 *History of the Saints*, with which Pratt was very familiar.

The account itself is problematic in describing Joseph Smith visiting her brothel “dozens of times,” but without even one additional witness ever mentioning it. From the 1820s forward, he was being watched by critics eager to discredit him. Church members were likewise scrutinizing his behavior, searching for hypocrisy or transgression. Joseph Smith rarely, if ever, traveled alone. It seems unlikely that he might have engaged in the conduct asserted by Wyl/Pratt/Bennett without so much as a peep of complaint from believers or nonbelievers.

### Accusations from Other Sources

#19 - Mrs. Nancy Alexander quoting Polly Beswick quoting Emma Smith regarding:

**Vienna Jacques**

Mrs. Nancy [Warner] Alexander’s Statement,

My father, William Smith and mother became Mormons in Bolton, N.Y, and moved to Kirtland Ohio in 1836. After Jo Smith, the Mormon Prophet robbed us, I worked out at housework at 25 cents a week. My sister received 50 cents a week; we gave our wages to our parents. Father had broken his arm six weeks before leaving N. Y., and could not work, Mother had to work very hard, she had 14 children.

Polly Beswick, who weighed about 200 pounds, made her home with her sister Mrs. John Tanner,<sup>75</sup> who lived next house to ours and often called on us. She was of good disposition, very agreeable in conversation and everybody liked her. She worked much of the time in Prophet Jo Smith’s family.

It was commonly reported, Jo Smith said he had a revelation to lie with Vienna Jacques, who lived in his family. Polly told me, that Emma, Joseph’s wife, told her that Joseph would get up in the night and go to Vienna’s bed. Polly said Emma would get out of humor, fret and scold and flounce in the harness. Jo would shut himself up in a room and pray for a revelation. When he came out he would claim he had received one and state it to her, and bring her around all right.<sup>76</sup>

*Discussion:*

Research suggests that “Mrs. Warner Alexander” was Nancy Maria Smith, daughter of William and Lydia Calkins Smith, born December 1, 1822. She married Justin Alexander on September 4, 1850 at Kirtland, Ohio,<sup>77</sup> making her “Mrs. Justin Alexander” or “Mrs. Nancy Alexander.” It does not appear that “Warner” was a nickname or second name for “Justin” or “Nancy,” but other information provided in the document corroborates Nancy as the author. It is possible that the transcriber of the original hand-written statement mistakenly construed “Warner” as being “Nancy.” As noted in the statement, the William Smith family gathered to Kirtland only to apostatize, blaming Joseph Smith for robbing them. Nevertheless, Nancy Maria stayed in the area, being married there in 1850 and counted with her husband the 1880 census.<sup>78</sup> Precisely when the document was dictated or written is not clear, although one source places the year as 1886.<sup>79</sup> Regardless, the narrative is late, from an antagonistic third-hand source, and singular.

The second participant in this saga, Vienna Jacques (apparently pronounced “jack-ways”<sup>80</sup>), was born in New Rowley, Massachusetts in 1787. She obtained a copy of the Book of Mormon in 1831:

One evening (as she related) on returning home from an evening meeting, she cogitated in her mind what special subject should be selected for the theme of her evening prayer. Suddenly on her way a vision of the Book of Mormon was presented to her mind, and she then resolved to ask the Lord to impress her in regard to its truthfulness. She did so, and the consequence was that after a careful perusal, her mind was illuminated to that degree that she was firmly convinced of its divine authenticity and determined to make the journey to Kirtland, Ohio, which in those days of traveling by stage coach and canal was an arduous undertaking.<sup>81</sup>

Her biographer, Jerri W. Hurd penned: "In 1831 traveling alone by canal and stagecoach, she made her way to Kirtland, Ohio... She met the Prophet and after being further instructed was baptized. She stayed in Ohio about six weeks, then returned to Boston where she became the means of converting her mother, sister and her nieces who were also baptized."<sup>82</sup> Samuel H. Smith visited her in Boston in July of 1832. On the 22<sup>nd</sup>, he recorded:

[July] 22<sup>nd</sup>. obtained the meeting House in the neighborhood about five miles from providence F preached in the afternoon. Mister Angel, Viena's Brother in law had been very friendly to us since we had been there but he turned about [...] he forbade us to Baptize his wife [...] also now we understood by Sister viena that this man in the first place used fraud to get her sister Harriet & that he married her because of her money [...]. [...] viena told us that she had made her calculation to take Harriet and the boy [Harriet's son] with her to Missouri and Zion and Harriet told us that she had concluded to go to Zion and that she had caried a great many things down to Providence, ready to be put aboard whenever she got ready. [...] [...] Viena came to Providence for to go on her way to Zion and [...] Hariet was calculating to go down to Providence to make a visit there when the baggage had come and all things were ready to start. She and the boy would go with them to Zion.<sup>83</sup>

Vienna concluded her responsibilities in Boston and returned to Kirtland in early 1833 at the age of forty-five.<sup>84</sup> There on March 8th, Joseph Smith received a thirty-seven verse revelation with two verses specifically addressing Vienna: "And again, verily I say unto you, it is my will that my handmaid Vienna Jaques should receive money to bear her expenses, and go up unto the land of Zion; And the residue of the money may be consecrated unto me, and she be rewarded in mine own due time." (D&C 90:28-29.) The "residue of the money" referred to was approximately \$1400, a small fortune for the times. Reportedly, she obtained the funds "in her self reliant way, by patient toil and strict economy."<sup>85</sup>

Apparently Vienna was ready to leave Kirtland just a few weeks later, but an April 30 Church conference "decided that Sister Vienna Jaques should not proceed immediately on her journey to Zion, but wait until William Hobert was ready, and go in company with him."<sup>86</sup> In a letter written July 2nd, Joseph acknowledged that he had received word that Vienna arrived safely in "Zion:" "We rejoiced greatly to hear of the safe arrival of Sister Vienna Jaques and Brother William Hobert, and thank our Heavenly Father that their lives have been spared them till their arrival."<sup>87</sup>

While I have not be able to document that Vienna stayed with the Smith family during her second longer visit to Kirtland, if she was a boarder there, it could only have been for a few months, certainly less than five. Also, her instructions to migrate to Missouri came shortly after her arrival (on March 8<sup>th</sup>).

Vienna moved to Jackson County just in time to witness the Saints being forced out of the area. Despite her sacrifices, her faith persisted. Months later on September 4, 1833 the Prophet wrote to her:

Dear Sister:—Having a few leisure moments, I sit down to communicate to you a few words, which I know I am under obligation to improve for your satisfaction, if it should be a satisfaction for you to receive a few words from your unworthy brother in Christ. I received your letter some time since, containing a history of your journey and your safe arrival, for which I bless the Lord; I have often felt a whispering since I received your letter, like this: "Joseph, thou art indebted to thy God for the offering of thy Sister Vienna, which proved a savor of life as pertaining to thy pecuniary concerns. Therefore she should not be forgotten of thee, for the Lord hath done this, and thou shouldst remember her in all thy prayers and also by letter, for she oftentimes calleth on the Lord, saying, O Lord, inspire thy servant Joseph to communicate by letter some word to thine unworthy handmaiden, and say all my sins are forgiven, and art thou not content with the chastisement wherewith thou hast chastised thy handmaiden?" Yea, sister, this seems to be the whispering of a spirit, and judge ye what spirit it is. I was aware when you left Kirtland that the Lord would chasten you, but I prayed fervently in the name of Jesus that you might live to receive your inheritance, agreeable to the commandment which was given concerning you.

I am not at all astonished at what has happened to you, neither to what has happened to Zion, and I could tell all the whys and wherefores of all these calamities. But alas, it is in vain to warn and give precepts, for all men are naturally disposed to walk in their own paths as they are pointed out by their own

fingers and are not willing to consider and walk in the path which is pointed out by another, saying, This is the way, walk ye in it, although he should be an unerring director, and the Lord his God sent him.

Nevertheless, I do not feel disposed to cast any reflections, but I feel to cry mightily unto the Lord that all things, which have happened may work together for good; yea, I feel to say, O Lord, let Zion be comforted, let her waste places be built up and established an hundred fold: let Thy Saints come unto Zion out of every nation: let her be exalted to the third heavens, and let Thy judgment be sent forth Unto victory; and after this great tribulation, let Thy blessing fall upon Thy people, and let Thy handmaid live till her soul shall be satisfied in beholding the glory of Zion; for notwithstanding her present affliction, she shall yet arise and put on her beautiful garments, and be the joy and glory of the whole earth. Therefore let your heart be comforted; live in strict obedience to the commandments of God, and walk humbly before Him, and He will exalt thee in His own due time. I will assure you that the Lord has respect unto the offering you made.<sup>88</sup>

In May of 1834 Vienna provided assistance to Heber C. Kimball who wrote: “On the 26<sup>th</sup> [of May 1834]... I went to Liberty, to the house of brother Peter Whitmer, which place I reached with difficulty, being much afflicted. I received great kindness from them, and also from sister Vienna Jacques, who administered to my wants and also to my brethren. May the Lord reward them for their kindness.”<sup>89</sup>

In about 1838, Vienna married a widower, Daniel Shearer, who was four years her junior.<sup>90</sup> Precisely when he met Vienna is not known, but by 1840 they were living in Nauvoo. The historical record suggests that by the opening of the Nauvoo temple, the two had separated since she received her endowment on January 22, 1846 and Daniel Shearer on February 3<sup>rd</sup>.<sup>91</sup> There is no record of the two being sealed.<sup>92</sup> An 1856 account from Utah stated that Vienna “has a husband wandering somewhere about the earth, but his heart proving too hard to be softened by Mormon influence, or from some other cause, she has abandoned him to his fate.”<sup>93</sup>

The third player in this account is Polly Beswick. She was described as “a colorful two-hundred-pound”<sup>94</sup> domestic employed in the Smith household sometime in Kirtland and was known as a “gossip.”<sup>95</sup> Tracing her whereabouts is difficult because her life is not well documented. However, Amasa Lyman provided this history:

We journeyed eastward, preaching by the way as opportunity offered, until we reached Lake George in Warren County, New York. On the shore of this lake I found a small branch of the Church, connected with which was Elder John Tanner... While making this journey, the call to go to Zion [in Missouri] reached eastern New York, through Lyman E. Johnson; responding to this call changed my plan of operation, and after filling my engagements in this region, I went directly to Kirtland, taking in charge as a contribution some money and teams and the two sons of John Tanner, John J. and Nathan. I here received on my own account between nine and ten dollars in money, to provide myself for the journey, the above money I received from Sister Polly Beswick, it was all she had. We journeyed westward as far as Kirtland, where we arrived about the first of May, but did not join the camp until the day previous to their leaving New Portage, which was on the 7th of May, 1835.<sup>96</sup>

From this report we learn that in May, 1835, Polly Beswick was living at Lake George, New York, part of the Branch presided over by John Tanner. Two of his sons, Nathan and John Joshua would eventually marry Rachel and Rebecca Smith, sisters of Nancy Smith (the future “Mrs. Warner Alexander”).<sup>97</sup> John Tanner would eventually be widowed and subsequently marry Polly’s youngest sister, Elizabeth.

With Polly’s whereabouts documented in New York in May 1835, her migration to Kirtland and service in the Smith household must have occurred after that time. While we don’t know when she left Kirtland, Ohio for Missouri or Illinois, we do find a May 6, 1844 a marriage record of Polly Beswick to Edward Cook in Nauvoo.<sup>98</sup>

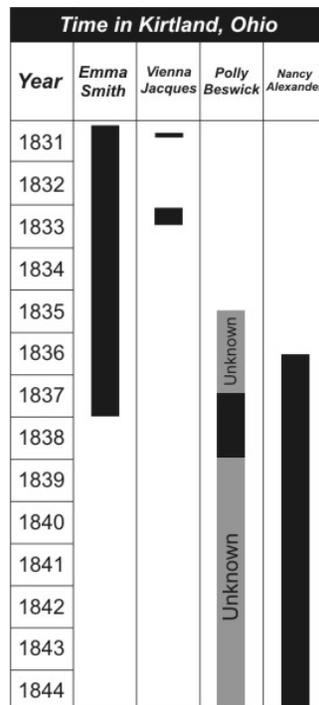
Year	Month	Incident (Vienna Jacques' Kirtland stay is highlighted)
1787		Vienna Jacques is born in Beverly Massachusetts.
1831		Vienna Jacques reads the Book of Mormon.
1831	Feb	Joseph and Emma Smith arrive in Kirtland from New York..
1831		Vienna Jacques visits Kirtland, is baptized, and stays for six weeks.
1831 to 1833		Vienna Jacques returns to Boston.
1832	July	Samuel H. Smith visit Vienna in Boston
1833	Early	Vienna Jacques moves to Kirtland with \$1400. She is baptized and donates the money to the Church. She may have stayed with the Smith family.
	March	Two verses of a lengthy revelation given to Joseph Smith instruct her to go to Missouri (D&C 90:28-29).
	end April	Vienna’s migration to Jackson County is delayed by a Church conference
	May-June	Vienna Jacques leaves Kirtland, Ohio for Missouri.
1833	July 2nd	Joseph Smith receives word of Vienna’s safe arrival in Zion
	Sept	Letter written to Vienna from Joseph Smith
1835	After May	Polly Beswick moves to in Kirtland.
1836		The William Smith family (not Joseph Smith’s brother), including William’s daughter Nancy

		Maria Smith (the future "Mrs. Warner Alexander"), move to Kirtland.
1838	Jan	Joseph Smith leaves Kirtland, Ohio.
		Vienna Jacques marries Daniel Shearer
1840		Daniel and Vienna Shearer are established in Nauvoo.
1840-1844		Vienna Jacques is <i>possibly</i> sealed to Joseph Smith in an "eternity only" marriage.
1844	March	Vienna receives a patriarchal blessing as Vienna Shearer
1845	July	Vienna receives a second patriarchal blessing as Vienna Shearer
1846	Jan	Vienna receives her endowments in the Nauvoo Temple.
	Feb	Daniel Shearer receives his endowment.
1869		Vienna refuses to sign an affidavit that she was a plural wife of Joseph Smith

The historical record shows the Smith family was living in Kirtland, Ohio area from 1831-1838. Also, for six weeks in 1831 and a few in months in 1833 she was in the vicinity. Her later stay may have been with the Smiths, though this is not documented. Accordingly, if Nancy Alexander's statement is true, Joseph Smith would have needed to accomplish one of two tasks all in the span of four or five months in early 1833. Joseph would have needed to either convince Vienna Jacques of the appropriateness of polygamy and immediately marry her, while at the same time convincing Emma to let him have a plural wife live with them in their own home. Or Joseph would have needed to persuade Emma Smith to allow him to sleep with Vienna (without a plural marriage ceremony) under their own roof. Neither proposal seems very likely. And then to top it all off, after making these arrangements, he immediately sent Vienna to Missouri, hundreds of miles away.

It seems improbable that Joseph could have accomplished everything implied in that brief period. In addition, the evidence supporting Joseph Smith's personal involvement with polygamy prior to 1835 is not persuasive, especially if Emma's cooperation is assumed. Also, it is important to observe that Emma Smith's described behavior seems completely implausible. It appears from documented history that the Prophet's wife never knowingly and willingly permitted her husband to be sexually involved with any of his plural wives. In Nauvoo Emma gave Joseph two teenage girls, Emily and Eliza Partridge, as plural wives. Emily later recalled: "Before the day was over [Emma] turned around or repented of what she had done and kept Joseph up till very late in the night talking to him. She kept close watch of us. If we were missing for a few minutes, and Joseph was not at home, the house was searched from top to bottom and from one end to the other, and if we were not found, the neighborhood was searched until we were found."<sup>99</sup>

Undoubtedly Emma suspected that Joseph was physically involved with some of his plural wives. However, nothing in the historical record suggests that she then would have consciously allowed a plural wife to share her husband sexually in the family home. Furthermore, if Vienna was lodging in their house as a single woman (not polygamously married to Joseph) it seems certain that Emma would not have overtly permitted any sexual contact between the two as described.



A review of the document shows that Nancy cites three different sources for her information. First she repeats rumors that were “commonly reported.” Second she recounts second-hand statements from Polly Beswick which Emma reportedly “told her” regarding Joseph’s activities. Lastly, Nancy cites Polly as an apparent eyewitness to Emma’s “flouncing in the harness,” or else Nancy is quoting Polly who is quoting an unidentified individual who witnessed Emma’s reactions. All three reported sources are problematic.

First, in Ohio in the 1830s, no rumors of Joseph Smith’s polygamy have been located. Importantly, whatever might have been said apparently did not spread far enough to make it into the local newspapers, which were almost universally eager to disparage the Prophet and his new religion. To say that Joseph’s polygamy or adultery (if either then existed) would have been “commonly reported” in Kirtland is at best a stretch, if not a fabrication. In addition, 1838 seems a little late for rumors about the described involvement between Joseph and Vienna, which could only have happened in 1833.

Second, Nancy Alexander quotes Polly Beswick saying, “Emma told her” of Joseph’s bed-hopping. It is difficult to believe that several years after its occurrence Emma would have shared details of such intimate challenges as sharing her husband sexually or of something as controversial as polygamy in Kirtland, Ohio with Polly. Asserting that Joseph would “pray for a revelation” and then share it with Emma and “bring her around all right” is also problematic. Emma did not accept the written revelation on celestial marriage (D&C 132) in 1843 in Nauvoo. That she might have been corrected ten years earlier through a revelation as described seems unlikely.

Third, Polly speaks as if she had been an eyewitness to Emma’s reaction to Joseph’s described involvement with Vienna. Specifically, Polly states that Emma “would get out of humor, fret and scold and flounce in the harness.” Polly clearly could not have witnessed this behavior. The timeline shows that it would have been impossible for her to have personally observed any interaction between Joseph Smith and Vienna Jacques, or Emma’s reaction thereto. Polly did not arrive in Kirtland until two years after Vienna’s departing.

Precisely when Polly might have talked with Nancy Maria Smith is also unclear. Polly probably left Kirtland around 1838 when the Church moved first to Missouri and then to Nauvoo. Nancy and her husband settled in Kirtland where they lived to maturity. Accordingly, the overlap of 1836-1838 provided a limited window of opportunity.<sup>100</sup> Also, Nancy was at that time only fourteen to sixteen years of age, suggesting that she might have had minimal awareness of sex-related rumors. If she didn’t personally hear Polly telling of Joseph, Vienna, and Emma’s interactions, then there would have been at least one more retelling between Polly’s mouth (if she actually said it) and Nancy’s ears. Her clarifying statement, “It was commonly reported” is consistent with these observations that her information might have been indirect -- a repetition of rumors she heard years later.

It appears the Polly Beswick Cook remained an active member of the Church throughout her life. If she were privy to any moral misconduct on the part of Joseph Smith, we might have expected her to leave the ranks at some point.

Complicating this discussion is the possibility that during the Nauvoo period (1840-1844), Vienna may have been sealed to the Prophet in an “eternity only” union. Mrs. B. G. Ferris wrote in 1856 of conversations with “Aunty Shearer” who was Vienna Jacques. Although she is a plainly antagonistic observer, Ferris wrote: “Polygamy has been a great stumbling block to Aunty Shearer – It was promulgated, however, by the immaculate Joseph, and she has managed to choke it down with a wry face.”<sup>101</sup> If true, this account suggests that at some time Vienna at least accepted the principle of plural marriage. Whether she was a participant is unknown.

Several authors believe Vienna married Joseph Smith in Nauvoo including Fawn Brodie (dating the marriage to 1843-44?), D. Michael Quinn (dating the marriage to 1841-44), and George D. Smith (by 1844).<sup>102</sup> Stanley S. Ivins and Lavina Fielding Anderson also agree but without speculating as to the year it might have occurred.<sup>103</sup> Church records show that a proxy marriage was not performed in the Nauvoo temple but rather years later in 1858. In 1869, an affidavit was prepared for Vienna’s signature stating that she knew something about Joseph Smith and plural marriage, but it was never completed by the scribe, nor signed by Vienna.<sup>104</sup>

Accordingly, several pieces of evidence support a marriage between Joseph and Vienna:

1. Unsigned 1869 and unfinished document in an affidavit book that does not specify the activities Vienna was invited to attest.
2. “Mrs. Warner Alexander” statement [cited above]
3. An 1858 proxy sealing of Vienna Jacques to Joseph Smith
4. A letter from Clair Noall to Fawn Brodie, 16 Sept. 1943 that stated: “‘Yes,’ said Aunt Louie with no uncertainty when I asked her about Vienna’s being sealed to the Prophet, ‘She was sealed to him.’”<sup>105</sup>

However, these are not without their problems. Todd Compton observed:

All of this evidence is problematic. The affidavit was prepared for Jacques, but she evidently refused to sign it, possibly because she had not married Joseph, possibly because she did not want the marriage publicized. The Alexander affidavit is antagonistic and second-hand. The Noall letter is third hand.”<sup>106</sup>

While two or three problematic pieces of evidence suggest that Vienna Jacques may have married Joseph, the rest of her life does not make her look like his plural wife. (Some writers think she married Joseph in Kirtland; but then she immediately left him for Missouri, where she married another man. Nor did she have a proxy marriage to

him in the Nauvoo temple.) Documentation that a woman lived in Joseph's home is good supporting evidence for the possibility of a marriage (though obviously not conclusive by itself).<sup>107</sup>

Regardless of whether Vienna Jacques was sealed to Joseph Smith during his lifetime in Nauvoo, the statement by Nancy Maria Smith Alexander is replete with incredible and unbelievable allegations. The evidence for plural marriage prior to 1835 is not compelling and the possibility that Joseph and Emma would have permitted the sexual liaisons described is untenable. As witnesses, both Nancy and Polly lack credibility (as presented). Chronological difficulties also create additional obstacles.

#20 - William Bond quoting "some of the old and more substantial citizens" of Erie County, Pennsylvania regarding

**"a certain woman"**

"In about the year 1829-30, Joseph Smith visited Erie County, Pennsylvania, often as he was passing from Ohio into western New York, and held meetings to gain proselytes in the Mormon faith... Some of the old and more substantial citizens, Henry Teller, Ranson, Bromley Slator, and others, noticed an improper intimacy between Joseph Smith and a certain woman, which led to a further investigation of Smith's character, and finally exposure of his improper conduct before one of these assemblies. Smith, however, having friends, still declared his innocence. The next evening a wooden hose was found before the inn where Smith was lodging, and on the horse was written: "Assistance will be given by twelve gentlemen to mount this horse (he being high), and if the seat is hard a quantity of feathers and tar shall not be withheld to make the journey pleasant, as he is a fast rider. I need not inform you Smith was seen no more in that vicinity."<sup>108</sup>

*Discussion:*

This very late account is problematic in several respects. The chronology of Joseph Smith's travels contradicts the allegations. Joseph's first trip through Erie County was with Emma westbound from Fayette, New York in 1831. Erie, Pennsylvania is located about 80 miles east of Kirtland, Ohio. Joseph did traverse the area several times in ensuing years. In 1833, accompanied by Elders Sidney Rigdon and Freeman Nickerson, Joseph visited Springville, in Erie County, for two days writing: "A large and attentive congregation assembled at Brother Rudd's in the evening, to whom we bore our testimony."<sup>109</sup> The next day, he traversed the county arriving in Elk Creek. Available records fail to suggest that anything untoward occurred or that Joseph was harassed by locals whose memories prompted retaliation for some previous indiscretion.

Joseph Smith's Travel's through Erie County, Pennsylvania		
Date	Traveling Companion(s)	Purpose
1829-1830	----- No visits to the area -----	
1831 - January	Emma and family	Migration to Kirtland, Ohio from Fayette, New York
1832 - October	Newell K. Whitney	Acquire a goods for store in Kirtland
1833 - October	Sidney Rigdon, Freeman Nickerson	Preaching mission
1834 - February	Parley P. Pratt	Assemble volunteers for Zion's Camp
1836 - August	Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Oliver Cowdery	Seek financial relief for the Kirtland Safety Society

In a 1993 article, Cheryl Hamon Bean researched the LDS baptisms in Erie County, Pennsylvania between 1831 and 1833.<sup>110</sup> She identifies at least 122 new members coming from that county alone and no sign that Joseph Smith had earlier been accused of improprieties in the area.<sup>111</sup>

In addition, if Bond's allegations were true, it is surprising that such corrupt activities occurred without others talking about it for over fifty years. Erie was geographically close to Kirtland; it seems unlikely that the improprieties described would have gone unnoticed by Joseph's enemies like Philastus Hurlburt, E. D. Howe, or Gradison Newell. The account states that "substantial citizens, Henry Teller, Ranson, Bromley Slator, and others" were informed.<sup>112</sup> In addition, an "assembly" was held whereat Joseph's improper conduct was evaluated and threats of "tar and feathers" administered. And apparently nobody ever referred to the event until many decades later, and then only one voice recanted the story. Most likely Bond was mixing his memories, confusing Joseph Smith with some other traveling minister who visited Erie County at that time.

Richard L. Bushman observed: "Considering how eager the Palmyra neighbors were to besmirch Joseph's character, their minimal mention of moral lapses suggest libertinism was not part of his New York reputation."<sup>113</sup> Marvin Hill concurred: "[It is a] fact that none of the earliest anti-Mormon writers, neither Dogberry or E.D. Howe, charge Smith with sexual immorality."<sup>114</sup> Significantly, his name is not linked to any woman other than his wife before 1832.<sup>115</sup>

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#21 - Richard Van Wagoner asserting a "link" between Joseph Smith and:

**Athalia and Nancy Rigdon (daughters of Sidney Rigdon):**

Gossip in Ohio's Western Reserve linked Smith to Athalia and Nancy Rigdon, Sidney's sixteen-and fifteen-year-old daughters.<sup>116</sup>

*Discussion:*

In his book *Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess*, Richard S. Van Wagoner asserts: "Perhaps the most scandalous manifestation of Smith's lust for manly achievement was his inclination toward extra-marital romantic liaisons."<sup>117</sup> In support of his thesis, Van Wagoner repeats several of the common published allegations, but also adds a new accusation, based on his own extraordinary interpretation of available evidence. He writes: "Gossip in Ohio's Western Reserve linked Smith to Athalia and Nancy Rigdon, Sidney's sixteen-and fifteen-year-old daughters."<sup>118</sup> Athalia was born in 1821, so Van Wagoner apparently dates this "link" to 1837. In support of his assertion, he refers to an 1884 testimony from a man named William S. Smith (no relation to the Prophet's brother) that was recorded during the debate between Clark Braden and RLDS member E. L. Kelley:

From the Braden-Kelley debate transcript, witness William S. Smith:

Braden:

Q. Is it your recollection or your impression, Mr. Smith, that you have heard of the sealing of women to men here in Kirtland, and the sealing of Nancy Rigdon to Joseph Smith?

A. My impression is I have.

Q. You have heard it spoken of and talked of here?

A. My impression is I have.

Kelley:

Q. Did you ever hear it talked of while the Saints lived here?

A. I say I have heard it talked of. My impression is that I have heard it talked of here in Kirtland, and that the story obtained that the difficulty between Joseph Smith and Sydney Rigdon was in consequence of the wish or the manifestation on the part of Joseph Smith that Rigdon's daughter Nancy should be sealed to him.

Q. Will you say that was between Joseph Smith and Rigdon, and that it was a difficulty occurred here in Kirtland. Who did you hear talk about their having trouble here in Kirtland?

A. I cannot tell.

Q. Was it any of the Saints?

A. I can not tell you that.

Q. Do you not know, Mr. Smith, that there was not any report of any such thing as that as of Nancy Rigdon being sealed to Joseph Smith while in the Saints were here in Kirtland?

A. My impression is that that report was here in Kirtland. I went to school with Athalia Rigdon, and there was talk among the boys about sealing. I think there was difficulty between Joseph Smith and Rigdon with reference to having Rigdon's daughter sealed to Smith. I would not positively say it was so; that is my impression.

Q. How old was Nancy Rigdon at that time?

A. I do not know; I went to school with Athalia Rigdon.

Q. How old was she?

A. I cannot tell. Nor can I tell how old I was. Nancy Rigdon was the oldest. I do not know how much older than Athalia.

Q. Did you ever hear any of them talk about sealing?

A. Yes, I am positive that I heard that language used among the boys.

Q. Did they not talk about the sealing of the Holy Spirit. Is not that what you heard them talk about?

A. No, the sealing was in some way or other with the women. My impression is that I have heard that story of the quarrel between Rigdon and Smith talked of here in Kirtland.

Q. Is it not probable that they were talking those things after they went to Nauvoo. You got it mixed.

A. It may be, but I give you my best recollection.<sup>119</sup>

It is obvious from the transcript that Athalia Rigdon's name came up only because the witness had attended school with her. Why Van Wagoner interpreted Smith's statements as implying a "link" between her and Joseph Smith is unclear. Regarding Athalia's sister, Nancy Rigdon recalled in 1884: "I never heard of such a thing in Kirtland as sealing... I heard about this first about the year 1842."<sup>120</sup> It seems that William S. Smith was probably just confused as to dates, which he admits is a possibility. While Van Wagoner decided to include this reference and to infer a "link" between the Prophet and the Rigdon daughters in Kirtland, the tie seems tenuous.

**Summary**

Many writers have asserted that Joseph Smith was guilty of numerous sexual improprieties during his life. Sarah Pratt charged: “[Joseph Smith] had a terrible influence over women... Many pure and good women, who never would have fallen, became his victims *through his prophetic pretensions*.”<sup>121</sup> Anti-Mormon writers Jerald and Sandra Tanner made this remarkable assertion: “The charge of sexual immorality was probably one of the most frequent charges made against Joseph Smith.”<sup>122</sup>

However, a review of the accusations above reveals several interesting observations. First, most were not printed during Joseph Smith’s lifetime. Only the allegation of E. D. Howe was published before 1842 and therefore could have affected the Prophet’s reputation during the New York, Ohio, and Missouri periods. Evidence shows Howe’s claim was seldom or never referred to during that time.

Many of the accusations contain implausible claims, such as Joseph’s alleged *brazenness in flaunting illicit sexual encounters*. Available historical accounts suggest that when dealing with his polygamous wives, he always emphasized and maintained confidentiality. To his plural wife Sarah Whitney and her parents, he stressed the need for secrecy: “Only be careful to escape observation, as much as possible. I know it is a heroic undertaking... Burn this letter as soon as you read it; keep all locked up in your breasts, my life depends upon it.”<sup>123</sup> After teaching Joseph B. Noble of plural marriage, Joseph said: “In revealing this to you, I have placed my life in your hands.”<sup>124</sup> To Mary Elizabeth Rollins he asked if she “was going to be a traitor?”<sup>125</sup> Emily Dow Partridge remember that regarding plural marriage in Nauvoo: “Everything was so secret.”<sup>126</sup> In all known research documents, caution and secrecy were maintained and appear to have guided his personal interactions that dealt with marriage and sexuality.

Another unlikely detail involves the offering of material benefits (like food or money) to women who would acquiesce to the Prophet’s described requests. Sharing material resources would expand the number of individuals privy to the described relationships, thus exposing Joseph Smith to misunderstanding and possibly violent recourse. A third recurring theme of dubious validity is the described unabashed declarations that adultery was acceptable to Joseph himself and to God. All reliable public and private statements from the Prophet support that he respected both the sanctity of sexuality and the need to observe the law of chastity at all times and in all places.

Perhaps the most significant finding is that no firsthand complaints of seduction were ever leveled at the Prophet. A look at the historical record shows that in Nauvoo in the early 1840s, several men including Chauncey L. Higbee and John C. Bennett, were accused of “unchaste and unvirtuous conduct” with various women. The *Times and Seasons* printed: “The statement of Bennett was, that he was guilty, he was sorry and asked forgiveness, he said he had seduced six or seven, he acknowledged it.”<sup>127</sup> At a Nauvoo High Council meeting on May 20, 1842, “Three witnesses testified that [Chancey L. Higbee] had seduced them and at different times been guilty of unchaste and unvirtuous conduct with them and taught the doctrine that it was right to have free intercourse with women if it was kept secret.”<sup>128</sup> Specifically, Margaret J. Nyman signed a written affidavit on May 24, 1842 stated: “Chauncey L. Higbee came to my mother’s house early one evening, and proposed... that I should yield to his desires and indulge in sexual intercourse with, stating that such intercourse might freely indulged in, and was no sin... for there could be no sin where there was no accuser... I was influenced to yield to my seducer.”<sup>129</sup> Sarah Miller and Catherine Warren signed similar affidavits.<sup>130</sup>

Obviously women were willing to accuse their seducers, but, in looking at all the accusations against the Prophet regarding polygamy (or any other alleged moral indiscretion) and at Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s “evidence,”<sup>131</sup> no similar allegations are found leveled at Joseph Smith. No women left any reports that he seduced them or performed some perfunctory ceremony immediately prior to jumping into bed. Apostle John A. Widstoe observed: “It is nothing short of miraculous that the enemies of Joseph Smith, who have resorted to almost every untruth about him, have seldom charged him with sex immorality.... No woman’s name was ever linked, sinfully, with his. He was so clean morally that even those who hated him and his doctrine most did not venture to accuse of moral wrong.”<sup>132</sup>

If the evidence from Joseph Smith’s accusers as found above in this appendix were offered to a prosecutor in a court of law, how likely is it that he or she would feel comfortable indicting Joseph Smith before a judge? If a prosecutor could be found to take any of the twenty-one cases, how likely is it that a conviction would be obtained from an impartial jury? Such speculations may seem useless. However, the allegations printed above constitute the primary evidence used by numerous writers and researchers for decades to impugn the Prophet’s reputation and condemn him as a licentious womanizer.

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<sup>1</sup> Kelley, E. L., and Braden, Clark. *Public Discussion of the Issues Between The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and The Church of Christ (Disciples) Held in Kirtland, Ohio, Beginning February 12, and Closing March 8, 1884 Between E. L. Kelley, of the Reorganized [p.264] Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and Clark Braden, of the Church of Christ*. St. Louis: Clark Braden, 1884, 202.

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- <sup>2</sup> Included on *New Mormon Studies: A Comprehensive Resource Library*. CD-ROM. Salt Lake City: Smith Research Associates, 1998.
- <sup>3</sup> Braden seemed determined to refute the beliefs of the RLDS Church for years after the 1884 debate. Several years later in 1891 he contributed an article to the *Christian Oracle* designed for that purpose. "There was published in the *Oracle* in May, 1889, a letter written by William Marks, a member of the First Presidency of the Josephite Mormon Church, in which Marks clearly stated that he *knew* that Smith taught and practiced polygamy. It created quite a stir among the Josephites. They attempt to evade it by saying that it was written long after Smith's death." (Clark Braden, "Did Joseph Smith Teach and Practice Polygamy?" *Christian Oracle*, April 30, 1891, 4.)
- <sup>4</sup> Kelley, E. L., and Braden, Clark. *Public Discussion of the Issues Between The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and The Church of Christ (Disciples) Held in Kirtland, Ohio, Beginning February 12, and Closing March 8, 1884 Between E. L. Kelley, of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and Clark Braden, of the Church of Christ*. St. Louis: Clark Braden, 1884, 202.
- <sup>5</sup> "History of Joseph Smith," *Times and Seasons*, 5:611.
- <sup>6</sup> See anon., *History of the Mormons*, London: William and Robert Chambers, 1853, 16 [Flake and Draper 4046a].
- <sup>7</sup> Remy, Jules, and Julius Brenchley. *A Journey to Great Salt Lake City*. 2 vols. London: W. Jeffs, 1861, 282.
- <sup>8</sup> Beadle, J. H. *Polygamy; or Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism*. Philadelphia: n.p., 1870, 37. Neither did other authors of the time include sexual improprieties as an accusation against Joseph Smith. For example, James H. Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism: Palmyra, Kirtland and Nauvoo*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1888, 105, contains no such allegation. William Alexander Linn in his popular *The Story of the Mormons from the Date of their Origin to the Year 1901*, (New York: Macmillan, 1923; reprint Kessinger Publishing, 2007) does not mention any sexual allegation against Joseph Smith (pp. 135-37). See also A. M. Pigott, *Mormonism: Its history, Doctrines, and Practices*, London: Aldine Chambers and paternoster Row, 1853, 14.
- <sup>9</sup> An 1888 account from another antagonist, Reverend S. F. Whitney also includes a report of the ordeal, noting that castration was intended, but without any allegation of sexual misconduct as a motivating factor. See Arthur B. Deming, *Naked Truths about Mormonism*, Oakland, California: Deming and Co., 1888, page 4, column 1.
- <sup>10</sup> Amos Sutton Hayden, *Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve*, Cincinnati: Chase and Hall, 1875, 220-21.
- <sup>11</sup> Historicus (pseudo.), "Sketches from the History of Polygamy: Joseph Smith's [indecipherable] Revelations," *Anti-Polygamy Standard*, April, 1881, Salt Lake City, vol. 2 no. 1, p. 1.
- <sup>12</sup> "History of Joseph Smith," *Times and Seasons*, 5:611, August 15, 1844; see also *Journal of Discourses*, 11:4-6, George Albert Smith, November 15, 1864; *History of the Church*, 1:260-64.
- <sup>13</sup> See Max H. Parkin, "Joseph Smith and the United Firm: The Growth and Decline of the Church's First Master Plan of Business and Finance, Ohio and Missouri, 1832-1834," *BYUS*, Vol. 46, No. 3, 2007, 4-66.
- <sup>14</sup> Van Wagoner, Richard S. *Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994, 108-18.
- <sup>15</sup> Van Wagoner, Richard S. *Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994, 108-18.
- <sup>16</sup> Symonds Ryder, "Letter to A.S. Hyden," February 1, 1868; cited in Max Parkin, "The Nature and Cause of Internal and External Conflict of the Mormons in Ohio Between 1830 and 1838," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966, 254. See also "S. F. Whitney Affidavit," in *Naked Truths About Mormonism*, 1888, page 104, col. 4-1.
- <sup>17</sup> Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997, 642.
- <sup>18</sup> Tullidge, Edward W. *The Women of Mormondom*. New York, 1877, 404.
- <sup>19</sup> Kelley, E. L., and Braden, Clark. *Public Discussion of the Issues Between The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and The Church of Christ (Disciples) Held in Kirtland, Ohio, Beginning February 12, and Closing March 8, 1884 Between E. L. Kelley, of the Reorganized [p.264] Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and Clark Braden, of the Church of Christ*. St. Louis: Clark Braden, 1884, 203
- <sup>20</sup> S. Reed Murdock recounts the passing of Julia Clapp Murdock: "Later in his life, John [her husband] revealed his real feelings in a letter to his daughter Julia: 'The anguish of soul that I felt at this time [of her death] you may try to imagine. I was bereft of a tender companion, a feeling mother, a good housekeeper and one that I love and yet love the memory of her. The circumstances of her death were like this... I had just at this time went to the door to speak to some person when she sent for me to come in. Immediately I went to her bed. She appeared to look fresh and be doing well, but she told me she was going and reached out her hand and shook hands with me and every person in the room and bid us farewell and immediately folded her hands across her own stomach, closed her eyes, and went to sleep in Jesus in hope of a part in the resurrection of the just at the coming of the Lord in power and glory. She went to sleep as natural as any person ever did got to sleep of rest without one struggle or grown in the space I suppose of two minutes of shaking hands with us...' (Cited in S. Reed Murdock, *John Murdock: His Life and His Legacy*, Layton, Utah: Summerwood Publishers, 2000.293.)
- <sup>21</sup> Emma Smith to Joseph Smith, April 25, 1837, Joseph Smith Letterbook, MS d 155 bx 2 fd 2, CA; copy of holograph in Linda King Newell Collection, MS 447 bx 9 fd 31, Marriott Library.
- <sup>22</sup> Originals at RLDS Archives. Copies of holographs in the Linda K. Newell Collection MS 447 bx 9 fd 37.
- <sup>23</sup> Originals at RLDS Archives. Copies of holographs in the Linda K. Newell Collection MS 447 bx 9 fd 38.
- <sup>24</sup> Julia M. Middleton to John R. Murdock, November 2, 1858; cited in S. Reed Murdock, *Joseph and Emma's Julia: The "Other" Twin*, Salt Lake City, Eborn Books, 2004, 201. Punctuation standardized.
- <sup>25</sup> Andrew Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:304.
- <sup>26</sup> S. Reed Murdock, *Joseph and Emma's Julia: The "Other" Twin*, Salt Lake City, Eborn Books, 2004, 83-94. See also Joseph Fielding Smith, *Church History and Modern Revelation*, Vol 2, p.83.
- <sup>27</sup> S. Reed Murdock, *Joseph and Emma's Julia: The "Other" Twin*, Salt Lake City, Eborn Books, 2004, 101-03.
- <sup>28</sup> S. Reed Murdock, *Joseph and Emma's Julia: The "Other" Twin*, Salt Lake City, Eborn Books, 2004, 73.
- <sup>29</sup> Lucy Meserve Smith, "Statement, May 18<sup>th</sup>, 1892," typescript, George A. Smith paper, (copy in Richard Van Wagoner Collection), Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

- <sup>30</sup> Sunny McClellan Morton, "The Forgotten Daughter: Julia Murdock Smith," *Mormon Historical Studies*, 3 (Fall 2002) 2:43. [35-60]
- <sup>31</sup> Cited in S. Reed Murdock, *Joseph and Emma's Julia: The "Other" Twin*, Salt Lake City, Eborn Books, 2004, 201.
- <sup>32</sup> *John Murdock Autobiography*, 104. Quoted in S. Reed Murdock, *John Murdock: His Life and His Legacy*, Layton, Utah: Summerwood Publishers, 2000.293.
- <sup>33</sup> Cited in S. Reed Murdock, *John Murdock: His Life and His Legacy*, Layton, Utah: Summerwood Publishers, 2000, 292.
- <sup>34</sup> Joseph Smith III, letter to E. L. Kelley, August 7, 1884, Miscellany, P19, f44, Community of Christ Library – Archives.
- <sup>35</sup> Kelley, E. L., and Braden, Clark. Public Discussion of the Issues Between The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and The Church of Christ (Disciples) Held in Kirtland, Ohio, Beginning February 12, and Closing March 8, 1884 Between E. L. Kelley, of the Reorganized [p.264] Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and Clark Braden, of the Church of Christ. St. Louis: Clark Braden, 1884, 202
- <sup>36</sup> William McLellin, Letter to Joseph Smith, III, July 1872, Community of Christ Archives
- <sup>37</sup> Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Far West Record: Minutes of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1844*, April 12, 1838, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company,1983), 167-68 .
- <sup>38</sup> Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, ninth ed., 1945, Salt Lake City: Bookcraft p.274
- <sup>39</sup> Wyl, W., pseud. [Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal]. *Mormon Portraits, or the Truth About Mormon Leaders From 1830 to 1886*. Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1886, 65-66.
- <sup>40</sup> Perkes, William E., *History of Richard Rushton Sr. and Family*. Alhambra, Calif.: Greenwood Press, 1977, 9.
- <sup>41</sup> Joseph Smith, History of the Church, Vol. 5, p.299.
- <sup>42</sup> History of the Church, Vol.5, Ch.21, p.415.
- <sup>43</sup> Perkes, William E., *History of Richard Rushton Sr. and Family*. Alhambra, Calif.: Greenwood Press, 1977, 27.
- <sup>44</sup> Joseph Smith, History of the Church, Vol. 6, p.134
- <sup>45</sup> Thomas Bullock; "Journal of Thomas Bullock (1816-1885) 31 August 1845 to 5 July 1846," *BYU Studies* Vol. 31, No. 1, pg.22.
- <sup>46</sup> Lisle Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings: a Comprehensive Register of Persons Receiving LDS Temple Ordinances, 1841-1846*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2006, 266.
- <sup>47</sup> "At times when the river was low, boats could not navigate the Des Moines rapids, and passengers had to disembark at Churchville, Missouri (also known as Alexandria), and go by wagon to Keokuk, crossing the Des Moines River at a place referred to as Dog Town. Among those to do so were Jane Rio Pearce, Richard Rushton, and Robert Bell." (Stanley B. Kimball; "The Trails," *BYU Studies* Vol. 21, No. 4, pg.428.)
- <sup>48</sup> Perkes, William E., *History of Richard Rushton Sr. and Family*. Alhambra, Calif.: Greenwood Press, 1977, 64-65.
- <sup>49</sup> Perkes, William E., *History of Richard Rushton Sr. and Family*. Alhambra, Calif.: Greenwood Press, 1977, 665-66.
- <sup>50</sup> History of the Church, Vol.6, Ch.2, p.33
- <sup>51</sup> History of the Church, Vol.6, Ch.8, p.185
- <sup>52</sup> History of the Church, Vol.6, Ch.16, p.342
- <sup>53</sup> History of the Church, Vol.6, Ch.16, p.343
- <sup>54</sup> *Boston Post*, Vol. XXIV no. 108, Monday, May 6, 1844, p.1-col. 6; italics in original.
- <sup>55</sup> *Boston Post*, Vol. XXIV No. 117, Thursday, May 16, 1844, p. 2 - col. 1; italics in original. The *Warsaw Signal* for April 24, 1844, wrote similarly: "'SISTER EMMA SMITH,' wife of the Prophet, passed down the river on Sunday last, in the steamboat Hibernia. We learn that before she left, she became reconciled to Jo, who last week turned her out of his house."
- <sup>56</sup> Brodie, Fawn M. *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*, 2nd rev. ed. New York, 1971, 485.
- <sup>57</sup> Vesta Pierce Crawford Collection Ms 125, Marriott Library.
- <sup>58</sup> Andrew Jenson, *Historical Record*, 6: 232.
- <sup>59</sup> Lucy M. Wright, "Emma Hale Smith," *Woman's Exponent*, December 15, 1901, vol. 30, no. 8, page 59. The source for this reported quotation is not provided.
- <sup>60</sup> Gary Bergera provides this intriguing, if not implausible interpretation: "Wymetal's story is third-hand at best but seems to report the accidental discovery by Richard Rushton Jr. (1814-84) of Ruth Sayers in Joseph Smith's Mansion House during the last week of April 1843 while Emma Smith was in St. Louis. Wymetal identifies her as 'the beautiful and attractive wife of Elder Edward Blossom, a high councilor of Zion, (afterwards exalted to the apostleship by Brigham Young)." Ruth, age thirty-five at the time, was married to Edward Sayers, a florist, and the recalled identification of Sayers as "Edward Blossom" may be understandable. However, Sayers was not Mormon and hence was not a Nauvoo Stake high councilor or later apostle." (Bergera, Gary James. "Identifying the Earliest Mormon Polygamists, 1841-1844," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 38, no. 2 [Fall 2005]: 33.) Andrew Jenson wrote: "The strongest affection sprang up between the Prophet Joseph and Mr. Sayers, the latter not attaching much importance to the theory of a future life, insisted that his wife Ruth should be sealed to the Prophet for eternity, as he himself should only claim her in this life. She was accordingly then sealed to the Prophet in Emma Smith's presence and thus became numbered among the Prophets plural wives, though she continued to live with Mr. Sayers until his death. " (Andrew Jenson Papers [ca. 1871-1942], MS 17956; LDS Church Archives, Box 49, Folder 16, fifth document.)
- <sup>61</sup> The four Walker brothers, Samuel Sharpe Walker (b. 1834), Joseph Robinson Walker (b. 1836), David Frederick Walker (b. 1838) and Matthew Henry Walker (b. 1845), are candidates for the identity of "Mr. Wa" who Wyl identifies as as a business man in Salt Lake City in the 1880s. (See Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City*, Salt Lake City: Star Printing, 1886, 52-58, 379, 587, 607-09.) "J. R. Walker" is the most likely candidate. It is noted that the Walker Brothers actively advertised in the *Anti-Polygamy Standard*, (see vol. 1, no. 10., January, 1881 for example).
- <sup>62</sup> Wyl, W., pseud. [Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal]. *Mormon Portraits, or the Truth About Mormon Leaders From 1830 to 1886*. Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1886, 55-56

- <sup>63</sup> Wyl, W., pseud. [Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal]. *Mormon Portraits, or the Truth About Mormon Leaders From 1830 to 1886*. Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1886, 57.
- <sup>64</sup> If the story is true, the “Mrs. Granger” might also have been Lydia Dibble Granger, the wife of Oliver Granger. Oliver died August 27, 1941 in Kirtland, Ohio. At some point Lydia migrated to Nauvoo, where she served as a Nauvoo Temple worker beginning January 2, 1846. (Lisle Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings: a Comprehensive Register of Persons Receiving LDS Temple Ordinances, 1841-1846*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2006, 115.) The Ancestral File lists Lydia Dibble Granger as dying in Kirtland, Ohio, September 15, 1862. Another possibility is Sarah Stiles Granger, wife of Carlos Granger (marriage May 31, 1813). He died August 27, 1841.
- <sup>65</sup> Jenson, Andrew, *Church Chronology*. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1899, 21. See also Joseph F. Smith Affidavit Books, 2:25, 1869, CA MS 3423 fd 5.
- <sup>66</sup> Clark V. Johnson, ed., *Mormon Redress Petitions: Documents of the 1833-1838 Missouri Conflict* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1992, p.452-453
- <sup>67</sup> Independent of Wyl’s alleged quotes from Sarah Pratt, L.D.S. Church Archives contains a document entitled, “Workings of Mormonism related by Mrs. Orson Pratt.” (typescript, Ms 4048). It contains no information regarding Pratt’s purported relationship to the document or the individual or individuals who transcribed or produced it. A year date of 1884 is provided. Regardless, Gary Bergera characterized the account as “accurate in many details” (Gary James Bergera, “John C. Bennett, Joseph Smith, and the Beginnings of Mormon Plural Marriage in Nauvoo,” *Journal of the John Whitmer Historical Association*, 25 (2005) 60fn50 [52-92]). Nevertheless, many problems exist in its reliability. It seems unlikely that Sarah was closely associated with its preparation, if she was involved at all. The writer mistakenly substitutes the surname “Hyde” for “Pratt” in six different places, an error Pratt would not have personally made or would have quickly corrected if she had been given the opportunity. Many of the assertions in the document are equally problematic. For example it states: “There were houses whose back doors [Joseph Smith] entered on the sly, guarded as he was by Bennett who would tell Mrs. Pratt to watch Smith’s entrance and exit here and there; women, too, would admit to her their intercourse with him [Joseph Smith] and offer her opportunities of convincing herself that what they said was true.” This stark allegation lacks credibility. Nothing has been found to support that Bennett was a confidant of Joseph Smith respecting plural marriage. In addition, if Bennett and Pratt could have seen the behavior described with relative ease, then doubtless others would have detected Joseph’s alleged hypocrisy or have had personal knowledge of his misconduct. Yet, no other witnesses to the described behavior have been found. Numerous other problems can be identified.
- <sup>68</sup> Wyl, W., pseud. [Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal]. *Mormon Portraits, or the Truth About Mormon Leaders From 1830 to 1886*. Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1886, 60
- <sup>69</sup> Nauvoo City Council minutes for October 23, 1841. CA.
- <sup>70</sup> John Taylor, testimony at the Temple Lot Case, full transcript, part 1, page 403-04, question 140.
- <sup>71</sup> “History of the Church, Vol.5, Ch.1, p.8.
- <sup>72</sup> Wyl, W., pseud. [Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal]. *Mormon Portraits, or the Truth About Mormon Leaders From 1830 to 1886*. Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1886, 90
- <sup>73</sup> Elizabeth Whitney, Autobiography, *Woman’s Exponent* 7 (Dec. 15, 1878):105; see also Carol Cornwall Madsen, ed., *In Their Own Words: Women and the Story of Nauvoo*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1994, 201; Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997, 347.
- <sup>74</sup> Wyl, W., pseud. [Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal]. *Mormon Portraits, or the Truth About Mormon Leaders From 1830 to 1886*. Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1886, 60
- <sup>75</sup> John Tanner, the father of Nathan and John Joshua Tanner, was a forty-seven year old widower in 1825, when he married Polly Beswick’s sister, Elizabeth Beswick (age twenty two). (Ancestral File.)
- <sup>76</sup> Alexander, Mrs. Nancy, “Statement,” [1886?], Original in Stanley B. Kimball papers, Southern Illinois University. Copy of typescript in Linda King Newell Collection, Marriott Library, University of Utah, MS 447, bx 11 fd 3. Punctuation and spelling standardized. A published version can be found in the A. B. Deming Papers, USHS, PAM 9687, copies of pamphlets from the Chicago Historical Society. Unfortunately it is unclear from what source the published version was taken.
- <sup>77</sup> Ancestral File.
- <sup>78</sup> 1880 censuses for Newbury, Geauga County, Ohio. Copy of holograph available at Ancestry.com.
- <sup>79</sup> Todd Compton, “A Trajectory of Plurality: An Overview of Joseph Smith’s Thirty-Three Plural Wives.” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 36 reads: “Mrs. Warner Alexander, 1886 statement, LDS archives.” In fact the LDS Archives does not contain this document. (Conversation with archivist Ron Watt, November 12, 2007.) It appears that the first edition of Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippets Avery’s *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* (New York: Doubleday, 1984) listed the document’s location as “LDS Church archives.” The second edition corrects this error showing the document located in the Stanley B. Kimball Collection at Southern Illinois University. A copy of the transcript is found in the Linda King Newell Collection, Marriott Library, University of Utah, MS 447, bx 11 fd 3
- <sup>80</sup> An entry from the journal of Samuel H. Smith who was serving a mission in the Boston area, dated July 18, 1832 records: “Went about five miles to Wm. Angel’s, who wife was a sister to Sister Viena Jacways.” It appears that Samuel was writing Vienna’s surname as he then heard it. Modern pronunciation is sometimes “jakes.”
- <sup>81</sup> “In Memoriam, Vienna Jacques,” *Woman’s Exponent*, vol. 12, no. 19, March 1, 1884, p. 152.
- <sup>82</sup> Hurd, Jerri W., “Vienna Jacques: The Other Woman in the Doctrine and Covenants,” unpublished manuscript, LKN Collection, ML, Ms 447, bx 4 fd 1, page 2.
- <sup>83</sup> Samuel Harrison Smith, Diary, [1832-1833 mission to Boston], CA, MS 4213.
- <sup>84</sup> Edward W. Tullidge, *The Women of Mormondom* (New York: Tullidge & Crandall, 1877), p. 441;
- <sup>85</sup> Dean C. Jesse, *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1984, 293.
- <sup>86</sup> Joseph Smith, History of the Church, Vol. 1, p.342
- <sup>87</sup> Joseph Smith, History of the Church, Vol. 1, p.368

- <sup>88</sup> Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, Vol. 1, p.407-09;
- <sup>89</sup> "Extracts from H.C. Kimball's Journal," *Times and Seasons*, Vol.6, No.1, p.839-p.840.
- <sup>90</sup> Daniel Shearer married Jane McCutcheon in 1818. She died in 1823 leaving Daniel a widower. Later than year he married Lucy Noble who passed away three years in 1826.
- <sup>91</sup> Lisle Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings: a Comprehensive Register of Persons Receiving LDS Temple Ordinances, 1841-1846*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2006, 271.
- <sup>92</sup> Daniel Shearer wed Mary Wilkie on January 8, 1854 in SLC; she died March 31, 1862 in Salt Lake City. Daniel married Sarah Gilbert on December 18, 1867 in Salt Lake City.
- <sup>93</sup> Ferris, Mrs. B.G., *The Mormons at Home; With some Incidents of Travel from Missouri to California*, New York: Dix and Edwards, 1856, 125-26.
- <sup>94</sup> Van Wagoner, Richard S. *Mormon Polygamy: A History*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989, 4.
- <sup>95</sup> Linda King Newell, Book Review of *Mormon Polygamy: A History* by Richard S. Van Wagoner (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), *Dialogue*, Vol.20, No.2, p.155
- <sup>96</sup> Amasa Lyman Autobiography in *Millennial Star* 27 (August 5, 1865), p.488-89.
- <sup>97</sup> Ancestral File.
- <sup>98</sup> Lyndon W. Cook, *Nauvoo Deaths and Marriages, 1839-1845* [Orem, UT: Grandin Book Co., 1994, 110. A somewhat confusing claim is made by Warren Smith on March 18, 1885. The affidavit states: "Polly Beswick, an old maid who lived next door to us, called and said she had been sealed up to Brother Joseph, the Prophet. Father asked her several questions. She replied that what was done on earth was sealed in heaven." (*Naked Truths About Mormonism*, 1888, page 104, col. 3-1.) When Polly might have been sealed to the Prophet is unclear.
- <sup>99</sup> Partridge Young, Emily D., undated statement, Ms 2845, CA, "Written for family January 7, 1877," begins "When I was eighteen years..." 2-3.
- <sup>100</sup> Until verification for Polly Beswick's whereabouts is obtained, the possibility that she stayed in Kirtland until moving to Nauvoo in the 1840s cannot be ruled out. If such occurred, Nancy Maria Smith might have been as old as twenty-two when the reported conversation occurred.
- <sup>101</sup> Ferris, Mrs. B.G., *The Mormons at Home; With some Incidents of Travel from Missouri to California*, New York: Dix and Edwards, 1856, 126.
- <sup>102</sup> Brodie, Fawn M. *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*, 2nd rev. ed. New York, 1971, 336, 486; D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 587-88; George D. Smith lists Vienna as a plural wife of JS (Smith, George D. "Nauvoo Roots of Mormon Polygamy, 1841-46: A Preliminary Demographic Report." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27, no. 1 (Spring 1994):15 [1-72.]
- <sup>103</sup> Ivins, Stanley, S., "Wives of Joseph Smith, handwritten holograph, Stanley S. Ivins Collections USHS, wife # 44. Lavina Fielding Anderson, "Ministering Angels: Single Women in Mormon Society," *Dialogue*, vol. 16 #03 (Autumn 1983) page 60 [59-72]
- <sup>104</sup> Joseph F. Smith Affidavit Books, 4:56.
- <sup>105</sup> Letter from Claire Noal to Vesta Pierce Crawford, September 16, 1843, Vesta Crawford Collection MS 125 bx 1 fd 11.
- <sup>106</sup> Todd Compton, "A Trajectory of Plurality: An Overview of Joseph Smith's Thirty-Three Plural Wives." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29, no. 2 (Summer 1996):36 [1-38].
- <sup>107</sup> Todd Compton, "A Trajectory of Plurality: An Overview of Joseph Smith's Thirty-Three Plural Wives." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29, no. 2 (Summer 1996):4 [1-38.]
- <sup>108</sup> Bond, William, *The Early History of Mormonism...*, Portland: Schwab Brothers, 1890, 18-19 [Flake 587]
- <sup>109</sup> HC 1:416.
- <sup>110</sup> Cheryl Hamon Bean, "LDS Baptisms in Erie County, Pennsylvania 1831-1833, *Nauvoo Journal*, Volume 5, Number 2, Fall 1993, 59-102.
- <sup>111</sup> Cheryl Hamon Bean, "LDS Baptisms in Erie County, Pennsylvania 1831-1833, *Nauvoo Journal*, Volume 5, Number 2, Fall 1993, 64-65.
- <sup>112</sup> Research demonstrates that these men were indeed in the area in the described times, but none left any negative record concerning Joseph Smith.
- <sup>113</sup> *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005, 323.
- <sup>114</sup> Similarly Reverend William Harris in his 1841 *Mormonism portrayed; it errors and absurdities exposed, and the spirit and designs of its authors made manifest*, (Warsaw, Illinois: Sharp and Gamble, 1841), accuses Joseph Smith of setting up his religion, "for the gratification of his own vanity and selfishness," but makes no accusation of sexual misconduct within its 64 pages.
- <sup>115</sup> Marvin S. Hill, "Secular or Sectarian History? A Critique of *No Man Knows My History*, Newell G. Bringhurst ed., *Reconsidering No Man Knows My History: Fawn M. Brodie and Joseph Smith in Retrospect*, Logan, Utah: USU Press, 1996, 80. [80-93] .
- <sup>116</sup> Van Wagoner, Richard S. Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994, 291; see also Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997, 634.
- <sup>117</sup> Van Wagoner, Richard S. Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994, 290.
- <sup>118</sup> Van Wagoner, Richard S. Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994, 291; see also Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997, 634.
- <sup>119</sup> Kelley, E. L., and Braden, Clark. *Public Discussion of the Issues Between The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and The Church of Christ (Disciples) Held in Kirtland, Ohio, Beginning February 12, and Closing March 8, 1884 Between E. L. Kelley, of the Reorganized [p.264] Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and Clark Braden, of the Church of Christ*. St. Louis: Clark Braden, 1884, 391.

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- <sup>120</sup> Smith, Joseph III, and Heman C. Smith. *The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1805-1946*, 8 vols., Reprint. Independence, Mo.: Herald Publishing House, 1967-1976, 4:452.
- <sup>121</sup> Wyl, W., pseud. [Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal]. *Mormon Portraits, or the Truth About Mormon Leaders From 1830 to 1886*. Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1886, 90.
- <sup>122</sup> Tanner, Jerald, and Sandra Tanner. *Joseph Smith and Polygamy*. Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm, n.d., 76.
- <sup>123</sup> Joseph Smith, Jr., to Newel K. Whitney, Elizabeth Ann Whitney, etc., 18 August 1842, copy of holograph in possession of the author. The text and the signature of this document are in the handwriting of Joseph Smith, Jr. This document has been reproduced in Dean C. Jessee, *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1984), pp. 539-40.
- <sup>124</sup> Joseph F. Smith Affidavit Books, 1:38, 1869, CA MS 3423 fd 5.
- <sup>125</sup> Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, Address given at BYU, April 14, 1905. Copy of typescript in possession of the author.
- <sup>126</sup> Emily D. P. Young "Incidents of the life of a Mormon Girl," n.d. MS d 5220 fd 2, CA. Sometime after the martyrdom Joseph's plural wives became aware of each other, forming personal friendships that probably did not exist in Nauvoo because of the clandestine nature of polygamy practiced there. On April 28, 1886, she wrote to fellow plural wife Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner: "Of course you heard of my sister Eliza's death. Also sister Marinda Hyde's death, Desdamony Fulmer has passed away also, all went pretty near together. It seems as if Joseph was calling his family home." (Partridge Young, Emily Dow to Mary Elizabeth Lightner, April 28, 1886, copy of holograph in LKNC, Marriott Library, University of Utah.)
- <sup>127</sup> *Times and Seasons*, Vol.5, No.10, p.539-p.540
- <sup>128</sup> Minutes of the High Council of the Church of Jesus Christ of Nauvoo Illinois, Internally Dated/Paginated, on *New Mormon Studies: A Comprehensive Resource Library*. CD-ROM. Salt Lake City: Smith Research Associates, 1998.
- <sup>129</sup> *Testimony of Margaret J. Nyman v. Chauncey L. Higbee*, before the High Council of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in the city of Nauvoo, May 21, 1842, *Millennial Star* 23: 657, October 12, 1861.
- <sup>130</sup> See Gary James Bergera, "'Illicit Intercourse,' Plural Marriage, and the Nauvoo Stake High Council, 1840-1844," *The John Whitmer Historical Association Journal*, 23, 2003, 68-71. [59-91] Typescript reproduced in Tanner, Jerald, and Sandra Tanner. *Joseph Smith and Polygamy*. Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm, n.d., 56-57. Catherine Warren testified: "I had an unlawful connection with Chauncey L. Higbee. Chauncey Higbee taught the same doctrine as was taught by J.C. Bennett, and that Joseph Smith taught and practiced those thing; but he stated that he did not have it from Joseph, but he had his information from Dr. John C. Bennett. He, Chauncey L. Higbee, has gained his object about five or six times. Chauncey L. Higbee also made propositions to keep me with food, if I would submit to his desires." (*Millennial Star*, 23:657-58.)
- <sup>131</sup> Tanner, Jerald, and Sandra Tanner. *Joseph Smith and Polygamy*. Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm, n.d., 76-89.
- <sup>132</sup> John A. Widstoe, *Joseph Smith, Seeker After Truth, Prophet of God*. SLC: Deseret, 1951, 228.