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Andrew H. Hedges, Alex D. Smith, and Richard Lloyd Anderson, eds. *Journals, Volume 2: December 1841–April 1843*. Volume 2 of the Journals series of *The Joseph Smith Papers*. Series editors: Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman. Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2011. xl + 558 pp. Appendices, chronology, maps, geograph-

ical and biographical directories, editorial notes, bibliography, photographs, charts, index to be included in Volume 3. Cloth; \$54.95; ISBN 978-1-60908-737-1

*Reviewed by Brian C. Hales*

*Journals, Volume 2* is the second book in a three-volume set that will contain transcriptions of all known journals kept for Joseph Smith by his scribes and secretaries. *Volume 1*, released in 2008, covered the span of 1832–39 and was reviewed earlier by H. Michael Marquardt. Comparing *Journals, Volume 1* to *Volume 2* demonstrates that the high scholarly and publishing standards of the first volume have been maintained in the second. Indeed, the positive observations expressed by Marquardt concerning the first volume can also be applied here: “The paper and binding are library quality, designed for long use. . . . *Journals, Volume 1* is a beautifully bound volume with high-quality paper. The typeface is easy to read. . . . This is a scholarly work but simple enough for a general audience.”<sup>1</sup>

Readers will notice a gap in Joseph Smith’s journal keeping between October 15, 1839, and December 13, 1841. Unfortunately, no diaries or other daily records were kept during that interval. The Smith family moved to Commerce, Illinois, later renamed Nauvoo, on May 10, 1839, but Joseph’s consistent journal recording did not begin there until over two years later, which is where *Journals, Volume 2* picks up.

*Journals, Volume 2* contains much more than just a new transcription of Joseph Smith’s journals. Readers are provided with several impressive tools that provide context for the journal entries. Included are sixty-one illustrations, visuals, maps, and charts (viii–ix) along with a chronology (409–13). A thirteen-page “Geographical Directory” (414–26) “provides geographical descriptions of most of the places mentioned” (414) in the volume. In addition, two appendices contain transcripts from twelve important associated documents and excerpts from William Clayton’s journals. Also, a robust “Biographical Directory” is provided (440–504) containing “brief biographical sketches for most of the persons mentioned” in the book (439).

*Journals, Volume 2* is transcribed from two primary sources. The first document, titled “The Book of the Law of the Lord,” contains the handwriting of Willard Richards, William Clayton, Eliza R. Snow, and Erastus Derby (3) and covers the span from December 13, 1841, to December 17, 1842. Willard Richards was called as the primary scribe: “On 11 December 1841, following

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<sup>1</sup>H. Michael Marquardt, Review of Dean C. Jessee, Mark Ashurst-McGee, and Richard L. Jensen, eds., *Journal Volume 1: 1832–1839*, *Journal of Mormon History* 35, no. 4 (Fall 2009): 233, 239.

his election as 'sole Trustee in Trust for the Church' earlier in the year, JS [Joseph Smith] instructed that all donations for building the Nauvoo temple be received directly through his office rather than through the committee overseeing construction of the temple. Two days later, he appointed Willard Richards of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles as recorder for the temple and as his personal scribe" (5). The Book of the Law of the Lord contains both journal and tithing donation entries:

Journal entries and donations were kept concurrently in the book, alternating sometimes every other page and chronologically leapfrogging each other. This pattern was especially pronounced near the beginning of the book, where donations and journal entries occasionally appear together on a single page. Over time, however, larger and larger blocks of text were dedicated to either donations or journal entries until eventually, in December 1842, the journal was transferred to another book. . . . Only 90 of the volume's 478 pages include journal entries, and all of these are within the first 215 pages. (7)

Richards kept the journal until leaving for Richmond, Massachusetts, on June 29, 1842. At that time, his assistant, William Clayton, continued the record until Richards was reinstated on December 21, 1842 (8–9).

Comprising pages 10–183 of the *Volume 2*, the transcription of Joseph Smith's journal entries from "The Book of the Law of the Lord," are complete with 580 footnotes. On numerous pages throughout the book, the words in the footnotes exceed those in the transcription above (e.g., 19–20, 29, 45–51) adding useful biographical, historical, and original textual details. For example, the December 27, 1841, journal entry discusses a meeting with Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, and John Taylor where Joseph Smith instructed "them in the principles of the kingdom." Footnote 48 also mentions: "Wilford Woodruff, who was also present at this meeting [recorded], 'I had the privilege of seeing for the first time in my day the URIM & THUMMIM'" (18; emphasis Woodruff's).

Many readers will recall Dean C. Jessee's transcription of same material with 241 footnotes found in *The Papers of Joseph Smith: Volume 2, Journal, 1832–1842* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 334–506. Comparing the two transcriptions shows few differences in interpretations, but numerous changes in style and presentation conventions. For example, Jesse rendered underlined words in the manuscript as italicized while *Volume 2* editors replicate the original underlining. For example, "false" in Jesse (385) is rendered "*false*" while in *Volume 2* it appears as "false" (60). Overall, *Volume 2* is a nice upgrade to Jesse's earlier work.

The second historical source was penned exclusively by Willard Richards. Upon his return to Nauvoo, he accepted responsibility as Joseph Smith's private secretary and began keeping a new journal in a small memorandum book (9). "Although the ledger-size Book of the Law of the Lord likely re-

mained in the recorder's office, and most journal entries were probably made there, each of the memorandum books was small enough that Richards could easily carry it with him, allowing him to record many of JS's activities closer to the actual event—both temporally and spatially—than was possible earlier” (188).

A total of Richards's four small memorandum books would eventually contain the remainder of the Prophet's Nauvoo diaries. However, *Volume 2* includes transcriptions of only the first and part of the second. *Journals, Volume 3*, will transcribe the remaining memorandum books (projected publication date 2014).

For many years, researchers have been grateful for the very useable transcription of the four memorandum books made by Scott H. Faulring and published by Signature Books in 1989 as part of *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith*. Faulring's work was a huge service to history readers everywhere, but like any first edition of translated or transcribed material, subsequent versions will likely reflect fewer problems.

Comparing the transcriptions of the first and (part of) the second memorandum books as found in *An American Prophet's Record* (257–375) and *Volume 2* (189–375) displays numerous differences. *Volume 2* provides a more user-friendly format with dates inserted above each entry. *Volume 2* also includes 969 footnotes while *An American Prophet's Record* has none. In addition, *Volume 2* corrects some faulty manuscript pagination notations in *An American Prophet's Record*.<sup>2</sup>

On a textual level, Faulring silently corrected some misspellings and changed some ampersands “&” to “and.” *Volume 2* retains the original spelling and characters as much as possible. For example, *An American Prophet's Record* for April 8, 1843, reads: “God always holds himself responsible to give revelations of his visions and /if/ he does it not, we are not responsible” (356). In contrast, *Volume 2* renders the sentence: “God always holds himself respons[i]ble to give revelati[o]ns of his visions & <if> he does it not. we are not responsible” (346).

Differences in transcription between the two volumes also affect word meanings. For example, the January 8, 1843, entry describing Joseph Smith's visit with Uriah Brown shows numerous significant differences:

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<sup>2</sup>Faulring provided page numbering from the original memorandum books, but in his transcription of Book 1, he appears to have missed blank page 134 (*An American Record*, p. 292), making him a page short between 135 and 144, which he counted as 143 (p. 294). Hence, after page 143, his numbering is reduced by two. In Memorandum Book 2, Faulring skips page 25 (pp. 336–37) so that his pagination thereafter is decreased by one.

*An American Prophet's Record*, p. 290

Mr. Brown repeated his incertion [assertion?] for national defence [but said there was] poor prospect of the nation adopting [blank [his invention. He elaborated on his]] vessel [and] investment. [blank [In his]] speech [be]fore [blank [he had showed the protection]] against the destruction instantly sealed [blank [in a rival design. He]] turned my attention to Land operation confection [liquid fire, invented] by him as steam engine [blank [to revolutionize war for the next]] 300 y[ea]rs. {page 117} Some plans and diagrams [showed forces] behind movable batteries [with] cutters and on wheels [driven] by steam if level. [Double brackets are Faulring's.]

While this passage undoubtedly represents a more extreme but brief comparison, the following words are transcribed differently: “repeated”/“re-po[r]ted,” “incertion [assertion?]”/“invention,” “poor prospect”/“no prospect,” “vessel [and] investment”/“virul invulnerable,” “speech [be]fore”/“greek fire,” “confection”/“compositi[o]n,” “by him as steam engine”/“by mineral 100 ft f[lame] or steam — engins.” In addition, in the December 29, 1842, entry describing a town that Joseph Smith and company visited on their way to Springfield, Illinois, *An American Prophet's Record* (259) transcribes the word as “Lomour,” when in fact, the town is John Dutch’s settlement of “Lancas[t]er” (196). These improvements will make *Volume 2* a valuable addition to every personal and public library.

The journals themselves provide a fascinating, although uneven account of Joseph Smith’s activities, thoughts, and teachings during the periods they chronicle. Included are a few personal reflections such as that found in his January 6, 1842, record:

The New Year has been ushered in and continued thus far under the most favorable auspices. And the Saints seem to be influenced by a kind and indulgent Providence in their disposition & means; to rear the Temple of the most High God, anxiously looking forth to the completion thereof, as an event of the greatest importance to the Church & world, Making the Saint of Zion to rejoice, and the Hypocrite & Sinner to tremble, Truly this is a day long to be remembered. By. The saints of the Last Days; A day in which the God of heaven has began to restore the ancient <order> of his Kingdom (25–26).

Several pages are devoted to issues associated with John C. Bennett, who

*Volume 2*, 241:

Mr. Brown repo[r]ted his invention for nation dfenc[defense] — no prospect of the nation adopting virul invulnerable greek fire agai[n]st the dstruin [destruction] instantly seald.—turned my attention to Land operatin composite[o]n by mineral 100 ft f[l]ame or steam — engins 300 yr—[p.[117]] Some plans & diagrams behind movable battris [batteries] cutters & on Wheels — by steam if level

played a large role in Nauvoo public life as mayor, general in the Nauvoo Legion, and assistant to the First Presidency. His private interactions with Joseph Smith, however, were very limited, according to the journals, which mention him only four times (on January 18 and 25, and March 9 and 11, pp. 27, 30, 42, 43). A fifth time is the May 19, 1842, entry, which records: “Mayor John C. Bennet[t] having resigned his office . . .” (58). Other Church leaders are mentioned many times during that span<sup>3</sup> suggesting that, if Bennett were Joseph Smith’s confidant, such interactions were not visible to his scribes or corroborated in his journal. The April 29, 1842, entry reads: “. . . was made manifest a conspiracy again[s]t the peace of his household” with “The initials ‘J. C. B.’ later inserted lightly in the journal by Willard Richard” (53 note 196).

An insightful April 28, 1842, entry discusses women and the priesthood: “Gave a lecture on the pries[t]hood shewing how the Sisters would come in possession of the priviliges & blesings & gifts of the priesthood — & that the signs should follow them, such as healing the sick casting out devils &c. & that they might attain unto, these blessings, by a virtuous life & conversation & diligence in keeping all the commandments” (52).

On May 6, 1842, ex-Governor Lilburn W. Boggs was wounded in his home in Independence, Missouri. Boggs swore an affidavit that Orrin Porter Rockwell was the perpetrator and Joseph Smith an accomplice. Missouri Governor Thomas Carlin issued a warrant for their arrest, and Missouri lawmen attempted to serve the warrant in Nauvoo. On Monday, August 8, 1842, “the Deputy Sheriff of Adams county in company with two other officers came with a warrant from Governor [Thomas] Carlin” (81). Joseph sought a writ of habeas corpus and went into hiding, first at the home of his Uncle John Smith (83) and then on August 11 at the home of nonmember Edward Sayers (84), whose wife, Ruth, was a member (488). On August 17, fearing that his “retreat” had been discovered and that “it was no longer safe for him to remain at brother [Edward] Sayers . . . [Joseph] went to Carlos Grangers” (96). Two days later he “concluded to tarry at home until something further transpired with regard to the designs of his persecutors” (96).

A letter Joseph penned on August 16 while in hiding described his emotions in response to a late night visit of friends and Emma: “How glorious were my feelings when I met that faithful and friendly band, on the night of the eleventh on Thursday, on the Island, at the mouth of the slough, between Zarahemla and Nauvoo. With what unspeakable delight, and what transports of

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<sup>3</sup>By comparison, *Journals, Volume 2* between December 13, 1841, and May 18, 1842, shows eighteen references to Brigham Young, fifteen to Heber C. Kimball, fourteen to Willard Richards, eight to John Taylor, seven to Hyrum Smith and Wilford Woodruff, five to Newel K. Whitney, and three to Orson Pratt and William Law.

joy swelled my bosom, when I took by the hand on that night, my beloved Emma, she that was my wife, even the wife of my youth; and the choice of my heart” (93–94). Two months later Emma was again the focus of a string of entries, of which relevant excerpts are:

September 29 Sister Emma began to be sick with fever; consequently president Joseph kept in the house and with her all day.

30 Sister Emma no better. President Joseph was with her all day.

October 1 Sister Emma about as usual

2 Sister Emma continues very sick today: the President was with her all day

3 Sister Emma a little better. The president with her all day.

4 Sister E. [Emma Smith] is very sick again to day. President Joseph attended with her all the day, himself being somewhat poorly.

5 Sister E. [Emma Smith] is worse, many fears are entertained that she will not recover. She was baptized twice in the river which evidently did her much good. She grew worse again at night and continues very sick indeed. President Joseph does not feel well, and is much troubled on account of Sister E's sickness.

6 This day sister Emma is better

7 Sister E. [Emma Smith] is some better—Pres Joseph is cheerful and well. (159–62)

At this point, Joseph Smith had been sealed to perhaps fourteen plural wives, but journal entries such as the passages quoted above indicate that Emma held a special place in his affections.<sup>4</sup> It is probable that his polygamous spouses would have seen little of him during this period.

At the end of 1842, Joseph Smith journeyed to Springfield, Illinois, to discharge the warrant from the Missouri governor. This episode lasted from the party's departure on December 26, 1842, until their joyous return to Nauvoo on January 10, 1843, and comprises fifty pages of the volume (193–243). Joseph appeared in court in Springfield to show that “the Gov [Thomas Carlin] of Mo) [Missouri] has made a false statement as nothing appears in the affidavit to shew that said Smith ever was in Mo” (203). On January 2, “Joseph Prophecid in the name of the Lord God I shall not <go> to Missouri dead or alive” (209). Judge Nathaniel Pope heard the case on January 5, 1843, and ultimately determined that the affidavit and warrant were defective. The journal records: “J. Smith be dischar[ge]d & the entry be made so that <he shall be> to secure him from any <from any further> further arrests on this.... Joseph arose & bowed to the cou[r]t” (233) and left a free man.

Lengthy journal entries for March 2 and 3, 1843, are also found (41 journal pages and fourteen pages in *Volume 2*: 280–94) regarding a medical malprac-

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<sup>4</sup>Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 4–7.

tice case before the Nauvoo Municipal Court over which Joseph Smith presided as mayor and chief magistrate. The editors explain: “The case grew out of events that occurred on 22–24 October 1842 involving . . . Dr. William Brink, a Thomsonian physician. . . Willard Richards, a Thomsonian doctor himself, devoted over forty pages of the journal to recording the arguments and testimony presented in the case—probably because of his professional interest in the medical details” (280).

The case involved injuries to a pregnant Margaret Kennedy Dana, that were sustained when she was treated by Brink. Dana’s husband, Charles, consulted Brink as the child’s delivery date approached and Margaret had been experiencing excruciating abdominal pains for several weeks. Brink reportedly misdiagnosed the onset of labor, concluding that the fetus was dead and was out of position for delivery. At some point, he attempted to manipulate the unborn child to facilitate birth, causing great pain, “ruptures,” and bleeding (293). Fortunately, a healthy boy was delivered days later (George Carlos Dana, b. October 25, 1842), but injuries incurred during Brink’s treatment and the delivery persisted for weeks afterwards, prompting the medical malpractice suit.

During the two-day trial, multiple witnesses were called. Joseph Smith presided, asking questions (284, 285, 287) and ruling whether non-Thomsonian physicians could testify (288). On the evening after the first day, Joseph spent time investigating proper legal procedures by “looking out of Blackstone,” likely a reference to William Blackstone’s *Commentaries on the Laws of England*.<sup>5</sup> One week later, the mayor issued his opinion, “the whole included 12 pages written matter” (301) in favor of the plaintiff. Brink was required to refund “his bill \$99 & costs” (301). Regarding the proceedings, the editors note: “Richards’s notes of the trial, although disjointed at times, also illustrate how JS and his associates understood and applied the law” (280).

Perhaps as noteworthy as the availability of new transcriptions of Joseph Smith’s personal journals is the introductory essay found in the front matter of *Volume 2*. The “Introduction: Nauvoo Journals, December 1841–April 1843” is longer (thirty-two pages) than its predecessor in *Volume 1* (nine pages). Due to the lofty doctrinal teachings that emerged in Nauvoo, many of the daily notations in the Prophet’s journal require historical context in order to be more fully understood. Accordingly, the “Introduction” dedicates separate paragraphs introducing projects such as the building of the Nauvoo Temple and Nauvoo House. New theological ideas like proxy work and “baptism for the dead” are briefly discussed. The involvement of Nauvoo Latter-day

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<sup>5</sup>William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (Philadelphia: Robert Bill, 1771 printing).



Saints in Masonry, Joseph Smith's publishing of the Book of Abraham, and the introduction of the temple endowment are also mentioned.

Significantly, seven pages (xxiv–xxx) in the essay discuss Joseph Smith's plural marriages. In eight paragraphs and thirty-seven footnotes, editors Andrew H. Hedges, Alex D. Smith, and Richard Lloyd Anderson, provide the most detailed look at Joseph Smith's personal polygamy ever published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints or one of its organizations.

For example, the Institute manual *My Kingdom Shall Roll Forth: Readings in Church History* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1979), mentions polygamy but primarily in the context of the persecution it incited in the 1880s.<sup>6</sup> Published two years later, the *Doctrine and Covenants Student Manual*, designed for Institute students, includes instructions regarding eternal marriage when it discusses Section 132 but does not address how the revelation affected Joseph Smith.<sup>7</sup> The 1989 one-volume *Church History in the Fulness of Times*, published for the Church Educational System, acknowledges "The law of celestial marriage, as outlined in this revelation, also included the principle of plurality of wives. . . . Joseph Smith and the Church were to accept the principle of plural marriage as part of the restoration of all things." However, very few details are mentioned.<sup>8</sup> The 1992 *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* was not published by the Church, but its articles were authored by BYU faculty and other LDS scholars. Its article on "Polygamy" by Danel W. Bachman and Ronald K. Esplin provides an overview without specifically addressing the Prophet's personal involvement.<sup>9</sup> Four years later, the Church supplement to Sunday School classes, *Our Heritage: A Brief History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, briefly discussed plural marriage without mentioning that Joseph Smith was a participant.<sup>10</sup> The 2007 *Teachings of the Presidents of the Church: Joseph Smith* acknowledges that he established the principle and practice without identifying him as a pluralist.<sup>11</sup>

In addition, during the past century, no *Improvement Era* or *Ensign* articles

<sup>6</sup>*My Kingdom Shall Roll Forth: Readings in Church History* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1979), 53–60.

<sup>7</sup>*Doctrine and Covenants Student Manual* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), 327–34.

<sup>8</sup>*Church History in the Fulness of Times* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989), 255–56. A later section discusses how plural marriage in the Utah Territory brought persecution upon the Saints. See 424–29, 432–42.

<sup>9</sup>Danel W. Bachman and Ronald K. Esplin, "Polygamy," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1992), 3:1091–95.

<sup>10</sup>*Our Heritage: A Brief History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1996), 97, 100.

<sup>11</sup>*Teachings of Presidents of the Church: Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: The Church of

or general conference sermons have directly addressed Joseph Smith's plural marriages. A search of lds.org reveals 146 hits for "plural marriage" and 98 for "polygamy," but they are all brief references, and the Prophet is seldom mentioned as participating.<sup>12</sup> None of these sources detail how he introduced and personally practiced the principle.

Some observers have been critical of the Church's official reticence to openly discuss plural marriage.<sup>13</sup> However, because Joseph Smith's teachings about polygamy involve emotional topics like marriage, sexual relations, and gospel teachings, it constitutes "gospel meat." An 1830 revelation warned that some members "cannot bear meat now, but milk they must receive; wherefore, they must not know these things, lest they perish" (D&C 19:21–22; see also Heb. 5:12; 1 Pet. 2:2). By avoiding "meaty" teachings in publications and discourses designed for the general Church membership, gospel milk-drinkers are benefited. However, in recent years, lofty doctrines have been freely referenced by both believers and unbelievers on the internet and in books and pamphlets. In addition, declarations that are poorly documented or undocumentable regarding the Prophet's plural marrying have been publicized since the early 1840s.<sup>14</sup>

The Joseph Smith Papers Project will assist in transcribing and printing quality reproductions of historical manuscripts, some of which discuss celestial and plural marriage as taught by the Prophet. The publication of this introductory essay (accompanied by a few scattered entries in *Volume 2*) constitutes the first efforts in over a hundred years to officially address this meaty topic. It represents a new and important chapter in the history of plural marriage and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Although tucked into a footnote, the authors deftly identify the primary limitation confronted by all researchers who attempt to reconstruct the de-

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Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2007), xii; manual for Melchizedek Priesthood quorums and Relief Society classes.

<sup>12</sup>I performed this search October 28, 2011. The Joseph Smith Papers Project website contains seventeen references to "plural marriage" including one in the introduction and in conjunction with the Relief Society minutes. The remaining fifteen references are in short biographies of relevant personalities.

<sup>13</sup>See B. Carmon Hardy, *Doing the Works of Abraham: Mormon Polygamy, Its Origin, Practice, and Demise* (Norman, Okla.: Arthur H. Clark, an imprint of the University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 390–91; George D. Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy: "... but we called it celestial marriage"* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2008), 473, and his "The Forgotten Story of Nauvoo Celestial Marriage," *Journal of Mormon History* 36, no. 4 (Fall 2010): 163; Margaret and Paul Toscano, *Strangers in Paradox: Explorations in Mormon Theology* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 253.

<sup>14</sup>See <http://josephsmithspolygamy.com/JSMotives/GeneralAccusationsChart.html> (accessed November 28, 2011).

tails of Joseph Smith's polygamy:

Many accounts about plural marriage in Nauvoo during Joseph Smith's lifetime were recorded decades after the events they describe. Similarly, most of the affidavits about plural marriage that authors cite were collected decades after the church left Nauvoo. Given the selective and social nature of human memory and its susceptibility to being influenced by more recent events, such reminiscent accounts must be used with caution when attempting to reconstruct past events and practices. Moreover, most of these affidavits were fathered in response to a concerted effort by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints to deny that Joseph Smith practiced plural marriage and to lay the practice at the feet of Brigham Young after Smith's death.<sup>15</sup> In response, a number of women who had been sealed to Joseph Smith in Nauvoo prepared formal statements about their plural marriages. As with the affidavits, personal motives influenced the reports of disaffected members of the church in Nauvoo as well. (xxv note 51)

The authors also observe: "Given the sensitivity of the topic, it is no surprise that clear references to plural marriage are virtually absent from Joseph Smith's Nauvoo journals" (xxvi), a fact that has been criticized.<sup>16</sup> Actually, the only contemporaneous historical sources dealing with plural marriage that are friendly to Joseph Smith are the revelation, now Doctrine and Covenants 132, and selected entries in William Clayton's journal (xxv).<sup>17</sup> Contemporaneous accounts were recorded by several dissenters, including Oliver Olney, John C. Bennett, William Law, and Joseph H. Jackson, but their reports are problematic and contradictory.<sup>18</sup>

Notwithstanding these limitations, the essay discusses issues such as "conjugal" (xxv) and "polyandrous marriages" (xxvii). Specific plural unions are also briefly addressed such as Joseph Smith's reported sealings to Marinda Nancy Johnson Hyde (xxvi) and Sylvia Sessions Lyon (xxvii note 58). In addi-

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<sup>15</sup>Don Bradley and Brian Hales, "LDS Joseph vs. RLDS Joseph: Records of Nauvoo Polygamy and the Conflict that Forged Them," in Newell G. Bringhurst and Craig L. Foster, eds., *The Persistence of Polygamy: Joseph Smith and the Origins of Mormon Polygamy*, Vol. 2 (Independence, Mo.: John Whitmer Books, forthcoming).

<sup>16</sup>George D. Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, 82, 88, 99, 117, 128–29.

<sup>17</sup>George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 94, 102, 105–6, 108, 110, 117–22.

<sup>18</sup>Oliver Olney, Journal and other documents, Oliver Olney Papers, Beineke Library, Yale University; microfilm at LDS Church History Library; John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints: Or an Exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism* (Boston: Leland & Whiting, 1842); William Law, Affidavits, *Nauvoo Expositor*, June 7, 1844, 2; Lyndon W. Cook, *William Law: Biographical Essay—Nauvoo Diary—Correspondence—Interview* (Orem, Utah: Grandin Book, 1994); Joseph H. Jackson, *A Narrative of the Adventures and Experiences of Joseph H. Jackson in Nauvoo, Exposing the Depths of Mormon Villainy* (N.p.: n.pub., 1844).

tion, controversial topics are mentioned such as purported plural proposals to Nancy Rigdon (xxix) and Sarah Bates Pratt (xxx). Also included is the important observation that “the practice was carefully controlled. . . . [T]hose who took plural wives on their own initiative faced serious consequences. . . . Plural relationships that were undertaken without Joseph Smith’s direct approval were unauthorized and adulterous” (xxiv–xxv).

Several paragraphs dispute John C. Bennett’s claims against the Prophet (xxvii–xxx). Previous writers have considered Bennett as one of Joseph Smith’s polygamy confidants, and he was undoubtedly positioned to hear rumors.<sup>19</sup> However, multiple documents, including Bennett’s October 1843 admission that, while living in Nauvoo, he never learned of eternal marriage, indicate that Joseph Smith never taught him celestial marriage personally.<sup>20</sup> Available manuscripts show that the Prophet never taught plural marriage except in a context in which the union could be eternal.<sup>21</sup> Such observations undermine Bennett’s claims to personal polygamy-related interactions with Joseph Smith and validate several of the essay’s concerns.

In addition, the introductory essay courageously references Joseph Smith’s sealings to legally married women, a form of “polyandry” (meaning that a woman has more than one husband) (xxvi–xxvii). Joseph Smith was clearly sealed to legally married women and thus participated in what I call “ceremonial polyandry” where the woman experienced two marriage ceremonies (one legal and the other religious). While many authors have portrayed Joseph as also practicing sexual polyandry, no solid evidence has been found.<sup>22</sup> Regarding polyandry in general, the essay reports:

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<sup>19</sup>T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1873), 184; Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 267; Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*, 2d rev. ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), 309; Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 23; Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 239; Gary James Bergera, “John C. Bennett, Joseph Smith, and the Beginnings of Mormon Plural Marriage in Nauvoo,” *Journal of the John Whitmer Historical Association* 25 (2005): 52; George D. Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, 65.

<sup>20</sup>John C. Bennett, “Letter from General Bennett,” October 28, 1843, *Hawk Eye* (Burlington, Iowa), December 7, 1843, 1. See also Brian C. Hales, “John C. Bennett and Joseph Smith’s Polygamy: Addressing the Question of Reliability,” *Journal of Mormon History*, forthcoming.

<sup>21</sup>See, for example, D&C 132:1–21; Joseph Bates Noble, Deposition, Temple Lot Transcript, Respondent’s Testimony (Part 3), pp. 432, 436, questions 793, 799, 861.

<sup>22</sup>Brian C. Hales, “Joseph Smith and the Puzzlement of ‘Polyandry,’” in Newell G. Bringham and Craig L. Foster, eds., *The Persistence of Polygamy: Joseph Smith and the Origins of Mormon Polygamy* (Independence, Mo.: John Whitmer Books, 2010), 99–151.

Several later documents suggest that several women who were already married to other men were, like Marinda Hyde, married or sealed to Joseph Smith. Available evidence indicates that some of these apparent polygynous/polyandrous marriages took place during the years covered by this journal. At least three of the women reportedly involved in these marriages—Patty Bartlett Sessions, Ruth Vose Sayers, and Sylvia Porter [Sessions] Lyon—are mentioned in the journal, though in contexts very much removed from plural marriage. Even fewer sources are extant for these complex relationships than are available for Smith's marriages to unmarried women, and Smith's revelations are silent on them. Having surveyed the available sources, historian Richard L. Bushman concludes<sup>23</sup> that these polyandrous marriage—and perhaps other plural marriages of Joseph Smith—were primarily a means of binding other families to his for the spiritual benefit and mutual salvation of all involved. (xxvi–xxvii)

As the author of *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*, Richard L. Bushman may be the most accomplished of all of Joseph Smith's biographers, so his views on "polyandry" are helpful. However, a year after the biography's publication, he was asked regarding Joseph Smith's "polyandrous" marriages and responded: "This is the single most puzzling part of Joseph Smith's life for Mormons. It's probably for non-Mormons too."<sup>24</sup> He also added: "There is just seemingly no answer. . . . How to explain it I think is very difficult. And probably you shouldn't even try. If you try to make up explanations, you get in more trouble."<sup>25</sup> Understanding Joseph Smith's plural sealings to civilly married women is difficult, and the Hedges, Smith, and Anderson introduction does not attempt to sort out all that happened, observing that "Smith's revelations are silent on them" (xxvii). This is true concerning the revelations given prior to April of 1843, when *Journals 2* ends. However, several verses in the July 12, 1843, revelation (now D&C 132) refer to potentially polyandrous situations (vv. 41–42, 61–63) and will probably need to be dealt with in the introduction to *Journals 3*, including Joseph Smith's teaching that sexual polyandry as referenced in those verses is adultery. Historian Andrew Jenson documented that one of Joseph's sealings to a married woman was for "eternity only," so there could have been others in that category.<sup>26</sup> In addition, one of the Prophet's plural wives (Sarah Ann Whitney) entered into a civil "pretended marriage"

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<sup>23</sup>Richard Lyman Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 437–46.

<sup>24</sup>Richard L. Bushman, "A Historian's Perspective of Joseph Smith," *Joseph Smith's Relationship with God*, CD-2 (Salt Lake City: Covenant Communications, 2007), tracks 20–21.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup>"Ruth Vose Sayers biographical sketch," in Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16, Document #5, LDS Church History Library. The identity of the

in order to protect Joseph Smith from suspicions about polygamy. She was legally married to Joseph C. Kingsbury and, by all accounts, did not experience connubial relations with him.<sup>27</sup> Thus, the question may be asked whether the sealings were for “eternity only” or whether other legal spouses served as “front husbands” in Joseph Smith’s polyandrous marriages. Lastly, an April 1830 revelation stated: “Behold, I say unto you that *all old covenants* have I caused to be *done away* in this thing; and this is *a new and an everlasting covenant*” (D&C 22:1; emphasis mine). The specific covenant then in question was baptism. Thirteen years later, Joseph Smith dictated a new revelation concerning eternal and plural marriage that was also called “a new and an everlasting covenant” (D&C 132:4). Whether Nauvoo plural marriages for “time and eternity” in the new and everlasting covenant caused legal marriage covenants to be “done away,” thereafter prohibiting sexual polyandry, is debated by historians and theologians.

The introductory essay also discusses one of Joseph Smith’s more controversial polyandrous marriages: his sealing to Marinda Nancy Johnson Hyde. According to available documents, the priesthood sealing with Joseph occurred while her husband, Apostle Orson Hyde, was on his mission to Palestine. Details are frustratingly skimpy; but just months after his return, Orson asked Joseph to perform his own plural marriage to Martha Browitt.<sup>28</sup> A number of authors have accused the Prophet of sending men on missions so he could marry their wives.<sup>29</sup> However, of the eleven “polyandrous” husbands

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Nauvoo polygamists who provided this information is unknown, but Jenson is known to have interviewed Joseph Smith’s plural wives Eliza R. Snow (twice) and Malissa Lott.

<sup>27</sup>Joseph C. Kingsbury, “History of Joseph C. Kingsbury,” (photocopy of manuscript), in Ronald and Ilene Kingsbury Collection, MS 522, Box 3, fd. 2, p. 13, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City. See also H. Michael Marquardt, *The Strange Marriages of Sarah Ann Whitney to Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet, Joseph C. Kingsbury, and Heber C. Kimball* (1973; rev. ed., Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1982), 18; Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 352.

<sup>28</sup>Orson Hyde, Affidavit, September 15, 1869, MS 3423, LDS Church History Library; copied into Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 2:45; and published in Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1905) 74.

<sup>29</sup>John C. Bennett, Affidavit, *Pittsburgh Morning Chronicle*, July 29, 1842; Henry Caswall, *The Prophet of the Nineteenth Century, or, the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Mormons*. . . (London: J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1843), 226; F. B. Ashley, *Mormonism: An Exposure of the Impositions* (London: John Hatchard, 1851), 8; Benjamin Winchester, “Primitive Mormonism,” *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, September 22, 1889, 2; Harry M. Beardsley, *Joseph Smith and His Mormon Empire* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1931), 251.

identified by Todd Compton,<sup>30</sup> nine were not on missions at the time Joseph was sealed to their legal wives. Of the two possible exceptions, only Orson Hyde is documented as serving as a missionary at the time. The second possible case involves George Harris, who left on his fourteen-month mission in July 1840; however, the date of his legal wife's sealing to the Prophet is unavailable and is disputed.<sup>31</sup>

Regarding another of Joseph Smith's possible polyandrous wives, Sylvia Sessions Lyon, the editors state: "Evidence of a marriage or sealing between [Sylvia] Lyon (who had married Windsor Lyon in March 1838) and Joseph Smith is less compelling" (xxvii note 58). This conclusion may be too tentative. In 2008, researcher Don Bradley located a document in the Andrew Jenson collection at the LDS Church History Library that contains a list in the handwriting of Eliza R. Snow, one of Joseph Smith's best-informed plural spouses, identifying thirteen of his polygamous wives including "Sylvia Sessions."<sup>32</sup> Additional documents strengthen this interpretation.<sup>33</sup>

Regarding the possibility of offspring from the Prophet's plural marriages,

<sup>30</sup>Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 49, 81, 123, 179, 185, 213, 239, 260, 278, 383, and 548.

<sup>31</sup>Fawn Brodie and Todd Compton speculate that a relationship or plural marriage occurred in 1838. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 335; Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 4. Brodie's chronological reconstruction placing the plural marriage in "1838?" (*No Man Knows My History*, 335) is based on speculation, not documentation. In addition, I argue that Joseph Smith would not have attempted a plural relationship at the peak of Oliver Cowdery's criticism of him in part for committing "adultery" with Fanny Alger in Kirtland, Ohio a few years previously.

<sup>32</sup>"First List of Wives," Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16, Document #1, LDS Church History Library.

<sup>33</sup>Josephine Rosetta Lyon Fisher, Affidavit, February 24, 1915, MS 3423, LDS Church History Library; unsigned, undated, and unnotarized documents in Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books 1:60, 4:62, LDS Church History Library; Angus Munn Cannon, "Statement of an interview with Joseph Smith, III, 1905," regarding conversation on October 12, 1905, MS 3166, LDS Church History Library; Lisle G Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings: A Comprehensive Register of Persons Receiving LDS Temple Ordinances, 1841-1846* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2006), 283, recording a Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, January 26, 1846, and Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record*, 4, an 1899 proxy sealing to Joseph Smith under the direction of President Lorenzo Snow, Salt Lake Temple Sealing Records, Book D, 243, GS film, 184, 590, LDS Family History Library; Thomas M. Tinney, "The Royal Family of the Prophet Joseph Smith, Junior: First President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," typescript, 1973, 41, 63; Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1945), 419; "Sylvia Sessions Biographical Sheet," Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16, document #12; Andrew Jenson, "Plural Marriage," *Historical Record* 6 (July 1905): 234; Joseph Smith III to Bro. E. C. Brand, n.d., likely early 1880s, Letter Press Book, P6, Joseph

the introduction states: "Although Joseph Smith had many children with Emma, no progeny from any of his plural marriages have been identified" (xxv-xxvi). The editors cite the work of Ugo Perego, who eliminated via DNA testing several candidates as the Prophet's offspring.<sup>34</sup> However, two children to Joseph Smith's plural wives can be documented to some degree, although not positively "identified."

One is Sylvia Sessions Lyon's daughter, Josephine, who was conceived approximately May 18, 1843 (b. February 8, 1844).<sup>35</sup> While theories of sexual polyandry have been advanced to explain this birth,<sup>36</sup> my interpretation of the documents is that the Prophet and Sylvia were sealed after Sylvia's legal husband, Windsor Lyon, had been excommunicated and she had ceased conjugal relations with him.<sup>37</sup> Perego has also examined DNA from both maternal and paternal lines that demonstrates a genetic correlation. However, genealogical data show cross-marrying in the generations prior to that of Sylvia and Joseph Smith. Perego explains: "The challenge that researchers face is to be able to distinguish the genetic contribution by Joseph Smith in the purported paternity of Josephine, from all the other related Smiths who married ancestors of Josephine's descendants before and after Joseph Smith's time."<sup>38</sup> He concludes: "It is possible that this paternity case may never be fully re-

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Smith III Letterbook 4: 63-67, Community of Christ Archives; Benjamin F. Johnson, *My Life's Review* (Mesa, Ariz.: 21st Century Printing, 1992 printing), 96.

<sup>34</sup>Ugo A. Perego, Jayne E. Ekins, and Scott R. Woodward, "Resolving the Paternities of Oliver N. Buell and Mosiah L. Hancock through DNA," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 28 (2008): 128-36; Ugo A. Perego, Natalie M. Myres, and Scott R. Woodward, "Reconstructing the Y-Chromosome of Joseph Smith: Genealogical Applications," *Journal of Mormon History* 31, no. 3 (Fall 2005): 55-59.

<sup>35</sup>Josephine R. Fisher, Affidavit, February 24, 1915, Ms 3423, fd. 1, images 48-49, LDS Church History Library; George H. Brimhall, *Diary of George H. Brimhall*, edited by Jennie H. Groberg, Volume 1, bound typescript (N.p., n.d.), not paginated; copy in Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University; George H. Brimhall, *Journal*, January 1, 1888, MS d 1902, LDS Church History Library; Angus Cannon, "Statement of an Interview with Joseph Smith III."

<sup>36</sup>Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 179-83; Brian C. Hales, "The Joseph Smith-Sylvia Sessions Plural Sealing: Polyandry or Polygyny?" *Mormon Historical Studies* 9, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 41-57.

<sup>37</sup>"Sylvia Sessions biographical sheet," Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16, document #12; also Andrew Jenson, undated notes in my possession, Andrew Jenson Collection, MS 17956, Box 10, fd. 81; Josephine R. Fisher, Certificate, February 24, 1915, Ms 3423.

<sup>38</sup>Ugo A. Perego, "Joseph Smith, the Question of Polygamous Offspring, and DNA Analysis," in Bringham and Foster, *The Persistence of Polygamy*, 255.



solved by means of genetic testing.”<sup>39</sup>

The second possible child is that of plural wife Olive Frost. This child either miscarried or died in infancy.<sup>40</sup> Joseph E. Robinson wrote: “During the afternoon I called on Aunt Lizzie.<sup>41</sup> . . . She knew Joseph Smith had more than two wives. Said he married . . . Olive Frost who had a child by him and that both died.” This recollection was corroborated in an 1885 interview of James Whitehead, a clerk to Joseph Smith in Nauvoo.<sup>42</sup>

The introductory essay also mentions another possible plural marriage proposal to Nancy Rigdon, daughter of Sidney Rigdon, then a counselor in Joseph Smith’s First Presidency. The editors acknowledge the possibility that “Nancy had refused Joseph Smith’s invitation to become one of his plural wives” and that a “rejected proposal of marriage to Nancy” (xxix) may have occurred. Some of the available evidences, both supportive and contradictory, are then presented (xxix note 71). However, the editors point out that “it is not certain that such a proposal was even made in the first place” (xxix). This position is problematic because the data supporting a proposal seem quite reliable.<sup>43</sup> Indeed, one of the affidavits from Nancy’s brother, J. Wickliffe Rigdon, declared: “Joseph made the proposal of marriage to my sister. Nancy flatly refused him, saying if she ever got married she would marry a single man or none at all, and thereupon took her bonnet and went home, leaving Joseph.”<sup>44</sup> Although dictated in 1905, Wickliffe’s statement was apparently convincing to future Apostle Joseph Fielding Smith who published it in *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage*, which was printed on the Church’s own press.<sup>44</sup>

Other observations also suggest that the interaction between Nancy and the Prophet should not be lightly dismissed. John C. Bennett claimed that, in order to convince Nancy that plural marriage was a correct principle, Joseph

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>Joseph E. Robinson, Diary, October 26, 1902, MS 7866, LDS Church History Library. Olive Frost died October 6, 1845.

<sup>41</sup>“Lizzie” was probably Joseph E. Robinson’s aunt-in-law Mary Elizabeth Green Harris (1847–1911).

<sup>42</sup>Robinson, Autobiography, recounting events of October 26, 1902, Ms 7866. See also James Whitehead, interviewed by Joseph Smith III, April 20, 1885; original in possession of John Hajicek.

<sup>43</sup>John Wickliffe Rigdon, Affidavit, July 28, 1905, MS 3423, LDS Church History Library; Oliver H. Olney, *The Absurdities of Mormonism Portrayed: A Brief Sketch* (Hancock, Co., Ill., n.pub., March 3, 1843), 16.

<sup>44</sup>John Wickliffe Rigdon, Affidavit, July 28, 1905, MS 3423, LDS Church History Library.

<sup>45</sup>Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage*, 83–84.

Smith composed the well-known letter that begins: “Happiness is the object and design of our existence.” The editors’ introduction acknowledges this possibility but also suggests that the letter “may even have its origin in an issue altogether unrelated to plural marriage” (xxix note 71). Such skepticism is understandable. Accordingly, it will be interesting to see how the Joseph Smith Papers Project deals with the document itself because the original letter, assuming its existence, has been lost. The earliest version is quoted in John C. Bennett’s letter to the *Sangamo Journal* August 19, 1842.<sup>46</sup> Despite these problems, numerous Church leaders, both past and present, have treated the letter as genuinely from the Prophet.<sup>47</sup>

Despite these concerns, editors Hedges, Smith, and Anderson are to be highly commended for attempting the nearly impossible task of adequately introducing this controversial subject, with its multitude of controversial historical and doctrinal issues, within the space of seven pages. The introductory essay in *Journals, Volume 2* represents a milestone in LDS plural marriage historiography. It appears to signal a more open dialogue on this difficult topic as a plethora of antagonistic claims surrounding polygamy have been published in past decades without official response (D&C 123:12–14).

Even without this introductory essay, the book’s usefulness to both dedicated scholars and casual inquirers is unparalleled. The new transcription is unequaled and the footnotes, maps, appendices, biological and genealogical guides, and other printed matter supply a treasure trove of contextualizing material. Doubtless it will become an indispensable resource for researchers and readers interested in understanding Joseph Smith’s complex life.

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<sup>46</sup>“Sixth letter from John C. Bennett,” *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield, Ill.) August 19, 1842; Bennett, *The History of the Saints: Or an Exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism* (Boston: Leland & Whiting, 1842), 243–45.

<sup>47</sup>*History of the Church*, 5:134; and Joseph Fielding Smith, comp. and ed., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976 printing), 256.