Theses and Dissertations

1952

Emma Hale: Wife of the Prophet Joseph Smith

Raymond T. Bailey
Brigham Young University - Provo

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd

Part of the Mormon Studies Commons, and the Women's Studies Commons

BYU ScholarsArchive Citation
https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd/4494

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by BYU ScholarsArchive. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of BYU ScholarsArchive. For more information, please contact scholarsarchive@byu.edu, ellen_amatangelo@byu.edu.
EMMA HALE
WIFE OF THE PROPHET JOSEPH SMITH

A Thesis
Submitted to
The Faculty of the Division of Religion
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Science

174845 by
Raymond T. Bailey
April 1952
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer sincerely appreciates the assistance of all persons who have made possible the completion of this thesis.

Elders A. William Lund, Preston Nibley, Thomas C. Romney and the employees of the Church Historian's Office at Salt Lake City have been gracious in allowing the use of materials and in offering helpful advice and information.

The General Officers of the Relief Society obligingly allowed the perusal of the Woman's Exponent in their office.

Vesta Pierce Crawford was especially helpful in allowing the use of her unpublished notes that she had gathered over a period of years on the life of Emma Smith and in suggesting interesting sidelights relative to Emma Smith's life.

The writer is grateful to the librarians of the Brigham Young University for making accessible the volumes in the special collections room.

Professor William E. Berrett and Drs. Sidney B. Sperry and Hugh Nibley have read the manuscript and offered many helpful suggestions.

The writer acknowledges his indebtedness to members of his family who helped by typing the original draft of this manuscript and to Miss Margaret Hansen who proof-read the thesis.
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>I.</strong> INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II.</strong> ANCESTRY OF EMMA HALE</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Surname Hale</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac Hale</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>III.</strong> THE HALES OF HARMONY</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early History of the State of Pennsylvania</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description of Susquehanna County</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hale Brothers as Tax Collectors</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susquehanna County Fair</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description of Country Around Harmony</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courtship and Marriage of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma and the Plates of the Book of Mormon</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IV.</strong> EMMA, THE ELECT LADY</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Removal to Fayette, New York</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma's Baptism</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revelation from the Lord to Emma Smith</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Term &quot;Elect Lady&quot;</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma's Confirmation</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>V.</strong> THE SMITH'S MOVE TO OHIO</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Removal to Kirtland, Ohio</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth and Death of Twins; Adoption of Murdock Twins</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life at Hiram, Ohio</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Smith III Born</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Arrival of Brigham Young at Kirtland</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirtland Temple</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchase of Mummies</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma's Hymn Book Published</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Birth of Frederick G. W. Smith</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Smiths Leave for Missouri</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. MISSOURI DIFFICULTIES</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrival at Far West</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Birth of Alexander Hale Smith</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Arrest of Joseph at Far West</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Joseph's Letters to Emma from Prison</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma Carries Inspired Version Manuscript in Flight from Missouri</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Emma Lives with the Cleavelands in Quincy</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. LIFE ON THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Joseph's Arrival at Quincy</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description of Commerce</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma to Select and Publish a Hymn Book</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce Re-named Nauvoo</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Joseph Returns from Washington</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Birth of Don Carlos Smith</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrival of John C. Bennett</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma Smith, First Female Worker for Temple Ordinances</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. &quot;I AM THE ONLY WIFE HE EVER HAD.&quot;</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Joseph's Love for Emma</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Polygamy Question</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point of View of the Reorganized Church</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point of View of the Mormon Church</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celestial Marriage Revelation</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journal History Suggestions of Polygamy</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorenzo D. Wasson's Letter</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statements of Brigham Young Concerning Plural Marriage and Endowments</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George A. Smith's Letter to Joseph III</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma Smith's Last Testimony</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affidavits of Plural Marriage Practised</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph B. Noble</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. F. Johnson</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorenzo Snow</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Benbow</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliza M. P. Lyman</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emily D. P. Young</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lovina Walker</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliza R. Snow</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malissa Willes</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remarks of President Heber C. Kimball about Emma</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President John Taylor's Remarks about Emma</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helen Mar Whitney's Remarks about Emma and the Mansion House</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News Clippings about Polygamy</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization of the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nauvoo Legion Parade</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters to Governor Carlin</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifteenth Wedding Anniversary Party</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polygamy Revelation Written down</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas Party 1843</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. THE MARTYRDOM AND SUCCESSION</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= Emma Smith's Blessing</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History before the Martyrdom</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= Emma Views her Martyred Husband's Remains</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma Manifests Opposition to the Council of the Twelve</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa and Missouri Newspaper Stories</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma Smith and Brigham Young</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma Unwilling to give up Inspired Revision</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma Willing to Come West on Conditions</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Smith, Brigham Young and the Council of the Twelve</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= William Smith's Attitude</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= Mother Lucy Smith's Attitude</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. W. Riegel's Attitude</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma's Business Ability</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= Birth of David Hyrum Smith</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The New York Sun Letter</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Letter a Forgery</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. A NEW LIFE IN AN OLD CITY</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Removal to Fulton</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Return to Nauvoo</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma's marriage to Lewis Crum Bidamon</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters from Emma's Visitors</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John S. Fullmer (January 31, 1848)</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almon W. Babbitt, to H. C. K. (January 31, 1848)</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almon W. Babbitt to B. Y. (January 31, 1848)</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan C. Wright (February 11, 1848)</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. John M. Bernhisel (September 10, 1848)</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hannah Tappfield King's Visit to Emma (May 12, 1855)</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enoch B. Tripp's Visit to Nauvoo (November 25, 1855)</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chambers' visit to Nauvoo and Conversation with Emma</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI. EMMA AND THE REORGANIZED CHURCH</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Conference of April 6, 1860, at Amboy</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma Smith Bidamon Received into Fellowship on her Original Baptism</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presidents of the Reorganized Church</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offices Held by Emma's Sons and Grandsons</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Smith III</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death of Frederick G. W. Smith</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Hale Smith</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Hyrum Smith</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma Turns New Translation over to the Reorganized Church</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma's Last Years and Death</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death of Lewis C. Bidamon</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDICES

**APPENDIX I, JOSEPH SMITH AND EMMA HALE'S CHILDREN**

Page 174

**APPENDIX II, CHRONOLOGY OF EMMA HALE**

Page 176

**APPENDIX III, CHRONOLOGY OF THE TIME**

Page 184

**APPENDIX IV, LETTER FROM JOHN R. YOUNG**

Page 185

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Page 188
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Books and articles about Joseph Smith, the founder, organizer, and Prophet of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are numerous and varied in their esteem and in their treatment of him. His name has become known for good and evil throughout the world as he was told that it would be. The Church he organized more than a century ago, with six members signing the articles of incorporation now numbers more than a million souls, and this membership still bears testimony of the divine mission of this man as a Prophet and a restorer of truth to the people of the world in this dispensation.

Joseph Smith suffered much persecution by inaugurating many new and revolutionary principles and doctrines during the years from 1820 until his martyrdom in 1844; but the organization he founded has gradually grown in numbers, power, and influence until today it is recognized as one of the most vital religions in the world.

Shortly after the time of his martyrdom his widow, Emma Hale Smith, began to oppose vigorously the men who had been closest to her husband in the councils of the Church and to strike out against them. When organized mobs drove the Mormon people out of Illinois after they had shot and killed Joseph Smith, his wife remained to take up her abode in the deserted city rather than move on with this persecuted people,
who had already been driven from three other states.

Sixteen years after the migration westward by the main body of Latter-day Saints, Emma Smith became a member of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and her son became its president. A grandson also became a president and at the present time (April 1952) another grandson is now president of this church.

The problem of this thesis concerns itself with the questions: Why did Emma Smith oppose the men who were in the leading council of the Church and who were the closest friends of her husband? What was her attitude towards the Church her husband founded? What kind of woman was she, and what effect did she have upon her husband and the Church he organized?

It will be the purpose of this thesis to point out some significant facts pertaining to these questions, gathered in the main, from primary sources such as the Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, news clippings from newspapers published in Illinois, Iowa and Missouri at the time Emma Hale was living and from the Woman's Exponent of the same time. A gleaning of material has also been made from the six volume History of the Church and the Comprehensive History of the Church, Mormon source books, and the one volume, Story of the Church and from the four volumes of the History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, source materials of the Reorganized
Church.

The more personal details in the life of Emma Smith as recorded in this thesis are statements made by her mother-in-law, by a grand-daughter, and by her husband.

The chapter on the "Ancestry of Emma Hale" is not new material but is a condensation from the book, Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale by a grand-daughter, Mary Audentia Smith Anderson. However, as many of the sources as were available in the library of the Utah Genealogical and Historical Society mentioned by the author were checked and were found accurate in every case.

A major portion of this research was done in the library in the Latter-day Saint Church Office Building and consists of extracts from the Journal History of the Church. This voluminous material was compiled by Andrew Jenson and is organized in the chronological order of its happening. It is a rich storehouse of old diaries, speeches, letters, and manuscripts, which are all original and valuable sources. It is not present-day opinions but detailed narratives of events as they happened from the organization of the Church to the present time.

I am indebted to Sister Vesta Pierce Crawford for the extensive research that she has done and for the use of her unpublished notes, the reading of which has helped me to have a better understanding of the problem; and quite a number of
quotations from these notes have become a part of this thesis.

So far as I have been able to find out, there has been little done toward collecting and organizing and making available for future study the story of the life of Emma Hale Smith, the wife of the Prophet Joseph Smith.


Emma is mentioned frequently in connection with the story of her husband in such books as *The History of Joseph Smith* by his Mother, Lucy Mack Smith, and *The Story of the Church* by Inez Smith Davis. It was the *Journal History of the Church*, however, in brief and incidental articles about her, that the main portion of this material has been collected.

One of the purposes of this thesis is to present as much pertinent material as is readily obtainable and make it available under one cover. Much more could likely be done if more thorough research could be made using the documents and files of the Reorganized Church.

Dates used in this thesis have been checked by using Andrew Jenson's *Church Chronology* as a standard.

Very little material has been found of Emma Smith's
own writings with the exception of a few letters and a blessing which she "craved might be hers"; but these writings are included in this thesis with an interpretation given which I feel helps to give some insight into her hopes, ambitions, and desires.

The problem of Emma Smith's attitude and actions toward the Church her husband founded is an extremely controversial one with the two leading Latter-day Saint groups taking opposite sides on a number of very important issues. Both sides are represented where research material was available.
CHAPTER II

ANCESTRY OF EMMA HALE

The wife of the Prophet was of English descent. She was the third daughter and the seventh child of a family of nine children born to Isaac and Elizabeth Lewis Hale of Harmony, (now Oakland) Pennsylvania.

Her family genealogy has been traced back to John Heald, the sixth generation from Emma, who came from Berwick-upon-Tweed, county Northumberland, England. He settled his family at Concord, Massachusetts, and all of his posterity who remained in the vicinity of Concord maintained the spelling "Heald" of the family surname.¹ Those who moved away to other localities changed the spelling, and we find in the early New England records the following variations: Heale, Healle, Held, Hele, Heal, Hale, Halle, Haile, Haille, Haule, Hal, Hailed, Healed, Haild, and Heald.²

The surname "Hal" (Hale) comes from the Welsh and means a moor; the name "Hayle" means a salt water river.³

The Hale families of Kent have existed since the reign of Edward III, and early in the thirteenth century were numerous in Hertfordshire.⁴

²Ibid., p. 23.
⁴Ibid., p. 293.
John Heald married Dorothy Andrews and reared a large family. Their son Jershom was born at Concord but moved from there to the State of Connecticut and was the one to change the spelling of the surname. The exact time of the change is not known. Jershom's son Samuel was born at Stow or Springfield and owned property there. A transfer of a deed at Stow bears his signature as "Hold" and Deacon Thomas Hale signed a deed in 1678 as Haile, writing it also as Heal and Hele. Reuben, a son of Samuel, was born at Oxford, Connecticut. He was the father of Isaac Hale who was the father of Emma Hale Smith, the subject of this dissertation.

Isaac Hale was born at Waterbury, Connecticut March 21, 1763. In the year 1780 at the age of seventeen he gave service in the Revolutionary War, marching with Colonel Ebenezer Allen's command. About the year 1790 he joined an immigrant train that went through Pennsylvania. After returning from this trip he married Elizabeth Lewis on September the twentieth in the same year in the city of Wells, Vermont. He and his wife made their home in Harmony, (now Oakland) Pennsylvania, and all of their nine children were born in Susquehanna County. Later nearly all of the children moved

5Ibid., p. 293. 6Ibid., p. 294.
7Emily C. Blackman, History of Susquehanna County, (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen, and Haffelfinger, 1873), pp. 100-110.
8Ibid.
to Illinois.

Isaac Hale was a farmer and a great hunter. He made a good living by procuring game and selling or bartering it. Elizabeth Lewis Hale, mother of Emma, was a member of the Methodist Church and her name, and her husbands, are still to be found on the class records of the Methodist-Episcopal Church in the city where they lived. A lady living at Lanesboro who knew Emma's mother said, "I never visited her but I thought I had learned something useful." Her death occurred in 1842 in her 75th year.

Isaac Hale died January 11, 1839 five and one-half years before the martyrdom of his famous son-in-law. His wife followed him in death three years later, or two and one-half years before Joseph Smith's tragic death. They are buried "in the back of the garden" a request that was made by Hale just prior to his death. This is now the McKune cemetery.

The epitaph over Isaac Hale's grave reads:

The body of Issac Hale, the hunter, like the cover of an old book, its contents torn out and stripped of its lettering and gilding, lies here food for worms, yet the work itself shall not be lost, and it will, as he believed, appear once more in a new and more beautiful edition, corrected and

9Anderson, op. cit., p. 302
10Ibid., pp. 301-302.
11Blackman, op. cit., pp. 100-110.
amended. 12

12 Unpublished notes on Emma Smith collected by Vesta Pierce Crawford. (Most of the items were told to her by descendants of Emma Hale Smith), p. 229.
CHAPTER III
THE HALES OF HARMONY
(July 1804 - May 1829)

The Keystone state of the thirteen original colonies (Pennsylvania) was first settled by Swedes in the year 1643. Twelve years later the Dutch gained control over it, and in 1664 the English took over the colonies. William Penn, the Quaker, acquired a grant of land which had been given to his father and he was given almost unlimited governing powers over a great deal of the territory which now bears his father's name. In 1683 Penn made his famous treaty with the Indians and shortly afterwards many immigrants flocked to Pennsylvania because of the religious toleration assured under Penn's rule.1

Pennsylvania was one of the thirteen original colonies, and the most centrally located during the American Revolution.

There are nine chief rivers in the State, the Susquehanna being one of the most important.2 It is near the banks of this river in the northeastern corner of the state where Isaac Hale, a Connecticut Yankee, who had given service in the Revolutionary War, and his wife Elizabeth Lewis decided to settle down and call the place "home". This was probably toward the close of the year 1790 as he started for Pennsylvania soon after his marriage on September the 20th at Wells,

2Ibid.
Vermont. Isaac Hale was twenty-seven and one-half years of age at that time.

Susquehanna County is in the Appalachian Mountains and there were rapids near the home where Emma Hale was born. There was also a neighboring natural cranberry march. There were oak forests north of the river and some pine. It was on this side of the river that Isaac Hale and his brother-in-law, Nathaneal Lewis lived near each other.

On the south were hemlock, maple, beech, and hickory. The Starucca is a branch of the Susquehanna and is named for an old Indian tribe who lived in the vicinity. First Jesse and then David, Emma's brothers, were tax collectors in this district. David Hale collected in 1820 $51.89 for the townships of Oakland and Harmony at five mills on the dollar of valuation. In 1819 one man paid 6¢, another 7¢, another 8¢. The heaviest taxpayers paid less than $9.00. Mr. Hale forwarded to the state authorities a political document which said, 'Year after year thousands of dollars are wrung from the pockets of our citizens in the shape of taxes.' Fishing for trout and hunting were unsurpassed in the district. Starucca creek is in a wild country of ragged gorges. This was the creek that was noted for hunting and fishing. Hale's boys had to quit work an hour or two before dark to grind the meal for supper. At his door there was a stump-mortar and heavy wooden pestle worked by a springpole. Hale liked all bugs but humbugs. Jesse and David were drafted in 1814 and marched in Captain Fred Bailey's company to Danville. They were large strong men. Emma's people were large and strong, splendid physically. They were great hunters. Three of Jesse's sons were killed by rebels in the Civil War (the youngest three of his six sons, he also had four daughters).

Captain Joab T. Fell at Fort Donelson, Sergeant Frank fell at Corinth, and Captain Robert fell at Marietta, Georgia.

Jesse at home when a boy would kill panthers in the woods. Once he killed 20 deer for the winter's meat. Once he brought home four young panthers dead and then next day went back and killed the mother.

Roads in this district in Emma's time were very rough and bad and there were few bridges over the creeks.
Nathaniel Lewis, brother to Emma's mother was a frontier Methodist preacher and a pioneer in the district. Once when he was preaching some unruly boys disturbed the meeting and he called them 'the most hogmatical set of scoundrels I ever saw.' The vote in 1808 was about 200 in the country. Some Indians lived in the district. Apples, plums, peaches, wild grapes, flax, Indian corn, and wheat were grown. All land had to be cleared of timber. This cost from $12 to $15 per acre. The houses were frame or log. Springs were numerous, the water was cold, pure, and clear. The most prominent religion was the Presbyterian, then the Methodist. There was a great Agricultural Fair in 1821. William Rose received the prize for the best acre of wheat, Erastus Catlin was awarded a prize for the best woolen cloth and Pullman Catlin for the best specimen of linen; Jesse Sherman had the best plow...Johan Brewster did the most harvesting without spirits, Emmeline Chapman made the best straw bonnet and Wm. Turrel the best hair cloth. Peter Herkimer make the most maple sugar and at the fair it was said that Susquehanna County led the state in having the fewest sheep with disordered livers. Mary Packer made the best half dozen worsted stockings, Ruth Duer the best coverlet and Sophia Rice the best American leghorn bonnet, Elisha Mack the best fanning mill. There were no railroads while Emma lived in Pennsylvania.

Isaac would kill elk on the Starucca in the fall when they were the fattest, make troughs of birch or maple to hold it when cut up, carry salt on his back, salt the meat, and cover it with bark held down by heavy stones, then would give meat away or exchange it for work on the farm.

Emma was born and reared on the banks of the Susquehanna. Oquago Mountain is in the middle of the township and from it come brooks, Drinker's Creek, Flat Brook, Bear Creek etc. and there is an island in the river called Gulf Island another called Lover's Island. There were oak forest north of the river, and hemlock, maple, beech, and hickory. Ichabod Swamp was near, 'a dreadful swamp, thick with hemlock and laurel, and full of paths of wild animals, bears, wolves, and panthers.' Here Ichabod Buck was once lost, but fought his way out to the river with only a jack knife for a weapon. The Tuscarora Indians once lived near here.3

3Blackman, op. cit.; pp. 100-110.
Very little more is known concerning the early girlhood of Emma Hale. It is thought that she attended school in the vicinity and that she attended a Girl's school for one year. A grand-daughter of Emma said, "Emma never used slang and was very particular about her grammar and choice of words." 4

The Hale family consisted of the father and mother, five sons and four daughters. Emma was the third daughter and the seventh child in this family of nine children. All of the family were born in Susquehanna county.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE OF JOSEPH SMITH AND EMMA HALE

Joseph Smith gives a very brief account of his first meeting with Emma Hale and their later marriage in these words:

In the month of October 1825, I hired with an old gentleman by the name of Josiah Stoal, who lived in Chenango county, state of New York. He had heard something of a silver mine having been opened by the Spaniards in Harmony, Susquehanna county, state of Pennsylvania; and had, previous to my hiring to him, been digging, in order, if possible, to discover the mine. After I went to live with him, he took me, with the rest of his hands, to dig for the silver mine, at which I continued to work for nearly a month, without success in our undertaking, and finally I prevailed with the old gentleman to cease digging after it. Hence arose the very prevalent story of my having been a money-digger.

During the time that I was thus employed, I was put to board with a Mr. Isaac Hale, of that place; it was there I first saw my wife (his daughter), Emma Hale. On the 18th of January, 1827, we were married, while I was yet employed in the service of Mr. Stoal. Owing to my continuing to assert that I had seen a vision,

4Crawford, op. cit., p. 21.
persecution still followed me, and my wife's father's family were very much opposed to our being married. I was, therefore, under the necessity of taking her elsewhere; so we went and were married at the house of Squire Tarbill, in South Bainbridge, Chenango county, New York. Immediately after my marriage, I left Mr. Stoal's, and went to my father's, and farmed with him that season.\(^5\)

The account in the one volume book *Story of the Church* by Inez Smith Davis adds a few more details as follows:

Once a year it was the custom of Joseph Knight to visit the farmers in neighboring counties and contract for wheat to be delivered at his mill in the fall. Upon some of these visits he was accompanied by an old friend, Josiah Stoal, from Bainbridge, New York. The old gentleman had conceived the idea of searching for an ancient silver mine, supposed by neighborhood tradition to have been opened by the Spaniards somewhere in the hills near Harmony (Oakland) in Susquehanna county, Pennsylvania. Spanish treasure was in those days the popular myth with all classes of society. Upon recommendation of his friend Knight, Stoal secured the services of young Smith, and took him to Pennsylvania and put him to board with other "hands" at the prosperous farm home of Isaac Hale in Harmony.

The Spanish treasure never materialized, and the disappointed treasure seeker was finally persuaded to abandon the quest, but not before young Joseph Smith had found time during moonlit nights on the Susquehanna to embark on a more successful treasure hunt of his own. Emma, dark eyed daughter of the Hales, found it easy to like the young stranger from New York, but the story of Joseph's visions had followed him, and canny old Isaac Hale was doubtful of the sort of farmer that could be made from a young man who saw and heard such unusual sights and sounds. Having once determined what he wanted, it was never easy for Joseph Smith to give up because of obstacles, and he records in this case he was "Under the necessity of taking her elsewhere, so we went and were married at the house of Squire Tarbill in South Bainbridge, Chenango county,

New York." The marriage occurred on January 18, 1827 and the young couple went immediately to Manchester where they lived with the Elder Smiths for a year.

Later in the year on the historical date of September 22, when Joseph Smith made his annual visit to the hill of promise, he took his wife, and borrowed two horses and a carriage from two millers from Colesville, Josiah Stoal and Joseph Knight, who happened to be there that evening. The trip was taken secretly, but Joseph knew he was welcome to the horse and travelling equippage of either of these two old friends. At two a.m. that morning he brought back the cherished plates.

But the longed for adventure had only begun. The story of the golden plates spread abroad in the neighborhood; they must be protected from theft and danger. There was a book to be translated and published, and Joseph was uneducated and poor.6

According to Joseph Smith's story he hired out to Josiah Stoal in October 1825, and was married to Emma Hale in January, 1827, while he was yet employed by Mr. Stoal. He had evidently stopped working for him and at a later time had been re-employed. Joseph's mother states that he asked his parent's consent to the marriage:

Joseph called my husband and myself aside and said, "I have been very lonely since Alvin died and I have concluded to get married and if you have no objections to my uniting myself in marriage with Miss Emma Hale, she would be my choice in preference to any other woman I have ever seen." We were pleased with his choice and not only consented to his marriage with her but requested him to bring her home with him and live with us.7

---


7Preston Nibley, editor, History of Joseph Smith by his Mother, (Salt Lake City: Stevens and Wallis, 1945), p. 93.
He, of course, could not ask his parent's consent if he had remained in Harmony, Pennsylvania in Stoal's employ the entire time.

Much has been said about Joseph and Emma's elopement. At the time, both were of legal age, Emma approaching her twenty-third birthday, while Joseph had just passed his twenty-first milestone. (Emma was a year and one-half older than Joseph).

Joseph was told by Isaac Hale, when he asked for Emma's hand in marriage, that he was

A stranger, that he had no steady, remunerative employment, that he had the reputation of looking into peep-stones and hunting for treasures with a witch-hazel.

Whether Joseph and Emma eloped is not quite certain.

The following letter from Emma to her son Joseph, dated October 11, 1866, published in the Saint's Herald, Vol. 25, p. 289, throws new light upon the issue:

I was visiting at Mr. Stowell's (Stoal) who lived in Bainbridge, and saw your father there. I had no intention of marrying when I left home; but, during my visit at Mr. Stowell's your father visited me there. My folks were bitterly opposed to him; and being importuned by your father, aided by Mr. Stowell, who urged me to marry him, preferring to marry him to any other man I knew, I consented.

At the time that Joseph was courting the favor of Emma Hale she was described as being:

---

very beautiful, with large, dignified body and bewitching dark eyes, and also exceptionally intelligent. A painting made of her at this time or a little latter bears out this reputation.9

EMMA AND THE PLATES OF THE BOOK OF MORMON

Eight months and four days after their marriage, Emma accompanied Joseph to the sacred hill of promise and helped him secure the plates from which the translation of the Book of Mormon was made. They had been living during this time at the family home at Manchester, New York.

The events of the evening of the twenty-first and twenty-second of September 1827 as recorded by Inez Smith Davis10 and Lucy Mack Smith11 are at variance with each other in relation to the time element. Mrs. Davis quotes a letter from Catherine Salisbury, a sister to Joseph Smith, stating that he returned to the Smith home "at two a.m., that morning" while mother Smith has him leave about midnight and not return until after breakfast.

After the plates had been taken from their hiding place in the hill the remaining three months in the year were filled with a hectic struggle to keep the plates hidden where they could not be stolen. Everyone in the vicinity had heard the story. Gold of any sort meant fabulous wealth. The family resorted to all sorts of expedients. Once Emma took a long horseback ride to warn Joseph who was working some distance from home. It was apparent that the plates could not be translated in peace and quiet at

9Evans, op. cit., p. 38.
10Davis, op. cit., p. 41.
11Nibley, op. cit., pp. 102, 103.
Palmyra, so a change was imperative.\textsuperscript{12}

Joseph and Emma then moved to her father's place at Harmony, Pennsylvania, this was less than three months after Joseph had received the plates.

Emma was with child three months when she made a horseback trip to the Well's home in Macedon to warn Joseph of the danger to the plates. The record is not clear as to what part she may have played in getting her brother Alva to make the 155 mile trip from Harmony to Manchester to move them back to the Hale home. Mother Smith states that Alva stayed for a short interval with them and moved the young couple back to Harmony. The first child born to Joseph and Emma was named Alva and may have been named after this brother of Emma. He was born and died June 15, 1828 at Harmony and is buried in what is known as the McKune cemetery at Harmony, (Oakland) Pennsylvania. The child died at the time of the loss of the 116 pages of manuscript. Mrs. Davis describes Joseph's condition as follows during this period:

It was a time of darkness and discouragement to Joseph. The days passed and Harris did not return. He was censured by revelation for his disobedience. His wife became ill, almost died. His first born son died at birth and was laid to rest in the family burial lot. Watching by Emma's bedside day and night he pondered over the fate of the precious manuscript. He tried not to show his anxiety, but at length with that curious intuition women are said to possess, she sent him on a trip to his father's, to find out what had become of Martin....

\textsuperscript{12}Davis, op. cit., p. 59.
Emma was weak from her long illness. Joseph was trying to redeem himself with Isaac Hale by working long and arduous hours on the little place they were buying from Emma's father. Upon him lay the heavy consciousness of duty undone, but he could not farm and do the work assigned to him, too. Emma helped him as best she could in what time she could spare from her household duties.13

During this period in the life of the young couple, Emma is mentioned as writing for her husband. It is not considered that she did a great deal of the work as scribe as the great burden of this work fell upon Oliver Cowdery, but among the other scribes are John and Christian Whitmer, Martin Harris, and Emma Smith.

13Ibid., p. 61, 62.
CHAPTER IV
EMMA, THE ELECT LADY
(June 1829 - Dec. 1830)

Two or three weeks after Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery had received the Aaronic Priesthood by the authority of John the Baptist, Joseph and Emma were moved to the Whitmer home at Fayette, New York by David Whitmer, who had been sent by his father, Peter Whitmer, Sr. The elder Whitmer had become acquainted with Joseph at the city of Waterloo, about three miles from the Whitmer home in Fayette, and wanted to assist Joseph in the translation of the record. Joseph records that, "Upon our arrival, we found Mr. Whitmer's family very anxious concerning the work, and very friendly toward ourselves."¹

It was in Peter Whitmer's home on April 6, 1830, while Joseph and Emma were living there, that the Church was organized.

EMMA'S BAPTISM

The first baptisms in this dispensation were those of Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery May 15, 1829. A short time afterwards, Samuel H. Smith, the fourth son of Joseph and Lucy Smith, was converted and baptized. This baptism was performed on the twenty-fifth of the month, Oliver Cowdery officiating.

¹Roberts, op. cit., p. 49.
In June 1829, Hyrum Smith, David Whitmer, and Peter Whitmer Jr., were baptized in Seneca lake, the first two by Joseph Smith and the latter by Oliver Cowdery. From this time forth many were believers and some were baptized in Seneca county. Information about other baptisms is meager until the following year.

During the last week in May 1830, Newell Knight was baptized by David Whitmer.

On the ninth of June 1830 the first conference as an organized church was held. The number of baptized members then was about thirty. Several were confirmed, who had previously been baptized. Shortly after this conference, David Whitmer baptized eleven other people into the Church. Immediately after the conference, the Prophet writes, that he and his wife, Oliver Cowdery, John Whitmer, and David Whitmer visited Mr. Knight of Colesville and found a number in the neighborhood believing and anxious to be baptized. A meeting was planned for the following Sunday, when they were to be baptized. On the Saturday before, a dam was placed across a stream, where it was convenient for the baptisms to take place; but that evening a mob tore out the dam, and the baptisms could not be performed as planned. A meeting was held, however, with a number of the mob attending. Early on Monday morning before the enemies were aware of the proceedings, the dam was repaired and thirteen persons were
baptized by Oliver Cowdery, Emma Smith being among the number.\(^2\)

In the year 1830 the ninth of June was on Wednesday. Some say however, that this conference was held on the first of June which was on a Tuesday the week previous. Just how long it took to make the trip from Fayette to Colesville is not told. The only statement that I have been able to find is that the party of five left for Colesville immediately after the conference. Emma Smith could then have been baptized on any one of the four Mondays of June 1830 (7th, 14th, 21st, or 28th). It is not likely, however, to have been as early as the 7th. From a "Family Group Sheet of Joseph Smith Jr's. Family" on file in the archives of the Utah Genealogical Society the date of baptism is given as "29 June 1830" and the source of this information is shown as the Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine, Vol. 26. This is evidently an error as Andrew Jenson's Church Chronology states that the 6th of April in 1830 was on a Tuesday. This would make the 29th of June on Tuesday, and the Prophet states that Emma was baptized on a Monday. If there is a mistake of just one day, then Emma was baptized on Monday June 28.

REVELATION FROM THE LORD TO EMMA SMITH

During the period between Emma's baptism and confirmation, Joseph Smith received the following revelation directed to Emma Smith, his wife, given at Harmony, Pennsylvania in

July 1830: (Doctrine and Covenants 25:) (Underlining mine)

1. Hearken unto the voice of the Lord your God, while I speak daughter; for verily I say unto you, all those who receive my gospel are sons and daughters in my kingdom.

2. A revelation I give unto you concerning my will: and if thou art faithful and walk in the paths of virtue before me, I will preserve thy life, and thou shalt receive an inheritance in Zion.

3. Behold, thy sins are forgiven thee, and thou art an elect lady, whom I have called.

4. Murmur not because of the things which thou hast not seen, for they are withheld from thee and from the world, which is wisdom in me in a time to come.

5. And the office of they calling shall be for a comfort unto my servant, Joseph Smith, Jun., thy husband, in his afflictions, with consoling words, in the spirit of meekness.

6. And thou shalt go with him at the time of his going, and be unto him for a scribe, while there is no one to be a scribe for him, that I may send my servant, Oliver Cowdery, whithersoever I will.

7. And thou shalt be ordained under his hand to expound scriptures, and to exhort the church, according as it shall be given thee by my Spirit.

8. For he shall lay his hands upon thee, and thou shalt receive the Holy Ghost, and thy time shall be given to writing, and to learning much.

9. And thou needest not fear, for thy husband shall support thee in the church; for unto them is his calling, that all things might be revealed unto them, whatsoever I will, according to their faith.

10. And verily I say unto thee that thou shalt lay aside the things of this world, and seek for the things of a better.

11. And it shall be given thee, also, to make a selection of sacred hymns, as it shall be given thee, which is pleasing unto me, to be had in my church.
12. For my soul delighteth in the song of the heart; yea, the song of the righteous is a prayer unto me, and it shall be answered with a blessing upon their heads.

13. Wherefore, lift up thy heart and rejoice, and cleave unto the covenants which thou hast made.

14. Continue in the spirit of meekness, and beware of pride. Let thy soul delight in thy husband, and the glory which shall come upon him.

15. Keep my commandments continually, and a crown of righteousness thou shalt receive. And except thou do this, where I am you cannot come.


On Thursday March 17, 1842 Joseph Smith explained to the ladies of the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo that the term "Elect Lady" meant to be elected to a certain work, and that the revelation, Doctrine and Covenants Section 25, was then fulfilled by Sister Emma's election to the President of the Society, she having previously been ordained to expound the Scriptures. Emma was blessed, and her counselors were ordained by Elder John Taylor.

In the years that followed this revelation, Emma was a very busy woman. If she had been a woman of leisure, she could have fulfilled the divine request to make a compilation of hymns in a very short time, but Emma was very particular

3Doctrine and Covenants (Salt Lake City: Published by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,) p. 39.

4Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, (Salt Lake City, Utah, March 17, 1842). (Hereafter this reference will be abbreviated "Journal History")
in the care of her family, being a housekeeper of immaculate cleanliness and allowing no outside duty to interfere with her devotion to her children and husband. Her first collection of hymns was published about five years later in Kirtland, Ohio by F. G. Williams & Company. In the first year following her appointment to collect hymns for the use of the Church many distracting incidents occurred which absorbed her attention. The family moved from Pennsylvania to New York and then on to Ohio. On April 30, 1831 twins were born to Emma. They lived but a short time, and then Joseph and Emma adopted the motherless twins of John Murdock. Being the wife of a Prophet brought about additional work such as preparing meals, making beds, etc., for the numerous friends and curious strangers who came to visit at their home.

Emma did assist her husband a great deal after this revelation was given to her, by helping to expound the Scriptures, acting as his scribe at times, writing letters, assisting with the tithing, and helping to make clothing for those who worked on the Temple.

EMMA'S CONFIRMATION

In verse eight of the revelation given to Emma the Lord promises her that her husband should lay hands upon her and that she should receive the Holy Ghost. This was not accomplished immediately but took place in August 1830, the exact date not being given. Joseph Smith relates the incident
as follows:

Early in the month of August Newel Knight and his wife paid us a visit at my place in Harmony, Pennsylvania; and as neither his wife nor mine had been confirmed, it was proposed that we should confirm them, and partake together of the sacrament, before he or his wife should leave us. In order to prepare for this I set out to procure some wine for the occasion but had gone only a short distance when I was met by a heavenly messenger and received the following revelation.5

The revelation is Section 27 of the **Doctrine and Covenants** relative to the change in the sacramental symbol from wine to another symbol. They were not to buy wine from their enemies. They could make it new or use something besides wine. Joseph Smith then writes as follows:

In obedience to the above commandment, we prepared some wine of our own making, and held our meeting, consisting only of five, viz., Newel Knight and his wife, myself and my wife, and John Whitmer. We partook together of the sacrament, after which we confirmed these two sisters into the Church, and spent the evening in a glorious manner. The Spirit of the Lord was poured out upon us, we praised the Lord God, and rejoiced exceedingly.6

About the time of Emma's confirmation a spirit of persecution began again to be manifest in the neighborhood around Harmony. It was instigated by a man of the Methodist persuasion, who professed to be a minister of God. The Prophet said of him:

This man had learned that my father-in-law and his family had promised us protection, and were friendly, and

5Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

inquiring into the work; and knowing that if he could get him turned against me, my friends in that place would be but few, he visited my father-in-law, and told him falsehoods concerning me of the most shameful nature, which turned the old gentleman and his family so much against us, that they would no longer promise us protection nor believe our doctrines.  

It seems from this statement that Isaac Hale had become more favorably impressed with Joseph and was beginning to be interested in the work that he was doing. Then falsehoods of a Christian minister widened the breach again, and it was never bridged after this time. Because of this feeling it was necessary for Joseph and Emma to find another home. Again the Whitmer family of Fayette invited Joseph and Emma to come live with them, and they arrived in Fayette during the last week in August.

In October 1830 Joseph was living in Waterloo. A revelation was given commanding Parley P. Pratt, Ziba Peterson, Peter Whitmer, and Oliver Cowdery to go on a mission to Missouri. Emma and the other sisters busied themselves making clothing out of raw material for them and others.

Emma's health at this time was quite delicate, yet she did not favor herself on this account, but whatever her hands found to do, she did with her might, until so far beyond her strength that she brought upon herself a heavy fit of sickness, which lasted four weeks. And, although her strength was exhausted, still her spirits were the same, which, in fact, was always the case with her, even under the most trying circumstances. I have never seen a woman in my life, who would endure every species of fatigue and hardship, from month to month, and from year to year, with that unflinching courage, zeal,
and patience, to endure—she has been tossed upon the ocean of uncertainty—she has breasted the storms of persecution, and buffeted the rage of men and devils, which would have borne down almost any other woman. It may be, that many may yet have to encounter the same—I pray God, that this may not be the case; but, should it be, may they have grace given them according to their day, even as has been the case with her.  

During the month of December 1830 the Saints in the State of New York were commanded by revelation to go to Ohio, and in the latter part of January 1831 Joseph and Emma in company with Sidney Rigdon and Edward Partridge, left Fayette, New York, for Kirtland, Geauga County, Ohio, where they arrived about the first of February.

---

8Nibley, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-191.
CHAPTER V
THE SMITHS MOVE TO OHIO
(January 1831 - January 1838)

During the latter part of January, in company with Sidney Rigdon and Edward Partridge, Joseph and Emma left for Kirtland, Ohio. They arrived there about the first of February, and were kindly received and welcomed into the home of Newel K. Whitney. Here, they lived for several weeks and received every kindness and attention which could be expected, especially from Sister Whitney. The branch at Kirtland had grown to almost one hundred members at this time.

About three months after arriving in Kirtland, on the 30th of April 1831, twins, a boy and a girl, were born to Emma, but they lived only three hours. Joseph and Emma had thus lost their first three children. Emma's grief was almost more than she could bear; and so nine days later, hearing of the death of John Murdock's wife in childbirth, she took the dead woman's twins to rear. These twins were also a boy and a girl and had been born the same day as Emma's twins. They were named Joseph S. and Julia. They were born in Orange, Cuyahoga County, Ohio. Joseph remarked that they were taken "in the fond hope that they would fill the void in her (Emma's) life occasioned by the loss of her own." ¹

Forty-nine days after the birth of the twins Joseph

¹Roberts, on. cit., Vol. 1 p. 260.
left Emma to make a journey to the land of Zion (Missouri) in company with Sidney Rigdon. He did not return home until the twenty-seventh of August, more than two months later.

During the month of September 1831 he and Sidney Rigdon again began the project of the revision of the Scriptures.

They needed a quiet place for study and work away from the many visitors that thronged Kirtland. They found this place at Hiram, Ohio, about thirty miles away. Sidney and Joseph moved their families there, Joseph and Emma making their abode with the John Johnson family. It was here that the twins developed a bad case of the measles, and nursing them back to health became a real task. On the night of March 25th about midnight a mob broke into the home and took the Prophet and tarred and feathered him. During the rest of the night the Saints gathered at the Johnson home to help; but the events of the night, the wintry wind blowing upon the feverish body of little Joseph, and the excitement were too much for the sick boy, and he died four days later. His age was one day less than eleven months.²

JOSEPH SMITH III BORN

In April of 1832, Joseph Smith left for Missouri, and during the time that he was gone Emma stayed with Reynolds

²Church Chronology lists Sunday the 25th as the day of the tarring and feathering. Other places give the date as the 24th. The History of the Church p. 255 states that the child died on Friday, which would be the 30th. Four days later would make it Thursday the 29th.
Cahoon, Father Smith and Dr. F. G. Williams. Joseph arrived back in Kirtland some time in June and immediately procured a house for his wife. After making his family comfortable, he went on a mission to the East, leaving his family in the care of Hyrum. According to Andrew Jenson's Church Chronology he returned on Tuesday, November 6.

NOVEMBER. Tues. 6 -- Joseph Smith returned home from a rapid journey to Albany, New York and Boston. On the day of his return his son Joseph was born.

Emma was well known for her quick wit and repartee. She said, the night Joseph, her son, was born, there was a regular "Hale-storm" because he was dark complexioned like her.

Joseph Jr., was born in the northwest corner of Newel Whitney's store. He went fishing in the little stream, Chagrin River, that runs through Kirtland.3

Joseph the third was eleven and one-half years of age when his father was martyred. He accepted the leadership of the Reorganized Church and was sustained as President April 6, 1860, at the age of twenty-seven and one-half.

On November 8 Joseph and Brigham Young and their cousin Heber C. Kimball came from Mendon, Monroe County, New York, to Kirtland, to see the Prophet. This event is rather significant from a number of points of view. Emma was ill, her baby Joseph was two days old, when Emma first beheld Brigham. Later the infant and Brigham were to head rival churches and quarrel greatly.

3Crawford, op. cit., p. 14
The work of building the Kirtland Temple began June 15, 1833; and from this time on Emma had many boarders at her home, among them Orson Pratt. There were also a great many meetings held there. April 25, 1834, Wilford Woodruff first came to Kirtland and met the Prophet and stayed in his home for about a week. The period of time just before May 5, 1834, Emma and the other ladies of Kirtland were very busy making clothes and getting supplies ready for the Zion's Camp organization. Emma was again alone for a period of three months while Joseph was leading this group of men into Missouri.

During the entire year of 1834 the people were very busy working on the Temple. Joseph was foreman in a quarry, and Emma was busy making clothes and cooking. Mother Smith relates the following concerning the conditions while building the Temple:

How often I have parted every bed in the house for the accommodation of the brethren, and then laid a single blanket on the floor for my husband and myself, while Joseph and Emma slept upon the same floor, with nothing but their cloaks for both bed and bedding.  

On Independence Day, 1835, Joseph Smith purchased the mummies and papyrus from Michael Chandler, and from this time forward many people visited the Smith home to see the mummies and records. Other entries from the Journal History for the year 1835 include the following:

Oct. 12, 1835 Joseph and Emma went to Willoughby,

\[4\text{N}i\text{lley, op. cit., pp. 231-232.}\]
Ohio, to purchase goods at Wm. Lyton's store.

October 15th Joseph gathered apples in his father's orchard. Ebenezer Robinson was one of Emma's boarders.

October 17th, 1835 the prophet called his family together, arranged his domestic concerns and dismissed his boarders.

Oct. 24, 1835. Visitors came to see the mummies and records. Bros. Hawkes and Carpenter from Michigan tarried over night.

Oct. 29, 1835....We were called to supper. While seated at the table we indulged in a free interchange of thought and Bishop Whitney observed to Bishop Partridge that the thought had just occurred to his mind that perhaps in about a year from this time we might be seated together around a table in the Land of Zion. My wife observed she hoped it might be the case, and that not only they but the rest of the company present might be seated around her table in the land of promise. The same sentiment was reciprocated from the company around the table, and my heart responded "Amen"....After supper I went to the High Council in company with my wife and some others that belonged to my household.

EMMA'S HYMN BOOK PUBLISHED

Toward the close of the year 1835 the first hymn book of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints came off the printing press. On the title page is printed: "A collection of Sacred Hymns for the Church of the Latter-day Saints. Selected by Emma Smith, Kirtland, Ohio. Printed by F. G. Williams and Co. 1835."

This was less than three months after the meeting of the High Council on Monday, September 14 where it was decided: "That Sister Emma Smith proceed to make a selection of sacred hymns, according to the revelation: and that President William
W. Phelps be appointed to revise and arrange them for printing."5

Five years before this time she had been promised in the revelation given to her:

And it shall be given unto thee, also, to make a selection of sacred hymns, as it shall be given thee, which is pleasing unto me, to be had in my Church.

For my soul delighteth in the song of the heart; yea, the song of the righteous is a prayer unto me, and it shall be answered with a blessing upon their heads.6

There are 120 pages in this small book, exclusive of the flyleaf and the title page, the preface and the index.

The hymns are grouped and classified. There are Morning hymns, Evening Hymns, Farewell Hymns, On Baptism, On Sacrament, On Marriage, Miscellaneous; in all, 90 selections....

Out of the 90 hymns in the first edition, many remain and are sung today. Some of the hymns, then as now, are from sectarian hymnology, songs adaptable and suitable to the faith of the Latter-day Saints.

The "Elect Lady" chose, among these, such favorites as "How Firm a Foundation, Ye Saints of the Lord," "I Know That My Redeemer Lives," "Lord, Thou Wilt Hear Me When I Pray," "Arise, My Soul, Arise," "From Greenland's Icy Mountains," and others that are sung Church-wide today and are in the latest hymn book editions.

Emma Smith, wife of the prophet, to the present generation of Latter-day Saints is a character of history only. But she can be pictured from biographies, memoirs and legend, from a study of her photograph, and in the memory of some who have heard from the lips of those

---

5Minutes of a meeting of the High Council and Presidency at Kirtland, Ohio, September 14, 1835. From Journal History of the same date.

6Doctrines and Covenants, op. cit., 25:11-12.
who knew her, as in very deed the "Elect Lady" of the revelation.

What a world of meaning! "Elect Lady."

Chosen of God; of saintly, divine character; a woman of superior talent and intellect, and recognized as such by the Almighty....She was the gracious hostess and friend of her husband's friends. She was cultured--the innate culture of birth, augmented by self-training and refinement of experiences that came into her life as the helpmeet of God's Prophet.

She possessed the charm of superior womanhood. Her dress, her demeanor, her features, all bespoke the "Elect Lady." The brilliant, kindly eye, alight with the intellect of a womanly soul; the brow, the lips, the chin and curve of the neck. Dressed in taste that bespeaks the patrician. Where would one find a higher type?7

BIRTH OF FREDERICK GRANGER WILLIAM (S) SMITH

A year and a half after the birth of Young Joseph another son came to the Prophet and his wife. He was likely named after the man who was associated with the Prophet in the organization of the First Presidency. In some texts his third name is "Williams" and in others it appears as "William". He was born June 20, 1836 at Kirtland, Ohio and died April 13, 1862, seventeen years before his mother's death. He married Annie Maria Anderson in 1857. One child was born to them, a girl, who never married.

The following article also appears in the Journal History:

July 27, 1837 Joseph was on his way to a mission in Canada but when he got as far as Painesville, Ohio he was arrested because he hadn't paid for a stove which a salesman had insisted on installing in his house for advertising purposes so that people seeing the Prophet's wife had one would also buy. It was a "new fashioned cooking stove." Joseph gave his watch to the constables for security.

The year 1837 was a trying one for the Prophet and Emma. There was a great apostasy among the people. Persecution, confusion, and mobocracy strove hard to bear rule at Kirtland.

On the morning of the twenty-second of December Brigham Young left Kirtland in consequence of the fury of the mob spirit that prevailed in the apostates who had threatened to destroy him because he would proclaim publicly and privately that he knew by the power of the Holy Ghost that Joseph was a Prophet of the Most High God, and that he had not transgressed and fallen as the apostates declared.

January 12, 1838, the Prophet left Kirtland on horseback in the evening to escape from the mob. He arrived in Norton sixty miles away the next morning. He tarried there thirty-six hours until his family arrived. On the sixteenth they set out in covered wagons toward Far West. They stayed in Dublin, Indiana nine days. They were out of money. Brigham Young got Brother Tomlinson to sell his farm for $300 and give it to the Prophet. The weather was very cold. A mob armed with pistols and guns followed as far as 200 miles out from Kirtland. Before the Prophet received the

---

money from Tomlinson, he applied for a job cutting and sawing wood. They crossed the Mississippi at Quincy, used a flat boat and planks to reach the thick solid ice. The last horse led on to the ice was Joseph's favorite, Charlie, who broke the ice at every step for several rods.9

CHAPTER VI
MISSOURI DIFFICULTIES
(January 1838 - April 1839)

Two months after the Prophet left Kirtland, he arrived at Far West, Missouri. When one hundred and twenty miles from there the brethren met him with teams and money. John P. Barnard of Far West brought a carriage for the Prophet and his family. The Prophet arrived in Far West March 14, 1838.

A granddaughter of Emma Hale describes the trip to Far West in the following manner:

The wagon that Joseph Jr., (3rd) went to Missouri in was divided into compartments by blankets hung up. He walked part of the way across the bottom lands of the Wabash in Indiana holding fast to his mother's hand. The white dog, Major, was with them then.¹

There are few entries in the Journal History that have to do with Emma or the Smiths' home life between the time that they arrived at the place of their new home and the advent of the birth of their next child. The following two are noted:

May 12, 1838. It was decided by the High Council that Joseph and Sidney Rigdon were each to receive $1100 a year for their services.

May 14, 1838. The Prophet plowed his garden at Far West.

BIRTH OF ALEXANDER HALE SMITH

Emma's son, Alexander Hale Smith was born at Far West

June 2, 1838. Joseph returned from Adam-ondi-Ahman, twenty-five miles north of Far West, for the event. The birth of this son occurred eighteen days short of two years after the birth of Frederick Smith. Emma's maiden name was given as a middle name for this son.

In the History of the Church, Vol. 3, the statement is made that Joseph left on the fourth, two days later, and returned to the Adam-ondi-Ahman country to help in its settlement.

Emma had hardly regained her strength after the birth of Alexander when trouble began between the Saints and the Missourians. During the summer the election troubles in Daviess County had set off the spark that ignited into flame the hatred of the mobocrats against them. October brought the massacre at Haun's mill and the siege of Far West.

Wednesday October 31, the Prophet and others of the leaders were betrayed into the hands of the mob. The following day they were sentenced to be shot but were saved by the brave action of Brigadier-General Doniphan. On Friday November 2, the prisoners were brought into Far West and after much entreaty were finally allowed to see their families. Joseph said:

I found my wife and children in tears, who feared that we had been shot by those who had sworn to take our lives, and that they would see me no more. When I entered my house, they clung to my garments, their eyes streaming with tears, mingled emotions of joy and sorrow were manifested in their countenances. I
requested to have a private interview with them for a few minutes, but this privilege was denied me by the guard. I was then obliged to take my departure. Who can realize the feelings which I experienced at that time, to be thus torn from my companion, and leave her surrounded with monsters in the shape of men, and my children, too, not knowing how their wants would be supplied; while I was to be taken far from them in order that my enemies might destroy me when they thought proper to do so. My partner wept, my children clung to me, until they were thrust from me by the swords of the guards. I felt overwhelmed while I witnessed the scene, and could only recommend them to the care of that God whose kindness had followed me to the present time, and who alone could protect them, and deliver me from the hands of my enemies, and restore me to my family. 2

From the above printed statement of the feelings of the Prophet it would be easy to imagine the feelings of his wife, Emma, upon being left alone, knowing that the Saints would be exterminated from the state, and that it would be her responsibility to remove herself and four small children, not knowing where to go nor whether she would ever see her husband alive again.

While Joseph was in prison he wrote the following letter to Emma:

Indépendence, Jackson County, Mo.
November 4, 1838.

My dear and beloved companion of my bosom, in tribulation and affliction:—

I would inform you that I am well and that we are all of us in good spirits as regards our own fate. I have great anxiety about you and my lovely children. My hearts mourns and bleeds for the brethren and sisters, and for the slain of the people of God. If we are permitted to stay any time here we have obtained

a promise that we may have our families brought to us. What God may do for us I do not know but I hope for the best....Although I go unto death I will trust in God....I want you to stay where you are until you hear from me again....I hope you will be faithful and true to every trust. I can't write much in my situation. May God give you wisdom, and prudence, and sobriety, which I have every reason to believe he will. Those little children are subjects of my meditation continually. Tell them that father is yet alive....Oh! Emma, for God's sake do not forsake me nor the truth, but remember me. If I do not meet you again in this life—may God grant that we may--may we meet in heaven. I cannot express my feelings; my heart is full. Farewell, O my kind and affectionate Emma. I am yours forever, your husband and true friend,

Joseph Smith, jr.3

The above letter was written two days after the sad farewell at Far West. Joseph also wrote Emma another letter dated eight days later from Richmond, Missouri:

Richmond, Missouri
November 12, 1838.

My dear Emma:-

We are prisoners in chains and under strong guards for Christ's sake and for no other causes. I received your letter, which I read over and over again; it was a sweet morsel to me. O God, grant that I may have the privilege of seeing once more my lovely family in the enjoyment of the sweets of liberty and sociable life; to press them to my bosom and kiss their lovely cheeks would fill my heart with unspeakable gratitude. Tell the children that I am alive, and trust I shall come and see them before long. Comfort their hearts all you can and try to be comforted yourself all you can.... Brother Robinson is chained next to me.... Brother Wight is next, Brother Rigdon next, Hyrum next, Parley next, and Amasa next.... 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 he, but care for them. Tell

3Crawford, op. cit., p. 3.
little Frederick father loves him with all his heart; he is a lovely boy. Julia is a lovely girl; I love her also. She is a promising child; tell her father wants her to remember him and be a good girl. ... Little Alexander is on my mind continually. O, my affectionate Emma, I want you to remember that I am a true and faithful friend to you and the children forever. My heart is entwined around yours forever and ever. O, may God bless you all. Amen. I am your husband and am in bonds and tribulation.

Joseph Smith, jr.

P. S. Write as often as you can, and if possible come and see me, and bring the children if possible. Act according to your own feelings and best judgment, and endeavor to be comforted, if possible, and I trust that all will turn out for the best.

J. S.

From Richmond the prisoners were taken to Liberty, Missouri where they were lodged in the jail there.

They reached Liberty December 1, and on the eighth the wives of Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon visited them remaining in jail all night and departing on the ninth. On December 20, the wives of Joseph Smith and Caleb Baldwin with Mrs. Reynold Cahoon visited and stayed in the jail until the twenty-second. On the twenty-first Emma and Don Carlos, G. W. Robinson and John Daley visited the jail. In February the wives of the prisoners and most of the Saints left the state so that the prisoners were visited mostly by strangers.

Emma and her children left with Stephen Markham, February 7, 1839.

It is reported by the Reorganized Church that it was

4Ibid., p. 4.

5Ibid.

6Nibley, Joseph Smith the Prophet, p. 303.
in the Liberty jail on one of these visits that the Prophet placed his hands on little Joseph and blessed him. They say that the boy never did forget the blessing given him by his father. (The boy would be between six and seven years old at the time.) They also claim that Lyman Wight who was with Joseph in the jail heard the blessing and that Joseph said "You are my successor when I depart."\(^7\)

EMMA CARRIES INSPIRED VERSION MANUSCRIPT IN FLIGHT FROM MISSOURI

It was late winter of 1838-39 that the followers of Joseph Smith straggled across the Mississippi to Quincy...among them was Emma Smith. She knew not where her husband was, nor whether he was dead or alive. In her arms were her two smallest children, Alexander and Frederick. The older two, Julia and little Joseph, clung to her skirts, as she crossed the frozen river on the ice. It was the 15th day of February, 1839 and bitterly cold.\(^8\)

Before she left Far West, the Prophet was taken prisoner and all of his papers were in the hands of his secretary, James Mulholland. Mulholland knew the value of the papers intrusted in his care, among which was the precious revision of the Scriptures. He feared he would be assailed by the mob as so many other men had and so he gave them to an older sister of his wife, Miss Ann Scott. (Mulholland reached Commerce, but died Sunday, November 3, 1839).

\(^7\)Davis, op. cit., p. 288.
\(^8\)Davis, op. cit., p. 287.
She made two cotton bags of sufficient size to contain them and sewing a band around the top ends long enough to button around her waist, carried them under the folds of her dress in the daytime "when the mob was around" and slept with them under her pillow at night. When Emma Smith was leaving Far West for Illinois, Ann Scott gave the papers into her keeping, and she carried them in the same way with her across the state of Missouri and over the icebound Mississippi.9

When Emma and her children fled from Missouri into Illinois they had old black Charley and his mate Jim hitched to the carriage. On the way they stopped at a farm house to ask for hospitality and a pack of dogs assailed them. The owner came out and in true western fashion invited them in and left Jonathan Holman to tend the team. The house was two log rooms separated by a driveway roofed-over, in which was stored saddles, bridles, salt, grain. They had some beds on the cord bedsteads and some on the floor before the fireplace. When they crossed the Mississippi they had to unhitch the horses because the ice was not heavy enough to support the wagon and all the furnishings, etc.10

When Emma reached Illinois with her family, they found shelter at the home of Judge Cleaveland in Quincy, where she was made welcome and kindly cared for throughout the rest of the winter.

On March 16, Wilford Woodruff arrived from his missionary labors and visited Emma. He called this a "happy privilege". It appears that the brethren and sisters loved Emma very much and felt responsible for her happiness and safety.

10Crawford, op. cit., p. 14
CHAPTER VII

LIFE ON THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI

(April 1839 - March 1842)

Joseph had been imprisoned all winter and into the late spring before the opportunity of escape presented itself. He arrived at Quincy, Illinois with his associates on April 22, 1839, and within fifteen days moved his family into a small log cabin at a place called Commerce. A description of the place from the records of the Historic Society of Illinois is as follows:

Eighteen miles below Nauvoo was Warsaw which had about 300 people. Carthage, the county seat, had 300 people. Augusta, St. Mary's, La Harpe, and Plymouth were neighboring cities. The whole county had only 6,000 population when the Mormons came.

Nauvoo is on rising ground at a place where the river is over a mile wide. The river swings around a rock bound shore in a semi-circle and then drops away into a chain of rapids. There were eight or nine blocks of bottom land just above high water and then a gradual rise to the temple site and then another rise out toward the prairie. The curve or bend in the river is shaped something like a horse-shoe. An island in the river is a mile long and 70 to 300 yards in width, thickly wooded.

Joseph journalized on it as follows:

I arrived with my family at the White purchase and took up my residence in a small log house on the bank of the river, about one mile south of Commerce City, hoping that I and my friends may here find a resting place for a little season at least. (Friday, May 10)

After the Prophet and his family moved to Commerce and work began to lay out a new city, many other families moved in along the river front.
Just prior to the time of the miraculous healings of the sick by the Prophet on the eighth, ninth and tenth of July, Joseph records that he was with the Twelve selecting hymns, for the purpose of compiling a hymn book. Whether the one published in 1835 was to be enlarged, or revised is not stated. It could be that most, if not all, of them were lost or unobtainable because of the many persecutions and drivings that the saints had endured. Evidently the selection was not used, for on Sunday October 27, the High Council voted:

Voted, that Sister Emma Smith select and publish a hymn-book for the use of the Church, and that Brigham Young be informed of this action and he not publish the hymns taken by him from Commerce; and that the Council assist in publishing a hymn-book and the "Times and Seasons".

Two days after this action the Prophet left for the East to go to Washington to plead with Van Buren for redress for the Saints and restoration of their lands in Missouri or for payment for their lands and property. He was gone the entire winter and returned to Nauvoo on March 4, 1840. Emma was left in the new town, where she was ill much of the winter and where she suffered greatly.

April 21, the Post-office Department Appointment Office officially changed the name of the city where the Smiths were living from Commerce to Nauvoo. ¹

¹Roberts, op. cit., p. 121.
The first child to be born to Emma Smith in Illinois was named after the Prophet's brother, Don Carlos. He was born June 13, 1840.

He was the seventh child born to Emma. About one year and two months later, on the seventh of August, his namesake died at the early age of twenty-six. The same month eight days later, sorrow again came to Emma, as this son, Don Carlos died on the fifteenth of August 1841, having lived to be fourteen months and two days old; thus, Emma lost four children out of the first seven born to her within a short time after their birth. And the end was not yet--On the day after Christmas, one year later, Emma had another son who did not survive his birth. (December 26, 1842). And a year and one-half later her Prophet-husband lay martyred before her. Surely the "Elect Lady" had her share of troubles and persecution.

Previous to this time, death also struck the home of the Prophet, with the death of his father September 14, 1840. After attending the funeral, which could not be delayed to await the arrival of Catherine, Emma's sister-in-law, Joseph and Hyrum fled the city to avoid their enemies who were intent on throwing them into prison again, and Emma was left alone once more to worry about the safety of her husband.

To complete this period of worry and sorrow, Emma's
mother died February 15, 1842.

I have not been able to find out when the news reached Emma of her mother's death; nor is there any record that I have been able to find of Emma's attending her father's or mother's funeral.

An interesting sidelight in the history of this time occurred on September 5, 1840, when Almon Babbitt accused Joseph of extravagance, that of buying three suits of clothes in Washington while he was there to visit President Van Buren, and also buying dresses and clothes for his family. (It seems that the age-old problem of how much money can be spent by a preacher of the gospel for personal use where the members help in his support was also a matter of controversy at this time.) (Poor Emma, I'll wager she appreciated the clothes, anyway.)

During the month of August 1841, John C. Bennett arrived in Nauvoo. He had been corresponding with the Prophet for some time previous to this. He informed the Prophet of his intentions to join the Church and of the positions that he held politically and his qualifications in the medical profession. He stated that he would like to help the Church as far as his power and influence could be used.

John C. Bennett was a polished diplomat; and was a quartermaster of the State of Illinois. He did much to secure the broad, liberal charter for the City of Nauvoo. For his
efforts he was rewarded by being made the first Mayor of Nauvoo. Within a decade Nauvoo tripled Chicago in size and became the largest city in the State of Illinois.

The corner stones of the Nauvoo Temple were laid April 6, 1841; but even before the death of the Prophet's father the year previous, Joseph had told him that it was now possible to do baptismal work for the dead, and Joseph Sr. requested that this work be done for Alvin, the Prophet's brother, who had died.

Many baptisms were performed in the font in the Temple beginning in November 1841. The Temple was completed after the martyrdom; however, other Temple work was performed on the second story of Joseph Smith's store. Emma Smith became the first female Temple Worker at this place. I have found no record of Emma's continuing this work in the Nauvoo Temple; sisters Billings and Cutler being mentioned as the women workers in the Temple.

---

CHAPTER VIII

"I AM THE ONLY WIFE HE EVER HAD"

(March 1842 - June 1844)

The period from the founding of Nauvoo until the martyrdom was a period of mixed feelings for Joseph and Emma. There were many deaths of loved ones with their attendant sorrows and there were times when with pride they watched the miraculous growth of the city beautiful. Emma took pride in watching her handsome husband at the head of the Nauvoo legion but worried considerably because Joseph had to be in hiding so much of the time to keep out of the hands of the Missourians who had plotted to kill him or bring him back to trial in their state. She made a number of trips with him at first; but because of her family duties and because he could hide out better alone, her visits were short ones and planned with care so that she would not lead his persecutors to him. It was during this period that they exchanged a number of messages and letters. Some of them are in the possession of the Church Historian of the Reorganized Church.

In the chapter entitled "A Price upon His Head" in the book, Nauvoo the Beautiful, E. Cecil McGavin having secured the permission of the Reorganized Church, has published these letters to show Joseph's great love and affection for Emma. And in the History of the Church volume 5, page 107, Joseph journalized as follows:

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 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. Many were the reverberations of my mind when I contemplated for a moment the many scenes we had been called to pass through, the fatigues and the toils, the sorrows and sufferings, and the joys and consolations, from time to time, which had strewn our paths and crowned our board. Oh what a commingling of thought filled my mind for the moment, again she is here, even in the seventh trouble—undaunted, firm, and unwavering—unchangeable, affectionate Emma!  

It cannot be denied that Joseph loved Emma. He counted the hours until his wife would be permitted to visit him in his despondency; and many times when friends called to see him in his places of hiding, he sent oral messages or short notes to her.  

At a later time when Joseph returned to his family he frequently wrote in his diary about his beloved companion, although this diary or journal was intended for publication. The following excerpts are but a few that show his solicitude for his wife:  

Thursday, 29.—This day, Emma began to be sick with fever; consequently I kept in the house with her all day.  

Friday, 30.—Emma is no better. I was with her all day.  

Monday, Oct. 3.—Emma was a little better. I was with her all day.  

Tuesday, 4.—Emma is very sick again. I attended with her all the day, being somewhat poorly myself.  

Emma and others met the prophet while he was in hiding at the place described in the article above August 11, 1842.
Wednesday, 5.—My dear Emma was worse. Many fears were entertained that she would not recover. She was baptized twice in the river, which evidently did her much good. She grew worse again at night and continued very sick indeed. I was unwell, and much troubled on account of Emma's sickness.

Thursday, 6.—Emma is better; may the Lord speedily raise her to the bosom of her family, that the heart of His servant may be comforted again. Amen.

Friday, 7.—Emma is somewhat better. I am cheerful and well.

Monday, 10.—Elder Taylor returned to Nauvoo and found Emma gaining slowly. My health and spirits are good.

Thursday, 20.—Emma is still getting better, and is able to attend to a little business.

Tuesday, Nov. 1.—I rode with Emma to the Temple for the benefit of her health. She is rapidly gaining.

Thursday, 3.—Rode out with Emma to the Temple.²

Joseph did love Emma and was also extremely happy when he could be with his children, but from the year 1841 until the time of his martyrdom a portion of that happiness seems to be lacking.

THE POLYGAMY QUESTION

The two leading churches of the Latter-day Saints, the Mormon and the Reorganized, take opposite stands on the question as to whether the Prophet Joseph Smith practised and taught the doctrine of plural marriage.

The Mormons teach that polygamy or plural marriage was first introduced among the Saints in Nauvoo in 1841,

²Journal History, (Dates listed above), 1842.
although the Prophet had had it in mind ever since 1831.3 We are told that he refrained for years from revealing this secret; we are also told that he finally talked to a few of his intimate friends concerning it, among them, Lorenzo Snow and the Johnsons.

In April 1841, however, the Mormon leader launched his sensational craft, by taking to himself another wife. The woman was not Prescindia Huntington. There were several before Prescindia Huntington, and several after her - some twenty-seven in all, not counting Emma. One of these was Eliza Snow, sister of Lorenzo Snow, and an intelligent woman of poetic ability. Having thus set the example, the prophet required that the Apostles enter the order....By the time of the martyrdom of the Smiths it was an open secret in Nauvoo and Hancock county generally that the Mormons were practising polygamy.4

Because of the extremely divergent views of these two Latter-day Saint Churches on this subject and because of its effect upon the life of the subject of this dissertation in such a personal way, and may account for her later actions in not supporting the leaders who had upheld her husband Joseph and whom he loved, I will endeavor to show the attitude of these churches on the subject, the attitude of non-Latter-day Saints and Emma's feelings on the subject as I am able to with the research material I have at the present time.

An exhaustive treatment of this subject would present enough material for another thesis fully as large as this one.

POINT OF VIEW OF THE REORGANIZED CHURCH

The following material is copied verbatim from the pamphlet Differences that Persist Between the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and the Utah Mormon Church, written by Elbert A. Smith, Presiding Patriarch of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. (pp. 18-22).

Coming now to the question of the origin of the doctrine and practice of polygamy, Brigham Young first promulgated the doctrine publicly in Salt Lake City in 1852. It is clearly in evidence that the church as an organization during the days of Joseph Smith had never received or sanctioned or been taught or in any way was involved in the doctrine or practice of polygamy. When, eight years after Joseph's death, Brigham Young brought this doctrine before his people he asserted it was predicated on a revelation given to Joseph Smith July 12, 1843. He claimed to have kept this document secretly after the death of Joseph Smith until he chose to make it public, He said:

"This revelation has been in my possession many years, and who has known it? None but those who should know it. I keep a patent lock on my desk, and there does not anything leak out that should not.--Supplement to Millennial Star, volume 15, page 31."

Unable to produce the original document, he declared that Emma Smith had burned it (Millennial Star Supplement, volume 15, page 30). To this, Emma Smith replied that she had never seen such a document, and added concerning the story that she had destroyed the original:

"It is false in all its parts, made out of whole cloth, without any foundation in truth."--Church History, volume 3, page 352. (The student will do well to read her entire testimony.)

Touching a question of veracity such as this we accept the testimony of Emma Smith on the strength of her record and her character.
Reorganized Church representatives have vigorously maintained that Joseph Smith neither taught nor practiced the doctrine. These six several points (and others, not here listed) have been set up by them in the controversy:

1. That no word from the pen or voice of Joseph Smith favorable to polygamy is found in any authentic publication representing the church prior to his death.

2. That, to the contrary, the teachings of the Standard Books of the church all enjoin monogamy. These books include the Book of Mormon, translated by Joseph Smith; the Doctrine and Covenants, containing revelations given through him; and the Inspired Version of the Bible, as corrected by him. These he left to the church as its constitutional law, presumably representing his own mind and will as well as the mind and will of God. Furthermore, the official organ of the church, the Times and Seasons, shortly before his death, contained his signed denunciation of polygamy and notice of expulsion from the church of one who had advocated it. (Times and Seasons, volume 5, page 423, see also volume 5, page 474, volume 5, pages 490, 491).

3. That his wife, Emma, of outstanding reputation for veracity, in her dying testimony denied that her husband ever had any other wife or ever sanctioned polygamy. She testified: "No such thing as polygamy, or spiritual wifery, was taught, publicly or privately, before my husband's death, that I have now, or ever had any knowledge of....He had no other wife but me; nor did he to my knowledge ever have." (Church History, volume 3, pages 355, 355). Under the terms of the so-called revelation Joseph could not have taken another wife without Emma's knowledge. His son, Joseph, president of the Reorganization for fifty-three years and personally known to thousands of us, joined in the testimony that his father had but one wife.

4. That there was never any progeny born to Joseph Smith excepting by his one wife, Emma. Judge John F. Phillips of the Circuit Court of the United States in his Temple Lot decision (1854) commented on that fact: "No such marriage ever occurred under the rules of the church, and no offspring came from the imputed illicit intercourse, although Joseph
Smith was in the full vigor of young manhood, and his wife, Emma, was giving birth to healthy children in regular order" (Decision of Judge Philips in the Temple Lot Case, pages 20-26). During July, 1833 Inez Davis of our Church Historical Department, prepared for me a list of the direct posterity of Joseph and Emma Smith. At that time there were 159 living and 31 dead, making a total of 190 descendants born to Joseph Smith through the line of his one wife Emma Hale Smith, and to date no posterity ever in evidence is credited to him from any of the numerous alleged plural wives. 190 to 0 is a heavy score against a system allegedly set up to produce posterity.

5. Testimony of women who claimed they were his wives shows evidence of fraud and collusion and does not "stand up in court". Two of them, thought to have clearer cases than others; actually did appear in person in the Temple Lot suit and Judge Philips discredited their testimony in his decision (See Decision, pages 20-26).

6. That the motive for deception on the part of Brigham Young and his immediate associates is found in the fact that on the twenty-ninth day of August, 1852, when they first brought the alleged "revelation" to light they were deeply involved in polygamy and desired to claim the sanction of heaven for their marital ventures. No one of them was a prophet. Brigham said publicly that he was neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet. Consequently they invoked the name and the memory of Joseph Smith who was revered by the church as a prophet; and at one stroke secured the prestige of his name and themselves came from under the onus of introducing the system which was destined to bring so much grief. On that day in 1852 when Brigham Young introduced the doctrine publicly he was, according to Utah biographers, the husband of twenty women. (See Pictures and Biographies of Brigham Young and His Wives, copyrighted 1896, and endorsed by the presidency of the Utah Church.) This was in direct conflict with the constitutional law of the church. Something had to be done. Something was done.

POINT OF VIEW OF THE MORMON CHURCH

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon) on the other hand claims that the revelation on
celestial marriage (Section 132 Utah Doctrine and Covenants) was recorded July 12, 1843, but was given before that time.

The date in the heading of the Revelation of the Eternity of the Marriage Covenant, Including the Plurality of Wives, notes the time at which the revelation was committed to writing, not the time at which the principles set forth in the revelation were first made known to the Prophet. This is evident from the written revelation itself which discloses the fact that Joseph Smith was already in the relationship of plural marriage, as the following passage witnesses:

✓"And let mine handmaid, Emma Smith, receive all those that have been given unto my servant Joseph, and who are virtuous and pure before me."

There is indisputable evidence that the revelation making known this marriage law was given to the Prophet as early as 1831. In that year, and thence intermittently up to 1833, the Prophet was engaged in a revision of the English Bible text under the inspiration of God, Sidney Rigdon in the main acting as his scribe. As he began his revision with the Old Testament, he would be dealing with the age of the Patriarchs in 1831. He was doubtless struck with the favor in which the Lord held the several Bible Patriarchs of that period, notwithstanding they had a plurality of wives. What more natural than that he should inquire of the Lord at that time, when his mind must have been impressed with the fact—Why, O Lord, didst Thou justify Thy servants, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; as also Moses, David, and Solomon, in the matter of their having many wives and concubines (see opening paragraph of the Revelation). In answer to that inquiry came the revelation, though not then committed to writing.

Corroborative evidences of the fact of the revelation having been given thus early in the Prophet's career are to be found in the early charges against the Church about its belief in "polygamy". For example: when the Book of Doctrine and Covenants was presented to the several quorums of the Priesthood of the Church for acceptance in the general assembly of that body, the 17th of August, 1835, an article on "Marriage" was presented by W. W. Phelps, which for many years was published in the Doctrine and Covenants. It was not a revelation nor was it presented as such to the general assembly of the priesthood.
It was an article, however, that represented the views of the assembly on the subject of marriage at that time, unenlightened as they were by the revelation already given to the Prophet on the subject. What the Prophet Joseph's connection was with this article cannot be learned. Whether he approved it or not is uncertain, since he was absent from Kirtland at the time of the general assembly of the priesthood which accepted it, on a visit to the Saints in Michigan. (See History of the Church, Vol. I, pp. 243-53).

In this article on marriage the following sentence occurs:

"Inasmuch as this Church of Christ has been reproached with the crime of fornication and polygamy, we declare that we believe that one man should have one wife, and one woman but one husband, except in case of death, when either is at liberty to marry again."

From this it is evident that as early at least as 1835 a charge of polygamy was made against the Church. Why was that the case unless the subject of "polygamy" had been mooted within the Church? Is it not evident that some one to whom the Prophet had confided the knowledge of the revelation he had received concerning the rightfulness of plural marriage--under certain circumstances--had unwisely made some statement concerning the matter?

Again, in May 1836, in Missouri, in a series of questions asked and answered through the Elder's Journal, the following occurs:

"Do the Mormons believe in having more wives than one?"

To which the answer is given;

"No, not at the same time."

This again represents the belief of the saints at that time, unenlightened as they then were by the revelation received by their Prophet. But again, why this question unless there had been some agitation of the subject? Had some one before the time had come for making known this doctrine to the Church, again unwisely referred to the knowledge which had been revealed to the Prophet some seven years earlier?
All these incidents blend together and make it clearly evident that the revelation on marriage was given long before the 12th of July, 1843. Doubtless as early as 1831.

In addition to these indirect evidences is the direct testimony of the late Elder Orson Pratt, of the Council of the Twelve Apostles. In 1878, in company with President Joseph F. Smith, Elder Pratt visited several states east of the Mississippi in the capacity of a missionary; and at Plano, Illinois, at a meeting of the so-called Reorganized Church of the Latter-day Saints, he was invited by the presiding officer, a Mr. Dille, and the meeting, to occupy the time which he did. In his remarks, according to his own and his companion's report of the meeting—

"Elder Pratt gave a plain, simple narration of his early experience in the Church, relating many interesting incidents connected with its rise; explained the circumstances under which several revelations were received by Joseph, the Prophet, and the manner in which he received them, he being present on several occasions of the kind. Declared (that) at such times Joseph used the Seer Stone when inquiring of the Lord, and receiving revelation, but that he was so thoroughly endowed with the inspiration of the Almighty and the spirit of revelation that he often received them without any instrument, or other means than the operation of the spirit upon his mind. Referred to the testimony which he received of the truth of the great latter-day work while yet a boy. Testified that these things were not matters of belief only with him, but of actual knowledge. He explained the circumstances connected with the coming forth of the revelation on plural marriage. Refuted the statement and belief of those present that Brigham Young was the author of that revelation; showed that Joseph Smith the Prophet had not only commenced the practice himself, and taught it to others, before President Young and the Twelve had returned from their mission in Europe, in 1841, but that Joseph actually received revelations upon that principle as early as 1831. Said: "Iyman Johnson, who was very familiar with Joseph at this early date, Joseph living at his father's house, and who was also very intimate with me, we having traveled on several missions together, 'told me himself that Joseph had made known to him as early as 1831, that plural marriage was a correct principle. Joseph declared to Lyman that God had revealed it to him, but that the
time had not come to teach or practice it in the Church, but that the time would come." To this statement Elder Pratt bore his testimony....He cited several instances of Joseph having had wives sealed to him, one at least as early as April 5th, 1841, which was some time prior to the return of the Twelve from England. Referred to his own trial in regard to this matter in Nauvoo, and said it was because he got his information from a wicked source, from those disaffected, but as soon as he learned the truth, he was satisfied.

(Signed) Orson Pratt  
(Signed) Joseph F. Smith

(The above is taken from a signed report of Elders Orson Pratt and Joseph F. Smith of the Council of the Twelve on the occasion of their visit to the East in 1878, and is to be found in the Millennial Star, Vol. 40, Nos., 49 and 50.)

Relative to the committing the revelation to writing on the 12th of July, 1843, that can best be told by the man who wrote the revelation as the Prophet Joseph dictated it to him, William Clayton; and the man who copied it the day following, Joseph Kingsbury; and from which copy the revelation was afterwards printed as it now stands in the current edition of the Doctrine and Covenants. In a sworn statement before John T. Caine, a notary public in Salt Lake City, on February 15th, 1874, William Clayton said:

"On the 7th of October, 1842, in the presence of Bishop Newel K. Whitney and his wife, Elizabeth Ann, President Joseph Smith appointed me Temple Recorder, and also his private clerk, placing all records, books, papers, etc., in my care, and requiring me to take charge of and preserve them, his closing words being, 'When I have any revelations to write, you are the one to write them.'

"On the morning of the 12th of July, 1843; Joseph and Hyrum Smith came into the office in the upper story of the brick store, on the bank of the Mississippi river. They were talking on the subject of plural marriage. Hyrum said to Joseph, 'If you will write the revelation on celestial marriage, I will take it and read it to Emma, and I believe I can convince her of its truth, and you will hereafter have peace.' Joseph smiled and remarked, 'You do not know Emma as well as I do.' Hyrum repeated his opinion, and further
remarked, 'The doctrine is so plain, I can convince any reasonable man or woman of its truth, purity and heavenly origin,' or words to that effect. Joseph then said, 'Well, I will write the revelation and we will see.' He then requested me to get paper and prepare to write. Hyrum very urgently requested Joseph to write the revelation by means of the Urim and Thummim, but Joseph in reply, said he did not need to, for he knew the revelation perfectly from beginning to end.

"Joseph and Hyrum then sat down and Joseph commenced to dictate the revelation on celestial marriage, and I wrote it, sentence by sentence, as he dictated. After the whole was written, Joseph asked me to read it through, slowly and carefully, which I did, and he pronounced it correct. He then remarked that there was much more that he could write on the same subject, but what was written was sufficient for the present.

"Hyrum then took the revelation to read to Emma. Joseph remained with me in the office until Hyrum returned. When he came back, Joseph asked him how he had succeeded. Hyrum replied that he had never received a more severe talking to in his life, that Emma was very bitter and full of resentment and anger.

"Joseph quietly remarked, 'I told you you did not know Emma as well as I did.' Joseph then put the revelation in his pocket, and they both left the office.

"The revelation was read to several of the authorities during the day. Towards evening Bishop Newel K. Whitney asked Joseph if he had any objections to his taking a copy of the revelation; Joseph replied that he had not, and handed it to him. It was carefully copied the following day by Joseph C. Kingsbury. Two or three days after the revelation was written Joseph related to me and several others that Emma had so teased, and urgently entreated him for the privilege of destroying it, that he became so weary of her teasing, and to get rid of her annoyance, he told her she might destroy it and she had done so, but he had consented to her wish in this matter to pacify her, realizing that he knew the revelation perfectly, and could re-write it at any time if necessary.

"The copy made by Joseph C. Kingsbury is a true and correct copy of the original in every respect. The copy was carefully preserved by Bishop Whitney, and but few knew of its existence until the temporary
location of the Camps of Israel at Winter Quarters, on the Missouri River, in 1846.

(Signed) Wm. Clayton
Salt Lake City, Feb. 16th, 1874

On May 22, 1886, Joseph C. Kingsbury made the following statement before Charles W. Stayner, a notary public, in Salt Lake City:

"In reference to the affidavit of Elder William Clayton, on the subject of the celestial order of patriarchal marriage, published in the Deseret News of May 20th, 1886, and particularly as to the statement made therein concerning myself, as having copied the original revelation written by Brother Clayton at the dictation of the Prophet Joseph, I will say that Bishop Newel K. Whitney, handed me the revelation above referred to either on the day it was written or the day following, and stating what it was, asked me to make a copy of it. I did so, and then read my copy of it to Bishop Whitney, we compared it with the original which he held in his hand while I read to him. When he had finished reading, Bishop Whitney pronounced the copy correct, and Hyrum Smith coming into the room at the time to fetch the original, Bishop Whitney handed it to him. I will also state that this copy, as also the original are identically the same as that published in the present edition (1886) of the Book of Doctrine and Covenants.

"I will add that I also knew that the Prophet Joseph Smith had married other women besides his first wife, Emma; I was well aware of the fact of his having married Sarah Ann Whitney, the eldest daughter of Bishop Newel K. Whitney and Elizabeth Ann Whitney, his wife. And the Prophet Joseph told me personally that he had married other women, in accordance with the revealed will of God, and spoke concerning the principle as being a command of God for holy purposes.

(Signed) Joseph C. Kingsbury"5

In the Journal History of the Church the following is recorded:

"Wednesday, July 12th, 1843 the following revelation was dictated by Joseph the Prophet and written in the presence of Hyrum Smith and Wm. Clayton:---"

---

5Roberts, op. cit., Vol. 5, Introduction XXIX - XXXIV
SECTION 132

(Underlining is my own).

1. Verily, thus saith the Lord unto you my servant Joseph, that inasmuch as you have inquired of my hand to know and understand wherein I, the Lord, justified my servants Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as also Moses, David and Solomon, my servants, as touching the principle and doctrine of their having many wives and concubines—

2. Behold, and lo, I am the Lord thy God, and will answer thee as touching this matter.

3. Therefore, prepare thy heart to receive and obey the instructions which I am about to give unto you; for all those who have this law revealed unto them must obey the same.

4. For behold, I reveal unto you a new and an everlasting covenant; and if ye abide not that covenant, then are ye damned; for no one can reject this covenant and be permitted to enter into my glory.

5. For all who will have a blessing at my hands shall abide the law which was appointed for that blessing, and the conditions thereof, as were instituted from before the foundation of the world.

6. And as pertaining to the new and everlasting covenant, it was instituted for the fulness of my glory; and he that receiveth a fulness thereof must and shall abide the law, or he shall be damned, saith the Lord God.

7. And verily I say unto you, that the conditions of this law are these: All covenants, contracts, bonds, obligations, oaths, vows, performances, connections, associations, or expectations, that are not made and entered into and sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise, of him who is appointed, both as well for time and for all eternity, and that too most holy, by revelation and commandment through the medium of mine anointed, whom I have appointed on the earth to hold this power (and I have appointed unto my servant Joseph to hold this power in the last days, and there is never but one on the earth at a time on whom this power and the keys of this priesthood are conferred), are of no efficacy, virtue, or force in and after the resur-
rection from the dead; for all contracts that are not made unto this end have an end when men are dead.

8. Behold, mine house is a house of order, saith the Lord God, and not a house of confusion.

9. Will I accept of an offering, saith the Lord, that is not made in my name?

10. Or will I receive at your hands that which I have not appointed?

11. And will I appoint unto you, saith the Lord, except it be by law, even as I and my Father ordained unto you, before the world was?

12. I am the Lord thy God; and I give unto you this commandment—that no man shall come unto the Father but by me or by my word, which is my law, saith the Lord.

13. And everything that is in the world, whether it be ordained of men, by thrones, or principalities, or powers, or things of name, whatsoever they may be, that are not by me or by my word, saith the Lord, shall be thrown down, and shall not remain after men are dead, neither in nor after the resurrection, saith the Lord your God.

14. For whatsoever things remain are by me; and whatsoever things are not be my shall be shaken and destroyed.

15. Therefore, if a man marry him a wife in the world, and he marry her not by me nor by my word, and he covenant with her so long as he is in the world and she with him, their covenant and marriage are not of force when they are dead, and when they are out of the world; therefore, they are not bound by any law when they are out of the world.

16. Therefore, when they are out of the world they neither marry nor are given in marriage; but are appointed angels in heaven; which angels are ministering servants, to minister for those who are worthy of a far more, and an exceeding, and an eternal weight of glory.

17. For these angels did not abide my law;
therefore, they cannot be enlarged, but remain separately and singly, without exaltation, in their saved condition, to all eternity; and from henceforth are not gods, but are angels of God forever and ever.

18. And again, verily I say unto you, if a man marry a wife, for time and for all eternity, if that covenant is not by me or by my word, which is my law, and is not sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise, through him whom I have anointed and appointed unto this power, then it is not valid neither of force when they are out of the world, because they are not joined by me, saith the Lord, neither by my word; when they are out of the world it cannot be received there, because the angels and the gods are appointed there, by whom they cannot pass; they cannot, therefore, inherit my glory; for my house is a house of order, saith the Lord God.

19. And again, verily I say unto you, if a man marry a wife by my word, which is my law, and by the new and everlasting covenant, and it is sealed unto them by the Holy Spirit of promise, by him who is anointed, unto whom I have appointed this power and the keys of this priesthood; and it shall be said unto them—Ye shall come forth in the first resurrection; and if it be after the first resurrection, in the next resurrection; and shall inherit thrones, kingdoms, principalities, and powers, dominions, all heights and depths—then shall it be written in the Lamb's Book of Life, that he shall commit no murder whereby to shed innocent blood, and if ye abide in my covenant, and commit no murder whereby to shed innocent blood, it shall be done unto them in all things whatsoever my servant hath put upon them, in time, and through all eternity; and shall be of full force when they are out of the world; and they shall pass by the angels, and the gods, which are set there, to their exaltation and glory in all things, as hath been sealed upon their heads, which glory shall be a fulness and a continuation of the seeds forever and ever.

20. Then shall they be gods, because they have no end; therefore shall they be from everlasting to everlasting, because they continue; then shall they be above all, because all things are subject unto them. Then shall they be gods, because they have all power and the angels are subject unto them.

21. Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye abide my law ye cannot attain to this glory.
22. For strait is the gate, and narrow the way that leadeth unto the exaltation and continuation of the lives, and few there be that find it, because ye receive me not in the world neither do ye know me.

23. But if ye receive me in the world, then shall ye know me, and shall receive your exaltation; that where I am ye shall be also.

24. This is eternal lives—to know the only wise and true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent. I am he. Receive ye, therefore, my law.

25. Broad is the gate, and wide the way that leadeth to the deaths; and many there are that go in thereat, because they receive me not, neither do they abide in my law.

26. Verily, verily, I say unto you, if a man marry a wife according to my word, and they are sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise, according to mine appointment, and he or she shall commit any sin or transgression of the new and everlasting covenant whatever, and all manner of blasphemies, and if they commit no murder wherein they shed innocent blood, yet they shall come forth in the first resurrection, and enter into their exaltation; but they shall be destroyed in the flesh, and shall be delivered unto the buffetings of Satan unto the day of redemption, saith the Lord God.

27. The blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, which shall not be forgiven in the world nor out of the world, is in that ye commit murder wherein ye shed innocent blood, and assent unto my death, after ye have received my new and everlasting covenant, saith the Lord God; and he that abideth not this law can in nowise enter into my glory, but shall be damned, saith the Lord.

28. I am the Lord thy God, and will give unto thee the law of my Holy Priesthood, as was ordained by me and my Father before the world was.

29. Abraham received all things, whatsoever he received by revelation and commandment, by my word, saith the Lord, and hath entered into his exaltation and sitteth upon his throne.

30. Abraham received promises concerning his seed, and of the fruit of his loins—from whose loins ye are, namely, my servant Joseph—which were to
continue so long as they were in the world; and as touching Abraham and his seed, out of the world they should continue; both in the world and out of the world should they continue as innumerable as the stars; or, if ye were to count the sand upon the sea-shore ye could not number them.

31. This promise is yours also because ye are of Abraham, and the promise was made unto Abraham; and by this law is the continuation of the works of my Father, wherein he glorifieth himself.

32. Go ye, therefore, and do the works of Abraham; enter ye into my law and ye shall be saved.

33. But if ye enter not into my law ye cannot receive the promise of my Father, which he made unto Abraham.

34. God commanded Abraham, and Sarah gave Hager unto Abraham to wife. And why did she do it? Because this was the law; and from Hagar sprang many people. This, therefore, was fulfilling, among other things, the promises.

35. Was Abraham, therefore, under condemnation? Verily I say unto you, Nay; for I, the Lord, commanded it.

36. Abraham was commanded to offer his son Isaac; nevertheless, it was written: Thou shalt not kill. Abraham, however, did not refuse, and it was accounted unto him for righteousness.

37. Abraham received concubines, and they bore him children; and it was accounted unto him for righteousness, because they were given unto him, and he abode in my law; as Isaac also and Jacob did none other things than that which they were commanded; and because they did none other things than that which they were commanded, they have entered into their exaltation, according to the promises, and sit upon thrones, and are not angels but are gods.

38. David also received many wives and concubines, and also Solomon and Moses my servants, from the beginning of creation until this time; and in nothing did they sin save in those things which they received not of me.
39. David's wives and concubines were given unto him of me, by the hand of Nathan, my servant, and others of the prophets who had the keys of this power; and in none of these things did he sin against me save in the case of Uriah and his wife; and, therefore he hath fallen from his exaltation, and received his portion; and he shall not inherit them out of the world, for I gave them unto another, saith the Lord.

40. I am the Lord thy God, and I gave unto thee, my servant Joseph, an appointment, and restore all things. Ask what ye will, and it shall be given unto you according to my word.

41. And as ye have asked concerning adultery, verily, verily, I say unto you, if a man receiveth a wife in the new and everlasting covenant, and if she be with another man, and I have not appointed unto her by the holy anointing, she hath committed adultery and shall be destroyed.

42. If she be not in the new and everlasting covenant, and she be with another man, she has committed adultery.

43. And if her husband be with another woman, and he was under a vow, he hath broken his vow and hath committed adultery.

44. And if she hath not committed adultery, but is innocent and hath not broken her vow, and she knoweth it, and I reveal it unto you, my servant Joseph, then shall you have power, by the power of my Holy Priesthood, to take her and give her unto him that hath not committed adultery but hath been faithful; for he shall be made ruler over many.

45. For I have conferred upon you the keys and power of the priesthood, wherein I restore all things, and make known unto you all things in due time.

46. And verily, verily, I say unto you, that whatsoever you seal on earth shall be sealed in heaven; and whatsoever you bind on earth, in my name and by my word, saith the Lord, it shall be eternally bound in the heavens; and whosoever sins you remit on earth shall be remitted eternally in the heavens; and whosoever sins you retain on earth shall be retained in heaven.
47. And again, verily I say whomsoever you bless I will bless, and whomsoever you curse I will curse, saith the Lord; for I, the Lord, am thy God.

48. And again, verily I say unto you, my servant Joseph, that whatsoever you give on earth, and to whomsoever you give any one on earth, by my word and according to my law, it shall be visited with blessings and not cursings, and with my power, saith the Lord, and shall be without condemnation on earth and in heaven.

49. For I am the Lord thy God, and will be with thee even unto the end of the world, and through all eternity; for verily I seal upon you your exaltation, and prepare a throne for you in the kingdom of my father, with Abraham your father.

50. Behold, I have seen your sacrifices, and will forgive all your sins; I have seen your sacrifices in obedience to that which I have told you. Go therefore, and I make a way for your escape, as I accepted the offering of Abraham of his son Isaac.

51. Verily, I say unto you: A commandment I give unto mine handmaid, Emma Smith, your wife, whom I have given unto you, that she stay herself and partake not of that which I commanded you to offer unto her; for I did it, saith the Lord, to prove you all, as I did Abraham, and that I might require an offering at your hand, by covenant and sacrifice.

52. And let mine handmaid, Emma Smith, receive all those that have been given unto my servant Joseph, and who are virtuous and pure before me; and those who are not pure, and have said they were pure, shall be destroyed, saith the Lord God.

53. For I am the Lord thy God, and ye shall obey my voice; and I give unto my servant Joseph that he shall be made ruler over many things; for he hath been faithful over a few things, and from henceforth I will strengthen him.

54. And I command mine handmaid, Emma Smith, to abide and cleave unto my servant Joseph, and to none else. But if she will not abide this commandment she shall be destroyed, saith the Lord; for I am the Lord thy God, and will destroy her if she abide not in my law.
55. But if she will not abide this commandment, then shall my servant Joseph do all things for her, even as he hath said; and I will bless him and multiply him and give unto him an hundred-fold in this world, of fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, houses and lands, wives and children, and crowns of eternal lives in the eternal worlds.

56. And again, verily I say, let mine handmaid forgive my servant Joseph his trespasses; and then shall she be forgiven her trespasses, wherein she has trespassed against me; and I, the Lord thy God, will bless her, and multiply her, and make her heart to rejoice.

57. And again, I say, let not my servant Joseph put his property out of his hands, lest an enemy come and destroy him; for Satan seeketh to destroy; for I am the Lord thy God, and he is my servant; and behold, and lo, I am with him, as I was with Abraham, thy father, even unto his exaltation and glory.

58. Now, as touching the law of the priesthood, there are many things pertaining thereunto.

59. Verily, if a man be called of my Father, as was Aaron, by mine own voice, and by the voice of him that sent me, and I have endowed him with the keys of the power of this priesthood, if he do anything in my name, and according to my law and by my word, he will not commit sin, and I will justify him.

60. Let no one, therefore, set on my servant Joseph; for I will justify him; for he shall do the sacrifice which I require at his hands for his transgressions, saith the Lord your God.

61. And again, as pertaining to the law of the priesthood—If any man espouse a virgin, and desire to espouse another, and the first give her consent; and if he espouse the second, and they are virgins, and have vowed to no other man, then is he justified; he cannot commit adultery for they are given unto him; for he cannot commit adultery with that that belongeth unto him and to no one else.

62. And if he have ten virgins given unto him by this law, he cannot commit adultery, for they belong to him, and they are given unto him; therefore is he justified.
63. But if one or either of the ten virgins, after she is espoused shall be with another man, she has committed adultery, and shall be destroyed; for they are given unto him to multiply and replenish the earth, according to my commandment, and to fulfil the promise which was given by my Father before the foundation of the world, and for their exaltation in the eternal worlds, that they may bear the soul of men; for herein is the work of my Father continued, that he may be glorified.

64. And again, verily, verily, I say unto you, if any man have a wife, who holds the keys of this power, and he teaches unto her the law of my priesthood, as pertaining to these things, then shall she believe and administer unto him, or she shall be destroyed, saith the Lord your God; for I will destroy her; for I will magnify my name upon all those who receive and abide in my law.

65. Therefore, it shall be lawful in me, if she receive not this law, for him to receive all things whatsoever I, the Lord his God, will give unto him, because she did not believe and administer unto him according to my word; and she then becomes the transgressor; and he is exempt from the law of Sarah, who administered unto Abraham according to the law when I commanded Abraham to take Hagar to wife.

66. And now, as pertaining to this law, verily, verily, I say unto you, I will reveal more unto you, hereafter; therefore, let this suffice for the present. Behold, I am Alpha and Omega. Amen.

This revelation is not to be found in the Doctrine and Covenants of the Reorganized Church and another thesis could well be written upon the problem of the differences between these two versions and the claims of each regarding the revelations claimed to be given during the lifetime of the Prophet.

Verse fifty-two of Section 132 definitely commands Emma to receive "all those that have been given unto my
servant Joseph, and who are virtuous and pure before me."
This statement it seems to me definitely proves that Joseph was married to other women before this time if one accepts the revelation to be divine and the date of the recording to be correct.

It also suggests that Emma may be having a difficult time to accept the revelation as divine for in the fifty-fourth to fifty-seventh verses it states:

54. And I command mine handmaid, Emma Smith, to abide and cleave unto my servant Joseph, and to none else. But if she will not abide this commandment she shall be destroyed, saith the Lord; for I am the Lord thy God, and will destroy her if she abide not in my law.

55. But if she will not abide this commandment, then shall my servant Joseph do all things for her, even as he hath said; and I will bless him and multiply him and give unto him an hundred-fold in this world, of fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, houses and lands, wives and children, and crowns of eternal lives in the eternal worlds.

56. And again, verily I say, let mine handmaid forgive my servant Joseph his trespasses; and then shall she be forgiven her trespasses, wherein she has trespassed against me; and I, the Lord thy God, will bless her, and multiply her, and make her heart to rejoice.

If Joseph may also have been partly in transgression as suggested in the fifty-sixth verse, the sixtieth verse suggests the sacrifice that will be required of him:

60. Let no one, therefore, set on my servant Joseph; for I will justify him; for he shall do the sacrifice which I require at his hands for his transgressions, saith the Lord your God.

On Tuesday May 14, 1843, the Prophet, putting his
hand on the knee of William Clayton, said:

Your life is hid with Christ in God, and so are many others. Nothing but the unpardonable sin can prevent you from inheriting eternal life for you are sealed up by the power of the Priesthood unto eternal life, having taken the step necessary for that purpose.

Except a man and his wife enter into an everlasting covenant and be married for eternity, while in this probation, by the power and authority of the Holy Priesthood, they will cease to increase when they die; that is, they will not have any children after the resurrection. But those who are married by the power and authority of the priesthood in this life, and continue without committing the sin against the Holy Ghost, will continue to increase and have children in the celestial glory. The unpardonable sin will be visited with judgment in the flesh, and the spirit being delivered to the buffetings of Satan until the day of the Lord Jesus.

The way I know in whom to confide--God tells me in whom I may place confidence.

In the celestial glory there are three heavens or degrees; and in order to obtain the highest, a man must enter into this order of the priesthood, (meaning the new and everlasting covenant of marriage;) and if he does not, he cannot obtain it. He may enter into the other, but that is the end of his kingdom: he cannot have an increase.6

The first sentence, "Your life is hid with Christ in God, and so are many others," suggests that many had accepted the doctrine by this time and that the nature of it demanded secrecy in order to fulfill the Lord's command.

It is significant that before April 1838 Oliver Cowdery had accused Joseph of adultery.

Some of the most provocative statements however, appear in the Journal History as follows:

April 29, 1842, Joseph writes, "A conspiracy against the peace of my household was made manifest and it gave me some trouble...the Lord manifests to me many things which it is not wisdom to make public until others can witness the proof of them.

This sounds to me like a reference to polygamy.

Again:

16th July, 1843. Preached in the morning and evening at the grove...concerning a man's foes being those of his own household.... I have secret enemies in the city mingling with the Saints...and slightly touched upon the subject of the everlasting covenant, and showed that a man and his wife must enter into that covenant in the world, or he will have no claim on her in the next world; but on account of the unbelief of the people I cannot reveal the fulness of these things at present.

I think that Joseph is referring here to the fact that Emma has rejected the revelation and is opposing him in his teaching the truths of it to others.

Again:

23, July 1843. Joseph speaking of those who assail him...that are too ignorant of the things of God which have been revealed to me to judge my actions, motives, or conduct in any correct manner whatever.

LORENZO D. WASSON'S LETTER

About one year before this time, Lorenzo D. Wasson, the only blood relative of Emma Hale to join the Church as far as I have been able to find out, wrote the following letter to Joseph and Emma. He makes an interesting statement at the end of the letter about Joseph's cautiousness in taking someone along with him when he goes visiting the sick so that he will not give people an opportunity to censure him for being unvirtuous:
Dear Uncle and Aunt:

With feelings of no ordinary character, and under peculiar circumstances, I now attempt to break the seeming long silence that has not been interrupted since I left your hospitable cottage and the society of those rendered dear to me by their virtues, their benevolence and their glorious institutions. That, with the assistance of my heavenly Father, has formed my character and habits for the society of saints and angels.

I am in the enjoyment of good health, and I believe entirely free from that miserable, contemptible disease that destroys the constitution of man, (namely ague and fever,) and what causes me greater rejoicing, I have, by the grace of God, abolished the more dangerous malady—one that binds the mind of man in midnight darkness, and obscures their destiny and eternal happiness in mystic clouds of uncertainty and doubt, namely sectarian cupidity. I have just returned to this city from a short excursion of four weeks through the south part of Jersey. Brother I. Ivins and myself were the first that ever proclaimed the everlasting gospel in that region of country; and to the disappointment of the people, and consternation of hireling priests we preached Christ, and him crucified, and presented new and important truths from their own Bibles that they never saw or heard of before. The people of this section are principally Methodists and Presbyterians, but they were inclined to believe the truth as it was presented, until the decrees of their long robed gods went forth commanding them not to hear or entertain these imposters, as we were called—0 delusion: 0 blind philosophy! how long will they unfortunate dupes be bulled by the ipse dixit of learned fools and holy knaves?

We were frequently obliged to leave the scriptures, or subject under consideration, and give lessons on good manners, and advise disorderly priests not to disgrace their parents by showing their bad breeding. We held a discussion with a college bred advocate of Calvinism on the 23rd; he would not show that Mormonism was false, as he had stated, so we took him upon Calvinism and I assure you he found himself in pooricking before we got through. We left many believing our
testimony, and intend to return next week and give them the second edition of the same important subject. When I arrived in Philadelphia the saints were in a tremendous flutter for the welfare of Brother Joseph, and their friends at Nauvoo. The disclosures of John C. Bennett and his satellites had just arrived, and the faith of some was failing—others doubting, and those founded on the rock were contending against such unheard of falsehoods and slanders and turning the reproach where it belongs—upon the heads of those black and midnight fiends who have made this bold attempt to destroy a virtuous people.

Great excitement in this city at this time—there is a discussion in progress between our beloved brother Adams and Dr. West the celebrated lion (liar) of sectarianism. It is really amusing to see these two champions contend with stentorian voice, eloquence, and language; and all the tact of argument that God lavishes upon the defenders of truth, and the devil upon his lawyers, is arrayed in this debate. It is appalling to hear the groans of priests—the clamor of infidels, and apparently the last dying struggles of modern Babylon beneath the ponderous weight of truth. May the time speedily arrive when she shall have kicked her last, and liberty, truth and happiness be the principles that stand as a watchword for the faithful who by their virtues make glad the city of God.

Although I have left the society of tried friends, the joyous circles of the young and gifted—the endearments of domestic happiness, surrounded with brothers and sisters—an affectionate mother in tears—and the society of those that would deem it a pleasure to administer to my necessities when sickness or adverse fortune had laid upon me her withering hand—I have done it for the cause of truth and not for worldly gain, applause, or pleasure—but it is my greatest delight to defend the truth against the attacks of holy hypocrites and Bible infidels—and by the assistance of God I intend to bring our relatives into the good work unless they persist in believing a lie that they may be damned. I intend going to Harpersville and Harmony this fall, unless I am advised to the reverse. Uncle, if you want any thing of me write to Toms River, N. J. I should be pleased to hear from you all. If I can be of any service in the Bennett affair I am ready. I was reading in your chamber last summer—yourself and Bennett came into the lower room, and I heard you give J. C. Bennett a tremendous flagellation
for practicing iniquity under the base pretence of authority from the heads of the Church—if you recollect I came down just before you were through talking. There are many things I can inform you of, if necessary, in relation to Bennett and his prostitutes. I am satisfied of your virtue and integrity. I have been with you to visit with the sick, and time and again to houses where you had business of importance you requested me to do so—many times I knew not why, but I am satisfied it was that you might not be censured by those that were watching you with a jealous eye, and I now solemnly protest before God and man, I never saw a thing un-virtuous in your conduct. With sentiments of high esteem to the children and family, I am your most obedient nephew.

L. D. Wasson

Mr. Joseph Smith
Mrs. Emma Smith

STATEMENTS OF BRIGHAM YOUNG CONCERNING PLURAL MARRIAGE AND ENDOGMENTS

The Reorganized Church claims that Joseph Smith never taught or practised polygamy and that it was initiated by Brigham Young. The Journal History re-printing from Brigham Young's journal for the date, October 23, 1843 records the following:

With Elder H. C. Kimball and George A. Smith I visited the Prophet Joseph, who was glad to see us; we paid him every cent of the means we had collected for the Temple and Nauvoo House. He taught us many principles illustrating the doctrine of celestial marriage, concerning which God had given him a revelation, July 12th.

And three months previous to this (Journal History, July 9, 1843) the following appeared:

Elder Brigham Young, Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith boarded the steamer "Lancet" at St. Louis and started for Cincinnatti, Ohio. The following is from

---

7Journal History, July 30, 1842.
Elder Young's journal:

Left St. Louis at 9½ a.m. for Cincinnati, on board the steamer "Lancet," and had conversation with various gentlemen who were inquiring after Mormonism, one of whom, a professor in a Southern University, said: "I have heard and read much of your people, and of Joseph Smith, but I have no confidence in newspaper stories, and if it would be agreeable, I would like to ask a few questions." I told him I would answer any questions he might propose, so far as I was able.

He then asked me if Joseph Smith had more wives than one. I told him I would admit he had, in order to explain the principle, I asked the gentleman if he believed the Bible, and was a believer in the Old and New Testament and in the resurrection.

I then asked him if he believed parents and children, husbands and wives would recognize each other in the resurrection. He said he did.

Also, if parents and children would have the same filial feeling towards each other which they have here, and he said he believed they would, and that their affections would be more acute than they are in this life.

I then said, "We see in this life, that amongst Christian, ministers, and all classes of men, a man will marry a wife, and have children by her; she dies, and he marries another, and then another, until men have had as many as six wives, and each of them bear children: this is considered all right by the Christian world, inasmuch as a man has but one at a time.

Now, in the resurrection this man and all his wives and children are raised from the dead, what will be done with those women and children, and who will they belong to? And if the man is to have but one, which ones in the lot shall he have?"

The Professor replied, he never thought of the question in this light before, and said he did not believe those women and children would belong to any but those they belonged to in this life.

"Very well," said I, "you consider that to be a holy place in the presence of God, angels, and celestial beings; would the Lord permit a thing to exist in His presence in heaven which is evil? And if it is right
for a man to have several wives, and children by those wives at the same time, here in this life, as was the case with Abraham and many of the old prophets? Or is it any more sinful to have several wives at a time than at a different time?"

He answered, "I cannot see that it would be any more inconsistent to have more wives in this life than in the next, or to have five wives at one time than at five different times; I feel to acknowledge it is a correct principle and a Bible doctrine, and I cannot see anything inconsistent in it."

After conversing with him upon the organization of the Church, the gospel, and the order of the priesthood, he remarked that such an organization possessed within itself all the elements of permanent success and prosperity, and the system of such a government could not be overthrown.

Reached Louisville on the 12th. While passing the locks we visited Mr. Porter, "the Kentucky Baby," a thin, spare man, 7 feet 7 inches high. We walked through and took a view of the city of Louisville, and then proceeded to Cincinnati, where we arrived on the 13th, at 5½ p.m. and stayed with the brethren. I dreamed that brother Joseph, called us home.

This was three days before the Mormon Church claims that the revelation was written down dictated by the Prophet from memory and suggests that at least some of the leaders knew about it before this time.

Fifteen months previous to this (May 4, 1842) Brigham Young states that the Prophet Joseph met seven men in his private office, he being one of them and Joseph taught them the ancient order of things:

May 4.- I met with Joseph, Hyrum, Heber, Willard, Bishops Whitney and Miller, and Gen. James Adams, in Joseph's private office, where Joseph taught the ancient order of things for the first time in these last days, and received my washings, annointings and endowments.
The Deseret News for February 11, 1884 page 3 in an article on the life of Shadrack Roundy written by Lucius W. Scovil said that he with four others finished the room in the upper part of the brick store on May 4th 1842 preparatory to giving endowments in it. The Prophet dictated how the room should be fixed up. Bathsheba W. Smith, who was closely associated with the Prophet and his family for some years before the martyrdom, corroborates this in the following article which appeared in the Young Woman's Journal, Vol. 4, pp. 294-295:

She was one of the few who had their endowments in the Prophet's life-time. And it is worthy of mention here that her testimony is that the ordinances in our temples today are exactly the same as that of the first ordinances given under the Prophet's direction. She had her blessings in 1843 in Nauvoo. The services were held in a large room over the store. Here was given those initial blessings to the apostles then in Nauvoo and here began the mighty work which is now of such magnitude. She remembers the names of the first couples who received endowments, and these were: The Prophet and wife, the Patriarch and wife, Brigham Young and wife, Heber C. Kimball and wife, Dr. Willard Richards and wife, Father Smith and wife and Father Joseph Smith and wife, Bishop Whitney and wife and Amasa Lyman and wife. Sister Eliza R. Snow acted as a secretary in the Nauvoo Temple for some time.

In the same volume of the Young Woman's Journal page 289 it states that Emma understood the endowment work and helped at this time:

Among the sisters who labored in the early years of the Church in the ordinances of the House of the Lord, the following names are worthy of our most reverent and grateful memory: In the Nauvoo Temple, Sisters Billings and Cutler, Emma Smith having done the work in the room over the Nauvoo Store.

Further notes from the History of Brigham Young as found in the Millenial Star Vol. 25, page 184, read:

May 26-- Met with the Prophet Joseph, the Patriarch Hyrum, Brothers Kimball and Richards, Judge James Adams, and Bishop N. K. Whitney, receiving our endowments and
instructions in the Priesthood. The Prophet Joseph administered to us the first ordinances of endowment, and gave us instructions on the Priesthood and the new and everlasting covenant.

and

28-- (Sunday) I met with brother Joseph, Hyrum, Heber, Willard, Bishop Whitney and Judge Adams, when we administered to brother Joseph the same ordinances of endowment, and of the holy priesthood which he administered to us.

and from Millennial Star Vol. 25 page 471:

Brigham Young talking about the dedication of the Kirtland Temple said:

I attended the solemn assembly and, with my brethren of the Twelve, received my washings and anointings and was privileged to listen to the teachings and administrations of the Prophet of God.

It appears from these statements that either the endowment was repeated a number of times or that a portion of it was given at a time until it was fully received.

It also appears that Emma may have received her endowments on the fourth (or most likely on the fifth) of May 1842 if she and Joseph were some of the first.

The date on the temple ordinance data is "1843" (one family group sheet in the archives of the Utah Genealogical Society). This may refer to May 28, 1843, to which Brigham Young refers.

From all of these statements it appears to me that Joseph Smith taught Brigham Young what was revealed to him on the subject of plural marriage and endowments instead of vice-versa.
In order to present the Mormon point of view still further and the bearing that it has upon the Latter-day Saint attitude toward Emma Smith, I submit the following letter of President George A. Smith to Joseph III, son of the Prophet Joseph Smith: (Underlining mine)

Salt Lake City
9 Oct. 1869

Cousin Joseph Smith,

Your letter from Plano of the 7th inst. was received. You are no doubt aware that from the year 1833, until the time of his massacre, I was intimately acquainted with your father, and on such terms of friendship with him as were enjoyed by but few others. In 1834, when on the journey to Missouri I was his armour bearer and stood guard at the tent in which was held his Councils. I was present at the organization of the High Council at Kirtland and that of Missouri. Was ordained a member of the 3rd High Council of the church which was organized at Adam-oni-ahman.

I visited your father in Liberty jail during his incarceration when he notified me that it was the will of God that I should be ordained one of the Twelve Apostles; after which I went on my mission to England, which occupied about two years, starting from "The foundation of the Lord's House" in Far West, Missouri, where at the hazard of our lives a few of us recommenced the foundation of the Temple; whence the brethren of the Twelve took leave of the Saints on the 26th of April, 1839. At one of the first interviews thereafter with your father I was greatly astonished at hearing from his lips that doctrine of Patriarchal marriage, which he continued to preach to me from time to time. My last conversation with him on this subject occurred just previous to my departure from Nauvoo (May 9, 1844) in company with Elder Wilford Woodruff, to attend conference in Michigan. A duty assigned us by your father in carrying out his instructions to the Twelve to hold conferences throughout the States, on which mission they were engaged at the time of his death, with the exception of Elders Richards and Taylor who shared his wrongs and
participated with him and Hyrum in the bloody scenes enacted in Carthage Jail.

In his last conversation he administered a little chastizement to me for not stepping forward as he had indicated in patriarchal marriage. He assured me that the man who had many virtuous wives had many great prizes, though he admitted that the man who had one virtuous wife had one great prize. He testified to me and to my father that the Lord had given him the keys of this sealing ordinance, and that he felt as liberal to others as he did to himself. He remarked that he had given Brigham Young three wives, Heber C. Kimball two, John Taylor three, Orson Hyde two, and many, a number of others, and said to me "You should not be behind your privileges". He had, all along, kept me posted as to many of his movements, in introducing the patriarchal order of marriage.

On the 5th day of April, 1841, Louisa Beaman was married to your father, Joseph Smith, for time and all eternity, by Joseph B. Noble, a High Priest of the church. She remained true and faithful to him until the day of her death. Brother Noble is still living.

June 4th 1842, Lucy Ann Decker was sealed to Brigham Young by your father in the presence of Willard Richards.

On the 29th of June, 1842 Brigham Young sealed Eliza R. Snow to your father, in the presence of Mrs. Sarah M. Cleveland.

September 20, 1843, Mellissa Lott was married by Hyrum Smith to your father in presence of Cornelius P. Lott and Permelia Lott.

May 1st 1843, Lucy Walker was sealed to your father by Wm. Clayton in presence of Eliza M. Partridge.

May 11, 1843, Emily D. and Eliza M. Partridge were married to your father by James Adams, a High Priest, in the presence of your mother, Emma Smith.

June 12, 1843 Rhoda Richards was sealed by Willard Richards, to your father.

In July, 1843, Desdemonia Fullmer was sealed by Brigham Young to your father, in presence of Heber C. Kimball.
24th of July 1843, Mary Ann Frost and Elizabeth Brotherton were sealed to Parley P. Pratt, by Hyrum Smith, Joseph being unwell, in presence of Mary Ann Young.

Aug. 11, 1843, Mercy C. Thompson was married for time to Hyrum Smith, by your father, in presence of Mary Smith.

In August 1843, Hyrum Smith married to Thos. Grover, by instruction of your father, two wives, viz., Caroline Whiting and Caroline E. Hubbard.

In November, 1843, Brigham Young sealed Fanny Murray, to your father, in presence of Mary Ann Young and Harriet Cook.

In 1844 Hyrum Smith sealed Catherine Clawson to Howard Egan. Egan had a wife at this time.

April 27, 1844, Adeline B. Andrus was sealed by President Hyrum Smith to Ezra T. Benson, in presence of Pamela A. Benson the first wife of Elder Benson.

Wm. Clayton, your father's business clerk, kept a daily journal noting every evening a synopsis of the business of the day so far as it came under his observation. On the 1st day of May, 1843 he made the following entry. "A.M. at the Temple: At ten, Married Joseph Smith and Lucy Walker".

On the 12th day of July 1843, Clayton in his journal says: "This a.m. I wrote at Joseph's dictation a Revelation consisting of ten pages on the order of the Priesthood, showing the design in Moses, Abraham, David and Solomon having many wives, etc., After it was written, Presidents Joseph and Hyrum presented it and read it to Emma. She said she did not believe a word of it, and appeared very rebellious."

A few of these casual items, I have named may explain to you why the following declaration was made by your father on the 6th day of April, 1844 "You don't know me; you never knew my heart. (No man knows my history.) I cannot tell it; I shall never undertake it; I don't blame any one for not believing my history. If I had not experienced what I have I could not have believed it myself."

The inauguration of these principles were a cover...
trial to your mother. At times, she received and
resolved to act upon her own hands: this intelligence
I had from your father's mouth.

August 12, 1843 Hyrum Smith read the Revelation
on Patriarchal marriage, given July 12th of that
year, to the High Council, then convened in his
private office. Several of these Councilors are
living and have given their testimony to the Church.

On the return of Lorenzo Snow from England, he
ascertained that his sister Eliza, was the wife of
your father. In relation to this subject, Lorenzo
made the following statement.

"In the month of April, 1843, I returned from
my European Mission. A few days after my arrival
at Nauvoo, when at President Joseph Smith's house
he said he wished to have a private talk with me
and requested me to walk out with him. It was
toward evening. We walked a little distance and
sat down on a large log that lay near the bank of
the river; he there and then explained to me the
doctrine of plurality of wives. He said that the
Lord had revealed it unto him and commanded him
to have women sealed to him as wives. That he fore-
saw the trouble that would follow and sought to turn
away from the commandment, that an angel from Heaven
then appeared before him with a drawn sword, threat-
ening him with destruction, unless he went forward
and obeyed the commandment. He further said, that
my sister Eliza R. Snow had been sealed to him as
a wife, for time and eternity. He told me that the
Lord would open the way etc. I should have women
sealed to me as wives. This conversation was pro-
longed, I think one hour or more, in which he told
me many important things."

When I (G.A.S.) returned to Nauvoo from my mission
in the fall of 1843, I met Hyrum at the landing. He
accompanied me on the way to my home when he recited
the most of the Revelation of Patriarchal Marriage,
and invited me to his house to receive further in-
struction. Next day, I called on your father, who
expressed his gratitude at the conversion of brother
Hyrum, and gave me additional views on the subject,
and spoke of the results of the same in the eternal
worlds.

Your father reasoned on these subjects in this
wise. He said the Lord denounced in the Bible every species of crime. He proclaimed against adultery, fornication, and divorce, but never against plurality of wives; and in all cases where his faithful (sic)—he blessed them for it. He punished King David severely for his adultery with the wife of Uriah; and while God by the mouth of his prophet was chastening him he says; "I gave thee thy master's house and thy master's wives into thy bosom, and gave thee the house of Israel and Judah, and if that had been too little, I would moreover have given unto thee such and such things."

When the passage in the Book of Mormon enjoining monogamy was referred to your father, he replied that "God has commanded us."

Any one who will read carefully the denials, as they are termed, of plurality of wives in connection with the circumstances will see clearly that they denounce adultery, fornication, brutal lust and the teaching of plurality of wives by those who were not commanded to do so; showing clearly that it was understood that such commandment would be given to others.

In all kindness, Cousin Joseph, after having been many years associated with your father, and scores of times heard him testify that God had commanded him on pain of damnation to introduce this doctrine, and that he had to do it as the people would bear it, you must not be astonished that I cannot receive your testimony that God had shewn to you that the doctrine of plurality of wives is untrue. When your father placed the authority to bear off the kingdom on the Twelve, he gave them keys by which they could determine whether a revelation was from God or from some other source. I, being one of the Twelve who received these Keys, testify that your testimony denying Plurality of wives is not from God.

I have given you a few incidents from facts as they existed, and in distributing your addresses, I am only giving the folks who had the opportunity of hearing your father's arguments, an opportunity of comparing them with your own. The obligation which rested upon your father to establish this order of Patriarchial Marriage beyond the power of destruction seemed like a weight to crush him to the earth, but knowing the redemption and exaltation of the human race depended upon it, notwithstanding the bigotry of his friends, the opposition of his own house, the universal tradition
of the Christian world, and the law of Illinois against it, he felt to rejoice that he was enabled to fulfill his mission and place beyond the power of men to destroy an institution which would redeem the female sex from degradation and exalt mankind to celestial glory and increase.

Inclosed find a five dollar order on Chicago. Have the goodness to credit me with one year's subscription for the "Herald"; the balance forward me in addresses, as I have distributed all I had.

Affectionately, your cousin,
Geo. A. Smith

EMMA SMITH'S LAST TESTIMONY

Other testimonies and affidavits to prove that Joseph Smith and not Brigham Young was the first to teach and practice polygamy were published in the Deseret Evening News, October 18, 1879. (Journal History, October 17, 1879):

JOSEPH THE SEER'S PLURAL MARRIAGES. HIS WIFE EMMA'S CONSENT THERETO.

The following testimony in relation to the Prophet Joseph Smith's marital relations will be of great interest to the Latter-day Saints, and should offer convincing proof to every one who reads it, that the martyred Seer not only taught, but entered into the practice of plural marriage, and that he did so with the full knowledge, consent and assistance of his wife Emma, whose alleged "last testimony" has been published, containing a denial of these facts. There is no need of these proofs to the saints who lived in Nauvoo, nor the great bulk of those who never resided there; but they are given for the benefit of all who may entertain any doubts whatever upon this important subject:

Salt Lake City
Oct. 17th 1879

"Editor Deseret News":
Dear Sir:

While I am aware of your disinclination to publish

---

8Letter Book, No. 6, p. 891, (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Office).
the many foolish fabrications of back sliders from
the faith, and your general reticence on this subject.
yet some statements contained in a paper lately forward-
ed to me being of no ordinary kind, demand the public-
ation of certain facts which I have in my possession,
which must be my apology for presenting this matter.

No one can regret more than myself the necessity
of presenting to the numerous readers of the News,
certain facts relative to Joseph Smith's (the prophet)
connection with the revelation on celestial or plural
marriage and the inauguration of the doctrine in the
church; and were it not for the truth in which I and
my children and the church are deeply interested, and
in which the whole world should feel vitally concerned,
I would seek to avoid this unpleasant task.

But in order, as briefly as possible, to present
the whole subject I will quote a portion of a dialogue
or colloquy which is said to have occurred between
Joseph Smith, the son, and Emma Bidamon, once the wife
of Joseph Smith, the martyred Prophet, at Nauvoo, in
February last, and published in a monthly paper called
The Saint's Advocate, as the "Last Testimony of Sister
Emma". Joseph Smith is represented as asking the
questions while Emma Bidamon furnishes the answers,
as follows:

Q. "What about the revelation on polygamy? Did
Joseph Smith have anything like it? What of spiritual
wifery?

A. "There was no revelation on either polygamy
or spiritual wives. There were some rumors of something
of the sort of which I asked my husband (Joseph Smith.)
He assured me that all there was of it was, that in a
chat about plural wives he had said: "Well, such a
system might possibly be, if everybody was agreeed to it,
and would behave as they should; but they would not;
and besides it was contrary to the will of heaven." No
such thing as polygamy or spiritual wifery was taught
publicly or privately before my husband's death that I
have now or ever had any knowledge of."

Q. "Did he not have other wives than yourself?"

A. "He had no other wife but me, nor did he to my
knowledge ever have."

Q. "He did not hold marital relations with women
other than yourself?"

A. "He did not have improper relations with any woman that ever came to my knowledge."

Q. "Was there nothing about spiritual wives that you recollect?"

A. "At one time my husband came to me and asked me if I had heard certain rumors about spiritual marriages, or anything of the kind; and assured me that if I had that they were without foundation; that there was no such doctrine, and never should be with his knowledge or consent. I knew that he had no other wife or wives than myself in any sense spiritual or otherwise."

In reply to the foregoing, I will give you the sworn statements and affidavits of a few reliable persons--among whom are two of the wives of the Prophet Joseph Smith which I think will assert quite as strong claims for belief and present a much better appearance of veracity than the published dialogue between Joseph Smith and his mother, for this reason, if no other, these people, well known to this community, are mostly still "living and can be cross examined, while "sister Emma," whose lips are sealed in death, is represented as denying facts which it can be abundantly proven were well known to her, and to many now living in these mountains, besides those whose affidavits and statements accompany this communication. It is but fair to note that these affidavits were given many years ago, in view of the denials, then being made by the representatives of that faction known as the "Reorganized Church" and before "Sister Emma" it is hoped, ever dreamed of denying facts which no one better knew than she did herself, and as I have good reason to believe, from admissions made to me by Alexander H. Smith, in 1866 and subsequently by Joseph Smith himself, before, even Joseph could muster the courage or dared to venture upon the hazardous and untenable ground his mother, now she is dead, is made to assume; which ground, if her memory of facts had failed, she should have assumed, herself, years ago. But to the proof:

Territory of Utah

County of Salt Lake (ss)

Be it remembered, that on this twenty sixth day of June A. D. 1869, Personally appeared before me, James
Jack, a notary public in and for said county, Joseph Bates Noble, who was by me sworn in due form of law, and upon his oath saith, that in the fall of 1840, Joseph Smith taught him the principles of Celestial or Plural marriage, or a plurality of wives; and that the said Joseph Smith declared that he had received a revelation from God on the subject, and that the angel of the Lord had commanded him (Joseph Smith) to move forward in the said order of marriage; and further, that the said Joseph Smith requested him (Joseph B. Noble) to step forward and assist him in carrying out the said principle, "In revealing this to you, I have placed my life in your hands, therefore, do not in an evil hour, betray me to my enemies".

Subscribed and sworn to by the said Joseph B. Noble, the day and first above written.

SEAL

JOSEPH B. NOBLE.
JAMES JACK.
NOTARY PUBLIC.

Elder Noble is still living at Bountiful, Davis County, Utah and can be examined again on this and other points connected with this subject, with which he is familiar. I will here further state that Elder Joseph B. Noble swears (the affidavit I have on hand) before a notary public, on June 6th 1869, that he did on April 5, 1841 seal to Joseph Smith the Prophet, Miss Louisa Beaman, according to the revelation on Plural marriage.

Testimony of Benjamin F. Johnson, now residing at Spring Lake villa, Utah County, U.T.:

On the first day of April A.D. 1843, President Joseph Smith, Orson Hyde and William Clayton, and others, came from Nauvoo to my residence in Macedonia or Ramus, in Hancock County, Illinois, and were joyfully welcomed by myself and family as our guests.

On the following morning, President Smith took me by the arm for a walk; leading the way to a secluded spot within (sic.) an adjacent grave, there, to my great surprise, he commenced to open up to me the principle of plural or celestial marriage, but I was more astonished by his asking me for my sister Almera to be his wife. I sincerely believed him to be a Prophet of God, and I loved him as much for the many evidences of his kindness to me, yet such was the force of my education, and the scorn that I felt towards anything unvirtuous, that under
the first impulse of my feelings, I looked him calmly, but firmly in the face and told him that I had always believed him to be a good man and wished to believe it still and would try to; and that I would take for him a message to my sister, and if the doctrine was true, all would be well, but if I should afterwards learn that it was offered to insult or prostitute my sister I would take his life. With a smile he replied, "Benjamin, you will never see that day, but you shall live to know that it is true and rejoice in it."

He wished me to see my sister and talk to her. I told him I did not know what I could say to convince her. He replied, "When you open your mouth, you shall be able to comprehend, and you shall not want for evidence nor words." He also told me that he would preach a sermon that day for me which I would understand while the rest of the congregation would not comprehend his meaning. His subject was the ten talents, 'unto him that hath shall be given and he shall have abundantly, but from him that hath not, (or will not receive,) shall be taken away that which he hath (or might have had). Plainly giving me to understand that the talents represented wives and children, as the principle of enlargement throughout the great future to those who were heirs of salvation.

I called my sister to private audience and with fear and trembling and feelings I cannot express, commenced to open the subject to her, when just as he had promised, the light of the Lord shone upon my understanding and my tongue was loosed, and I at least, was convinced of the truth of what I was attempting to teach.

My sister received my testimony, and in a short time afterwards consented to become the wife of President Smith.

Subsequent to this I took her to the city of Nauvoo, where she was married, or sealed for time and eternity, to President Joseph Smith, by his brother Hyrum Smith, in the presence of myself and Louisa Beamon, who told me she had also been sealed or married to the Prophet Joseph. This was at the residence of my sister, the widow of Lyman R. Sherman, who also was a witness.

After a short period President Smith and company viz. George Miller, Wm. Clayton, J. M. Smith and Eliza and Emily Partridge (who were the wives of the Prophet) came again to Macedonia (Ramus), where he remained two
days, lodging at my house with my sister as man and wife (and to my certain knowledge he occupied the same bed with her). This visit was on the 16th and 17th of May, 1843, returning to Nauvoo on the 18th.

Again on the 19th of October, the same year, President Smith made us another visit at Macedonia and remained till the 21st. He was accompanied by Wm. Clayton. At this time (Oct. 20th 1843) he sealed my first wife to me for time and all eternity.

He also visited my mother at her residence in Macedonia and taught her in my hearing the doctrine of celestial marriage, declaring that an angel appeared unto him with a drawn sword, threatening to slay him if he did not proceed to fulfill the law that had been given to him. And counselled my mother to be sealed to his uncle (father John Smith, father of Geo. A. Smith) to which she consented and to my certain knowledge was subsequently sealed to him by the Prophet.

After the death of the Prophet, I told President Brigham Young what he (Jos. Smith) had said to me relative to my taking Mary Ann Hale to wife. Prest. Young said it was right and authorized Father John Smith to seal her to me, which he did on the 14th of November, 1844.

Signed B. F. JOHNSON

Territory of Utah (ss)
County of Salt Lake

Be it remembered that on this fourth day of March, 1870, personally appeared before me, James Jack, a notary public in and for said county. Benjamin F. Johnson, who was by me sworn in due form of law, and upon his oath deposeseth and saith that the foregoing statements and testimony by him made and given are true and correct.

Signed B. F. JOHNSON

Subscribed and sworn to be the said B. F. Johnson, the day and year above written.

SEAL

JAMES JACK,
Notary Public
Testimony of Lorenzo Snow, now presiding at Brigham City, Box Elder County, Utah:

In the month of April 1843, I returned from my European mission. A few days after my arrival at Nauvoo, when at President Joseph Smith's house, he said he wished to have some private talk with me, and requested me to walk out with him. It was towards evening, we walked a little distance and sat down on a large log that lay near the bank of the river; he there and then explained to me the doctrine of plurality of wives. He said that the Lord had revealed it unto him and commanded him to have women sealed to him as wives, that he foresaw the trouble that would follow and sought to turn away from the commandment, that an angel from heaven appeared before him with a drawn sword, threatening him with destruction unless he went forward and obeyed the commandment.

He further said that my sister Eliza R. Snow had been sealed to him as his wife for time and eternity. He told me that the Lord would open the way, and I should have women sealed to me as wives. This conversation was prolonged I think one hour or more, in which he told me many important things. I solemnly declare before God and holy angels, and as I hope to come forth in the morning of the resurrection, that the above statement is true.

Signed Lorenzo Snow

Territory of Utah (ss)
Box Elder County (ss)

Personally came before me J. C. Wright, clerk of the county and probate Courts in and for the county and Territory aforesaid, Lorenzo Snow, and who being duly sworn, deposeseth and says, that the foregoing statement by him subscribed is true of his own certain knowledge.

Witness my hand and seal of court at my office, Brigham City, Box Elder County, Utah Territory, this 28th day of August, A.D. 1859.

J. C. WRIGHT.
CLERK
Affidavit of John Benbow, now deceased:

Territory of Utah (ss)
County of Salt Lake (ss)

Be it remembered that on this twenty-eight day of August, A.D. 1849 personally appeared before me, James Jack, a notary public, in and for said county, John Benbow, who by me sworn in due form of law, and upon his oath said that in the spring of fore part of summer of 1843, at his house, four miles from Nauvoo, County of Hancock, State of Illinois, President Joseph Smith taught him and his wife, Jane Benbow, the doctrine of celestial marriage, or plurality of wives, Hyrum Smith being present.

And further, that Hannah Ellis Smith, a wife of the Prophet, boarded at his house two months during the summer of the same year; and the said Hannah E. Smith also lived at his house several months in 1844, after the Prophet's death. And further, that President Smith frequently visited his wife Hannah at his (J.B's) House.

Signed JOHN BENBOW

Subscribed and sworn to by the said John Benbow, the day and year first written.

SEAL JAMES JACK
NOTARY PUBLIC.

I might continue to multiply these statements and testimonies both of the living and the dead until your paper could not contain them, but the foregoing is sufficient to prove that Joseph Smith did teach the doctrine of plural marriage several years before his death, and not only so, but that he did also practice what he taught. Further, the fact is established that Joseph Smith received the revelation on celestial or plural marriage, and the eternity of the marriage covenant, prior to July 12th, 1843, the time when a portion of said revelation was written. The circumstances connected with the writing of this revelation at that date are fully set forth in an affidavit in my possession, by the clerk or scribe who first wrote it from the dictation of the Prophet. It is however, somewhat lengthy, and as circumstances do not seem to require, I will
hold it for the present and will now come closer home.

Affidavits of two of the wives of Joseph Smith, the Prophet:

Territory of Utah (ss)
County of Millard (ss)

Be it remembered that on the first day of July A.D. 1869, personally appeared before me, Edward Partridge, Probate Judge in and for said County, Eliza M. Partridge Lyman, who was by me sworn in due form of law, and upon her oath saith, that on the 11th day of May 1843, at the City of Nauvoo, County of Hancock, State of Illinois, she was married or sealed to Joseph Smith, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, by James Adams, a high priest in said Church, in the presence of Emma (Hale) Smith and Emily D. Partridge.

Signed, Eliza M. P. Lyman

Subscribed and sworn to by the said Eliza Maria Lyman, the day and year first above written.

Edward Partridge
Probate Judge.

And Again:

Territory of Utah, (ss)
County of Salt Lake, (ss)

Be it remembered that on this first day of May, A.D. 1843, at the City of Nauvoo, County of Hancock, State of Illinois, she was married (or sealed) to Joseph Smith, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, by James Adams a high priest in said Church...in presence of Emma (Hale) Smith, now Emma Bidamon and Eliza M. Partridge Smith (now Eliza M. Lyman).

Signed Emily D. P. Young

Subscribed and sworn to by the said Emily D. P. Young, the day and year first above written.

Elias Smith
Probate Judge.
One more statement will suffice for the present, although if necessary many more sworn statements of reliable individuals could be furnished upon the subject, besides the testimonies of scores of living witnesses in absolute denial of the alleged "last testimony of Sister Emma."

**CERTIFICATE**

I, Lovina Walker (eldest daughter of Hyrum Smith), hereby certify, that while I was living with aunt Emma Smith, in Fulton County, Illinois, in the year 1846, she told me that she, Emma Smith, was present and witnessed the marrying or sealing of Eliza Partridge, Emily Partridge, Maria Lawrence, and Sarah Lawrence to her husband, Joseph Smith, and that she gave her consent thereto.

Signed LOVINA WALKER.

We hereby witness that Lovina Walker made and signed the above statement, on the 16th day of June, A.D. 1869, at Salt Lake City, Salt Lake County, U.T., of her own free will and accord.

Signed HYRUM S. WALKER
SARAH E. SMITH
JOSEPH F. SMITH

Again, the foregoing is but a small part of the testimony that can be brought forward in relation to Sister Emma's knowledge of this principle. But is not this sufficient to convince any honest enquirer that the alleged, "Last testimony of Sister Emma, is incorrect? That Joseph Smith did not only teach but practice this doctrine and that, too, with the full knowledge and consent of his first wife, Emma Smith. Indeed, if there is anything wanting to establish this fact, the ladies, (except Lovina Walker, who is now dead) whose testimonies are given above are still living, one in this city and the other in Fillmore, Millard Co., U.T. and can testify that Emma Smith (late Emma Bidamon) did herself teach them this principle, and with her own hand gave them to wife to her husband.

Respectfully,

Joseph F. Smith

We have also received the following, which corroborates the above in a most convincing manner. The
saints have perfect confidence in the testimony of
Sister Eliza:

Salt Lake City,
Oct. 17th, 1879.

Editors Deseret News:

Recently, to my great astonishment I read an
article headed: "Last Testimony of Sister Emma,"
published in the Saints advocate, a pamphlet issued
in Plano, Ill.

In the article referred to, her son Joseph reports
himself as interviewing his mother on the subject of
polygamy, asking questions concerning his father.
Did his father teach the principle? Did he practice
or approve of it? Did his father have other wives
than herself? To all of these and similar inquiries
Sister Emma is represented as answering in the nega-
tive, positively affirming that Joseph the Prophet
had no other wife or wives than her; that he neither
taught the principle of plurality of wives, publicly
or privately.

I once dearly loved "Sister Emma", and now, for
me to believe that she, once highly honored woman,
should have sunk so low, even in her own estimation,
as to deny what she knew to be true, seems a pal-
pable absurdity. If what purports to be her "last
testimony" was really her testimony, she died with
a libel on her lips--a libel against her husband--
against his wives--against the truth, and a libel
against God; and in publishing that libel, her son
has fastened a stigma on the character of his mother,
that can never be erased. It is a fact that Sister
Emma, of her own free will and choice, gave her
husband four wives, two of whom are now living, and
ready to testify that she, not only gave them to her
husband, but that she taught them the doctrine of
plural marriage and urged them to accept it. And
if her son wished to degrade his mother in the es-
timation of her former associates, those familiar with
the incidents of the period referred to, he could
not do it more effectually than by proving her denial
of any knowledge of polygamy, (celestial marriage) and
its practice by her husband. Even if her son ignored
his mother's reputation for veracity, he better had
waited until his father's wives were silent in death,
for now they are here living witnesses of the divinity
of plural marriage, as revealed by the Almighty,
through Joseph Smith, and who was commanded to in-
troduce it by taking other wives.
So far as Sister Emma is personally concerned, I would gladly have been silent and let her memory rest in peace, had not her misguided son, through a sinister policy, branded her name with gross wickedness—charging her with the denial of a sacred principle which she had heretofore not only acknowledge but had acted upon—a principle than which there is none more important comprised in the Gospel of the Son of God.

It may be asked, Why defend plurality of wives, since the United States Government forbids its practice? The action of the executors of this government can neither change or annihilate a fundamental truth; and this nation, in preventing the practice of plural marriage, shoulders a heavier responsibility than any nation, with one exception—that of the ancient Jew. If the government can afford it, we can. The controversy is with God not us. (Des. News. 28:604)

ELIZA R. SNOW.

A WIFE OF JOSEPH SMITH THE PROPHET

MALISSA WILLES' STATEMENT

Salt Lake City, Utah
August 4th, 1893

Mrs. Malissa Willes, of Lehi City, Utah County, Utah Territory being duly sworn, deposes and says she is a citizen of the United States and over the age of 21 years. That Mr. Joseph Smith Jr. of Lamoni, Iowa, called upon me at my home at Lehi, Utah County and we conversed upon the subject of his late father, the Prophet Joseph Smith having had more wives than his mother in his lifetime. I told him that I was married to his father, the prophet, on Sept. 20, 1843, by Hyrum Smith, at Nauvoo in the presence of my parents and Joseph and Hyrum Smith. My age at that time was 19 years and 9 months, and I lived with him as his wife until his death.

Mr. Joseph Smith Jr., asked if I would answer him a few plain questions for his own special benefit, I told him I would do so with pleasure.

Q. Were you married to my father?

A. Yes.
Q. When?
A. I handed him the family Bible, in which was recorded by my father, at the time, the record of my said marriage, and told him he would find it there.

Q. Was (sic) you a wife in very deed?
A. Yes.

Q. Why was there no increase, say in your case?
A. Through no fault of either of us, lack of proper conditions on my part probably, or it might be in the wisdom of the Almighty that we should have none. The Prophet was martyred nine months after our marriage.

Q. Did you know of any Brother or Sister of mine by my father's plural wives?
A. I did not know of any.

Q. Did my father give his consent for you to marry Ira J. Willes?
A. Certainly not, your father was dead a number of years before I married Mr. Willes. I married Mr. Willes May 13th, 1849 with the full understanding it was for time only.

Mr. Smith then told me of his mother having denied to him of his father having had more wives than her, in the presence of witnesses.

Yes, I said to him, you took your mother before Mr. Bideman, (sic) a bitter enemy of our people, and then asked such questions of her as you wished in his (Bideman's) presence, and she may have answered you as you have now told me. I further said to him, I have no doubt your mother told you the truth so far as she could under the circumstances; but if you had taken her by herself, as you have done me and asked your questions, she would probably have answered you as I have done.

Mrs. Malissa Willes further deposes and says that, I do not know of any person by the name of Stephen Malony, and never met him nor his wife or her sister,
but I do know that I never told him or any other person in 1857 or at any other time that I was not the wife of the late Prophet Joseph Smith.

Malissa Willes

Subscribed and sworn to before me the 4th day of August, A.D. 1893.

Notarial Seal
James Jack, Notary Public for Salt Lake County, U.T.

REMARKS OF PRES. HEBER C. KIMBALL ABOUT EMMA

The following are the remarks of President Heber C. Kimball given Sunday July 12, 1857 under the Bowery at Salt Lake City. There were two meetings held that day. President Kimball spoke at the morning meeting. His remarks were reported by G. D. Watt. Only the middle part of his talk dealing with Emma Smith is recorded below:

How can you find out whether Brother Brigham is called of God, except you have a revelation from God? And then some are not fully satisfied but will doubt the revelation that God has given them.

You think you would not. I have known many who have. Oliver Cowdery received revelations and wrote them, so did David Whitmer, and so did Thomas B. Marsh. About the time he was preparing to leave this Church he received a revelation in the printing office. He retired to himself and prayed and was humble, and God gave him a revelation and he wrote it. There were from three to five pages of it, and when he came out he read it to brother Brigham and me. In it God told him what to do and that was to sustain brother Joseph and to believe that what Joseph had said was true. But no, he took a course to sustain his wife and oppose the prophet of God, and she led him away.

What, sustain a woman, a wife, in preference to

---

9The above copy is from a letter received by the writer from Myrtle Willes Bailey, December 11, 1945. Myrtle Willes Bailey is a granddaughter of Malissa Willes.
sustaining the Prophet Joseph, brother Brigham and his brethren: Your religion is vain, when you take that course. Well, my wife may say, "If you will sustain Brigham in preference to me I will leave you." I should reply, "leave and be damned, and that very quickly, you poor snoop."

That was the trouble with Emma Smith. Joseph stood for the truth and maintained it, she struck against it, and where is she? She is where she is, and she will not escape until Joseph Smith opens the door and lets her out. She declared that she would leave him, if he would not sustain her instead of sustaining brother Brigham and Heber and the rest of the Twelve Apostles of God. That is as true as that the sun shines. She had her choice, but Joseph would not follow her.

Thomas B. Marsh was once the president over the quorum of the Twelve, over brother Brigham, me and others, and God saw fit to give him a revelation to forewarn him of the course he would take, and still he took that course. We told him that if he would listen to that revelation he had received he would be saved, but he listened to his wife and away he went. His wife is now dead and damned. She led him some eighteen years, and as soon as she died he came to Winter Quarters, now Florence, and has written to us pleading for mercy. We have extended it to him, and he will probably be here this season or the next. He says that he has sinned before God and his brethren and is pleading for mercy, for he feels as though our Father and God would have a little bread for him after all the rest have eaten all they need.

PRESIDENT JOHN TAYLOR'S REMARKS ABOUT EMMA

President Kimball was not the only one who declared that Emma would not accept the teachings of her husband in regard to the celestial marriage revelation; President John Taylor speaking at a Relief Society Conference in the 14th Ward Assembly Hall, at Salt Lake City on July 17, 1880 and reciting some of the history of the organization back to its beginning said:

However after this organization at Nauvoo, much disturbance arose among the sisters, I do not wish to be personal especially as Sister Emma is now dead, but think that some of those circumstances should be known. Sister Emma got severely tried in her mind about the doctrine of Plural Marriage and she made use of the position she held to try and pervert the minds of the sisters in relation to that doctrine. She tried to influence my first wife and to make her believe that the revelation was not correct. Sister Taylor was very much troubled thereat and asked me what it meant. Soon after the Prophet Joseph was in my house and I spoke to him in my wife's presence, in relation to what sister Emma had said, and Joseph replied, "Sister Emma would dethrone Jehovah to accomplish her purpose if she could." (Underlining my own) Some of you sisters are acquainted with what I refer to and of the prejudice that then existed.

After the death of the Prophet Joseph, in consequence of the confusion then introduced, President Brigham Young thought it best to defer the operations of this organization--and the labors of the Society ceased, until he organized the sisters again here in this city.11

HELEN MAR WHITNEY'S REMARKS ABOUT EMMA

AND THE MANSION HOUSE

Helen Mar Whitney describes the social events during the winter of 1843 that were held at the Mansion House. She said there were many parties and balls held there; that "some of the young gentlemen got up a series of danceing (sic) parties" and that her "brother William, put down his name"12 and then she remarks: "My father had been warned by the Prophet to keep his daughter away from there, because of the

11Woman's Exponent, Vol. 9, pp. 53-54.
blacklegs and certain ones of questionable character who attended there. His wife Emma had become the ruling spirit and money had become her God."^{13} (Underlining my own)

Sister Whitney then adds that she "felt quite sore about not being able to go, however, father was indulgent and kind in other ways, took me with him to other places, -------I was satisfied I was under the control of wise parents."^{14}

**NEWS CLIPPINGS ABOUT POLYGAMY**

In the eight volumes of "New Clippings" from newspapers printed in Illinois, Ohio, and Missouri during the Nauvoo period of the church I found a good many references to the subject, of Polygamy, some of the titles to the articles are as follows: "Plural and Eternal marriage revelation read by H. Smith" (Vol. 2 p. 84, 1844); "Report by Sidney Rigdon - Polygamy cause of dissension" (Vol. 3 p. 244, 1845); "Masonic Lodge and Spiritual wife affiliations" (Vol. 1, p. 258, 1842); "Plural Marriage revelation read by Jane Law, Certified by" (Vol. 2, p. 238, 1842); "Martin Harris marries wife of Mr. Morgan, Nauvoo" (Vol. 1 p. 328, 1842); "Joseph Smith's seduction of Master Mason's wives and daughters" (Vol. 1, p. 261, 1842); "Joseph Smith accused of teaching vicious principles". (Vol. 2, pp. 68, 78, 1844).

---

^{13}Ibid., ^{14}Ibid.
Also during this period we find several stories told about quarrels between Joseph and Emma and their periods of reconciliation. One of these, "Turned out of home by husband" (News Clippings vol. 7, p. 228) was reported as occurring during the year prior to the martyrdom. Another concerning a reconciliation was entitled, "Emma's reconciliation with Joseph, River trip taken by Emma Smith." This was during the year of 1844.15

There is much evidence that Joseph Smith did teach and practice polygamy and many of these sources are non-Mormon. If this was so, it would help us to better appreciate why Emma and her family remained behind and later affiliated themselves with the Reorganized Church and why at times it is reported that she was embittered against Joseph.

From all that I have read on both sides of this issue as it effects the story of Emma Hale Smith, I feel that the teachings on polygamy must have been the cause for her dissatisfaction with the main body of the Church and with the Apostolic quorum which led it after the death of her husband. It appears to be public knowledge that there were quarrels between Emma and Joseph especially during the Illinois period of their lives. It is no less public knowledge that Joseph

15 These references refer to the eight volumes of News Clippings collected by Cecil A. Snider from newspapers current during the Mormon sojourn in Missouri and Illinois. They were purchased from him by Brigham Young University in 1936-37. The names of the newspapers are printed in the bibliography.
was very considerate and concerned about Emma during this period as evidenced by the letters he sent to her while in hiding from Missourians.

At the beginning of this chapter I remarked that the Nauvoo period, from the founding of the city till the martyrdom of the Prophet, was one of mixed feelings for Joseph and Emma. Many historical events occurred during this period which I feel bear out this assertion; these will only be briefly related here:

ORGANIZATION OF THE FEMALE RELIEF SOCIETY OF NAUVOO

Thursday, March 17--Under this date Joseph the Prophet journalized as follows:

I assisted in commencing the organization of "The Female Relief Society of Nauvoo" in the Lodge Room. Sister Emma Smith, President, and Sisters Elizabeth Ann Whitney and Sarah M. Cleveland, Counselors; I gave much instruction; read in the New Testament and Book of Doctrine and Covenants concerning the Elect Lady, and showed that elect meant to be elected to a certain work and that the revelation was then fulfilled by Sister Emma's election to the president of the society she having previously been ordained to expound the scriptures. Emma was blessed, and her counselors were ordained by Elder John Taylor.

The names of the sisters present at this meeting were Emma Smith, Martha Knight, Elvira A. Coules, Sarah M. Cleveland, Phebe Ann Hawkes, Margaret A. Cook, Desdemona Fuller, Elizabeth Ann Whitney, Sarah M. Kimball, Elizabeth Jones, Leonora Taylor, Eliza R. Snow, Sophia Packard, Bathsheba J. Smith, Sophia Robinson, Philanda Marrick, Phebe M. Wheeler and Sophia R. Marks.16

The organization was completed on the twenty-fourth,

16*Journal History*, March 17, 1842.
one week later. It became the first of the Auxiliary Organizations of the Church to be organized and Emma had the distinct honor of being its first president.

May 7, 1843 was a red-letter day in the life of Joseph and Emma. A military review of the Nauvoo Legion had been planned for months and was held on the "review grounds" east of the Temple. Lieutenant General Joseph Smith was the commanding officer of the day. The parade and the sham battle was reviewed by General Smith, his staff and guards and by a group of ladies on horse-back, Emma Smith, being one of the number. Judge Stephen A. Douglas was present and viewed the proceedings and was invited to a sumptuous dinner at the Smith home after the day's program. It was on this day that Joseph recognized that John C. Bennett was his enemy, and had not Joseph had his guards about him, he might have been killed in the sham battle. Shortly after Bennett arrived in Nauvoo, August 1841, Emma manifested a feeling that she did not trust him. On May 15, Bennett resigned as Mayor, and Joseph was elected to take his place. On August 8, Joseph was arrested as an "accessory" in the Boggs shooting affair; shortly after, he escaped from arrest and was in hiding.

In August of 1842, Emma wrote several letters to Governor Carlin hoping that he would put an end to the annoying persecution of her husband. They were rather lengthy letters
and very well written. The following paragraph is typical:

I appeal to your sympathies, and beg you to spare me and my helpless children. I beg you to spare my innocent children the heart-rending sorrow of again seeing their father unjustly dragged to prison, or to death. I appeal to your affections as a son, and beg you to spare our aged mother—the only surviving parent we have left—the unsupportable affliction of seeing her son, whom she knows to be innocent of the crimes laid to his charge, thrown again into the hands of his enemies.17

At the same time, after having received a letter from her husband who is in hiding suggesting that she and the children accompany him and they go to the Pine Woods with Brother Miller, Emma wrote Joseph the following letter:

Dear Husband:—I am ready to go with you if you are obliged to leave and Hyrum says he will go with me. I shall make the best arrangements I can and be as well prepared as possible. But still, I feel good confidence that you can be protected without leaving this country. There are more ways than one to take care of you, and I believe that you can still direct in your business concerns if we are all of us prudent in the matter. If it were pleasant weather I should contrive to see you this evening, but I dare not run too much of a risk, on account of so many going to see you...

Yours affectionately forever,

Emma Smith

Three days later the Prophet returned to his home. On the day after Christmas 1842, Emma was delivered of a son who did not survive its birth.

The events of the year 1842 did not cloud too heavily

17Roberts, op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 117.
18Ibid., p. 110.
upon Joseph and Emma as the New Year dawmed for on January 11, Joseph and Emma went sleigh riding and enjoyed it; they had a sixteenth wedding anniversary party on the 18th and on April 24th the Prophet records that he "took his children on a pleasure ride in his carriage." Writing about the wedding party the Prophet records:

...Conversation continued on various topics until 2 o'clock, when 21 sat down to the dinner table, and Emma and myself waited on them, with other assistants. My room was small so that but few could be accommodated at a time. 21 sat down to the second table, which was served as the first, and 18 at the third, among whom were myself and Emma, and 15 at the fourth table, including children and my household.

Many interesting anecdotes were related by the company, who were very cheerful, and the day passed off very pleasantly. Pres. Brigham Young was present, although very feeble; this was the first time that he had been out of his house since he was taken sick. His fever had been so severe that he had lain in a loghouse, rather open without fire most of the time, when it was so cold that his attendants would freeze their toes and fingers while fanning him, with great coat and mittens on. One thing more tended to give a zest to the occasion was, that it was 15 years this day since I was married, to Emma Hale.

The brethren dispersed about six o'clock with many thanks, and expressions of gratitude, and in the evening I attended the lodge.19

Trouble began again during the middle of the year when the Prophet was arrested while on a visit to Emma's sister's home by sheriffs from Missouri; these however were taken into custody by the Mormons and Joseph entered triumphantly back.

19Journal History, January 18, 1842.
to the city beautiful.

The polygamy revelation was recorded on July 12, 1843 and the next day the Prophet journalizes:

July 13—In conversation with my wife Emma most of the day.20

If this conversation was in connection with the revelation which it could very likely have been, it is no wonder they were in conversation most of the day.

Christmas day 1843 another party was held at the Prophet's home. It was at this party that Orrin Porter Rockwell came from his long imprisonment disguised as a Missourian (a puke) and created a great deal of merriment.

It was during the next month that Joseph was nominated for President of the United States and early in the month in his journal he recorded:

Thursday, January 4. Joseph the Prophet spent the day at home. He wrote: I took dinner in the north room, and was remarking to brother Phelps what a kind provident wife I had, that when I wanted a little bread and milk, she would load the table with so many good things it would destroy my appetite. At this moment Emma came in while Phelps, in continuation of the conversation, said, "You must do as Bonaparte did, --have a little table just large enough for the victuals you want yourself." Mrs. Smith replied, "Mr. Smith is a bigger man than Bonaparte; he can never eat without his friends." I remarked, "That is the wisest thing I ever heard you say."21

The early Nauvoo years for Emma were years of stress

20 Roberts, op. cit., p. 500.
21 Journal History, January 4, 1843.
and anxiety, because of the necessity of keeping the whereabouts of her husband's movements secret; they were also years when, at times, Emma enjoyed the sweet solicitude of her husband's care, love, and companionship while she was ill and later, after the birth of her still-born child, the sleigh-riding parties and the parties she presided over as mistress of the house; there was the feeling of pride as Emma saw her husband as the Supreme Officer of the Nauvoo Legion, as the Mayor of the largest city in Illinois, and as a candidate for President of the United States; but they were also years where this pride began to suffer as she began to realize that the Church Joseph founded, and obedience to the revelation of the Lord (Section 132), meant more to her husband, than her own personal views and attitude on the subject of polygamy.

There is no question about it. The early Nauvoo years, properly analyzed, and with as complete and accurate information as possible at one's perusal will solve the enigma of Emma.

It is my belief that Joseph Smith taught and practised polygamy; That Emma would not accept it; That polygamy was the main cause of her dissatisfaction with the main body of the Church, and particularly with Brigham Young, who became its leader and who maintained the same teachings her husband inaugurated.
A personal angle in the Emma-Brigham dispute, which occurred later, likely was the deferrment of the operations of the Relief Society by President Young while Emma was the President because of the confusion created by her opposition to polygamy and her influence over the members of the society.
CHAPTER IX
THE MARTYRDOM AND SUCCESSION
(Spring 1844 - Summer 1847)

Shortly before the martyrdom, if tradition is correct, Emma desired a blessing from her husband. Joseph sent her word that he had not time to write as he would like but if she would write out the best blessing she could think of, he would sign it on his return. Tradition, has it that he was killed before he saw his wife again. The following is a copy from the one in the letter file in the Church Historian's office. All remarks on the blessing are also copied here:

EMMA SMITH'S BLESSING

The following blessing was written in the hand of Emma Smith, and was found among the papers originally owned by Joseph L. Heywood. It was folded, and worn along the folds, but was repaired and the original was sent in to the office of the Church Historian of the Latter-day Saint Church. This is copied from the one made by Ralph DeLong of Panguitch, Utah, who found and copied the original.

First of all that I would crave as the richest of heaven's blessings would be wisdom from my Heavenly Father bestowed daily, so that whatever I might do or say, I could not look back at the close of the day with regret, nor neglect the performance of any act that would bring a blessing. I desire the Spirit of God to know and understand myself, that I desire a fruitful, active mind, that I may be able to comprehend the designs of God, when revealed through his servants with out doubting. I desire the spirit of discernment, which is one of the promised blessings of the Holy Ghost.
I particularly desire wisdom to bring up all the children that are, or may be committed to my charge, in such a manner that they will be useful ornaments in the Kingdom of God, and in a coming day arise up and call me blessed.

I desire prudence that I may not through ambition abuse my body and cause it to become prematurely old and care-worn, but that I may wear a cheerful countenance, live to perform all the work that I covenanted to perform in the spirit-world and be a blessing to all who may in any wise need aught at my hands.

I desire with all my heart to honor and respect my husband as my head, ever to live in his confidence and by acting in unison with him retain the place which God has given me by his side, and I ask my Heavenly Father that through humility, I may be enabled to overcome that curse which was pronounced upon the daughters of Eve. I desire to see that I may rejoice with them in the blessings which God has in store for all who are willing to be obedient to his requirements. Finally, I desire that whatever may be my lot through life I may be enabled to acknowledge the hand of God in all things.

These desires of my heart were called forth by Joseph sending me word***that he had not time to write as he would like, but I could write out the best blessing I could think of and he would sign the same on his return.

Gamaliel Bradford once said, "I have found it of extreme interest to trace the attitude of wives."

Emma's blessing, written by herself, gives us an insight into her attitude toward life; her hopes, desires and aspirations are all recorded in the blessing.

A study of it reveals some of her inmost thoughts and helps us to better appreciate her:

The first thing she mentions is that of wisdom. She, like Solomon of old, felt that this was one of heaven's richest
blessings. Coupled with wisdom she asks for a spirit of
discernment; the spirit of God to know and understand her-
sel; and a fruitful, active mind to comprehend the designs
of God revealed through his servants without doubting.

These statements reveal to me the struggle that was
going on in Emma's mind; was the revelation on celestial
marriage divine? Was it partly the machination of her
husband's mind? The words, "to comprehend the designs of
God revealed through his servants without doubting," I feel
are particularly revealing. Emma is also having difficulty
in knowing and understanding herself and she feels she needs
"a spirit of discernment."

Then, she again "particularly desires wisdom" to
rear her children so that they might be useful in the Kingdom
of God and because of her wisdom and care, they may later
call her blessed. This is certainly a noble and worthwhile
desire and one that any mother could well worth desire. Emma
was very diligent in giving her children every opportunity for
learning and advancement.

As, has been stated, by her mother-in-law, Emma was
an ambitious and tireless worker. She was also very tidy
about her appearance: "When her afternoon work was done, Emma
would recomb and re-dress her hair for the rest of the day;
she was always very neat."¹

¹Crawford, op. cit., p. 21.
This called forth the desire on her part for prudence so that ambition would not bring about abuse of her body to make it become prematurely old and care-worn.

It has been difficult to find out if Emma were of "cheerful countenance." She had so many trials and discouragements that it would take a very superior being to have this attribute to a marked extent. It is significant that she realized the importance of it when she wrote her blessing.

Emma shows that she understood some of the teachings relative to pre-earth life by her statement that she hopes to live "to perform all the work I covenanted to perform in the spirit world." She displays a very benevolent attitude when she desires to be "a blessing to all who may in any wise need anything from my hands."

Her desires are especially worthy as she notes that she desires to honor and respect her husband as her head; to live in his confidence, and "by acting in unison with him retain the place God has given me by his side." She closes her blessing with the hope that she may be humble, that she may acknowledge the hand of the Lord in all things and rejoice with the righteous in the blessings God has for all who are obedient to his commandments.

The entire blessing is certainly worthy of one who was called "The Elect Lady", and the sentiments are expressive of a highly cultured mind.
HISTORY BEFORE THE MARTYRDOM

A letter from Vilate Kimball to her husband, Heber C. Kimball, pictures conditions in Nauvoo: just prior to the martyrdom:

June 7, 1844

My Dear Husband: Nauvoo was never so lonesome since we lived here as it is now. I went to meeting last Sunday for the first time since conference. Neither Joseph nor Hyrum nor any of the Twelve were there, and you may be assured that I was glad when meeting was over...

June 11th. Nauvoo was a scene of excitement last night. Some hundreds of brethren turned out and burned the press of the opposite party. This was done by order of the city council. They had published only one paper (Nauvoo Expositor) which is considered a public nuisance. They have sworn vengeance and no doubt will have it.

June 24th. Since I commenced this letter, varied and exciting indeed have been the scenes in this city. I would have sent this to you before this time, but I have been thrown into such confusion, I know not what to write. Nor is this all; the mails do not come regularly, having been stopped by high water, or the flood of mobocracy, which pervades the country. I have received no letter by mail since you left.

Nothing is to be heard of but mobs collecting on every side. The Laws and Fosters, and most of the dissenting party, with their families, left here a day or two since. They are sworn to have Joseph and the city council or to exterminate us all. Between three and four thousand brethren have been under arms here in past week, expecting every day the mob would come upon us. The brethren from the country are coming in to aid in defense of the city. Brother Joseph sent a message to the Governor signifying if he and his staff would come into the city he would abide their decision; but instead of the Governor coming here, he went to Carthage, and there walked arm in arm with Law and Foster until we have reason to fear he has caught their spirit. He sent thirty men from there day before yesterday to arrest Brother Joseph, with an abusive letter,
saying if thirty men cannot do the business, thousands can, ordering the brethren who had been ordered out to defend the city against the mob to deliver up their arms to their men and then disperse.

Yesterday morning (although it was Sunday) was a time of great excitement. Joseph had fled and left word for the brethren to hang on to their arms and defend themselves as best they could. Some were dreadfully tried in their faith to think Joseph should leave them in their hour of danger. Hundreds have left; the most of the merchants on the hill have gone. I have not yet been frightened, neither has my heart sunk within me till yesterday, when I heard that Joseph had sent word back for his family to follow him, and Brother Whitney's family were packing up, not knowing but they would have to go, as he is one of the city council. For a while I felt sad enough, but did not let anybody know it, neither did I shed tears. I felt a confidence in the Lord that he would preserve us from the ravages of our enemies. We expected them here today by the thousands, but before night yesterday things put on a different aspect—Joseph returned and gave himself up for trial. He sent a messenger to Carthage to tell the Governor he would meet him and his staff at the big mound at eight o'clock this morning, with all that the writ demanded. They have just passed here to meet the Governor for that purpose. My heart said, "Lord, bless those dear men and preserve them from those that thirst for their blood!" What will be their fate, the Lord only knows, but I trust he'll spare them. The Governor wrote that if they did not give themselves up, our city was suspended upon so many kegs of powder, and it only needed one spark of powder to touch them off.2

The Churches, Mormon and Reorganized, again take opposite points of view on the part that Emma played in inducing her husband to come back and stand trial for the destruction of the "Expositor" press.

The direct narrative of the Prophet ends on Saturday,

June 22, 1844 with the words: "I told Stephen Markham that if I and Hyrum were ever taken again we should be massacred, or I was not a prophet of God. I want Hyrum to live to avenge my blood, but he is determined not to leave me." 3

What happened in the next few days of his life occurred under such circumstances as not to permit of his dictating to his secretary or clerks, as was his custom.

The following account is from the History of the Church, Vol. 6, pp. 547 to 550 and presents the Latter-day Saint (Mormon) view point:

Saturday, June 22, 1844.--About 9 p.m. Hyrum came out of the Mansion and gave his hand to Reynolds Cahoon, at the same time saying, "A company of men are seeking to kill my brother Joseph, and the Lord has warned him to flee to the Rocky Mountains to save his life. Good-by, Brother Cahoon, we shall see you again." In a few minutes afterwards Joseph came from his family. His tears were flowing fast. He held a handkerchief to his face, and followed after Brother Hyrum without uttering a word.

Between 9 and 10 p.m. Joseph, Hyrum and Willard, while waiting on the banks of the river for the skiff, sent for William W. Phelps, and instructed him to take their families to Cincinnati by the second steamboat, arriving at Nauvoo; and when he arrived there to commence petitioning the President of the United States and Congress for redress of grievances, and see if they would grant the Church liberty and equal rights. Joseph then said: "Go to our wives, and tell them what we have concluded to do, and learn their feelings on the subject; and tell Emma you will be ready to start by the second steamboat, and she has sufficient money wherewith to pay the expenses. If you ascertain by tomorrow morning that there is anything wrong, come over the river to Montrose, to the house of Captain John Killien, and there you will learn where we are.

3Roberts, op. cit., Vol. 6, p. 546.
About midnight, Joseph, Hyrum and Dr. Richards called for Orrin P. Rockwell at his lodgings, and all went up the river bank until they found Aaron Johnson's boat, which they got into, and started about 2 a.m. to cross the Mississippi river. Orrin P. Rockwell rowed the skiff, which was very leaky, so that it kept Joseph, Hyrum and the doctor busy bailing out the water with their boots and shoes to prevent it from sinking.

Sunday, 23.—At daybreak arrived on the Iowa side of the river. Sent Orrin P. Rockwell back to Nauvoo with instructions to return the next night with horses for Joseph and Hyrum, pass them over the river in the night secretly, and be ready to start for the Great Basin in the Rocky Mountains.

Joseph, Hyrum and Dr. Richards walked up to Captain John Killien's house, where they arrived at sunrise; but he not being at home, they went from thence to Brother William Jordan's. About 9 a.m. Dr. Bernhisel came over the river to visit Joseph; also Reynolds Cahoon, who made some explanations respecting Governor Ford's letter.

Early in the morning a posse arrived in Nauvoo to arrest Joseph, but as they did not find him, they started back to Carthage immediately, leaving one man of the name of Yates behind them, who said to one of the brethren that Governor Ford designed that if Joseph and Hyrum were not given up, he would send his troops and guard the city until they were found, if it took three years to do it.

At 1 p.m. Emma sent over Orrin P. Rockwell, requesting him to entreat of Joseph to come back. Reynolds Cahoon accompanied him with a letter which Emma had written to the same effect, and she insisted that Cahoon should persuade Joseph to come back and give himself up. When they went over they found Joseph, Hyrum and Willard in a room by themselves, having flour and other provisions on the floor ready for packing.

Reynolds Cahoon informed Joseph what the troops intended to do, and urged upon him to give himself up, inasmuch as the Governor had pledged his faith and the faith of the state to protect him while he underwent a legal and fair trial. Reynolds Cahoon, Lorenzo D. Wasson and Hiram Kimball accused Joseph of cowardice for wishing to leave the people, adding that their property would be destroyed, and they left without
house or home. Like the fable, when the wolves came
the shepherd ran from the flock, and left the sheep to
be devoured. To which Joseph replied, "If my life is
of no value to my friends it is of none to myself."

Joseph said to Rockwell, "What shall I do?" Rockwell
replied, "You are the oldest and ought to know best;
and as you make your bed, I will lie with you." Joseph
then turned to Hyrum, who was talking with Cahoon, and
said, "Brother Hyrum, you are the oldest, what shall we
do?" Hyrum said, "Let us go back and give ourselves
up, and see the thing out." After studying a few moments,
Joseph said, "If you go back I will go with you, but we
shall be butchered." Hyrum said, "No, no; let us go back
and put our trust in God, and we shall not be harmed.
The Lord is in it. If we live or have to die, we will
be reconciled to our fate."

After a short pause, Joseph told Cahoon to request
Captain Daniel C. Davis to have his boat ready at half-
past five to cross them over the river.

The Reorganized Church, on the other hand, quotes the
following letter to show that the Prophet was probably going
to Washington:

Safety, June 23

For Emma Smith:

Brother Lewis has some money of mine--H. C. Kimball
has $1,000, in his hands of mine, Bro. Neff, Lancaster
Co., Pa.--400.

You may sell the Quincy property or any property
that belongs to me you can find anything about, for
your support and children and Mother. Do not despair
--If God ever opens a door that is possible for me I
will see you again. I do not know where I shall go,
or what I shall do, but shall if possible endeavor to
get to the city of Washington.

May God Almighty bless you, and the children, and
Mother, and all my friends. My heart bleeds. No more
at present. If you conclude to go to Kirtland, Cin-
cinnati, or any other place, I wish you would contrive
to inform me this evening.

Joseph Smith.
P.S. If in your power I want you should help Dr. Richard's family. 4  

The original letter is in the Church vault in Independence, Missouri. 5  

The Reorganites state further:  

As Emma Smith said, "He... left home intending not to return until the church was sifted and thoroughly cleansed; but his persecutors were stirring up trouble at the time, and his absence provoked some of the brethren to say he had run away, and they called him a coward, and Joseph heard of it, and then returned and said, 'I will die before I will be called a coward.' He was going to find a place and then send for the family, but when he came back I felt the worst I ever did in my life, and from that time I looked for him to be killed." 6  

Maliciously minded persons have made it appear that Joseph was about to flee to the west, but was "coaxed to return by Emma" and so lost his life. His letter to her shows plainly what his intentions were, and these persons have for years in their publications deleted the part of the letter showing his destination was probably Washington D. C. 7  

The Latter-day Saint Church is very definite about Joseph's preparing to go West to the Rockies, and he did cross the river and start in that direction rather than to go toward Washington in the opposite direction. He may have had the idea of exploring the country for another possible site for a Mormon headquarters settlement as he had already predicted.
that the "Saints would suffer much affliction and be driven to the Rocky Mountains." It may have been in his mind to go to Washington after the trouble in Illinois had settled down and make a proposition to the government concerning the settlement of the Saints in the West.

It is also very definite in its statements that Emma wrote a letter to Joseph urging him to return and that she asked several others to use their influence to get him to come back.

The Reorganized Church places all the blame on the Brethren at Nauvoo who called Joseph a coward, and they claim that Joseph said he would rather die than be called a coward. Emma has no part in the matter of getting Joseph to return according to them and "even looked for him to be killed" on his arrival.

Just what Emma's feelings and actions were in this matter, it is difficult to say. I'm sure there were others who likely thought that the Prophet led a charmed life and would be again protected in the coming trial as he had been in the past, and that he should not have run away and left his people destitute of his leadership. Some have suggested that Emma wanted him to come back to stand trial so that the polygamy question might be "bared" in court. This may be a possible motive if Emma did entreat him in her letter to come back.
EMMA VIEWS HER MARTYRED HUSBAND'S REMAINS

While Joseph was in Carthage he wrote the following letters to his wife Emma:

**Carthage, June 25th, 1844**

2:30 o'clock p.m.

Dear Emma:

I have had an interview with Governor Ford, and he treats us honorably. Myself and Hyrum have been again arrested for treason, because we called out the Nauvoo Legion; but when the truth comes out we have nothing to fear. We all feel calm and composed.

This morning Governor Ford introduced myself and Hyrum to the militia in a very appropriate manner, as General Joseph Smith and General Hyrum Smith. There was a little mutiny among the Carthage Greys, but I think the Governor has and will succeed in enforcing the laws. I do hope the people of Nauvoo will continue pacific and prayerful.

Governor Ford has just concluded to send some of his militia to Nauvoo to protect the citizens, and I wish that they may be kindly treated. They will cooperate with the police to keep the peace. The Governor's orders will be read in the hearing of the police and officers of the Legion, as I suppose.

Three o'clock:--The Governor has just agreed to march his army to Nauvoo, and I shall come along with him. The prisoners, all that can, will be admitted to bail. I am as ever,

Joseph Smith.

**Carthage Jail, June 27th, 1844.**

Dear Emma:

The Governor continues his courtesies, and permits us to see our friends. We hear this morning that the Governor will not go down with his troops today to Nauvoo, as we anticipated last evening; but, if he does come down with his troops, you will be protected; and I want
you to tell Brother Dunham, to instruct the people to stay at home and attend to their own business, and let there be no groups or gathering together, unless by permission of the Governor, they are called together to receive communications from the Governor, which would please our people, but let the governor direct.

Brother Dunham, of course, will obey the orders of the government officers, and render them the assistance they require. There is no danger of any extermination order. Should there be a meeting among the troops (which we do not anticipate, excitement is abating) a part will remain loyal and stand for the defense of the state and our rights.

There is one principle which is eternal, it is the duty of all men to protect their lives and the lives of their household, whenever necessity requires, and no power has a right to forbid it, should the last extreme arrive, but I anticipate no such extreme, but caution is the parent of safety.

Joseph Smith.

P.S. Dear Emma: I am very much resigned to my lot knowing I am justified and have done the best that could be. Give my love to the children and all my friends, Mr. Brewer, and all who inquire after me; and as for treason, I know that I have not committed any and they cannot prove anything of the kind, so you need not have any fears that anything can happen to us on that account. May God bless you all. Amen.

About fifteen minutes past five on this fateful day, the tragic events started that culminated in the deaths of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

About eight o'clock on the following morning, Friday, June 28th, Willard Richards, Samuel Smith, and a Mr. Hamilton, traveling with two wagons, began the journey from Carthage to Nauvoo, a distance of eighteen miles. In the wagons were

9Roberts, op. cit., Vol. 6, p. 605.
the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum, in rough boxes, "covered with bushes to keep them from the hot sun."

The cortege did not reach Nauvoo until three p.m. A large body of people met it about one mile east of the Temple on Mullholland street.

When the procession arrived, the bodies were both taken to the Nauvoo Mansion. The scene there cannot be described.

About 8,000 or 10,000 persons were addressed by Dr. Willard Richards, W. W. Phelps, Esquire Woods and Reid of Iowa, and Col. Stephen Markham. Dr. Richards admonished the people to keep the peace, stating that he had pledged his honour and his life for their good conduct, when the people with one united voice resolved to trust to the law for a remedy of such a high-handed assassination, and when that failed, to call upon God to avenge them of their wrongs.

When the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum arrived at the Mansion, the doors were closed immediately. The people were told to go quietly home, and the bodies would be exhibited the next morning at eight.

Dimick B. Huntington, with the assistance of William Marks and Wm. D. Huntington washed the bodies from head to foot. Joseph was shot in the right breast, also under the heart, in the lower part of his bowels on the right side, and on the big wrinkle on the back part of the right hip. One ball had come out at the right shoulder blade. Dimick Huntington put cotton soaked in camphor into each wound and laid the bodies out with fine plain drawers and shirts, white neckerchiefs, white cotton stockings and white shrouds. (Gilbert Goldsmith was doorkeeper at the time.)

After this was done, Emma (who was at the time pregnant) was then permitted to view the bodies. On first seeing the corpse of her husband she screamed and fell, but was supported by Dimick B. Huntington. She then fell upon Joseph's face and kissed him, calling him by name and begged him to speak to her once more. The scene was too affecting almost to be borne.
Mary, (Hyrum's wife) was also admitted, and manifested calmness and composure throughout the trying scene. The children of the martyred Prophet and Patriarch were then admitted to see the bodies, when the scene beggared description, being perfectly heart-rending. Relatives and particular friends were also permitted to visit them during the evening.

At seven next morning (29th) the bodies were put into coffins which were covered with black velvet, fastened with brass nails. Over the face of each corpse was a lid, hung with brass hinges, under which was a square of glass to protect the face, and the coffin was lined with white cambric. The coffins were then each put into a rough pine box.

At 8 a.m. the room was thrown open for the Saints to view the bodies of their martyred Prophet and Patriarch, and it is estimated that over 10,000 persons visited the remains that day, as there was a perfect living stream of people entering in at the east door of the Mansion and out at the north door from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m., at which hour a request was made that the Mansion should be cleared, so that the families could take their farewell look at the remains.

The coffins were then taken out of the boxes into the little bedroom in the north-east corner of the Mansion, and there concealed and the door locked. Bags of sand were then placed in each end of the boxes, which were then nailed up, and a mock funeral took place, the boxes being put into a hearse and driven to the graveyard by William D. Huntington, and there deposited in a grave with the usual ceremonies.

This was done to prevent the enemies of the martyred Prophet and Patriarch from getting possession of the bodies, as they had threatened they would do. As the hearse passed the meeting-ground, accompanied by a few men, W. W. Phelps was preaching the funeral sermon.

About midnight the coffins containing the bodies were taken from the Mansion by Dimick B. Huntington, Edward Hunter, William D. Huntington, William Marks, Johnathan H. Holmes, Gilbert Goldsmith, Alpheus Cutler, Lorenzo D. Wasson, and Philip B. Lewis, preceded by James Emmet as guard, with his musket.

They went through the garden, round by the pump,
and were conveyed to the Nauvoo House, which was then built to the first joists of the basement, and buried in the basement story.

After the bodies were interred, and the ground smoothed off as it was before, the chips of wood and stone and other rubbish thrown over, so as to make it appear like the rest of the ground around the graves, a most terrific shower of rain, accompanied with thunder and lightning, occurred, and obliterated all traces of the fact that the earth had been newly dug.

The bodies remained in the cellar of the Nauvoo House where they were buried, until the fall, when they were removed by Dimick B. Huntington, William D. Huntington, Johnathan H. Holmes, and Gilbert Goldsmith, at Emma's request, to a place near the Mansion, and buried side by side, and the Bee House then moved and placed over their graves.10

Twenty-four years later, Dimick B. Huntington, speaking in the New Tabernacle in Salt Lake City, added the underlined statement below to the story of Emma's viewing her husband's remains:

Sun. May 24, . . . . In the forenoon Elder Dimick B. Huntington gave some very interesting details concerning the death of David W. Patten and the death of Joseph and Hyrum, the Prophet and Patriarch. He related the circumstances attending the first visit of Emma Smith, Joseph's wife, to the body of her murdered husband. He, himself, had led her towards the corpse hiding the sight from her eyes with his hat, and endeavoring to assuage her grief until she was close by the body; and when she saw the martyred remains she flung herself on the bosom of the dead, and besought the inanimate form, again and again, to speak to her only once and say that he forgave her. The speaker related the facts connected with the burial of Joseph, and Hyrum at which he had assisted, and the removal of their bodies afterwards. And urged the congregation to so live that when they pass from this life they shall have secured for themselves a part in the first resurrection.11

---


11 *Journal History*, May 24, 1868.
This statement by Dimick B. Huntington, that Emma was asking for Joseph's forgiveness, leaves one pondering over its significance. Could it be that she had struck out against Joseph as President Kimball stated in his sermon at the Bowery in Salt Lake City; or that she felt guilty about not having accepted the Celestial Marriage Revelation? This is a question that cannot be answered at this time; but the very statement may help one better to realize why she took the action she did after the death of her Prophet husband.

EMMA MANIFESTS OPPOSITION TO THE COUNCIL OF THE TWELVE

Less than three weeks after the death of her husband Emma Smith in company with Messrs. Woods and Wasson, went to Carthage, the county seat for a letter of administration on the estate of her deceased husband.12

There seems to be a dearth of material concerning Emma from the time of the Martyrdom until about two months later. An article in the Burlington Hawkeye dated September 12, 1844 has this to say about her:

Sidney Rigdon has left Nauvoo for Pittsburgh and it is expected that a large number of the English Mormons will follow him.

There is great dissension among the leaders of the church. Emma, the deceased Prophet's widow, has given much dissatisfaction in consequence of her refusing to

12 Ibid., July 17, 1844.
transfer some of the church property which was in the Prophet's name. It is said she is weak in the faith, and that she has purchased property at Hampton, where it is probable she may remove.

Another article in the same paper printed one week later on the 19th of September says: "The Warsaw Signal of the 11th says that it is rumored that on the previous Sunday, nineteen of the leading Mormons were ejected from the church at Nauvoo, among whom were John A. Forbes and Emma Smith, the Prophet's widow."\(^13\)

Two years later, in 1846, there appeared in two Missouri newspapers the following:

Under the second provision of the treaty, a few arms were surrendered. There was also an impression, that all connected with the Mormon Church had to leave, and for this reason several left against whom no hostility is felt, and who will probably return again to the enjoyment of their property. Of this number was MRS. EMMA SMITH, the widow of JOE SMITH.\(^14\)

and

The members of the church are not at peace even among themselves. A number, including Mrs. Emma Smith, the widow of Joe Smith., and his brother, deny the jurisdiction, and complain greatly of the conduct of the council of the Twelve-----who have assumed and exercised the supreme authority since the death of the Prophet. This party, we believe, recognize the spiritual power of the new Prophet, STRANG, of Voree, Wisconsin Territory, but look forward to the time when a son of Joe, a lad of twelve or fourteen years of age, shall assume the position in the church which his father occupied. This party do not contemplate removing with the other, but most of them will either join Strang, in

\(^{13}\)Burlington Hawkeye, (Burlington, Iowa: Vol. 6, No. 17), p. 2.

\(^{14}\)St. Louis Morning Missouri Republican, (St. Louis, Missouri: Vol. 25) p. 2.
Wisconsin territory, or go to other parts.\textsuperscript{15}

Just what the differences were between the Council of
the Twelve and Emma are not clearly stated. One reason for
contention was likely a dispute over what property belonged
to the Church that was in Joseph's name and what belonged to
the Prophet personally; another was likely that of who should
preside over the Church as President.

Emma's dislike for President Brigham Young is be-
lieved by many to have been the main cause of her
refusal to gather with the Saints to the mountains;
and it is also asserted that she on the same grounds
later on, influenced her sons to take the stand they
did in regard to the so-called Reorganization.\textsuperscript{16}

EMMA SMITH AND BRIGHAM YOUNG

There seemed to be a greater clash between Emma and
Brigham Young than between Emma and some of the other members
of the Quorum of the Twelve or other leaders of the Church.
Whether this was because Brigham Young was the President of
the Council of the Twelve and stepped forward in this capacity
to lead the Church against the feelings of Emma who believed
that the presidency should continue in patriarchal lineage,
is not clear; but if the statement in the Daily Missouri
Republican is correct in its assertion that Emma, the Prophet's
widow and William, the Prophet's brother, were looking forward
to the time when young Joseph, who was then just entering his

\textsuperscript{15}Daily Missouri Republican, (St. Louis, Missouri:

\textsuperscript{16}Jenson, L. D. S. Biographical Encyclopedia, Vol. 1
p. 693.
teens, would be old enough to assume the position which his father occupied; then it must be so.

I have been unable to find any statements about differences between Brigham Young and Emma Smith before the time of the Prophet's martyrdom, but there are numerous statements of Brigham's loyalty to Joseph and his being an invited guest at the Smith home before the Prophet's death on numerous occasions. There is a record of his attending parties given at the Mansion house by Joseph and Emma; there is the instance of his interceding in their behalf for money in their flight from Ohio to Missouri and Brigham's defense of Joseph as a Prophet of God during the Ohio persecutions when others of the leaders of the Church were calling Joseph a "fallen prophet". It was Brigham, "who through out the year 1834 was almost constantly at the side of the Prophet Joseph, loyally sustaining him in all his plans and labors."17

On August 8, 1844, Brigham Young, as President of the Council of the Twelve, together with that body of men were sustained as leaders of the Church.

"Monday August 19, - Elder Willard Richards called on Emma Smith, late widow of the Prophet Joseph Smith in Nauvoo for the New Translation of the Bible, she said she did not

17Preston Nibley, Brigham Young, the Man and his Work, (Independence; Missouri: Zions Printing and Publishing Co., 1936) p. 15.
feel disposed to give it up at present. (Underlining mine) However after the prophet's death, "some of Joseph's rather extensive library was returned to Emma by Brigham."  

As difficult as it was for Brigham and Emma to be friends; Wilford Woodruff, on the other hand, seemed to get along very well with her:  

Before leaving Nauvoo, he (Wilford Woodruff) paid a visit to Emma Smith to whose life he sought to bring consolation in the hour of her bereavement. She gave him a piece of oak for a staff. The oak had been taken from Joseph's coffin. She also presented him with a pair of white cotton gloves, and to his wife she gave a handkerchief.  

Before the Saints left Nauvoo to come West, Brigham Young sent B. F. Johnson and Newell K. Whitney to visit Emma and try to persuade her to come with the group. B. F. Johnson records the story as follows:  

I was appointed with Bishop Newell K. Whitney to visit sister Emma for the last time, and if possible persuade her to remain with the church. Nearly all night we labored with her and all we could learn was that she was willing to go with the church on condition that she could be the leading spirit. So we left her, and she did lead all who would follow her so long as she lived. (Underlining mine.)  

18Journal History, August 19, 1844.  
19Crawford, op. cit., p. 15.  
From this statement it seems clear that Emma was jealous of the authority that Brigham Young had over the Church, and that she, or a member of her family, she felt, should direct its affairs.

Joseph Smith's attitude toward Brigham Young and succession of leadership in the Church could be summarized in the following statements, the first of which was given the first day he met Brigham Young and the second, after the organization of the Quorum of the Twelve. These statements are from the journal of Brigham Young:

In the evening a few of the brethren came in and we conversed together upon the things of the Kingdom. He (Joseph) called upon me to pray; in my prayer I spoke in tongues. As soon as we arose from our knees the brethren flocked around him, and asked his opinion concerning the gift of tongues that was upon me. He told them it was the pure Adamic language. Some said to him they expected he would condemn the gift brother Brigham had, but he said, 'No, it is of God, and the time will come when Brother Brigham Young will preside over this Church.' The latter part of this conversation was in my absence.--Millenial Star, Vol. 25, p. 439.

I do not care who leads the Church, even though it were Ann Lee; but one thing I must know, and that is what God says about it. I have the keys and the means of obtaining the mind of God on the subject.

I know there are those in our midst who will seek the lives of the Twelve as they did the lives of Joseph and Hyrum. We shall ordain others and give the fullness of the priesthood, so that if we are killed, the fullness of the priesthood may remain.

Joseph conferred upon our heads all the keys and

22Nibley, Brigham Young, the Man and his Work, p. 11.
powers belonging to the Apostleship which he himself held before he was taken away, and no man or set of men can get between Joseph and the Twelve in this world or in the world to come.

"How often has Joseph said to the Twelve, "I have laid the foundation and you must build thereon, for upon your shoulders the kingdom rests." (Underlining mine).

The Twelve, as a quorum, will not be permitted to tarry here long; they will go abroad and bear off the kingdom to the nations of the earth, and baptize the people faster than mobs can kill them off, I would like, were it my privilege, to take my valise and travel and preach till we had a people gathered who would be true.

My private feelings would be to let the affairs of men and women alone, only go and preach and baptize them into the Kingdom of God; yet, whatever duty God places upon me in His strength I intend to fulfill it.

I want to see this people, with the various quorums of the priesthood, assembled together in special conference on Thursday next at 10 a.m. 23

One can find numerous statements of the Prophet's attitude toward Brigham Young and of Brigham's loyalty to the Prophet in the early writings of the Church and I have yet to find one which does not infer complete loyalty, friendliness, and understanding between these two men. The quarrel between the Smiths and Brigham Young did not extend to the Prophet Joseph Smith, as far as I have been able to determine through my research.

On the other hand it does appear that Emma was influenced by William, the Prophet's brother, of whom Andrew

Jenson, records the following history, the truthfulness of which can be verified by checking the story with the Journal History of the Church and periodicals that were published by the Church during William Smith's lifetime:

William Smith was the fifth son of Joseph and Lucy Mack Smith; born in Royalton, Windsor County, Vermont, March 13, 1811. He was baptized at an early period, and was a Teacher in the Church in 1831. He took a mission to Erie county, Pennsylvania, in December 1832, to preach the gospel and call the Elders to Kirtland to attend a school of the Prophets. He was ordained to the Office of a High Priest, under the hands of Sidney Rigdon on the 21st day of June, 1833. During the winter of 1833 he worked on a farm and chopped cord wood near Kirtland. He was married to Caroline Grant, daughter of Joshua and Thalia Grant, February 14, 1833, by whom he had two daughters--Mary Jane and Caroline L. He went to Missouri in Zion's Camp in 1834, and returned to Kirtland the same fall. He was appointed one of the Twelve Apostles at the organization of that quorum, at Kirtland, February 15, 1835, under the hands of Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Martin Harris. He accompanied the Twelve on their first mission through the Eastern States and returned with them to Kirtland in the fall.

While Joseph Smith was presiding in a High Council, William rebelled against him in a very headstrong manner. At a debating school held in the house of Father Joseph Smith, December 16, 1835, the Prophet Joseph told the brethren he feared it would not result in good, whereupon William, in a rage, commanded Joseph to leave the house, attempted to put him out and inflicted upon him personal injury, the effects of which he occasionally felt until his death. After Hyrum and the Twelve had labored with William for several days, he made confession and was forgiven.

William removed to Far West with his family in the spring of 1838. After Joseph was taken prisoner and the mob began to drive out the Saints, William expressed himself in such a vindictive manner against Joseph that the Church suspended him from fellowship, May 4, 1839, at a general conference near Quincy. He went to Illinois and settled in Plymouth, Hancock county, keeping a tavern. William was restored to fellowship in the
Church through the intercessions of Joseph and Hyrum; but when the Twelve went to England, instead of accompanying them, according to the commandment of the Lord, he remained on his farm at Plymouth. He published a letter in the *Times and Seasons*, December 1, 1840, making an apology for neglecting to go on his mission on the ground of poverty, but it came with an ill grace as he was better situated to leave his family than any of the members of the quorum who went. In the spring of 1841 he visited the branches of the Church in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. He was elected a member of the House of Representatives of the Legislature of Illinois in the winter session of 1842-43. His acts as a member of the legislature were highly approved by the people; he displayed considerable energy in defending the Nauvoo charter and the rights of his constituents. He took a journey to the East on business in the spring of 1843, and spent his time among the churches. William returned to Nauvoo April 22, 1844, with about forty or fifty Saints from New Jersey. After staying a short time in Nauvoo, he had his last interview with his brother Joseph under the following circumstances: He asked Joseph to give him a city lot near the Temple. Joseph told him that he would do so with great pleasure if he would build a house and live upon it; but he would not give him a lot to sell. William replied he wanted it to build and live upon. The lot was well worth $1,000. In a few hours afterwards, an application was made by a certain Mr. Ivins to the city recorder to know if the lot was clear and belonged to William Smith, for William had sold it to him for $500. Joseph, hearing of this, directed the clerk not to make a transfer, at which William was so offended that he threatened Joseph, who deemed it prudent to keep out of the way until William left on a steamboat for the East, accompanied by his family.

In a general conference of the Church held in Nauvoo Oct. 6, 1845, William Smith was dropped as one of the Twelve Apostles and Patriarch of the Church, and on the following Sunday (Oct. 12th) he was excommunicated, as more of his inconsistent acts had come to light. Some time afterwards he associated himself with the apostate James J. Strang, who tried to organize a church of his own, but failed. William Smith afterwards identified himself with the "Reorganized Church", and lived for a number of years in Elkader, Clayton county, Iowa. He died Nov. 13, 1894, at Osterdock, Clayton county, Iowa, as the last surviving
brother of Joseph the Prophet.\textsuperscript{24}

All of the Smith family were not opposed to Brigham Young and the Quorum of the Twelve, however, as Lucy Smith, mother of the Prophet stated that she would go West, if they would promise to bring her body back and bury it at Nauvoo, where so many of her loved ones were buried.

The following is from the Journal History of October 8, 1845, at the time of a general conference in Nauvoo:

Wednesday, October 8.--The general conference was continued in Nauvoo. Following are the minutes of the third and last day's business.

Conference opened at the usual hour with singing and prayer.

Mother Luch Smith, the aged and honored parent of Joseph Smith, having expressed a wish to say a few words to the congregation she was invited upon the stand. She spoke at considerable length and in an audible manner, so as to be heard by a large portion of the vast assembly.

She commenced by saying that she was truly glad that the Lord had let her see so large a congregation. She had a great deal of advice to give, but Brother Brigham Young had done the errand, he had fixed it completely. There were comparatively few in the assembly who were acquainted with her family. She was the mother of eleven children, seven of whom were boys. She raised them in the fear and love of God, and never was there a more obedient family. She warned parents that they were accountable for their children's conduct; advised them to give them books and work to keep them from idleness; warned all to goodness and kindness, and never to do in secret what they would not do in the presence of millions. She wished to know of the congregation, whether they considered her a mother in Israel--(upon which President B. Young said; all who consider Mother Smith as a mother in Israel, signify it by saying yes! One

\textsuperscript{24}\textsuperscript{24}Jenson, \textit{L.D.S. Biographical Encyclopedia}, pp. 86-87.
universal 'yes' rang throughout). She remarked, that it was just eighteen years since Joseph Smith the prophet had become acquainted with the contents of the plates; and then, in a concise manner, related over the most prominent points in the early history of her family; their hardships, trials, privation, persecutions, sufferings etc; some parts of which melted those who heard her to tears, more especially the part relating to a scene in Missouri, when her beloved son was condemned to be shot in fifteen minutes, and she by prodigious efforts was enabled to press through the crowd to where he was, and to give him her hand; but could not see his face; he took her hand and kissed it. She said, 'Let me hear your voice once more my son'; he said, 'God bless you my dear Mother.' She gave notice that she had written her history, and wished it printed before we leave this place. She then mentioned a discourse once delivered by Joseph, after his return from Washington, in which he said that he had done all that could be done on earth to obtain justice for their wrongs; but they were all, from the President to the Judge, determined not to grant justice. But, said he, keep good courage, these cases are recorded in heaven, and I am going to lay them before the highest court in heaven. 'Little', said she, 'did I then think he was so soon to leave us, to take the case up himself. And don't you think this case is now being tried? I feel as though God was vexing this nation a little, here and there, and I feel that the Lord will let Brother Brigham take the people away. Here, in this city, lay my dead; my husband and children; and if so be the rest of my children go with you, (and would be to God they may all go), they will not go without me; and if I go, I want my bones brought back in case I die away, and deposited with my husband and children.' (Mother Smith said many more good things, but the rest being inaudible to the reporters, they are lost.)

President Brigham Young then arose and said he wanted to relate to the congregation the last closing remarks of Mother Smith; inasmuch as she could not be heard by all.

'Mother Smith proposes a thing which rejoices my heart; she will go with us. I can answer for the authorities of the church; we want her and her children to go with us; and I pledge myself in behalf of the authorities of the church, that while we have any thing they shall share with us. We have extended the
helping hand to Mother Smith. She had the best carriage in the city and while she lives, shall ride in it when and where she pleases.

When William came here we furnished him a span of horses, and a carriage and a house and Brother Kimball became responsible for the rent of it. He has run away in a time of trouble; but I suppose will come back when it is peace, and we mean to have him with us yet.'

(Mother Smith here interrupted President Young, but inaudible to the reporters). President Young continued: 'Mother Smith has been relating over the circumstances of her pecuniary life of late; she is perfectly satisfied, and all is right. I could have wished that the bishops would visit her more frequently; but they have done pretty well—and I say in the name of the Latter-day Saints, we will supply her wants; and I want the people to take any thing they have for her to her, and let her do with it as she pleases. I have never asked her to go for she had told me she would not; but now she has offered it. Mother Smith proposes that she will go with us, if we will promise to bring back her remains, in case of her death, and deposit them with her husband's—Also Joseph once said, with outstretched arms, 'If I fall in battle in Missouri, I want you to bring my bones back, and deposit them in that sepulchre—I command you to do it in the name of the Lord.' And I pledge myself if Mother Smith goes with us and I outlive her, I will do my best to bring her bones back again, and deposit them with her children, and I want to know if this people are willing to enter into a covenant to do the same?' (Unanimous vote.)

President B. Young continued: 'We are determined also to use every means in our power to do all that Joseph told us. And we will petition Sister Emma, in the name of Israel's God, to let us deposit the remains of Joseph according as he commanded us. And if she will not consent to it, our garments are clear. Then when he awakes in the morning of the resurrection, he shall talk with them, not with me; the sin shall be upon her head, not ours.' Meeting was adjourned to two p.m. Benediction by President Young.

The Church reached its adolescent period following the martyrdom of its Prophet and founder; but Brigham Young
guided it safely through the storm and stress of the new awakening period but not without bitter protest from many of its members and a severance of their ties to a new order of things. O. W. Riegel writes of this period:

Brigham's coup of August 8 therefore failed to dash the hopes of his rivals. Sidney Rigdon continued to intrigue openly against him. The surviving members of the Smith family, not wishing to see the control of the Church pass out of the family, strongly disapproved of Brigham's "usurpation." Sister Emma, the Prophet's widow (and as his first wife the legal widow by United States law), wanted her son, "Young Joseph," to succeed his father. Young Joseph was in knee breeches at the time, but Sister Emma believed that a kind of regency could be set up to govern the Church until he grew up. William Smith, the Prophet's renegade brother, threw his support first to Sidney Rigdon, but later demanded the First Presidency of the Church for himself, declaring his intention to rule pro tem until Young Joseph came of age. Lyman Wight, the "Wild Ram of the Mountains" who had helped to interest Strang in Mormonism, broke with Brigham Young, set up a church of his own, and led a band of followers into the Republic of Texas, where the vast plains swallowed them.25

**EMMA'S BUSINESS ABILITY**

Emma was a good business woman. She was a great help to the Prophet in his business transactions. It is recorded in the *Journal History* that she helped him "appraise the tithing."

A letter written after the Prophet's death, which came into the possession of Juanita Brooks of St. George, Utah was mailed to President George Albert Smith, April 29, 1946.

---

It reveals this business ability of Emma in a characteristic way:

Nauvoo, Oct. 18, 1844

Brother Heywood:

Sir, I send by the stage twenty-two bags, wishing Brother Hollingshead to send some oats by the St. By. Osprey, as soon as its convenient. The brick store will be empty next week, and I would like well if you could find it advantageous to your interest to fill it with goods and groceries this fall, the rent will be low. I think it a good time to commence an establishment of that kind here now, as there is a number of merchants about to leave here soon.

My family are all in good health at present, and the brethren are generally well, with the exception of Amasa Lyman, who has been very sick, but is better now.

My best respects to your family and all our friends. Tell Mrs. Heywood I shall keep those shoes she gave to Mr. Smith as a memento both of her and my husband, too, for I can never see them without remembering them both.

Respectfully your,
Most obedient
Emma Smith

BIRTH OF DAVID HYRUM SMITH

Four and one-half months after the martyrdom of his father, Emma gave birth to her ninth and last child. He was named David Hyrum. One of the last requests the Prophet made before he left for Carthage was "If our child is a boy, for my sake name him David Hyrum."

On Christmas day, 1844, W. W. Phelps wrote a letter to William Smith, who was a missionary in the east. Concerning Emma's new babe he said:
The rest, I think enjoy very good health, and especially Emma, who amid her great affliction, has given birth to a son, and like David of old, may he yet be a terror to evil doers; one that will light a candle in the same great fire where his father's was lit, till the last stain of his father's blood is made white by righteousness.26

THE NEW YORK SUN LETTER

If Emma Smith wrote the following letter to the Editor of the New York Sun and meant every word of it, the story of her life would be much less inexplicable and enigmatic; some very definite conclusions could be drawn concerning her actions and attitude and the whole problem of the succession in the leadership of the Church would be greatly simplified:

Nauvoo, Ills. Nov. 20, 1845

To the Editor of the New York Sun,

Sir:-

I hope to be excused for addressing you for the first time in my life a letter to the Editor of a newspaper and this I have been induced to do from seeing the letter of Gen. Arlington Bennett published in the newspaper urging the Mormon people to remove to the Pacific Ocean and advocating the cause of the tyrants who have seized the government of the Mormon Church. This church, such as it is, was formed by my lamented husband, who was martyred for its sake, and whether true or false laid down his life for its belief. I am left here with a family of children to attend to without any means of giving them an education, for there is not a school in the city nor is it intended there shall be any here or at any other place where the men who now govern the infatuated, simple minded people have sway. I have not the least objection that these petty tyrants shall move to California, or any other remote place out of the world if they wish, for

26E. Cecil McGavin, Nauvoo, the Beautiful, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Stevens and Wallis, Inc., 1946), p. 171.
they never will be of any service to the Mormons or the human family, no matter where they go. Their object is to keep the people over whom they rule in the greatest ignorance and most abject religious bondage, and if these poor confiding creatures remove with them they will die in the wilderness. The laws of the United States are quite good enough for me and my children and my settled determination is to remain where I can take care of my property, and if I cannot educate my children here, I shall send them to New York or New England for that purpose. Many of the Mormons will no doubt, remove in the spring, and many more will remain here in Nauvoo as in other cities, and all exclusive religious distinctions abolished.

I must now say, that I never for a moment believed in what my husband called his apparitions and revelations, as I thought him laboring under a diseased mind yet they may be all true, as a prophet is seldom without credence or honor except in his own family or country, but my conviction is to the contrary. I shall educate my children in a different faith, and teach them to obey and reverence the laws and institutions of their own country. Shall I not, sir, be protected in these resolutions against the annoyance of the men I now oppose, for they will, no doubt, seek my life? What object Gen. Arlington Bennett has in advocating the cause of these petty tyrants, I am not able to understand, for he assured me when at my house, that he had not the smallest intention of connecting himself in any manner with them, much less remove with them to the Pacific Ocean; but this is a strange world, and I would not be surprised if they had offered to anoint and crown him King or Emperor in the west. As I have something more to say I will take the liberty to write you another letter.

With great respect, I am
Your humble servant,

Emma Smith

One month and ten days later, another letter addressed to the Editor of the Sun signed by Emma Smith states that the first letter was a forgery.

27Journal History, November 20, 1845.
To the Editor of the New York Sun:

Sir: I wish to inform you, and the public through your paper, that the letter published Tuesday morning, December 9th is a forgery, the whole of it, and I hope that this notice will put a stop to all such communications.

Emma Smith

If Emma wrote the letter to the New York Sun, she is admitting that she did not believe her husband to be a prophet of God; that the revelations he claimed he received were not divine but man-made, and that the church he founded was not the Church of Jesus Christ but another church with a man-made philosophy.

She may have been suggesting that the Church under her husband's direction was practising polygamy counter to the laws of the United States and she wanted to obey and reverence the laws of her country. She does not say this, but she infers that the church is teaching a doctrine that is not constitutional.

The entire letter is vindictive in nature and must have been written during the time of an emotional upheaval.

In this letter, there is an expression of doubt and uncertainty as was manifest in Emma's blessing written by herself; the letter states that "never for a moment did she believe in her husband's revelations" and then adds "yet they may be all true as a prophet is seldom without credence.

Ibid., December 30, 1845.
or honor except in his own family or country." The writer of the letter also states "whether true or false (in regard to the Church) he laid down his life for its belief."

I am inclined to believe that Emma wrote the letter, and when there were so many repercussions from it, she published a denial of it.

One who was much interested in it was Doctor John M. Bernhisel of whom it is recorded in the Journal History "went to the Nauvoo Temple to borrow the New York Sun of December 9, 1845 to read Emma's letter to the editor."
"Wm. Marks, a prominent man in the church in Joseph's time, remained Emma's true friend and helped her to move to Fulton during the trouble that caused the exodus of the Saints from Nauvoo in 1846. He lived near Emma the two winters she spent in Fulton."  

Fulton is located on the Mississippi River, due west of Chicago, in Whiteside County on U. S. Highway 30. It is across the river and a little north of Clinton, Iowa, and is located in North-Western Illinois. It is not far from Dixon, Illinois, which is directly east of Fulton, and the place where Emma's brothers, Isaac and David Hale, and her sister, Elizabeth Wasson lived.

Emma lived in Fulton the winters of 1846 and 1847 and then in February 1847 she went to Nauvoo because she had heard that Van Tuyl, to whom she had leased the Mansion house was about to move to Texas and was planning on taking the furnishings of the Mansion House with him. He had not paid the rent regularly and when he left he beat Emma out of considerable money but she saved the furnishings, but he did take away some things of value.  

Inez Smith Davis speaks of the refuge up at Fulton as a period of a "few months' time." She also describes Emma and her family in Nauvoo as follows:

Back in that deserted city, near the water's edge,

---

1Crawford, op. cit., p. 29.  
2Ibid.
stood the Mansion House, not long since completed, home of a tall, darkhaired widow and her five children, an arrogant little beauty of fifteen, the adopted daughter Julia; a solemn brown-eyed boy of nearly fourteen, Joseph; Frederick, past ten, merry and sunny, with the brown eyes of his mother; Alexander, a lad of blue eyes like his father; and the little brother, baby David, loved and loving of them all, who was not quite two, for he was born after the cruel death of his father. Calmly, with a quiet courage this woman, when nearly all had left, stayed on, (except for a few months' refuge up the river at Fulton City) and reared her family in the deserted city. Her boys played and studied with the boys of the new citizens. She baked cookies for them all. Time passed. Emma had no enemies in Nauvoo. She found herself and her children respected by all. She never spoke of religion, for although she still cherished in her heart the principles of the church her husband founded, she had come to the time when she had lost some of the illusions her friends still cherished, and had reluctantly bade them good-by at the parting of the roads.  

When Emma came back to Nauvoo after the flight to Fulton city, she sadly remarked that she had no friend but God and no place to go but home.  

EMMA'S MARRIAGE TO LEWIS CRUM BIDAMON

Lewis C. Bidamon was born at Smithfield, Virginia, January 16, 1806. He lived in Fulton county before moving to Nauvoo in 1846. He was Lieutenant-Colonel of the 32nd Regiment of Illinois Infantry but he seems to be better known as Major Bidamon.

Bidamon was an opportunist and moved into Nauvoo with the new settlers at the time the Saints were being driven out. He and James Mulholland courted the favor of Emma during the summer of 1847, about the time the pioneers were entering the

---

3 Davis, op. cit., p. 35+. 4 Crawford, op. cit., p. 21. 5 Ibid., p. 232.
Salt Lake Valley. Major Bidamon won out, and during the Yuletide season of 1847 Emma was married to him, the Reverend Wm. Haney, a Methodist clergyman performing the ceremony. The date of the marriage is a controversial one. Letters from Ezra T. Benson and Wm. I. Appleby and a news clipping from the Nauvoo Rustler all state that Emma and Bidamon were married on December 23rd, the Prophet's birthday.

Emma and Bidamon lived at the Mansion House for about twenty-two years, where Major Bidamon acted as proprietor of the hotel. About 1869 they took possession of the old Nauvoo House, which was only partly built by the Saints when they left Nauvoo. Major Bidamon completed a part of the House, and Emma lived there for the remainder of her life.

LETTERS FROM EMMA'S VISITORS

From 1848 to 1855 a number of Mormons visited in Nauvoo; others were commissioned to stay there to try to sell the property that belonged to the Church. The following letters reveal their opinions about Emma Smith:

Elder John S. Fullmer wrote as follows:

Nauvoo, Jan. 27, 1848

President Brigham Young:
Dear Sir:

Having little else to do at the present, than to stand still and see the salvation of the Lord and having a good opportunity of sending to the Camp, I thought that, among some few other items, I would just apprise you of that fact.

Perhaps you will enquire, whom we acknowledge as
our Moses? Well, as to that, whether we have a Moses here, or not, we have a plenty of Pharaohs. I suppose you know by this time, that there was a certain widow in the place, who was lately given, (and as the orthodoxy would say) "in holy matrimony" to one of his Satanic Majesty's high priests, to wit: one Lewis Bidamon. Now they twain being one flesh, concocted a grand scheme by which they could effectually block our wheels and enrich themselves. They hit upon the idea that the Church could hold only ten acres of land, according to a limited construction of one of our State laws, and that consequently, the deed from Emma and Joseph Smith, to Joseph as a "Trustee" was illegal. They have therefore, now jointly conveyed all the lots that were ever in her name which she had not previously conveyed to others. This, you will see at a glance, places the Trustees in the extremest difficulty, as to title, while it destroys the confidence of every one, and prevents those who would have purchased, from doing so. There is, to be sure, a statute of 1845 legalising the sales of Joseph Smith as Trustee in Trust, and consequently also legalizes all his titles from which he did convey; but this act, I should think, does not affect any subsequent conveyances made to the Church. In either case, it requires a judicial decision to restore confidence: during this interview, business, by way of sales, will be entirely closed. But for one, "I hope that it may not be my lot to have to remain here till such decision is had. My heart is in the west with the Brethren, and I hope that I shall in some way be able to remove my family thither. 6

Almon W. Babbitt wrote as follows:

Nauvoo, January 31, 1848

Heber C. Kimball Esq.

Dear Brother:

As I have an opportunity of sending a letter to you by Bro. Player, I improve the same, although I have not much to communicate. We arrived home in 5½ days from the time we left you. The short time we made between the Bluffs and Nauvoo we had a tiresome time; we found all well at home, Sarah and Anna included.

6 Journal History, January 26, 1848, pp. 2-3
Sarah was much pleased with the spirit of your letter and feels considerably revived in her spirits. On my return home I found considerable excitement in Nauvoo from the fact that Emma Biddamon had made a quit claim deed of all the land in the city conveyed to the Church. She made the deed to her lawyers viz: McLellen, Sibley, Van Count, and Willbe. It operates as a perfect estoppel to the sale of more city property until the matter is tested in the courts of Law. Emma also joined the Methodist Episcopal Church about two weeks ago. She was taken in on trial of course (let them try her). The house and lot that does not appear on the Books on your Bills appear to have been among the land turned out by you, on your old account, as will appear from the Ledger. I send with Bro. Player one set of Times and Seasons bound in Morroco.

My respect to Sister Kimball and all your family that I have had the pleasure to become acquainted with, and as ever, I remain

Your friend and brother,

Almon W. Babbitt.

(Underlining mine)

Another letter from Almon W. Babbitt is as follows:

Nauvoo,
January 31st, 1848

President Brigham Young

Dear Brother:

As brother Player is about leaving for Winter Quarters, I thought I would send a short letter to you. Although I have but little to communicate. We were five days and one-half coming home: we found all well. But no little excitement about Emma Biddamon's doings. She has made a deed of the whole White purchase to some lawyers viz: Sibley, Willbe and Me Leden, the intention is to break up the title to the Church holding the location, that a religious corporation cannot hold more than ten acres of land and that the husband and wife were incapable of entering into a contract, although he might act as

Journal History, January 31, 1848.
the trustee of others. The conveyance operates as a complete estopel of our selling lands in the city; the Temple has been sold since I left and bid in by Emma's husband on an execution in favor of Wm. Backenstos.

Emma has joined the Methodist Church; they took her on trial. It is to be hoped that she will suit them. They (the Methodists) are laying plans to get in possession of the Temple and other properties of the Church through Emma. William Smith has got the mummies from Mother Smith and refuses to give them up; he also has got at logger heads with Milliken and Lucy because Mother Smith made a deed to the property that the Trustees deeded to her to Milliken; hence, you see that the Smith family are divided up. No further news from Mexico. Congress has a bill up for raising a larger number of regulars some in regiments, mostly from the west (Oregon and California.) I send by Bro. Player the Times and Seasons in good order, the wagon is ready; the team we have not got yet but hope to have them by the time you wish them. Times look dull here since I got home; the effect of Emma's operation will operate strongly against the Trustees closing out the business and I do sincerely doubt their getting an outfit. However, I shall spare no pains on my part to go over the mountains in the spring. My respects to your wife and family. As ever I remain,

Your friend and brother
Almon W. Babbitt

Under this date (February 11, 1848) Jonathan C. Wright wrote to President Brigham Young as follows:

...Afterwards I called to see Madam Emma. She received me very coolly: She says she don't pity them that suffer there: they might have known better than to have gone and many of them I'd know better, for she told them better and they knew she never told them a lie in her life. She says the first thing that Brigham teaches his followers is to lie well, etc., 9

Monday, September 10, Dr. John M. Bernhisel wrote President Young from Lockpoint, New York, giving the general news of the country. He passed through St. Louis and Nauvoo.

8Journal History, Jan. 31, 1848. 9Ibid., Feb. 11, 1848.
The branch of the Church at St. Louis was the largest in the state, representing from three to four thousand saints. The following is the Doctor's description of Nauvoo and of persons and things there:

Nauvoo presents a most gloomy and desolate appearance. The lots and street, with a few exceptions, are overgrown with weeds and grass. Few of the houses, comparatively speaking, are inhabited; the remainder are in a state of desolation and utter ruin. Though the walls of the Temple are standing, yet they are much cracked, especially the east one; and not a vestige of the once beautiful fount remains. There has been nothing done to rebuild it, except clearing away some rubbish, and it is highly probable there will never be anything more done. The Temple is enclosed with a rude fence, and is used as a sheepfold and cow-pen.

I was informed by a person who witnessed the conflagration of this sacred and magnificent edifice, that when the flames first burst out through the steeple, a most profound silence reigned over this devoted city, then the dogs began to bark, and the cattle to low. The Nauvoo House remains in about the same condition in which it was two years ago. The appearance of the adjacent country is in keeping with that of the city.

The character of the population was represented to as being very bad, and growing worse. The Icarians, or French socialists, number two hundred and forty, all told, and it is more than probable that they will, ere long be divided into their original elements, thirty-four having recently seceded.

Though Emma received me in the kindest, and entertained me in the most hospitable manner, yet she did not make a single inquiry in relation to the Valley, the Church, or any of its members. She has become quite corpulent. She has not united with the Methodist Church. Joseph has grown surprisingly, indeed so much so that I did not recognize him. His little brothers have also grown rapidly. Emma has employed a teacher, who is residing in the house, and is instructing the children. Joseph is studying English, French, and Latin. Julia, the adopted daughter of Emma, has been joined in the silken bands of wedlock to a reformed gambler of the name of Dixon,
who keeps the Mansion. Mother Smith's health is very feeble, and in all human probability she will not survive another winter. She inquired after you and others. 10

The following account of a visit to Emma Smith and the mother of the Prophet Joseph Smith was handed to Alma P. Burton, Instructor in Church History at the Brigham Young University by a great-great-grand-daughter of Hannah Tappfield King, from whose diary this is copied. The visit was made by Mrs. King and her daughter and daughter's husband, Mr. and Mrs. C. V. Spencer May 12, 1855:

In the morning two carriages were ordered to take us to Nauvoo. The road was better than I had expected, and view in some parts fine. We arrived at Montrose about noon and then ferried over the Mississippi to the other side, having had the rear of the Temple in view for some time; my feelings were that day altogether inexplicable; my impressions very pleased yet sad. Ruin and curse seemed upon the spot which the wicked had desecrated. Buildings look as though the workmen had only left off to go to dinner, yet they had lain so since the death of the Prophet. Not a brick seemed to be removed. We went to the Mansion house and saw Joseph's wife, Emma. I was rather agreeably surprised for I had heard much of her being a large (Vulgar) woman, but the impression she gave me was not that of a large coarse woman. Power is the principle that seems to be stamped on her but it is like the lion when crouched. Her mind seemed to be absorbed in the past and lost almost to the present. Her manners are not possessive, rather those of coldness and stolidity. Neither does she seem to desire to form any intimacy, or renew it, although she knew Claudius and all his family. She did not even seem to respond to kindness, but she looked as if she had suffered, and as if a deep vein of bitterness ran through her system. I felt sorry for her and would have given her ocular proof of my sympathy but she seemed to shun, or rather chill, every demonstration

10 journal history, September 10, 1849.
of it. We dined at her house which is the hotel of the place; and after dinner we were shown into the room of Joseph's mother. She sat pillowed up in bed. She made a great impression upon me; for she is no ordinary woman. I feel it would be vain to attempt to describe my feelings with regard to her. I am going to let it run into poetry; for prose would not suffice for me. She is a character that Walter Scott would have loved to portray and one he could of done justice to. I do feel so in my heart wherein she has a niche for all time. She blessed us with a mother's blessing, her own words, and my heart melted for I remembered my own dear mother left in England for the Gospel's sake and the deep fountains of my heart were broken up. Georgia gave her the ring off her finger that I had given her on her fourteenth birthday.

Elder Enoch B. Tripp who was traveling up the Mississippi November 25, 1855 journalized as follows:

While watching for a boat, I, in company with several gentleman, crossed the Mississippi river to Nauvoo and took a walk through the principal parts of the city, where once the great Prophet of God, Joseph Smith, Jr., lived in the midst of his beloved brethren. His voice is now hushed in death, together with his brother Hyrum Smith and their bodies are now resting under the bee stand near the Prophet's mansion, where his widow and children and mother now lives. The spirit of these martyrs are preaching the gospel to the spirits in prison who have died without the privilege of receiving the gospel of Christ, since the days of Christ and his Apostles, that they may be judged according to men in the flesh. Nauvoo is fast going down and it is now principally inhabited by the French and German people. I called on the Prophet's widow and children and mother; all were much pleased to see us. The children were once my pupils when I taught school in the city before I was driven away from it together with the rest of the saints. The widow Emma Smith, is very bitter against Pres. Brigham Young and his followers and never desires to gather to the Valley; all her children have partaken of the same spirit. Joseph, her eldest son, is a very strong spiritual medium and claims that he through writing (by placing his hands with a pencil on paper) can converse with his father. I informed him that God, angels and the servants of God never have and never will, converse with the children of men in that way, but that was the way the powers
from beneath communicated with men. I also told them, that such manifestations was a strong delusion which God would suffer to come in the last days to deceive mankind, and it would deceive the very elect, if possible. I warned him against this great evil and advised him to turn around and walk in the narrow path which his father through Christ had laid out for him and all men to walk in, and I testified that we all would be led into eternal lives. I called upon the Prophet's mother and found her living in a lonely room in the eastern part of the house; she was in bed and very feeble. Upon approaching her bedside, I informed her who I was. She arose in her bed and, placing her arms around my neck, kissed me, exclaiming, "I can now die in peace since I have beheld your face from the valleys of the mountains."

She made many inquiries after the saints and remarked "That she took much comfort in riding out with me and my wife in the days when I taught school in Nauvoo; but all these days and happy scenes have passed and the day is near at hand when she must bid adieu to this earth and meet with her beloved ones beyond the veil." Receiving a farewell blessing from this great mother in Israel I took departure from her, the mansion and Nauvoo and returned to Montrose.

The following notes are taken from the book, The Mississippi River and its Wonderful Valley. The author, a Mr. Chambers, tells of his visit to Nauvoo and his conversation with "Mrs. Joseph Smith, Widow of the founder of Mormonism":

I set out for Nauvoo. The imposing site had been described to me, but its beauty far exceeded expectations. I beached my canoe under the bluff about five o'clock, at a point from which a path led up the slope to a red brick hotel. There I found a hale and refined old lady, Mrs. Joseph Smith, widow of the founder of Mormonism. She was mistress of the tavern. After supper she and I sat upon the brow of the bluff, with the mighty Mississippi flowing between us and the Iowa shore, while I listened to her narrative of the terrible privations and persecutions of early Mormon days. Mrs.

---

*Journal History*, Nov. 25, 1855.
Smith's conversation is very memorable, due to the romantic surroundings and especially to the excellence of its English. Nauvoo cannot be dismissed in a few words. It belongs to the history of religion in the Mississippi Valley, and its romantic features equal those of the missionary priests who devoted their lives to the dissemination of doctrines in which they devoutly believed....

The site of Nauvoo probably is the most beautiful on "the Father of Waters". A majestic bluff overlooking the broad river, and a vast stretch of level country behind it, affords ample room for a city of vast proportions.

At the time of his first alleged revelation, there were forty-three separate sects of the Christian religion in this country. The land resounded with the hysterical cry, "What must we do to be saved?" He was either a sincere religious fanatic, or a remarkable impostor.

Repudiating the new leader, Brigham Young, the widow of Joseph Smith remained behind, to end her days at the scene of her beloved husband's preaching and only a few miles from the place of his murder. She remarried, when past middle life, and I was introduced to her husband. "Joseph Smith never suggested or practiced polygamy," said the aged lady, with a directness born of sincere belief. "He was a devoted and faithful husband. The blemish of polygamy was engrafted upon Mormonism, which was a pure, gentle, trusting faith - by Brigham Young and Orson Pratt, after my husband's cruel assassination."

"You love this place and his memory so deeply that you would not trek to far-away Utah?" I asked.

"Not altogether that. I was a devout believer in the faith as disclosed by Joseph Smith; but I would not follow false prophets."  

During the period commencing after the exodus of the Saints from Nauvoo until Emma's health began to fail, Emma

---

12Copied from Chambers, The Mississippi River and its Wonderful Valley by Vesta P. Crawford in her "Notes".
took care of her Mother-in-law, Lucy Smith, until she died in May 1855. She also cared for others of her family who were ill, including some of her sons and their wives and children. Several of her grandchildren were born at her home. Emma was gifted in the use of herbs, a knowledge she likely gained while living in Pennsylvania. "Emma's celebrated salve contained beeswax and mutton tallow and jimson weed, among other ingredients."\(^{13}\)

Emma was always eager to give her children every opportunity possible. She employed teachers to come to her home to instruct her children in the languages and the arts.

From 1846 until her death, Emma was an outcast. When she came back from her sister's home in Northern Illinois, she said, "I have no place to go but home, and no friend but God."

"Twenty years after the martyrdom Emma visited her brothers and sisters who were then living near Nauvoo--David, Alva, Elizabeth and Ttryal. Her brothers were past seventy years old, but their bitterness had not mellowed with the years."\(^{14}\)

The letters printed in this chapter give an insight into the feelings of the Saints toward Emma, which, of course, in most instances, were far from cordial. This can be

\(^{13}\)Crawford, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

explained when one takes note of the fact that "within an hour after the Methodist minister performed the ceremony (Emma's marriage ceremony with Bidamon) the first official act of this union, was to have their attorneys call attention to an old statute that prevented a church holding more than ten acres of land."\textsuperscript{15}

This act impeded the "tardy sales" and made it almost impossible for the Church to realize any financial reward on its holdings.

Emma had become very bitter toward the Church and Brigham Young and manifested not the least interest in its welfare or the welfare of those who had been her friends previous to the exodus. Many who visited her remarked that she never once asked a single question about the Church or its people in the West.

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., p. 259.
CHAPTER XI
EMMA AND THE REORGANIZED CHURCH
(April 1860 - April 1879)

"On November 18, 1851, Jason W. Briggs claimed that he received a revelation to the effect that the son of Joseph was his true successor and about the same time Zenas H. Gurley, Sr. received a similar revelation."¹ As a consequence, Joseph Smith III was invited to the conference to be held in Amboy April 6, 1860, and on the morning of April 4, Joseph and his mother Emma, with James Gifford, an old friend of the family, crossed the Mississippi for the purpose of attending this conference. Zenas H. Gurley, Sr. presented Joseph to the brethren assembled. After acknowledging the introduction, Joseph spoke to those assembled.

At the conclusion of this address, a motion was made by Isaac Sheen that Brother Joseph Smith be received as Prophet, Seer, Revelator, and successor to his father. A wave of assent swept the house, after which Emma Smith Bidamon, widow of Joseph Smith, the founder of the church, was received into fellowship on her original baptism. Young Joseph was then ordained President of the High Priesthood under the hands of Zenas H. Gurley, William Marks, Samuel Powers, and William W. Blair. Elder Gurley, his face lightened with pleasure, brought to a close the period of waiting by saying: "Brother Joseph, I present this church to you in the name of Jesus Christ."

And the young man answered with his characteristic sincerity: "May God grant in his infinite mercy that I may never do anything to forfeit the high trust confided to me. I pray that he may grant to us power to recall the scattered ones of Israel, and I ask your prayers."

¹Davis, op. cit., p. 596
The probability is that the ordination prayer was by Zenas H. Gurley, Sr. Isaac Sheen, who was editor of the Herald in 1860, wrote to George P. Dykes in December 26, 1868, and said that he forgot to say who the spokesman was, but that he had no design in the matter, and the omission having never before been called to his mind, he could only say, "I think that Zenas H. Gurley was the spokesman....This I know, that when I moved before that conference that Brother Joseph be ordained President of the High Priesthood, I did it with an overflowing inspiration of the Holy Ghost. I know that he was called of Gcd to that office, and I presume that many of the Saints who were there had the same evidence. After the conference voted unanimously that he should be ordained, I led in prayer for him, his brethren, and mother, and the oppressed of Utah, and the Holy Spirit prompted me therein powerfully." From Sheen's letter, an 8 page pamphlet. Date and place of publication not given, but probably Plano.2

Approximately sixteen years after the martyrdom, Joseph, the Prophet's son, became the first President of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints; this position he held until his death December 10, 1914. He was the first son born to Emma who lived to maturity and was the last to die of her four sons, who grew to manhood.

He was baptized at the age of eleven years and became President of the High Priesthood of the Reorganized Church at the age of twenty-seven and one-half years. He was eleven and one-half years old at the time of his father's martyrdom, and President of the Church for over fifty-four years.

About five months after Joseph III's death, his son, Frederick Madison Smith was ordained the second President of

2Ibid., p. 453.
the Reorganized Church on May 5, 1915. He was a few months over forty-one years of age at the time. He was baptized at the age of nine and one-half years. He died March 20th, 1946, at slightly over seventy-two years of age. He presided over the church for almost thirty-one years.

Approximately two weeks later Frederick's brother, Israel Alexander Smith, was ordained President on April 7, 1946; he was seventy years and two months old at the time.

One of Emma's sons and one grandson has been President of the church and at the present writing (April 1952) one grandson is now President; one son and four grandsons have held the office of Presiding Patriarch and one son has been President of the Quorum of the Twelve.

Joseph Smith III had three wives (one at a time, however. He was very much opposed to polygamy). The first wife, Emmeline Griswold, bore him four daughters and one son. The son died at the age of seven months. His second wife, Bertha Madison, had nine children, two of whom became Presidents of the church. His third wife, Ada Rachel Clark, had three children. Joseph's first child was named Emma Josepha.

All of his children by his first wife were born in Nauvoo.

DEATH OF FREDERICK G. W. SMITH

Frederick, who was named after the counselor to the Prophet, was married September 13, 1857, to Annie Maria Jones. He lived in Nauvoo and engaged in farming and the mercantile
business. He died there April 13, 1862, and was buried in the family plot. He had one child, Alice Fredericka, born November 27, 1855, in Nauvoo. (She was unmarried).

Alexander Hale Smith was married to Elizabeth Kendall June 23, 1861, at Nauvoo. She was sixteen at the time of her marriage. They had nine children. Several of them were very talented in writing and one worked in the Historian's office.

Alexander died in 1909 while on a visit to Nauvoo, passing away in the Mansion House. He is buried in Rose Hill cemetery in Lamoni. He was a farmer near Nauvoo and was noted for his athletic skill, hunting, and marksmanship.

David Hyrum Smith was married May 10, 1870, in DeKalb County, Illinois, to Clara Hartshorn.

David was talented in music, drawing, and poetry. He composed many hymns. He was a counselor to the President of the church and made several missionary trips to Utah. He had one child, Elbert Aoruil who was born March 8, 1871 at Nauvoo.2

EMMA TURNS NEW TRANSLATION OVER TO THE REORGANIZED CHURCH

From the time that Emma received the manuscript in Missouri until May 1866 she carefully guarded this revision of the Scriptures. On the 2nd of May 1866, she turned it over to William Marks, W. W. Blair, and Israel Rogers. She refused any payment for her

---

2Information contained in the sketches above is a digest from notes by Crawford, op. cit., p. 26, and Davis op. cit., pp. 600-601.
watchful care over it, but said that if she received a copy of the book, when printed, she would consider herself amply repaid. She also told them that if she had wished to sell the book, she could have done so years ago and for a substantial price. The manuscript and the old Bible from which the revision was made were checked carefully in the twelve months that followed in order to assure a perfect copy for publication. 3

EMMA'S LAST YEARS AND DEATH

In the last years of her life, Emma was frequently visited by relatives and friends from Utah. To many of these she seemed restless and unhappy, but she always manifested great interest in the friends of her first husband. 4

Sister Emma died in Nauvoo, April 30, 1879 and at the time of her demise the Deseret News said editorially: To the old members of the Church the deceased was well known, as a lady of more than ordinary intelligence and force of character. Her opposition to the doctrine of plural marriage, which however, she at first embraced, led her to depart from the faith of the gospel as revealed through her martyred husband. She chose to remain at Nauvoo when the Saints left for the west, and in consequence lost the honor and glory that might have crowned her brow as "the elect lady". She was the mother of four (seven) children all the sons of the prophet Joseph, viz. Joseph, now leader of the sect which commonly bears his name, Frederick (deceased), Alexander and David. It was mainly through her influence that they were led into the by path wherein they have gone astray. She has now gone beyond the veil to await the great day of accounts. There is no feeling of bitterness in the hearts of the saints toward sister Emma Smith, but only of pity and sorrow for the course she pursued. May her remains rest in peace. 5

Alexander Hale Smith's wife said that Emma's last

3Davis, op. cit., p. 592.

4Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia, (Salt Lake City, Utah; Deseret News Press, 1901), Vol. 1., p. 693.

5Ibid., p. 693.
days in Nauvoo were very lonely and she waited for death to unite her with Joseph."\(^6\)

"In the spring of 1879 Alexander was called to join his brother Joseph and adopted sister Julia at the bedside of his mother. Her two sons and Julia sat by her bedside for many days until she died."\(^7\)

Alexander, Emma's son, in a speech said the following: "Pretty soon the still, small voice of the Spirit said, 'If your mother dies she will be with her companion, Joseph. If she lives she cannot live but a few short years at most of pain and anguish.'"\(^8\)

Alexander wrote to his wife from Emma's bedside on the following day:

Riverside Mansion

Dearest Lizzie:

Once more I write to you from this place. Mother is still alive, but oh, how she suffers. Joseph is here still....

Mother needs someone constantly by her she must be lifted up about every fifteen or twenty minutes. Night before last I sat up all night and lifted her. Joseph sat up last night until four o'clock this morning and then called me. Mr. Bidamon is very kind and gentle to her, but is nearly worn out....

April 27th, Tuesday. Mother is gradually failing

\(^6\)Crawford, op. cit., p. 27.
\(^7\)Ibid., p. 27
\(^8\)Ibid., p. 32.
She cannot recognize anyone now. Her mind wanders constantly. Poor mother; Oh Lizzie, it is hard to see her suffer so. We do all we can for her and still she suffers fearfully....

We are simply waiting the end, and it seems to be here, only God knows how near. I think sometimes I have passed through the worst, yet I know how hard it will be to give mother up....

April 30, 1879. The battle of life is over. Mother died this morning at four o'clock and twenty minutes. I shall start home on Monday noon.9

Her body was laid in the parlor of the mansion in the morning after her demise and in the evening of the same day was placed in the burial case where it was constantly watched by Mrs. Middleton and a few intimate friends until the afternoon of May 2. At noon on this day relatives and friends began to arrive, and at 2 p.m., the hour set for the services, the rooms were filled and many stood outside. The service was in charge of the Reorganized Church under direction of John H. Lake of Keokuk, Iowa, and Joseph A. Crawford of Burnside, near Nauvoo, preached the sermon. Of the six bearers, five were her nephews, sons of sisters of Joseph Smith, four being brothers: Solomon J., Alvin, Don C., and Frederick Salisbury, the other Don C. Millikin. The other bearer was an Elder Babcock. Many kissed the dead Emma. She was laid to rest by the Father of Waters. She was a Reorganite at her death.10

DEATH OF LEWIS C. BIDAMON

Elder Andrew Jenson has handed us for publication the following clipping from the Nauvoo Rustler of February 17th 1891:

Nauvoo's most widely known and distinguished citizen, Major L. C. Bidamon has gone to "that undiscovered world from whose bourne no traveler returns." Though expected, the announcement of his death cast a gloom over the face of our beautiful city. He died of old age at his residence in the First Ward, last Wednesday morning (February 11, 1891).
at 8 o'clock, after an illness of nearly three years.

Deceased was a native of Virginia. He was born at Smithfield, that state, Jan. 16, 1806. He came to this city in 1846, and took part in the Mormon difficulties. He became widely known on account of his marriage to Emma Smith, the widow of Joseph Smith. They conducted the Mansion House, on the banks of the Mississippi, for a number of years, and it acquired quite a fame. His wife, Emma, whom he married December 23, 1847, died in 1879. A few years later he was married to Mrs. Abercrombie, whom he leaves with two children, Mrs. Gibson, of Chicago, and Chas. I. Bidamon, of this city, to mourn his death. He also leaves a sister and brother, Mrs. N. White, of Chicago, and John C. Bidamon of California.\footnote{Journal History, \textit{op. cit.}, Feb. 17, 1891.}
CHAPTER XII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Emma Hale Smith was a woman of superior ability and forcefulness of character.

She was reared in a wild back-woods country favorable in its geography to hunting and fishing but unfavorable to scholastic attainment, yet she is described as exceptionally intelligent\(^1\) and refined and cultured.\(^2\) Her letters to her husband and to Governor Carlin are very well written and a granddaughter remarked that she was very careful about her grammar.

The Lord called Emma Smith to be an "Elect Lady"\(^3\) and said that her time should be given to writing, to learning, to expounding the scriptures, and to exhorting the Church. He also gave her a special call to make a selection of sacred hymns for the Church.

Emma Smith married the Prophet Joseph against the advise and wishes of her father and her father's family. She was a free agent at the time but because of her stand she forfeited the close association and endearment that family ties afford for the remainder of her life.

Emma Hale Smith lived with the Mormon Prophet as his wife for approximately seventeen and one-half years. She was a widow for three and one-half years and then became the

\(^1\)See Chapter II. \(^2\)See Chapter V. \(^3\)See Chapter IV.
wife of Lewis C. Bidamon with whom she lived until her death thirty-one years later.

Emma was described as a housekeeper of immaculate cleanliness. She is also described as being neat in her appearance, and as one who would re-comb and re-dress her hair when her afternoon work was done. She was a good worker and very ambitious. She made clothing out of raw materials not only for her own family but for those who worked on the Temple and for others who needed them. Her home was a center where many came to see her husband and talk to him and quite often to stay and partake of the Smith hospitality. She was a gracious hostess and an interesting conversationalist, and entertained at the Mansion House such guests as Josiah Quincy, Mayor of Boston, and Stephan A. Douglas. Stories of her quick wit and repartee are still being told by her descendents as prized stories of the past.

Emma's life until some time during the Nauvoo period was one of devotion and faithfulness to her husband and church. She bore bravely the heartaches and sorrows brought about by the deaths of so many loved ones. (Only four of her nine children grew to adulthood and only three survived their mother.) These children were born in four states as persecution drove the Smith family from one place to another.

Emma was left on her own resources on numerous occa-

---

4See Chapter IV. 5See Chapter V.
sions as a result of the calls made upon her husband to direct the affairs of the Church. His missions to the Eastern States, to Washington D. C., his march with Zion's Camp, his imprisonments, and his exile to avoid arrest, kept him away from his home for months at a time. Throughout all these hardships, Emma was a devoted wife and mother and proved helpful to her husband in his multitudinous duties in organizing and directing the newly-founded Church.

The first hint of a break in the feelings of Emma toward her husband and Church came from the pen of Joseph as he wrote to his wife the following statement in a letter from Independence, Missouri: "for God's sake, do not forsake me nor the truth." This letter from Joseph showing his deep concern of what Emma's attitude might be, was written only two days after the sad farewell at Far West. Emma's later actions showed that the Prophet had need for concern.

It is not the purpose of this thesis to discuss the merits or demerits of the principle of polygamy but only to show its effect upon the life of the Prophet Joseph Smith's wife. From the facts presented in Chapter VIII, I feel certain that it was this principle of polygamy that changed Emma Smith's attitude toward her husband and church and led her to oppose those leaders who maintained the teachings of plural marriage and led the Church after Joseph Smith's

---

6See Chapter VI.
martyrdom.

Emma's pride suffered when her husband upheld the commandment concerning plural wives rather than her wishes. Heber C. Kimball said, "she struck against the truth," and Joseph, her husband, said, "Sister Emma would dethrone Jehovah to accomplish her purpose if she could." 7

The Lord warned Emma that "she should continue in meekness and beware of pride," and "to abide and cleave unto my servant, Joseph, and to none else, and if she will not abide this commandment, she shall be destroyed". 8

Emma was the "Elect Lady" until she struck against the Lord's will as revealed in Section 132 of the Doctrine and Covenants. She is still such in the eyes of the members of the Reorganized Church to which she and her sons have given vitality.

It was unfortunate for the Church that she made the decision to remain in Nauvoo when the Church moved westward. Her influence, if humble and sincere, would have been an inspiration to remain true to the faith and teachings of her prophet-husband. As it happened, the malcontents had an excellent talking point concerning the succession to the presidency falling in the patriarchal line.

Judging from Emma's actions, it is evident that she began to doubt at least one of her husband's revelations and

7See Chapter VIII. 8See Chapter VIII.
was not wholly in accord with some of the teachings of the Church during the latter part of the Nauvoo period. Her second marriage was performed by a Methodist minister, and it was reported that she had joined the Methodist faith shortly after the martyrdom, however, this was later denied. Her subsequent action as a member of the Reorganized Church proves that some of the teachings of her husband and church were still important in her life.

The Prophet's remarks that he had foes in his own household and that a conspiracy against the peace of his household was manifest and gave him some trouble, gives one an insight concerning the problem of Emma's influence upon him and the Church.

The facts in this thesis show that when Emma took a course counter to the revealed will of the Lord, that Joseph would not follow her. It is the writer's opinion, however, that Joseph, understanding what Emma's attitude would be, delayed telling her about the revelation concerning the plural wives doctrine as long as possible.

Her opposition to Brigham Young and the Council of the Twelve was just another way of expressing her feelings against those who continued to maintain the truth toward the doctrine of plural marriage against her wishes. She said she would come west with the Saints on condition that she could be the
leading spirit.\textsuperscript{9}

For a short period of time, Emma recognized the prophetic power of James J. Strang.\textsuperscript{10} At this time Strang protested against the teachings of plural marriage, and many who were unfavorable to the principle of plural marriage joined his ranks. His later actions prove, however, that he favored the principle for himself, at least, and that the stand he took against it was for the purpose of strengthening his position.

Emma's last years were sad and lonely ones and it is said that she never once asked about any of her friends in the West although there were many opportunities to do so.\textsuperscript{11}

It is difficult to say just how the story would have ended if the Prophet's life had been spared to establish the New Empire in the West. Emma desired and needed Joseph's love and the love of her children. Her own brothers and sisters did not give her the affection that she needed. After Joseph's martyrdom, she lived for her children and gave them the benefits of a good education. Emma was good to the poor and her knowledge of the use of herbs for medicine was greatly sought after.

If Emma had not been the wife of the Prophet, the result of her actions would not have been so keenly felt among the church members; as it was, many followed her and her sons

\textsuperscript{9}See Chapter IX. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{10}See Chapter IX. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{11}See Chapter X.
in a different ideology and they brought about a schism in
the Church that Joseph Smith founded.
APPENDIX I

JOSEPH SMITH AND EMMA HALE'S CHILDREN

The Prophet and Emma Hale Smith had nine children of their own the first three of whom died at birth; one other child died at the age of fourteen months; one child was born dead; the other four grew to adulthood and married and one of these died before his mother Emma.

Joseph and Emma adopted the twin children of John and Julia (Clapp) Murdock whose mother died at their birth. One of these also died as a child.

Emma had eight boys and one girl. Three boys survived her. Her children were born in four different states. (Pennsylvania, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois).

1. m. Alva Smith  b. 15 June 1828 Harmony, Susq., Pa.
   d. 15 June 1828.

2. m. Thaddeus Smith (twin) b. 30 Apr. 1831 Kirtland,
   Lake, Ohio, d. 30 Apr. 1831.

3. f. Louisa Smith (twin)

4. m. Joseph Smith  b. 6 Nov. 1832 Kirtland, Lake,
   Ohio. d. 10 Dec. 1914.

5. m. Frederick Granger Wm. Smith  b. 20 June 1836
   Kirtland, Lake, Ohio, d. 13 Apr. 1862.

6. m. Alexander Hale Smith  b. 2 June 1838 Far West,
   Caldwell, Missouri. d. 12 Aug. 1909

7. m. Don Carlos Smith  b. 13 June 1840 Nauvoo,
   Hancock, Illinois. d. 15 Aug. 1841.
8. m. Not named. Did not survive birth.

9. m. David Hyrum Smith b. 17 Nov. 1844 Nauvoo, Hancock, Illinois. d. 29 August. 1904

Of the nine children born to Joseph and Emma, four sons were born in June, twins were born in April, two sons were born in November, and one son was born in December. One son died in June, three children died in April, two sons died in December and the three youngest sons died in August. Two adopted children were born the same day as Joseph and Emma's twins. (30th of Apr. 1831)

Joseph Smith Senior's family, consisting of the father, mother, and eleven children, had their sealing work accomplished for them in the temple, August 25, 1897.

Joseph Smith and Emma Hale Smith received their endowments in the room above Joseph's store in Nauvoo and in all likelihood were sealed to each other. Their children are likely not sealed to them. The notation on the back of the "Family Group Record" on file in the archives of the Genealogical Society of Utah states: "By official instruction, no further temple work to be done for this family until the Lord's will is made known concerning them."
APPENDIX II

CHRONOLOGY OF EMMA HALE 1804–1879

1804  July 10, Emma born at Harmony (Oakland) Susquehanna Co., Pa.

1805  December 23, Joseph Smith, Emma's husband born.

1825  October, Joseph goes to work for Josiah Stowell in Harmony, Pa. (Emma's home & boards with her folks).

1827  January 18, Emma and Joseph married in South Bainbridge N.Y.

1827  September 22, Joseph receives the plates. (Emma with him).

1827  December, Joseph moves to Harmony and later buys a small farm near the Hale home.

1828  June 15, Alva (1st child) born at Harmony, Pa. --dies the same day.

1829  April, Oliver Cowdery comes to see Joseph. Also his brother Samuel comes and stays with him that spring.

1829  June, Joseph moves to Fayette and takes up his residence at the Whitmers. David Whitmer was a friend of Oliver Cowdery.

1830  April 6, Tuesday, the Church organized at the Whitmers in Fayette.

1830  June 28 or 29, Oliver Cowdery, John and David Whitmer and Joseph go to Colesville. Emma is baptized. Also Levi Hale.

1830  June, Joseph's first arrest. (staying with his sister near Colesville.)

1830  June, Joseph goes back to live in Harmony.

1830  July, Elect Lady revelation.

1830  August, Emma confirmed a member of the Church--Sacrament symbols changed.

1830  August, Joseph goes back to Fayette.

1830  October, Emma and Joseph live at Waterloo.
1831 January, Joseph and Emma go to Kirtland with Sidney Rigdon and Edward Partridge.

1831 April 30, Twins Thaddeus and Louisa born and died same day at Kirtland Lake Co., Ohio. (lived 3 hrs.)

1831 May 9, Adopted Murdock twins (Joseph and Julia) born in Orange, Ohio.

1831 June 19, Sidney and Joseph leave for Missouri and arrive home in Kirtland August 27.

1831 September. The Prophet and Emma move to Hiram (30 miles southeast of Kirtland) to live with the Johnsons. Rigdon also moved to Hiram.


1832 April 1. Joseph leaves for Missouri and returns to Kirtland. He must have removed back to Kirtland soon after the Hiram mobbing.

1832 November 6. Emma's son Joseph born, at Kirtland, Lake Co., Ohio. (4th child; 1st to live; Becomes 1st President of Reorganized Church).

1832 November 8. Joseph and Brigham Young and their cousin Heber C. Kimball come from Mendon, Monroe County, New York, to Kirtland to see the Prophet. This event is rather significant from a number of points of view. Emma was ill, her baby Joseph was two days old, when Emma first beheld Brigham. Later the infant and Brigham were to head rival churches and quarrel greatly.

1833 June 15. Work on the Kirtland Temple begins. Emma's boarders.

1833 July. Mobbings in Jackson County, Mo.

1834 April 25. Wilford Woodruff meets the Prophet and stays at his home.

1834 May 1. Departure of Zion's Camp for Missouri.

1834 July 9. The Prophet departs for Kirtland. The mission of the camp was a failure so far as restoration of
178

church lands was concerned. Prophet returns August 4, 1834.


1835 February 14. Joseph and Brigham Young sing for the prophet.

1835 July 4. Four mummies purchased by Joseph.

1835 Emma's collection of Hymns published at Kirtland, Ohio by F. G. Williams and Company.

1836 January and February. Professor Seixas teaches Hebrew.

1836 March 27. Kirtland Temple completed.

1836 June 20. Emma's son Frederick Granger William Smith born. (5th child) Born at Kirtland, Ohio.

1836 July. Saints, by request, peacefully leave Clay County. They go into northern Ray County and form Caldwell County.


1837 December 10. Sidney and Joseph return to Kirtland.

1837 December. Great hatred against the prophet in Kirtland.

1838 January 12. Sidney and Joseph depart for Far West on horseback to get away from their enemies. Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, Frederick G. Williams, Lyman Johnson, and Parrish among the disaffected. Sidney and Joseph tarry at Norton, 60 miles west of Kirtland, where they are joined by their families. At Dublin, Indiana, the prophet was out of money and sawed wood to earn some. Brigham Young persuaded a farmer there to sell his farm and give the $300 to Joseph. Emma pregnant.

1838 March 14. Prophet welcomed at Far West.

1838 Before April. Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer accuse Joseph of adultery.

1838 June 2. Alexander Hale Smith born at Far West. (6th child)
1838 Summer. Election begins troubles in Davis County where Lyman Wight lived and where Adam-ondi-Ahman was located. Trouble with Adam Black, Peniston etc.

1838 October 2. Tuesday. Massacre at Haun's Mill. Far West besieged.

1838 October 31. Joseph and others of the brethren go to the mob as hostages. They are imprisoned and threatened several times with death.

1838 November 4. Joseph's letter to Emma from Independence Missouri.

1838 November 29. Joseph and his associates taken from Richmond, Ray County, to Liberty Jail in Clay County.

1839 January 11. Emma's father dies.

1839 February 15. Emma carries Inspired Version Manuscript from Missouri, crosses Mississippi to Quincy, Illinois with small baby and two children.

1839 April 6. Joseph and fellow prisoners taken into Davies County on a charge of venue.

1839 April. Last of Saints leave Far West.

1839 April 22. Joseph and his associates arrive at Quincy, Ill., having escaped from the mob. Joseph was in prison from November to April.

1839 May 10. The prophet moves into a small log cabin in Commerce. This marks the beginning of the Nauvoo period.

1839 October 27. Voted in conference that Emma select songs and publish Hymn book. (Second time)

1839 October 29. The Prophet and other delegates leave Nauvoo from Washington to plead with Van Buren for redress for the Saints and restoration or pay for their property in Missouri.

1840 March 4. Prophet returns to Nauvoo, having spent the winter in the East, leaving Emma in the new town. She was ill much of the winter and suffered greatly.

September 5. Almon Babbitt accuses Joseph of extravagance while at Washington.

Joseph Smith Sr. died.

April. Cornerstone of the Nauvoo Temple laid.

August 7. Don Carlos, brother of the prophet, dies, aged 26. That same month, his namesake, Emma's son Don Carlos dies, a little more than a year old.

August. Bennett arrives in Nauvoo.

August 15. Don Carlos died. (14 months old).

February 16. Emma's mother dies.

March 17. The Relief Society organized. Many of the anti-books and some old Mormon stories tell that the Society was organized by Emma so that the ladies could help her spy on her husband. But Eliza R. Snow, one of the officers, became such a good spy that Joseph found it necessary to marry her. Joseph explains term "Elect Lady". Emma chosen 1st President of Relief Society.

May 6. Ex-Governor Lilburn W. Boggs, of Missouri, shot while sitting alone in his office. Joseph was later arrested as accessory to the fact although he was in Nauvoo at the time. Orin Porter Rockwell was accused and imprisoned for the deed.

May 7. Stephen A. Douglas comes to Nauvoo, as a guest of the Prophet to see the Legion manuever. That day marks the beginning of the trouble with Bennett.

July 30. Lorenzo Wassons letter to Joseph and Emma about Bennett.

August 8. Joseph arrested for the Boggs affair.

August 8. Emma writes Governor Carlin of Illinois regarding the extradition of Joseph. He has escaped from arrest and is in retirement.

August 16, 17, and 29. Emma's letters to Governor Carlin.

December 26. Emma has son that dies at birth.
1843 January 5. Prophet dismissed from custody.
1843 Emma receives her endowments.
1843 January 18. There is a party at the Smith home to celebrate Joseph's return. It is also his sixteenth wedding anniversary. Prophet journalizes about the party.
1843 July 9. Brigham Young's answer to a professor as to whether the Prophet had more than one wife.
1843 July 13. In conversation with Emma most of the day.
1843 October 32. Brigham Young taught Celestial Marriage by Joseph Smith.
1843 December 25. Christmas party at the prophet's home. O. P. Rockwell comes from his long imprisonment disguised as a Missourian (a puke) and creates a great deal of merriment.
1844 January. Joseph nominated for President of U. S.
1844 Before martyrdom. Emma Smith's blessing written by herself.
1844 June 7. Expositor appears.
1844 June 22. Joseph plans to escape to the West. Wesson, Emma, and others, urge him to return.
1844 June 24. Prophet leaves early in the morning for Carthage but returns to deliver over the Legion arms to the state. He again departs for Carthage and arrives there about midnight.
1844 June 27. The Martyrdom.
June 28. Emma views the body of her dead husband.

July 17. Emma goes to Carthage for letter of administration of Joseph Smith's estate.

August 3. Sidney Rigdon arrives (from Ohio) at Nauvoo. He had moved to Ohio after the Nancy scandal, in opposition to the wishes of the prophet.

August 8. Brigham Young sustained as leader.

August 19. Elder Willard Richards called on Emma for New Translation of the Bible. Was told that she did not feel disposed to give it up at present.

October 4. Brigham Young and others visit Emma Smith. Express their feelings and intentions toward her.

October 18. Emma's letter to Brother Heywood about renting store.

November 18. Emma's son, David, Hyrum Smith, born at Nauvoo. (8th and last child)

August 2. Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball bought blocks 96 and 97 from Emma. Gave one to Mother Smith.


November 20. Emma's letter to Editor of the New York Sun.

December 27. Doctor John M. Bernhisel went to the Temple and borrowed New York Sun of December 9, 1845 to read Emma's letter to the Editor.

December 30. Emma says that New York Sun letter is a forgery.

February. Saints begin migration from Nauvoo.

September. The siege of Nauvoo under Brockman.

Summer. James Mulholland and Lewis C. Bidamon court Emma.

December 23. Emma marries (Major) Lewis Crum Bidamon. (23 Dec. letter from Ezra T. Benson and Wm. I. Appleby that Emma married.)
183

(23 Dec. clipping from Nauvoo Rustler that Emma and Bidamon were married on December 23.)

1848 January 27. John Fullmer's letter to Brigham Young about Emma and Bidamon and property.

1848 January 31. Almon Babbitts letters to B. Y. and H. C. K. about Emma making quit claim deed to property belonging to Church, and Emma joining the Methodist Episcopal Church.


1849 September 10. Dr. Bernhisel's letters to B. Y. about Emma has not joined Methodists.

1849 November 25. Enoch B. Tripp journalizes about Emma.

1855 May. Lucy Mack Smith, Emma's mother-in-law, dies.

1855 May 12. Hannah Tappfield King and Mr. and Mrs. C. V. Spencer visit Emma.

1857 July 12. Sunday sermon about Emma striking out against Joseph and Brigham.

1860 April 6. Joseph 3rd becomes President of Reorganized Church. Emma accepted in on original baptism.

1862 April 13. Frederick G. Wm. Smith dies. (5th child)

1866 May 2. Inspired Revision Manuscript turned over by Emma to William Marks, W. W. Blair and Israel Rogers.


1879 April 30. Emma Smith dies.
APPENDIX III

CHRONOLOGY OF THE TIME

Presidents of the United States - 1800-1870

John Adams of Massachusetts 1797-1801
Thomas Jefferson of Virginia 1801-1809
James Madison of Virginia 1809-1817
James Monroe of Virginia 1817-1825
John Q. Adams of Massachusetts 1825-1829
Andrew Jackson of Tennessee 1829-1837
Martin Van Buren of New York 1837-1841
William Henry Harrison of Ohio
(term finished by John Tyler of Virginia) 1841-1845
John Polk of Tennessee 1845-1849
Zachary Taylor of Louisiana
(term finished by Millard Fillmore of N. Y. 1849-1853
Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire 1853-1857
James Buchanan of Pennsylvania 1857-1861
Abraham Lincoln of Illinois 1861-1869
(term finished by Andrew Johnson of Tennessee)

Kings of England

George III and the Regency 1760-1820
George IV 1820-1830
William IV 1830-1837
Victoria 1837-1901

Rulers of France

Napoleon, First Consul 1800-1804
Napoleon, Emperor 1804-1814
Louis XVIII, King 1814-1815
Napoleon, Emperor (100 days, March 20 to June 22) 1815-1815
Louis XVIII, King 1815-1824
Charles X, King 1824-1830
Louis Phillipe, King 1830-1848
Republic Proclaimed February 25, 1848
Louis Napoleon, President 1848-1852
Louis Napoleon, Emperor 1852-1870
APPENDIX IV

LETTER FROM JOHN R. YOUNG

(Copied verbatim from the original letter)

Mesa, Arizona

Mrs. Vesta Pierce Crawford

Dear Madame,

Your letter of inquiry of Nov 9. Is still before me unanswered, Your Freinds have spoken to highly of me, given me Credit for Knowledge I do not Possess–I Knew Joseph and Hyrum Smith—with a Childs Knowledge but can not recall Emma, Hence, am not qualified to speak of her. I have always regretted that Emma and her Children did not Join with the main body of the Saints in their Exodus from Nauvoo to the Desert Valley of Salt Lake, Had they done so, how different would have been the History of the lives of the Prophet Josephs Children.

Soon after the return of Joseph F. Smiths (Hyrums Son) from his first mission to England, I heard him tell this story, "As cousin Samuel H. B. Smith and I were going to England, we visited Nauvoo and stayed a few days with–Emma, In the evening cousin Joseph Said, "We are going to let you and Samuel sleep in our Dream Chamber, and in the morning we want you to tell your dreams—for what ever one dreams the first night they sleep in that room will be true pointers to their Future lives.

In the morning, at breakfast. I told this—I dreamed that I stood on the edge of a large Pond of water, I Knew by the air bubbles that there was Fish in the Pond, So I got Fishing Tackle, baited my hook and threw it into the water, Soon it was surrounded with little Fish, as if trying to Investigate, then a large Fish rushed from its hiding Place, drove the little Fish away then turned to grab the bait. I moved it, and he followed up untill I left and found another Pond, I soon caught 5 or 6 small eatable Fish, took them and went home, when I went into the Kitchen, where mother was. She clapped her hands and said, C Joseph aint they beauties, I'm so glad you caught them" Not a soul spoke while I was telling the dream. After a few minutes silence, Joseph said, "Well, Joseph F. you stay with your mother and I will stay with mine,
and we will see how it will come out. Today I am told that Hyrum Smith has over 600 Descendents who are faithful members in the Utah L.D.S. Church, while so far as I know, there is not one man in that church, who has a drop of the blood of the Prophet Joseph Smith flowing in his veins - I leave you to say who has come out best. Here is another story that to me is more Impressive and reliable than the one I have just told-If you will turn to Page 324 of Essentials of Church History Written by Joseph F Smith, you will find this - "I Prophesied that the Saints would continue to suffer much Persecution but some of them will live to go to the Rocky mountains, and build Settlements and become a mighty People in the midst of the mountains, Emma Knew of this Prophesy. Now turn to Page 374, read the whole Page-you will see Emma sent Reynolds Cahoon, Lorenzo D. Wasson her cousin, and Hiram Kimball, with a letter written by Emma urging Joseph to come back, when Joseph read the letter he said "If my Life is of no value to my Freinds, It is of no value to me, Hyrum what shall we do? Let us go back and surrender to the Governor-If you go back. I will go with you, but we shall be butchered - and so they were, and that letter did more than any other one thing, to lead Joseph and Hyrum Smith back to Carthage to their Martyrdom- I heard Brigham Young say, that had he and the Twelve been in Nauvoo that Joseph and Hyrum would not have been martyred, they would have went to the Rocky mountains beyond the mobocratic Power of Missouri and Illinois--

In 1849-50, my Father and mother went back to Missouri on a mission, I lived a year in Uncle Brighams Family, In the care of Aunt Clara D. and Aunt Emily Free, Every day I met with, and listened to the conversations of Eliza R. Snow, Zina D Huntington, Emilene Partridge, Precella Puel Kimball, wives of the Prophet Joseph Smith and Lucy and Clara D. Lucy Bigelow, Emeline Free, the Wives of Brigham Young, Bathsheba W. E. Smith- and Emeline B. Wells, my Blessed kind Hearted Teacher in Nauvoo and during that year I never heard one of those noble women Say one unkind word against Emma Smith, To me, they were her truest, Best Freinds--You ask-why did not Emma come to Utah? I believe it was because she hated Plural marriage-At the time Joseph and Alexander-the Prophets Sons- visited S.L. City-Iwas living at St. George-at a Sacrament meeting I heard Solon Foster, who in Nauvoo lived with Joseph, was his coach man- He went from St George to S.L. City to meet the Prophets Sons-Upon his return Prest.Snow
asked him to tell the Saints of the meeting- He said after greeting the Boys- I said, Joseph when you meet your Father, don't you think He will give you a good Spanking? Why should he spank me? Because, you are doing all in your Power to break down that which he gave his life to establish- I suppose you refer to Plural Marriages? Yes- I don't know that my Father gave his life to establish Plural marriage- Joseph, the night your mother turned Eliza R. Snow, into the street in her night clothes, you and all the Family stood crying, I led you back into the house and took you into Bed with-me-you said, "I wish mother would,nt be so cruel to Aunt Eliza"- You called her Aunt because you knew she was your Fathers wife. He did not deny it- I believe that was what, drove Emma from the main Body of the Church.

I alone am Responsible for what I write- I regret, that I can not help you more- when your book is Published, I want one of them

Respectfully,

John R. Young
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books and Pamphlets

Anderson, Mary Audentia Smith, Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale, Independence, Missouri: Herald House, 1929


Doctrine and Covenants, Independence, Missouri: Board of Publication of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1897.

Doctrine and Covenants, Salt Lake City, Utah: Published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1921.


Jenson, Andrew, Church Chronology, Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1914.


(Editor), History of Joseph Smith by his Mother, Salt Lake City, Utah: Stevens and Wallis, Inc., 1945.

(Compiler) Witnesses of the Book of Mormon, Salt Lake City, Utah: Stevens and Wallis, Inc., 1946.


Smith, Elbert A., Differences that Persist between the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and the Utah Mormon Church. Independence, Missouri: Herald House, 1943. (Pamphlet)


Unpublished Manuscript Histories and Research Documents

Crawford, Vesta Pierce, Notes on Emma Smith, Typewritten research notes of personal interviews with descendants of Emma Smith; Letters from descendants of Emma Smith and other people who knew her and other research mainly from Reorganized Church sources.