

The Foolish Fable of an “Angel with a Flaming Sword”

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One of the ricketiest anecdotes that polygamy advocates have leaned on to promote Section 132 is the flawed and foolish fable that the practice began because an angel commanded Joseph to introduce it; that Joseph at first refused to obey, but eventually complied when the angel returned with a sword and threatened to kill him. For nearly two centuries, polygamy defenders have invoked this unsubstantiated legend to rationalize their belief that Joseph practiced such, and assuage the collective guilt and shame the practice has brought upon their Church.

While many Utah LDS have invoked that tale, most all of their accounts appear to be anecdotal versions of what others have already said. In addition, an analysis of the first verified writer of, and early narrators of the tale reveal a spate of inconsistencies and contradictions that erode any claim to the narrative’s veracity.

Even though he believes Joseph practiced polygamy, author Brian C. Hales provided valuable insight on this subject in an article he wrote (fully cited at Endnote[i]). He began, “This article examines some twenty different reminiscences that recount Joseph Smith’s encounters with a sword-bearing angel who commanded him to establish the practice of plural marriage....” (Hales, *Ibid.*, 55). Hales admits:

In all, twenty accounts from nine witnesses have been identified.... All these individuals could have heard the statement from the Prophet; however, this may not be a safe assumption. The narratives themselves suggest that Benjamin F. Johnson and Eliza R. Snow may have repeated information gathered from other people. The Joseph Lee Robinson narrative is difficult to date and imprecise in his actual source. Lorenzo Snow quotes the Prophet directly and Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner provides details not available elsewhere, indicating they probably heard their statements from Joseph Smith. Unfortunately, with the exception of the Robinson account, all the reminiscences are recounted at least twenty to thirty years after the event. The identity of the angel is also not revealed.

The harshness of the described threats has caused some researchers to discount the sword portion of the story, considering it a later embellishment. Historians know that on occasion, storytellers may elaborate their details. The substance of the story may still be based on solid truth, but is inflated for effect. In other words, “it gets better with the telling.” (Hales, *Ibid.*, 57)

And

As noted, none of the angel-sword narratives are contemporary with the Prophet. The Joseph Lee Robinson account may be dated as early as 1843 or 1846, but the current available typescript suggests it may have been written or transcribed in 1853. Another secondhand rendition, written in 1854 by a non-Mormon, Benjamin Ferris, contains interesting details that are not otherwise supported by the historical record. (Hales, *Ibid.*, 58)

And

Ferris claimed that he was repeating things “given by simple-minded believers in Salt Lake City” just prior to 1854. However, his narrative is unique in that it describes the angelic threat coming because Joseph delayed sharing a revelation on plural marriage with Church authorities, rather than hesitating to personally enter polygamy. Two other popular anti-Mormon publications, J. H. Beadle’s *Polygamy; or Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (1870), and James H. Kennedy’s *Early Days of Mormonism: Palmyra, Kirkland and Nauvoo* (1888), include a variation of Ferris’s version. Whether they were just echoing the 1854 publication, or reporting information from their own interviews, is not known.

While the story appears to be unsubstantiated, the Ferris statement indicates that the Latter-day Saints were talking about a sword bearing angel who promoted plural marriage by 1854, a full decade after the martyrdom.

For lack of contemporary evidence, some authors have questioned the story's overall reliability. Lawrence Foster wrote, "Accounts of the 'angel with a drawn sword' story are widespread, although manuscript evidence for such a story apparently does not exist from the period when Joseph Smith was alive. (Hales, Ibid., 59)

With the above discrepancies in mind, analysis of the claims and counter claims by the earliest and most influential promoters of this fable that appear in the Table, below, become even less credible:

Evolution of the 'Angel With a Sword' Fable

Due to the extensive documentation required in this section, most citations in the Table below are referenced by Endnotes at the end of this chapter

Joseph Lee Robinson in 1853 (nine years after Joseph's death, and a year after Brigham publicly disclosed LDS Section 132) was the first person to enshrine this tale^[ii] by—evidently in 1853-- *adding it* to the 1841 section of his autobiography.^[iii]

Note in the retellings of this tale that follow, that even though Robinson's apparently altered Journal sets 1841 as the year of the angel's third visit and death threat, Eliza Snow (in 1887) relates it was after 1837, James Robinson (in 1853) declares it was 1841, Zina Huntington (who claims marriage to Joseph in 1841 immediately after the 3rd angel encounter) indicates 1841, Mary Lightner (in 1905) insisted it was 1842, and Heber J. Grant (in 1896) indicated it was in 1843.

Robinson's use of the catchy phrase, "drawn sword," seems to add a Scriptural aura to the legend, as the Old Testament uses that phrase (or derivatives thereof) four times in relation to actions by angels or the Lord (the phrase does not appear in the New Testament, Book of Mormon, or Doctrine and Covenants). Interestingly, in the retellings by others that followed Robinson, most narrators will use the same catchy "drawn sword" phrase that Robinson used.

Lorenzo Snow in 1869 (25 years after Joseph's death) said an angel appeared with a drawn sword to threaten to kill Joseph if he did not "have women sealed to him as wives...."^[iv] *Note in Lorenzo's version that practicing polygamy was not directly ordered, but failing to practice sealing was the sin that would result in Joseph's elimination.*

In **1892** (48 years after Joseph's death), said an angel appeared with a drawn sword, but, this time did not mention it threatened to kill Joseph.^[v]

Benjamin F. Johnson in 1869, (25 years after Joseph's death) said an angel appeared with a drawn sword, "threatening to slay him if he did not proceed to fulfill the law that had been given to him." [vi]

In **1869**, (25 years after Hyrum and Joseph's death) said *Hyrum* told him an angel appeared to Joseph with a drawn sword, "and told him that he would be slain if he did not go forth and fulfill the law." [vii]

In **1903**, (69 years after Hyrum and Joseph's death) said *Hyrum* told him an angel appeared to Joseph with a drawn sword, "and declared that if he longer delayed fulfilling that Command he would Slay him." [viii] *Note in two of Johnson's versions, Hyrum, and not Joseph is painted as the discloser of this tale.*

Eliza R. Snow in 1880 (36 years after Joseph's death) reportedly claimed Joseph "spoke of the Angel standing with a drawn sword in his hand and told Joseph if he did not comply with the requirement of heaven that his priesthood should be taken from him." [ix] *Note in this version, polygamy is declared a "requirement of heaven" and that if Joseph disobeys it "his priesthood [but not his life, in this retelling] would be taken.*

In 1884 (40 years after Joseph's death) Eliza stated, "Joseph told [my brother] Lorenzo Snow that '...an angel of God stood by him with a drawn sword and told him that, unless he moved forward and established plural marriage, his Priesthood would be taken from him and he should be destroyed!'" [x] *In this version, Joseph's priesthood and life were threatened.*

In 1887 (43 years after Joseph's death) Eliza was quoted saying, "[Joseph] received the revelation in 1837, but he was himself afraid to promulgate it until the angel came and stood beside him with flaming sword and bade him do the command of God. Not until then did Joseph enter into polygamy, or get any of his disciples to take plural wives." [xi]

Note that the sword is now newly described as "flaming!" The only Scriptural references to an angel with a flaming sword are in regard to the Cherubim in the Garden of Eden (Gen: 3:24 KJV & 3:31 IV; Alma 9:35 & 19:82-83 RLDS/12:21 & 42:2-3 LDS). This flamboyant embellishment by Eliza evidently caught on, for the very next year Orson F. Whitney (son of Helen Mar Kimball) also pronounced the sword as "flaming" in his 1888 biography of his grandfather, Heber C. Kimball, rhapsodizing:

A grand and glorious principle had been revealed, and for years had slumbered in the breast of God's Prophet, awaiting the time when, with safety to himself and the Church, it might be confided to the sacred keeping of a chosen few. That time had now come. An angel with a flaming sword descended from the courts of glory and, confronting the Prophet, commanded him in the name of the Lord to establish the principle so long concealed from the knowledge of the Saints and of the world—that of plural marriage. (Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball, An Apostle: The Father and Founder of the British Mission* [Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1979], 321: per Hales, Ibid., 61)

While Eliza says Joseph received the first command to practice polygamy in 1837, (as shall be quoted below) Helen Mar Kimball (in 1884) set the date as early as 1831, and Mary Lightner (in 1905) declared the angel first demanded polygamy of Joseph in 1834.

While Eliza merely sets the date of the third encounter--and death threat--as after 1837, James Robinson (in 1853) declared it was 1841, Zina Huntington (who claims marriage to Joseph in 1841 immediately after the 3rd angel encounter) indicates 1841, Mary Lightner (in 1905) insisted it was 1842, and Heber J. Grant (in 1896) indicated it was in 1843.

Zina Huntington in 1881 (37 years after Joseph's death) described, "How an angel came to [Joseph] with a drawn sword, and said if he did not obey this law he would lose his priesthood; and in the keeping of it he, Joseph, did not know but it would cost him his life."

[xii]

In this version Zina says the angel threatened to take Joseph's priesthood, but did not threaten to take his life. Instead, Zina, inferred that even if he was obedient in polygamy, it might cost him his life! This new spin is radically different from the claims of the others, and even different from her own retelling in 1894, below.

In 1894 (50 years after Joseph's death), in claiming to have also been plurally married to Joseph in 1841 exclaimed: "[Joseph] sent word to me by my brother, saying, 'Tell Zina I put it off and put it off till an angel with a drawn sword stood by me and told me if I did not establish that principle upon the earth, I would lose my position and my life.'" [xiii]

Although Zina indicates the angel threatened Joseph in 1841 (resulting in their immediate marriage) Eliza Snow (in 1887) related it was after 1837, James Robinson (in 1853) declared it was 1841, Mary Lightner (in 1905) insisted it was 1842, and Heber J. Grant (in 1896) indicated it was in 1843.

Helen Mar Kimball in 1882 (38 years after Joseph's death), who later was one of the women claiming to have married Joseph, stated, "This angel, he [Joseph] states, stood over him with a drawn sword prepared to inflict the penalty of death if he should be disobedient." [xiv]

In 1884 (40 years after Joseph's death) Helen said plural marriage was, "revealed to His prophet, Joseph Smith, as early as the year 1831. ...Joseph...shrunk from the undertaking...until an angel of the Lord threatened to slay him if he did not reveal and establish this celestial principle." [xv]

Although Helen sets the year Joseph was first commanded to practice polygamy as early as 1831, Mary Lightner (in 1905) declared the angel first demanded polygamy of Joseph in 1834, and Eliza Snow (in 1887) said it was 1837 or later.

Erastus Snow in 1883 (39 years after Joseph's death) said, "The Prophet Joseph had said to him [Erastus Snow] also 'I have not been obedient enough to this holy law and the Lord was angry with me and an angel met me with a drawn sword but I pled with the Lord to forgive me and he did so and I made the sacrifice required of my hand and by the help of the Lord I will obey his Holy Law.'" [xvi]

Note that Erastus adds the detail that Joseph had to plead for his life.

Charles Lowell Walker in 1896 (54 years after Joseph's death) had A. Karl and Katherine Larson edit and publish his *Diary of Charles Lowell Walker*, wherein Walker said, that **in 1883** (39 years after Joseph's death), **Erastus Snow**, "Spoke of the Angel of the Lord meeting Joseph with a drawn sword and of his going to slay him for his being neglectful in the discharges of his duties and of Joseph having to plead on his knees before the Angel for his Life." [xvii]

Note in this 1896 version of Erastus' story (as told by Walker and edited by the Larsons) that the "pleading" Erastus added in 1883 was further dramatized by placing Joseph "on his knees" as he pled. Surely this important new addition deserved additional confirmation and elaboration, but Snow was unavailable for comment because he died eight years before Walker's diary was published.

And

Charles Lowell Walker, in his diary wrote, that *in an unknown previous year*; **Joseph F. Smith** (Hyrum's son—who was just six years old when Joseph and Hyrum died) said, that **Orson Pratt** said, "...that the angel of the Lord appeared unto the Prophet Joseph with a drawn sword and declared that if He, Joseph did not go to and teach and practice the Holy commandment He would slay him." [xviii]

Note that in 1896 when Walker's diary was published, Orson Pratt had been dead for 15 years--so was unable to confirm or deny what the Larson's claimed Walker said that Joseph F. Smith said that Orson said, before he died.

Heber J. Grant in 1896 (52 years after Joseph's death) said that in 1843 (53 years prior), Joseph told **Lorenzo Snow** that an angel appeared with a drawn sword, and during the "visit" (no mention of a death threat) "commanded Joseph to [plurally marry], and President Smith told Bro[ther] Snow to enter into plural marriage." [xix]

Although Heber infers the angel threatened Joseph in 1843, Eliza Snow (in 1887) related it was after 1837, James Robinson (in 1853) declared it was 1841, Zina Huntington (who claims marriage to Joseph in 1841 immediately after the 3rd angel encounter) indicates 1841, and Mary Lightner (in 1905) insisted it was 1842.

Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner in 1902 (58 years after Joseph's death) said, "In 1834 he was commanded to take me for a wife. I was a thousand miles from him. He got afraid. The angel came to him [Joseph Smith] three times, the last time with a drawn sword and threatened his life." [xx]

Similarly, in **1905** Mary bragged, "I am the first being that the revelation was given to him for, and I was one thousand miles away in Missouri..." [xxi]

In 1904 "(60 years after Joseph's death) Mary said, "Joseph told me that he was afraid when the angel appeared to him and told him to take other wives. He hesitated, and the angel appeared to him the third time with a drawn sword in his hand and threatened his life if he did not fulfill the commandment." [xxii]

In 1905 (61 years after Joseph's death) Mary said, "An angel came to [Joseph Smith] and the last time he came with a drawn sword in his hand and told Joseph if he did not go into that principle, he would slay him. Joseph said he talked to him soberly about it, and told him it was an abomination and quoted scripture to him. He said in the Book of Mormon it was an abomination in the eyes of the Lord, and they were to adhere to these things except the Lord speak . . . Said he . . . 'The angel came to me three times between the years of 1834 and 1842 and said I was to obey that principle or he would slay me.'" [xxiii]

In this version Mary does not describe Joseph as frightened, humbled, or pleading on his knees (as elsewhere claimed), but instead depicts the exact opposite—that Joseph soberly conversed and argued scripture with, and sternly lectured the angel!

On the date in 1842 that she claims she became Joseph's plural wife, she was eight months pregnant by her legal husband, Adam.

In 1905 Mary said, "God Commanded him to take" [me?] "as a plural wife, \in 1834/ he was very much frightened about [it] until the Angel appeared to him three times. It was in the early part of Feb, 1842 before \that/ he was compelled to reveal it to me personally, by the Angel threatening him." [xxiv]

Although Mary declared the angel first demanded polygamy of Joseph in 1834, Helen Mar Kimball (in 1884) set the date as early as 1831, and Eliza Snow (in 1887) said it was 1837 or later.

Although Mary declared the angel accosted Joseph the third time and threatened him in 1842, Eliza Snow (in 1887) related it was after 1837, James Robinson (in 1853) declared it was 1841, Zina Huntington (who claims marriage to Joseph in 1841 immediately after the 3rd angel encounter) indicates 1841, and Heber J. Grant (in 1896) indicated it was in 1843.

In her autobiography Mary wrote of events well into the 1860s when she made the trek to Utah—notably observing the anniversary of her happy, real marriage, but never so much as mentioning ever being married to Joseph! It was not until many decades later--after migrating to Utah and becoming a plural wife of Brigham—that she suddenly claimed to have also been married to Joseph. (<http://boap.org/LDS/Early-Saints/MLightner.html>)

In addition to the cacophony of conflicts and counterclaims tallied above, the following questions and conundrums must be pondered to discern any varied version of this tale can be believed:

- In 1853, Joseph Lee Robinson was apparently the first person to enshrine this legend by revising the 1841 section of his Journal to include it. The previous year, in 1852, Brigham had set the LDS Church into turmoil by producing Section 132, sending supporters scrambling to dig for evidences that might corroborate or excuse the controversial revelation. Many observers find it quite suspicious that, only then, did Robinson suddenly discover that in 1841 he'd failed to record what was (to Brighamites such as himself) one of the most spectacular and significant events in all of human history! And so he evidently turned the pages of his Journal back, and added it!
- After that, a plethora of ever more dramatic retellings by others were recorded. Why did all those people only suddenly “remember” this most profound event many decades after Joseph was dead?
- When the grandest of heavenly manifestations are presided over by individual angels, most usually those angels are named (Michael, Gabriel, Moses and Elijah, Moroni, Peter, James and John, etc.). Yet in the dispensational reintroduction of what the LDS claim is the “new and everlasting covenant” of polygamy, the angel so assigned remains unidentified.
- Why did most every story teller after Robinson repeat his catchy phrase, “drawn sword”?
- Was the angel’s “drawn sword” just a run of the mill weapon as first described, or was it all aflame, as the Scriptures only identify with Cherubim?
- During Joseph’s real interactions with angels (or visions of God and Christ), his testimonies thereof are often sprinkled with marvelings of how they visually appear (such as noting the folds and falls of Moroni’s robe, the luminescence of God and Christ’s faces, the brilliance of their hair, etc.). Yet no such customary observations by Joseph are included in any of the angel-with-a-sword encounters.
- If the angel was indeed a Cherubim with flaming sword, then it’s great and terrible appearance should have elicited at least minor mention by Joseph—after all, the Bible describes Cherubim as having four faces (of man and beast), hooved feet, and being regally adorned with two sets of wings! Yet those who say they are telling Joseph’s story offer no observations of the angel’s appearance, such as he was inclined to make.
- Did the angel threaten to take just Joseph’s priesthood, just his life, or both his priesthood and his life?
- Did the angel threaten to kill Joseph if he did *not* obey, or tell him he might lose his life even if he *did* obey?

- Who was the primary discloser of this profound event--Joseph or Hyrum?
- Did Joseph humbly “plead” with the threatening angel? Did he do so while groveling “on his knees”? Or did he manfully stand up to, soberly converse with, rebuke with scripture, and sternly lecture the menacing apparition?
- Did the angel primarily command Joseph to seal himself and just a few others, or introduce sealing to the entire church? Or did the entity primarily command Joseph to practice polygamy with just a few others, or teach that principle to the entire church? Or all of the above?
- Did the *first* confrontation with the angel commanding Joseph to practice polygamy occur in 1831 (Kimball), 1834 (Lightner), or after 1837 (Snow)?
- Did the *third* confrontation with the angel commanding Joseph to practice polygamy (and threatening to kill him if he did not) occur in some unknown year after 1837 (Snow), in 1841 (Robinson and Huntington), 1842 (Lightner), or 1843 (Grant)?
- The founding LDS members who were contemporaries of Joseph who narrate this tale cannot agree on the years of the first or third confrontation. At best, they can only agree that the third confrontation occurred either in 1841 or 1842, and one says it was 1843. But how can this be true when:
 - * The Utah LDS Church teaches that Joseph plurally married Fanny Alger *sometime* between 1833 and 1837, and Lucinda Harris as early as 1838—years before the primary narrators say the angel threatened Joseph into accepting polygamy?
 - * The Utah LDS Church claims Section 132 authorizing polygamy was not received until the latter half of 1843?
- How can the Utah LDS Church teach that Joseph married Fanny Alger as early as 1833, when Mary Lightner’s testimony asserts, “In 1834 he was commanded to take me for a wife” and “I am the first being that the revelation was given to him for....”?
- Zina Huntington relates that only after the 3rd angel confrontation and death threat did Joseph accept polygamy and immediately propose plural marriage to her in 1841. Yet the Utah LDS Church teaches that Joseph married Fanny Alger as early as 1833, Lucinda Harris as early as 1838, and Louisa Beaman in 1841—all before the angel convinced him of polygamy and marrying Zina!

- Mary Lightner also relates that only after the 3rd angel confrontation and death threat (which she insists was in 1842) did Joseph accept polygamy and immediately propose plural marriage to her. Yet the Utah LDS Church teaches that Joseph married Fanny Alger as early as 1833, Lucinda Harris as early as 1838, Louisa Beaman, Zina Huntington and Prescendia Huntington in 1841, and Agnes Coolbrith and Sylvia Lyon in 1842—all before the angel convincing him to practice polygamy and marry Mary!
- If the threatening angel granted Joseph a Pope-like Dispensation to plurally marry prior to Section 132, or if that Dispensation was of such cosmic importance that it was used to convince Zina Huntington and Mary Lightner of the rightness of polygamy, why didn't the dozens of other women Joseph allegedly married ever chime in with their own “the angel made us do it” stories too?
- Why did no one mention or write about this earth-shaking event until more than a decade after Joseph's death?
- As shall be seen in the bold quote below, why is this major event which (if verified) might justify what many claim is the most wonderful (yet difficult) development of the era, “not a matter that is in our own [LDS] church history”?

As is readily apparent, the “angel with a sword” tale has all the hallmarks of a frontier superstition that—while inconsistent and self-contradictory--was tolerated because it supported Brigham's narrative. As Hales wrote:

LDS Apostle Melvin J. Ballard was undoubtedly aware of some of the potential problems with the angel-sword accounts. He wrote to Mormon fundamentalist polygamist Eslie Jenson in 1934, clarifying, “The statement . . . concerning the angel appearing with the drawn sword is not a matter that is in our own church history. ...the church has not pronounced it authentic nor has it contradicted it.” (Melvin J. Ballard to Eslie Jenson, August 14, 1934; quoted in Joseph W. Musser, *Marriage: Ballard/Jenson Correspondence* [n. p., 1935], 15. Per Hales, *Ibid.*, 60)

A year after Joseph Lee Robinson enshrined this fable, word of it was definitely making the rounds in Mormon communities. In 1854, while traveling through Utah Territory, non-member Benjamin Ferris heard the tale from several folk, observing, “Such is substantially the account of the matter given by simple-minded believers at Salt Lake.”[xxv]

[i] Brian C. Hales, “Encouraging Joseph Smith to Practice Plural Marriage: The Accounts of the Angel with a Drawn Sword,” *Mormon Historical Studies*, Fall 2010, Vol. 11, No.2. Viewable at <https://ensignpeakfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Encouraging-Joseph-Smith-to-Practice-Plural-Marriage-The-Accounts-of-the-Angel-with-a-Drawn-Sword.pdf?fbclid=IwAR2UCN476eDqZWto00hgbdy4IM5PHPx93KnlfqZeEQtnBvyj1Kw2t4wOFoU>

[ii] Oliver Preston Robinson ed., *History of Joseph Lee Robinson* (n. p.: History Comes Home, 2007), 27. See also Joseph Lee Robinson Reminiscences and Journal, 25. Per Brian C. Hales, *Ibid.*, 65.

- [iii] In Appendix Note 1 on p. 71 of the above cited Hales “Encouraging...Sword” article, Hales states: “Robinson places this quotation in 1841 of his autobiography. Lawrence Foster dates this account to 1846. It appears the actual entry was written 1853 when the autobiographical recollections end and daily journal entries begin.... Dating this earlier than 1853 seems unwise. See Oliver Preston Robinson ed., *History of Joseph Lee Robinson* (n. p.: History Comes Home, 2007), 27, 103; and Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1981), 305 n 74.”
- [iv] Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit, August 18, 1869; Joseph F. Smith Affidavit Books, 2:19, MS 3423, fd 5, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah. Subject Affidavit later cited in Andrew Jenson, “Plural Marriage,” *Historical Record* 6, nos 3–5 (May 1887): 222; see also Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1905), 67; and comments made by President Lorenzo Snow, May 8, 1899 in *Millennial Star* 61, no. 35 (August 31, 1899): 548. Per Hales, *Ibid.*, 65.
- [v] Lorenzo Snow, Testimony, Temple Lot Case (part 3, question 258). Per Hales, *Ibid.*, 65
- [vi] Benjamin F. Johnson, Affidavit, 1869, Joseph F. Smith Affidavit Books, 2:8, MS 3423 fd 5, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah. Affidavit quoted in “Joseph the Seer’s Plural Marriages,” *Deseret News*, October 19 and 22, 1879; also in Jenson, “Plural Marriage,” 222. Per Hales, *Ibid.*, 66.
- [vii] Benjamin F. Johnson, My Life’s Review, reprint (Mesa, AZ: 21st Century Printing, 1992), 95–96. Per Hales, *Ibid.*, 66.
- [viii] Dean R. Zimmerman, ed., *I Knew the Prophets: An Analysis of the Letter of Benjamin F. Johnson to George F. Gibbs, Reporting Doctrinal Views of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young* (Bountiful, UT: Horizon, 1976), 43. Per Hales, *Ibid.*, 66.
- [ix] Glenwood Ward, Sevier Stake, Relief Society Minutes, September 28, 1880, 224, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah. Per Hales, *Ibid.*, 67.
- [x] Eliza R. Snow, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News Company, 1884), 69–70. Per Hales, *Ibid.*, 67.
- [xi] “Two Prophets’ Widows A Visit to the Relicts of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young,” J. J. J., in *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (St. Louis, MO), August 18, 1887, 6. Per Hales, *Ibid.*, 67.
- [xii] “The Prophet’s Birthday,” *Deseret News*, January 12, 1881, 2. Per Hales, *Ibid.*, 68.
- [xiii] “Joseph, the Prophet, His Life and Mission as Viewed by Intimate Acquaintances,” *Salt Lake Herald Church and Farm Supplement*, January 12, 1895, 212--Comments made at a memorial service in honor of the Prophet Joseph Smith’s birthday, held in the Salt Lake Sixteenth Ward meetinghouse, December 23, 1894, quoted in Brian H. Stuy, comp. and ed., *Collected Discourses*, 5 vols. (Burbank, CA: B. H. S. Publishing, 1987–1992), 5:32. Per Hales, *Ibid.*, 68.
- [xiv] Helen Mar Whitney, *Plural Marriage as Taught by the Prophet Joseph: A Reply to Joseph Smith*, Editor of the Lamoni Iowa “Herald.” (Salt Lake City, UT: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1882), 13. Per Hales, *Ibid.*, 68.
- [xv] Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, *Why We Practice Plural Marriage* (Salt Lake City, UT: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1884), 53. Per Hales, *Ibid.*, 68.
- [xvi] Erastus Snow, St. George Utah Stake Conference, General Minutes, June 17, 1883, LR 7836 11, reel 1, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah
- [xvii] A. Karl Larson and Katherine Miles Larson, *Diary of Charles Lowell Walker*, 2 vols. (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1980), 2:611, entry for June 17, 1883. Per Hales, *Ibid.*, 70.
- [xviii] A. Karl Larson and Katherine Miles Larson, eds., *Diary of Charles Lowell Walker*, 2 vols. (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1980), 2:814–15, entry for March 5, 1896. Per Hales, *Ibid.*, 67.
- [xix] Heber J. Grant, Diary, April 1, 1896, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah; per Brian C. Hales, *Mormon Historical Studies*, Fall 2010, Vol, 11, No.2, article, “Encouraging Joseph Smith to Practice Plural Marriage: The Accounts of the Angel with a Drawn Sword,” 66. Per Hales, *Ibid.*, 66.
- [xx] Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, Statement, February 8, 1902, Vesta Crawford Papers, MS 125, bx 1, fd 11, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. Original in the possession of Mrs. Nell Osborne, Salt Lake City, Utah. See also Juanita Brooks Papers, MSB103, bx 16, fd 13, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah. Per Hales, *Ibid.*, 69, who also added in his Endnote 7: “Fawn Brodie erroneously attributes this

quotation to “Extracts from Mrs. Lightner’s Autobiography,” *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 17 (1926): 193 ff.” See Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*, 2nd rev. ed. (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knoph, 1971), 467.”

[xxi] Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, Remarks, Brigham Young University, April 14, 1905, Perry Special Collections. Per Hales, *Ibid.*, 64, Endnotes 33 & 34.

[xxii] Mary E. Lightner to A. M. Chase, April 20, 1904, quoted in J. D. Stead, *Doctrines and Dogmas of Brighamism Exposed* ([Lamoni, IA]: RLDS Church, 1911), 218–19. Per Hales, *Ibid.*, 69.

[xxiii] Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, Remarks, April, 14, 1905, Brigham Young University, vault MSS 363, fd. 6, 2–3, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Per Hales, *Ibid.*, 70. Per Hales, *Ibid.*, 70.

[xxiv] Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner to Emmeline B. Wells, Summer 1905, MS 282, Church History Library; copy of holograph in Linda King Newell Collection, MS 447, bx 9, fd 2, Marriott Library, University of Utah; also in Juanita Brooks Papers, MSB 103, bx16, fd 13, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah. Per Hales, *Ibid.*, 70, who also there observes, “[Sword not mentioned.]”

[xxv] Benjamin G. Ferris, *Utah and the Mormons, The History, Government, Doctrines, Customs, and Prospects of the Latter-day Saints* (New York, NY: Harper and Brothers, 1854), 115. And, *The Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism* (New York, NY: D. Appleton and Co., 1867), 184. Per Hales, *Ibid.*, 59.