

The Joseph Smith Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith Family

A Family Process Analysis of a Nineteenth-Century Household

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of
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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
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Dissertations in LDS History

Over the years, graduate students have written many important dissertations on LDS topics. Unfortunately, they have typically been unavailable or unknown to lay readers. All too often, good copies of dissertations reside only at the institution at which they were written or on a few researchers' book shelves. BYU Studies and the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History hope to fill this gap by producing and distributing selected dissertations of interest to Latter-day Saints, making them available to a larger audience.

The works in this series have been reformatted from the originals and citation has been changed to follow *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Nevertheless, these dissertations have undergone only minimal editing. For example, some typographical errors have been corrected. Original page numbers are referenced by superscripted italicized numerals in brackets (e.g., ^[3]). Occasionally, the author has included additional information to update old material. Those additions have been placed in brackets and italicized to distinguish them from the original text.

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I want to thank the personnel at the Community of Christ Library–Archives, LDS Church Archives, and L. Tom Perry Special Collections at Brigham Young University for their assistance in researching related materials. Finally, I want to thank my wife, Daylene, for her untiring support over the course of this project. ^[v]

Preface

As a licensed marriage and family therapist, I have spent many years studying, evaluating, and helping families. Over time, I have begun to see patterns in families and among different populations of clientele that have made me keenly aware of processes of interaction among those who sit across from me in my office. Working with families, as opposed to just studying about them, allows one to gain insights that perhaps only clergy or other professional counselors understand. It is some of these insights that have been gleaned only through both research *and* experience that I hope to illuminate in this study.

For marriage and family therapists, understanding family functioning is fundamentally important. It is critical for therapists to be able to assess the level of functioning within the family and determine if their interaction is healthy or unhealthy. Counselors are able to determine the level of family functioning through their experience and through extensive research that indicates what qualities are common among successful marriages and families. As a result of this research, several paradigms, or models, have been developed to facilitate family assessment. The idea for my project grew out of the premise that it would be insightful to take constructs developed from these well-researched paradigms of viewing families—paradigms that are the best tools available to us today—and apply those standards in evaluating a historical family.

There are obvious limitations to this kind of approach. The advantages therapists have with a live family in front of them include being able to ask specific questions to ^[1] elicit important information, viewing family interaction as it takes

place, and giving family members questionnaires or other assessment tools that facilitate the evaluation of family functioning. However, some of the constructs developed from the different paradigms of evaluating families, such as the level of communication skills or the emotional exchange between family members, would be difficult to ascertain in the historical record.

Even with these limitations, however, there are many constructs that can be successfully evaluated within historical records. For example, constructs such as cohesion and adaptability are two well-researched concepts that could be evaluated in a historical family. Other constructs may or may not be evaluated depending on the extensiveness of the historical records. The Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith family is a good candidate for this type of study as there exists extensive historical information that can facilitate such an analysis.

As a marriage and family therapist and as a historian, I have a limited selection of historical material specifically related to five common family processes. The five family process concepts have been extracted from the major paradigms of evaluating families in the field of marriage and family therapy. It is hypothesized that this approach in evaluating the Smith family will yield important insights into family functioning and interaction among family members previously concealed within the historical records. ^[2]

[Editor's note: For more information on Smith family members, see Kyle R. Walker, United by Faith: The Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith Family (American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 2005).]

Chapter I

Introduction

With reference to Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet, one philosopher has noted that, in his judgment, “nothing so far published—whether biographical, historical, or expository—is fully adequate. . . . Since, as I believe, no one person can completely master the immediate and world context into which Joseph Smith came, and the texts that survive him, we may never see a one-author definitive work. In the meantime, probing the earliest sources in . . . topical fashion . . . is the order of the day.”¹ One topic largely unexplored in the life of Joseph Smith Jr. is the quality of interrelationships in his family of origin.

Recent historians have noted a need to reconstruct Mormon² history using a variety of approaches. In addition to the traditional kinds of history, such as biography or cultural history, they suggest using demographic studies, narrative history, photography, oral histories, and sociology.³ By utilizing these unconventional approaches, researchers can address more of the Saints’ everyday life experiences, including “such undramatic but basic matters as diet and disease and family relationships.”⁴ These historians further encourage a closer scrutiny of work patterns, recreation, religiosity, and psychological resiliency among the early Saints.⁵ By evaluating these ordinary experiences, we can come to know the Saints in a more personal way, as well as glean important insights related to family functioning that may be of use for contemporary families.

One current approach to examining the past is the use of ^[3] modern psychological concepts in examining historical figures. This historical approach is termed *psychohistory* and has yielded valuable insights into many famous personalities. My approach to evaluating history is similar to psychohistory, but instead of using psychological constructs to evaluate an individual, I have utilized some of the leading concepts in the field of family

studies in examining a historical family. Using a human science approach to evaluating history will enable us to view family patterns of interaction that have not otherwise been examined. By combining family studies concepts with careful attention to historical detail, I have attempted to, as one historian has noted, “add texture to the historical picture, fill in aspects of personal meaning and motive, and provide continuity to a history that has gaps.”⁶

Many Mormon historians have been successful in integrating psychosocial research into their historical studies.⁷ Gary Bergera and Roger Launius have both indicated that using this type of approach in investigating early Mormon families such as the Smiths would enable historians to see more clearly their interrelationships, a little-noted topic in the literature to date.⁸

Statement of Purpose

Mormonism began with a single family—the family of Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith. In 1845, Lucy Mack Smith stated that her family “presented an aspect as singular as any that ever lived upon the face of the earth.”⁹ Just how did this family operate, and what characteristics did they exemplify? Much has been written to chronicle the movement and events pertaining to this family, and yet little has been written with the intent of sifting through the historical records to reveal what kind of ^[4] family this was.

The purpose of this study is to examine the family processes of the Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith family by using a model derived from family literature. Five family process concepts—cohesion, resiliency, religiosity, conflict management, and family work and recreation—have been highlighted and used to examine historical sources that identify how the Smith family operated. ^[5]

Notes

1. Truman G. Madsen, *Joseph Smith the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1989), 3.

2. The official name of the Mormon church is The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Other monikers include Latter-day Saints, LDS, or simply Saints.

3. Ronald W. Walker and Doris R. Dant, eds., *Nearly Everything Imaginable* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1999), x.

4. Davis Bitton, *The Ritualization of Mormon History and Other Essays* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 1.

5. *Ibid.*, 1–3.

6. Robert D. Anderson, “Toward an Introduction to a Psychobiography of Joseph Smith,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27, no. 3 (1994): 249–72.

7. See for example, Walker and Dant, *Nearly Everything Imaginable*; Bitton, *Ritualization of Mormon History*; and Thomas G. Alexander, “Wilford Woodruff and the Changing Nature of Mormon Religious Experience,” *Church History* 45 (1976): 1–14.

8. Gary J. Bergera, “Toward ‘Psychologically Informed’ Mormon History and Biography,” *Sunstone* 15, no. 6 (1991): 27–31; Roger D. Launius, “The ‘New Social History’ and the ‘New Mormon History’: Reflections on Recent Trends,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27, no. 2 (1994): 109–27.

9. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853), 84.

Review of Literature

In this literature review, models from the field of family studies used in evaluating families will be highlighted. Four leading paradigms will be examined: Olson's circumplex model, Beavers's level of family functioning, the McMaster model of evaluating families, and Moos's family environment scale.

Models for Evaluating Families

Olson's Circumplex Model

Olson and his colleagues began their research by examining concepts from the fields of family therapy and family sociology. As they used this interdisciplinary approach to evaluating families, several common concepts emerged. The two concepts from family social sciences that were identified were cohesion and adaptability.¹ As an outgrowth of this research they developed a family typology—termed the circumplex model—as a method of bridging the gap between research, theory, and practice. Using this circumplex model, these colleagues did extensive research on family functioning that lasted over a decade and included a sample of over one thousand families (one hundred or more in seven different life-cycle stages).²

The circumplex model examines families on two dimensions of family functioning: cohesion (which is defined as the emotional bonding between family members) and adaptability (the family system's ability to be flexible and change). Each of these concepts is described as occurring along a continuum (see fig. 1).^[6] Cohesion's continuum includes four categories: (a) disengaged, (b) separated, (c) connected, and (d) enmeshed. The continuum for adaptability also includes four categories: (a) rigid, (b) structured, (c) flexible, and (d) chaotic. As seen in figure 1, the two dimensions of cohesion and adaptability are divided into four categories, resulting in a four-by-four matrix with a possibility of sixteen different family types.^{3 [7]}

Olson indicates that couple and family functioning on the circumplex model has a curvilinear relationship. In other words, it is hypothesized that moderate levels of both cohesion and adaptability are most desirable for optimal family functioning, while families who tend to be at the extremes of the continuum have the highest levels of dysfunction. Much of Olson's research has served to confirm his hypothesis. It should be noted that the most balanced family functioning falls within the inner circle of the matrix and includes one of the following four types: flexibly separated, flexibly connected, structurally separated, or structurally connected. Families within these categories are described as having "stability, the flexibility to change whenever necessary, and sufficiently open boundaries to permit effective communication."⁴

Beavers's Level of Family Functioning

Instead of focusing their research on pathological symptoms of individual members of the family, Beavers and his colleagues focused on how competent families negotiate transactions with one another. By studying families in this light, these researchers were able to see beyond just strengths and weaknesses of the family and determine the type of interactions that create healthy family functioning.⁵

Beavers's research strategy included using raters who observed each family's videotaped interaction and ranked their behavior along a scale of one to five. Categories that were rated included (a) structure of the family—this included subcategories of parental coalitions and closeness; (b) mythology; (c) goal-directed negotiation; (d) ^[8] autonomy—with subcategories of such things as responsibility, invasiveness, and permeability; and (e) family affect—with subcategories of expressiveness, mood and tone, conflict, and empathy. The total ratings were then tabulated and families received a global health-pathology

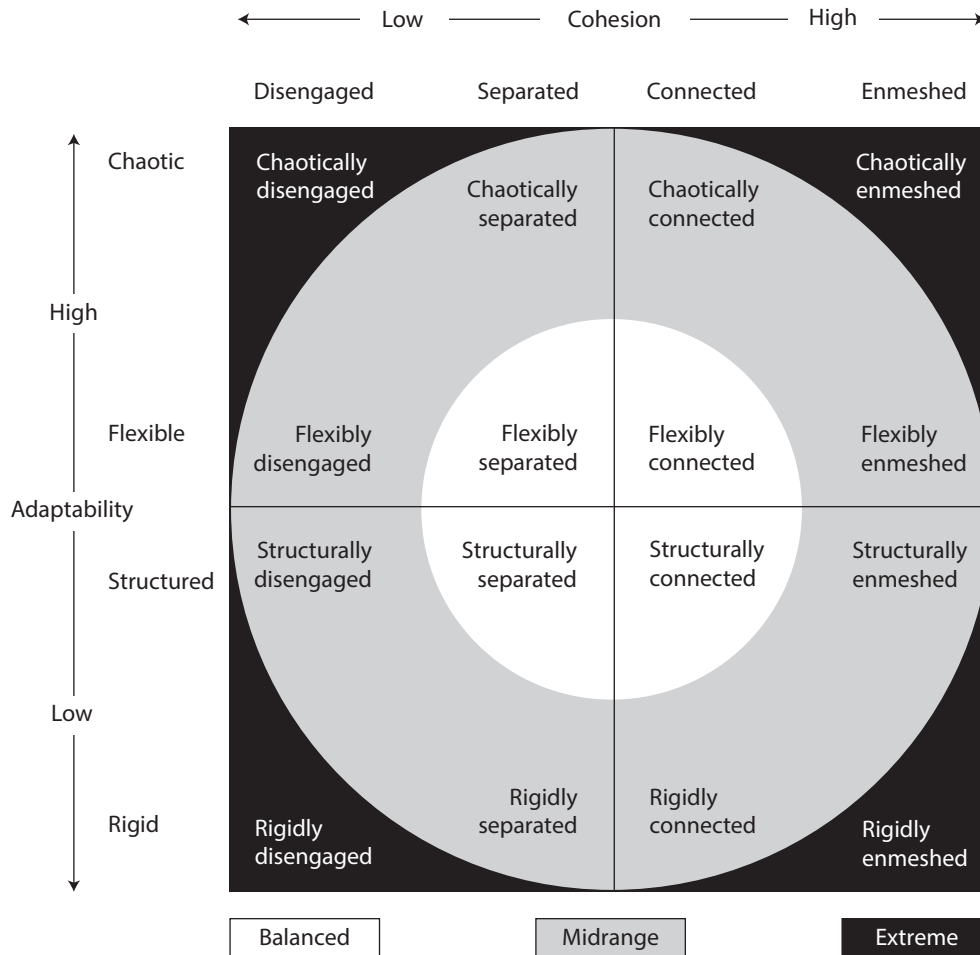


Fig. 1. The Circumplex Model representing sixteen types of marital and family systems. (Source: Olson, "Circumplex Model VII," 339.)

score. The healthy families were compared to a large sample of families that were considered less functional, to determine which qualities were indicative of healthy family functioning.

Results seem to indicate that there was no single quality that was representative of healthy families. The way families communicated with one another, however, was one key difference between the two samples, as those in the competent family group were able to communicate their thoughts and feelings in a healthier manner. Additionally, those in the healthy group had a stronger parental coalition (a close bond or alliance), which provided a healthy model for interpersonal relationships. This parental coalition was also found to provide needed structure in the family, creating a sense of familial leadership.⁶

Subsequent research by Beavers indicates that families can be classed along a continuum with respect to their level of functioning (see fig. 2).⁷ The Beavers systems model is an attempt to classify families along "two axes rating the stylistic quality of their interactions and their degree of family functioning. . . . Optimal and adequate families are considered competent; midrange, borderline, and severely disturbed families represent progressively poorer functioning levels."⁸

A centripetal stylistic dimension indicates that family members perceive that ^[9] relationship satisfactions are largely based within the family, whereas a centrifugal stylistic dimension indicates that individuals tend to seek relationship satisfaction outside the family. As indicated in the






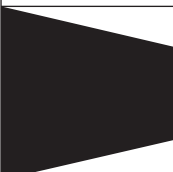
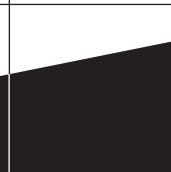

		Healthy									
		Severely Disturbed		Borderline		Midrange		Adequate		Optimal	
Stylistic Dimension	Centrifugal										
	Mixed					Mixed		Adequate		Optimal	
	Centripetal	Often schizophrenic offspring		Often severe obsessive offspring		Often neurotic disorders					
		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
		Poor boundaries, confused communication, lack of shared attentional focus, stereotyped family process, despair, cynicism, denial of ambivalence		Shifts from chaotic to tyrannical control efforts, boundaries fluctuate from poor to rigid, distancing, depression, outbursts of rage		Relatively clear communication; constant effort at control; "loving means controlling"; distancing, anger, anxiety or depression; ambivalence handled by repression		Relatively clear boundaries, negotiating but with pain, ambivalence reluctantly recognized, some periods of warmth and sharing interspersed with control struggles		Capable negotiation, individual choice and ambivalence respected, warmth, intimacy, humor	

Fig. 2. The Beavers Systems Model, with one leg representing centripetal families and the other leg representing centrifugal families. Optimal family functioning is at the apex. (Source: Beavers and Voeller, "Family Models," 90.)

figure, those families that are able to strike a balance between these two extremes (centripetal and centrifugal) enjoy the most optimal level of family functioning.^{9 [10]}

McMaster Model

The McMaster model provides another method of researching and evaluating families through a systemic paradigm.¹⁰ This model focuses its attention on how a family develops and maintains itself through coping skills. Within the McMaster model, families are examined on a three-tiered task scale. The first level includes how a family deals with the universal tasks of providing for the family (i.e., money, food, housing). The second level researchers evaluate includes the

developmental task area, which comprises major life adjustments (i.e., birth of the first child or launching children from the home). The last and most difficult task area for families is termed the hazardous task area and includes how a family copes with crises such as illness, accidents, or financial loss.

To assess how families cope within these three task areas, six domains of family functioning are investigated. These items are based on research and are considered to be the areas that have the greatest impact on the emotional and physical well-being of the family. These areas include (a) family problem solving; (b) family communication; (c) family roles—including how roles are defined and responsibilities allocated; (d) affective

Relationship Dimensions

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| 1. Cohesion | The extent to which family members are concerned and committed to the family and the degree to which family members are helpful and supportive of each other. |
| 2. Expressiveness | The extent to which family members are allowed and encouraged to act openly and to express their feelings directly. |
| 3. Conflict | The extent to which the open expression of anger and aggression and generally conflictual interactions are characteristic of the family. |

Personal Growth Dimensions

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 4. Independence | The extent to which family members are encouraged to be assertive, self-sufficient, to make their own decisions, and to think things out for themselves. |
| 5. Achievement orientation | The extent to which different types of activities (for example, school and work) are cast into an achievement-oriented or competitive framework. |
| 6. Intellectual-cultural orientation | The extent to which the family is concerned about political, social, intellectual, and cultural activities. |
| 7. Active recreational orientation | The extent to which the family participates actively in various kinds of recreational and sports activities. |
| 8. Moral-religious emphasis | The extent to which the family actively discusses and emphasizes ethical and religious issues and values. |

System Maintenance Dimensions

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| 9. Organization | How important order and organization are in the family in terms of structuring the family activities, financial planning, and explicitness and clarity in regard to family rules and responsibilities. |
| 10. Control | The extent to which the family is organized in a hierarchical manner, the rigidity of family rules and procedures, and the extent to which family members order each other around. |

Fig. 3. Moos's Family Environment Scale, designed to evaluate relationship, personal growth, and system maintenance dimensions of family functioning. (Source: Moos, *Combined Preliminary Manual*, 1974.)

responsiveness; (e) affective involvement—how a family values the interests of its members; and (f) behavior control during crises. Based on how individual family members respond to a self-report questionnaire, the family is given a health-pathology score.¹¹ The rationale behind this approach is that the health of the family is related to their ability to ^[11] carry out important, life-sustaining tasks. The effectiveness with which the family is able to perform such tasks is positively correlated with healthy family functioning.

Moos's Family Environment Scale

Moos's research has been widely used by family scientists since its development. His approach to looking at families centered on how the environment serves to impact individual and family functioning. Moos argued that because all social interaction is demonstrable, it can subsequently be measured and categorized. For example, some families are more rigid, inflexible, and controlling in their interaction, while others are more democratic and adaptable.¹²

As a result of this research, Moos developed the family environment scale.¹³ This instrument is based on family members' self-reports of how they perceive the current state of family functioning and how they would like the family to be. Researchers then examine the discrepancy to determine the level of satisfaction among family members. These responses taken collectively are examined according to three facets of family functioning: personal growth, relationships, and systems maintenance. These three dimensions of family life "characterize the family climate and its influence on behavior. That is, scores on the three sets of dimensions provide a framework for understanding the relationships (for example, its cohesiveness) among family members, the kinds of personal growth (for example, intellectual, religious) emphasized in the family."^{14 [12]}

Moos described ten subscales that make up his family environment scale (see fig. 3). The subscales include three relationship measures that examine interpersonal interaction among family members: cohesion, expressiveness, and conflict. Additionally, there are five subscales that are geared towards evaluating ^[13] personal development within the family atmosphere: independence, achievement, intellectual-cultural orientation, active recreational orientation, and moral-religious emphasis.

Lastly, two subscales attempt to measure the way the family maintains the system: organization and control. Scores are obtained for each subscale and then a composite family score is created by averaging individual scores. This family score is then utilized by the evaluator to create a comprehensive family profile.¹⁵

Family Process Constructs Selected

Obviously, not all of the relationship dimensions outlined in the above models could be used to evaluate a historical family. One of the challenges of this study was to select variables that could feasibly be evaluated within written records. The evaluation of the Smith family is limited to the surviving historical sources. Thus, five family process variables were selected from the models of evaluating families based on what was historically obtainable on the Smith family.

Cohesion

As Olson researched general concepts in the field of social sciences, cohesion was a common thread that surfaced in the literature.¹⁶ Since that time, the concept of cohesion has been widely used across disciplines within the field of social sciences. "This cross-disciplinary use of the concept of cohesion gives credibility to the construct and confirms its usefulness in the study of interpersonal relationships."¹⁷

When first hypothesized, the concept of cohesion specifically related to couples and how much time they spent together. It was theorized that the more ^[14] time a couple spent together, the closer the couple's relationship.¹⁸ Olson broadened the definition of cohesion to include emotional closeness in any relationship, but focused his research on families. Furthermore, he identified cohesion as occurring along a continuum. This continuum includes four categories: (a) disconnected, (b) separated, (c) connected, and (d) enmeshed. Olson's research indicated that couple or family functioning and cohesion were curvilinear. This means that families on the extremes of the continuum (i.e., disconnected or enmeshed) have the lowest levels of functioning, while those with more moderate levels of cohesion (i.e., separated or connected) operate on a healthier level.¹⁹

As the idea of cohesion began to be developed and researched more extensively, the meaning

began to be equated with emotional closeness in relationships. Components of cohesion include such elements as emotional bonding, parent-child coalitions, family involvement, marital relationship, and boundaries (i.e., time, space, friends, decision making, interests). For purposes of this study, cohesion will be defined as the emotional bonding or sense of identification family members feel toward each other and the family and will include research related to the components identified above.²⁰ The researcher will attempt to determine the level of cohesiveness in the Smith family from the available historical sources.^[15]

Resiliency

How a family develops and maintains itself through coping skills was also a common variable reflective of family functioning that emerged from the models of evaluating families. This variable might be termed *resiliency*. Resiliency is a concept that has been developed more extensively over the past twenty years. The idea of resiliency was an outgrowth of family stress literature.²¹ In the literature, stress refers to significant experiences or major life adjustments, such as emotional disturbances, unexpected changes, or major disruptive events (i.e., death, divorce, disabilities). When a family encounters such major life adjustments, they must be able to adapt in order to maintain family functioning. Pathological symptoms develop when the level of stress exceeds a family's ability to handle such events.²²

Resiliency, however, tends to direct its attention to *how* a family adapts after a crisis has occurred. The focus of resiliency is on what family characteristics, types, patterns, supports, strategies, and interactions with the community lead to family recuperation. It is useful in determining what factors facilitate adjustment in families and attempts to explain how some families overcome major life stressors and are deemed resilient, while others break down or disintegrate under the same circumstances.²³

The researcher will attempt to ascertain which qualities, if any, the Smith family^[16] exhibited that helped it cope with such major setbacks as death, illness, persecution, and financial reverses. The family's coping ability will then be compared to modern family process literature to determine the degree of resiliency.

Conflict Management

Ability to manage and resolve conflict is one of the most pervasive concepts stemming from family studies literature. Much of the research related to studying the family is geared towards helping families or couples overcome differences so that they might live happier and more productive lives. John Gottman, a leader in the field of marital research, states, "If there is one lesson I have learned from my years of research it is that a lasting marriage results from a couple's ability to resolve the conflicts that are inevitable in any relationship."²⁴ He indicates that people grow closer in their relationships through reconciling their differences, although the way they manage reconciliation may vary. The key in resolving differences in family relationships is bringing about reconciliation, and whether the problem-solving style leads to feelings of resolution for both parties.

Managing conflict also includes the ability to have empathy for the other party when conflicts aren't immediately solvable. Positive thoughts or feelings for the family member in conflict act as a buffer to the differences manifest in the relationship. Maintaining an underlying friendship and a sense of meaning are salient features of strong families and successful marriages and help maintain closeness, even in a conflictual situation.^{25 [17]} Thus, how a family handles conflict reveals a lot about the family structure.

The Smith family will be examined to see how family members handled conflict within the family group. Marital, parent-child, and sibling conflict will be examined in the historical records to determine how the Smiths handled disagreements and whether this led to feelings of resolution or increased tension among the family members involved.

Religiosity

Commitment to both the marriage and the family appears to be a common factor among strong families.²⁶ One variable that is thought to strengthen commitment to the family and has received increased attention in recent years is religiosity. Researchers have been increasingly aware of the impact that spirituality and moral values can have on family functioning. (See above section entitled "Models for Evaluating Families,"

where religiosity is identified as a critical factor in assessing family functioning.)²⁷

Recent studies have demonstrated a link between religion and physical and mental well-being.²⁸ Additionally, researchers have found a correlation between religiosity, marital satisfaction, and marital stability.²⁹ Also, divorce rates among religious couples are significantly lower than that of the general population, and religiosity has been identified as a strong predictor of marital and family happiness.³⁰ Thus, if marital partners are highly ^[18]religious, their relationship is not only likely to succeed, but also to provide fulfillment and purpose.

It should also be noted that researchers draw a distinction between public and private religiosity. Public religiosity includes behaviors such as going to church, public prayers, and social gatherings. Private religiosity includes such things as personal or family prayer, private scripture study, deeply held values or beliefs, and personal attitudes. Findings indicate that private religiosity tends to have greater benefits for marriage and family life than public religiosity.³¹

Further, research indicates that fathers who manifest high levels of religiosity are more likely to be involved in meaningful relationships with their children and to be more affectionate in those relationships than nonreligious fathers.³² Additionally, religious fathers are less likely to have extramarital affairs or abuse spouse or offspring.³³ This makes sense—after all, most religions teach that marriage is a divinely instituted covenant, that parents and children should have a deep and lasting commitment to each other, and that the family should be the central source of joy and fulfillment.³⁴

Another by-product of family spirituality is an increase in emotional intimacy through enhancing interpersonal skills such as forgiveness, patience, and empathy, which can, in turn, lead to an increased ability to resolve conflict. In addition, religious families have the added component of spiritual strength to draw upon during times of crisis.³⁵ ^[19] Understanding a family's level of religiosity yields important insights into the quality of family functioning.

For purposes of this study, religiosity will be defined as how much time is spent in religious activities (prayer, hymn singing, church attendance, scripture study, rituals). Additionally, a

distinction will be drawn between public and private religiosity. The historical records will be examined to see how the Smith family practiced religion and whether spiritual traits were passed to the succeeding generation. Religiosity will not be singled out, but rather highlighted within the other family process variables.

Family Work and Recreation

The last concepts selected from the models of evaluating families are that of family work and recreation. These two variables are closely related in the literature and are often evaluated together to determine the familial balance between work and recreation. These variables will be evaluated individually and then jointly to ascertain the family's work ethic, participation in recreational activities, and the balance between the two.

Family Work. Although most parents assign children household chores with the primary purpose of teaching responsibility and promoting greater work ethic, the literature provides little empirical evidence to support this behavior. In fact, findings in the research indicate it is the type of work families participate in and the amount of interaction during the work process that is most likely to produce positive developmental outcomes in children. If children are taught to do family work tasks rather ^[20] than self-care tasks, they will have a greater family connection. In other words, children learn to care about others by doing work that helps them think about others.³⁶

Family work is fundamentally tied to relationships within the family. The key to examining family work is to determine how the family perceives the work and whether or not the work links, or fails to link, family members to one another.³⁷ One way to determine whether families are linked through work is to examine whether they are united in working towards a common goal or purpose which is larger than self. If families are working together towards a common purpose, they are more likely to perceive work as both meaningful and important. In addition, they are more likely to develop caring for those whom they are working for, which results in stronger emotional bonds.³⁸

Family Recreation. Another family process that has the potential to link families together is family recreation. Family recreation is defined as activities that two or more family members engage in

Family Process Constructs and Definitions

Cohesion	The emotional bonding or sense of identification family members feel toward each other and the family.
Resiliency	How a family adapts and copes when faced with major life event changes.
Conflict Management	How a family handles disagreements, and whether that leads to feelings of resolution or increased tension among family members.
Religiosity	The amount of time a family devotes to religious activities, and whether those activities are intrinsic or extrinsic in nature.
Family Work and Recreation	The kind of work that benefits the entire family, and the activities a family engages in that includes two or more family members—and how the family balances these two processes.

Fig. 4. Summary of selected family processes with accompanying definitions.

together. In addition to typical activities such as family outings or games, recreation can include family rituals. Rituals are defined as “repeated and coordinated activities that have significance.” In order for rituals to be considered family rituals, they must not only include two or more family members but must be repeated and predictable.³⁹ Rituals are ^[21] recreational activities that have the potential to bind families together and give them a sense of identity.

Obviously both work and recreation (or rituals) will look different in a nineteenth-century family than they would today. Thus, the Smith family will be examined within a historical context (early-nineteenth-century farmers). Doing so will provide a clearer picture of how the family operated around the family processes of work and recreation. The researcher will attempt to determine from historical records what kinds of family work and recreation the Smith family engaged in and whether these processes were mediums that brought them closer as a family. Additionally, the researcher will attempt to ascertain what level of work ethic was promoted in the family. The Smiths will be examined generationally to see what types of family work and recreation passed to the succeeding generation. Finally, the researcher will attempt to determine the balance that the Smiths achieved between work and recreation.

The above chart (fig. 4) highlights the family process concepts that have been selected from the body of literature on marriage and family. This list is by no means comprehensive; however, it represents a broad enough spectrum from the literature to ^[22] enable the researcher to conduct a thorough evaluation of the Smith family. ^[23]

Notes

1. David H. Olson et al., “Circumplex Model of Marital and Family Systems: I. Cohesion and Adaptability Dimensions, Family Types, and Clinical Applications,” *Family Process* 18, no. 1 (1979): 3–28; David H. Olson, “Circumplex Model VII: Validation Studies and FACES III,” *Family Process* 25, no. 3 (1986): 337–51.

2. Irene Goldenberg and Herbert Goldenberg, *Family Therapy: An Overview*, 3rd ed. (Belmont, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1991), 268.

3. Ibid., 268; Olson et al., “Circumplex Model of Marital and Family Systems: I,” 3–28.

4. Goldenberg and Goldenberg, *Family Therapy*, 268; see also Olson, “Circumplex Model VII,” 337–51.

5. Goldenberg and Goldenberg, *Family Therapy*, 271. For more information on Beavers’s model of family functioning, see W. Robert Beavers, *Psychotherapy and Growth: Family Systems Perspective* (New York: Brunner and Mazel, 1977).

6. Goldenberg and Goldenberg, *Family Therapy*, 272–73; Jerry M. Lewis et. al., *No Single Thread: Psychological Health in Family Systems* (New York: Brunner Mazel, 1976).

7. W. Robert Beavers, “A Systems Model of Family for Family Therapists,” *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*

- 7, no. 3 (1981): 299–307; W. Robert Beavers, “Healthy, Midrange, and Severely Dysfunctional Families,” in *Normal Family Processes*, ed. Froma Walsh (New York: Guilford Press, 1982); W. Robert Beavers and Mark N. Voeller, “Family Models: Comparing and Contrasting the Olsen Circumplex Model with the Beavers Model,” *Family Process* 22, no. 1 (1983): 85–97.
8. Goldenberg and Goldenberg, *Family Therapy*, 273–74.
9. Beavers and Voeller, “Family Models,” 85–97; Goldenberg and Goldenberg, *Family Therapy*, 274.
10. For a further discussion on “systems theory” see the methodology section.
11. Nathan B. Epstein et al., “The McMaster Family Assessment Device,” *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy* 9, no. 2, (1983): 171–80; Goldenberg and Goldenberg, *Family Therapy*, 275.
12. Goldenberg and Goldenberg, *Family Therapy*, 276–77. For more information on Moos’s theory of family functioning, see Rudolf H. Moos, *Combined Preliminary Manual: Family, Work, and Group Environment Scales* (Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychological Press, 1974).
13. Rudolf H. Moos and Bernice Moos, *Family Environment Scale Manual*, 2nd ed. (Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychological Press, 1986).
14. Goldenberg and Goldenberg, *Family Therapy*, 276.
15. *Ibid.*, 276.
16. Olson et al., “Circumplex Model of Marital and Family Systems: I,” 3–28.
17. Carl C. Himes, “Family-of-Origin Influence on Marital Cohesion” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1991), 7.
18. Graham B. Spanier, “Measuring Dyadic Adjustment: New Scales for Assessing the Quality of Marriage and Similar Dyads,” *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 38, no. 1 (1976): 15–28.
19. Olson, “Circumplex Model VII,” 337–51.
20. Himes, “Family-of-Origin Influence on Marital Cohesion,” 7; Larry L. Constantine, *Family Paradigms: The Practice of Theory in Family Therapy* (New York: Guilford Press, 1986), 186.
21. Hamilton I. McCubbin, *Family Assessment: Resiliency, Coping, and Adaptation* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Publishers, 1996), 2–3. Family studies concepts of adaptability, flexibility, and hardiness are similar to the concept of resiliency.
22. Barbara Snell Dohrenwend, “Life Events as Stressors: A Methodological Inquiry,” *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 14, no. 2 (1973): 167–75; Kyle R. Walker, “Stress and Marital Satisfaction in Triangles of Mature Married Couples and Their Adult Children” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1997), 11–12.
23. McCubbin, *Family Assessment: Resiliency, Coping, and Adaptation*, 2.
24. John Gottman, *Why Marriages Succeed or Fail* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), 28.
25. John Gottman, *The Seven Principles for Making Marriage Work* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1999), 20–21; Michael E. McCullough et al., “Interpersonal Forgiving in Close Relationships: II. Theoretical Elaboration and Measurement,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 75, no. 6 (1998): 1586–603; Elizabeth Vandenberghe, “The Enduring, Happy Marriage: Findings and Implications from Research,” in *Strengthening Our Families*, ed. David C. Dollahite (Salt Lake City: BooksCraft, 2000), 24–25; Nick Stinnett and John DeFrain, *Secrets of Strong Families* (New York: Berkeley Books, 1986), 68–71.
26. Vandenberghe, “The Enduring, Happy Marriage,” 23; Stinnett and DeFrain, *Secrets of Strong Families*, 17–41.
27. See for example, Vandenberghe, “The Enduring, Happy Marriage,” 23; and David C. Dollahite, “Faithful Fathering: How Religion Fosters Responsible and Meaningful Fatherly Involvement” (paper presented at the World Congress of Families II, Geneva, Switzerland, November 14–17, 1999, copy in author’s possession).
28. Vandenberghe, “The Enduring, Happy Marriage,” 23; Daniel K. Judd, “Religious Affiliation and Mental Health,” in *Religion, Mental Health, and the Latter-day Saints*, ed. Daniel K. Judd (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1999), 245–79.
29. Vaughn R. A. Call and Timothy B. Heaton, “Religious Influence on Marital Stability,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 36, no. 3 (1997): 382–93; Linda C. Robinson, “Religious Orientation in Enduring Marriage: An Exploratory Study,” *Review of Religious Research* 35, no. 3 (1994): 207–18.
30. Erik E. Filsinger and Margaret R. Wilson, “Religiosity, Socioeconomic Rewards, and Family Development: Predictors of Marital Satisfaction,” *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 46, no. 3 (1984): 663–70; Vandenberghe, “The Enduring, Happy Marriage,” 23.
31. James D. Davidson, “Glock’s Model of Religious Commitment: Assessing Some Different Approaches and Results,” *Review of Religious Research* 16, no. 2 (1975): 83–93; Margaret G. Dudley and Frederick A. Kosinski Jr., “Religiosity and Marital Satisfaction: A Research Note,” *Review of Religious Research* 32, no. 1 (1990): 78–86; Vandenberghe, “The Enduring, Happy Marriage,” 2000.
32. John P. Bartowski and Xiaohe Xu, “Distant Patriarchs or Expressive Dads: The Discourse and Practice of Fathering in Conservative Protestant Families,” *Sociological Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (2000): 465–86.
33. Dollahite, “Faithful Fathering.”
34. Truman G. Madsen, Keith Lawrence, and Shawn L. Christiansen, “The Centrality of Family across World Faiths,” in Dollahite, *Strengthening Our Families*, 370–81.
35. Vandenberghe, “The Enduring, Happy Marriage,” 23.
36. Kathleen Slaugh Bahr et al., “The Meaning and Blessings of Family Work,” in Dollahite, *Strengthening Our Families*, 183–85; Cheryl Robinson Wilcox, “The Relationship of Family Work, Self-care Work, and Parent-Child Relationship Quality to Developmental Outcomes for Children” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University). Self-care tasks are defined as focusing on what is one’s own, such as looking after one’s own room. Family work tasks are those that emphasize beyond what is one’s own, such as picking up the living room because we (the family) value a clean house.

37. Robert N. Bellah, *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 56, as cited in Bahr, et al., "Family Work," 183.

38. Catherine White Berheide, "Women's Work in the Home: Seems Like Old Times," *Marriage and Family Review* 7, no. 3/4 (1984): 37–55; Bahr et al., "Family Work," 183–85.

39. William J. Doherty, *The Intentional Family* (Reading, MA: Addison Wesley, 1997), 10–12.

Research Methodology

A method similar to sociological history will be used in examining historical documents related to the Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith family. However, rather than using traditional psychological or sociological paradigms, the research will be based on concepts emerging from the field of family studies. Using research specifically designed for studying the family will be most useful in highlighting familial patterns in the historical household.

There are numerous studies that recognize the field of family studies as a unique discipline within the larger field of social sciences.¹ One of the unique aspects of this discipline in evaluating families is using what is termed a “systemic perspective.” At its fundamental level, systems theory is used to describe “regularities or redundant patterns we observe between people” and allows one to view “each member of a family in relation to other family members.” Additionally, this systemic paradigm includes the larger system in which the family is also a part. Hence, when examining a family, one must also take into consideration how the family operates in relationship to other families and how they fit into the broader societal and cultural contexts.²

Many family process concepts have developed from researching and evaluating families through a systemic perspective. Five common processes have been selected to ^[24] facilitate evaluation of the Smith family. These were highlighted in chapter 2 and include cohesion, resiliency, conflict management, religiosity, and family work and recreation. Within these five processes, the researcher will examine such aspects as the marital relationships, parent-child and sibling relationships, the roles of father and mother, and generational characteristics. It is expected that this approach will yield insights previously hidden within the historical narratives of the Smith family.

Historical Sources to Be Consulted

Primary Sources

One of the best primary sources is the history Lucy Mack Smith wrote during her lifetime.³ One author describes this narrative as a “chatty account of family events and vicissitudes, in particular those in which she herself plays an important role.”⁴ Nevertheless, Lucy Mack Smith’s account provides a unique glimpse into the Smith family dynamics. Housed in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Archives, Lucy’s “preliminary manuscript” provided the compiled source material for the published book described above.⁵ This manuscript may be a more accurate account of Lucy’s original statements, although much of the material is comparable. Lavina Fielding Anderson has recently compiled Lucy’s preliminary manuscript and published it alongside the 1853 published edition in parallel columns for comparison.⁶ Anderson’s publication will be referred to as opposed to the original manuscript due to time ^[25] and financial constraints. Lucy’s history is remarkably accurate, despite her advanced age when the history was dictated.⁷

Hyrum, Joseph Jr., and Samuel Smith each kept journals at one time or another, and all of these are available for review. For Joseph Jr.’s extensive historical works, I will refer to Dean Jessee’s compilations of journals, letters, and autobiographical and historical writings.⁸ Various interviews of Joseph Jr., William, and Katharine Smith were conducted and recorded. In addition, William published a short book dealing with his recollections of the family and events related to the coming forth of the Book of Mormon.⁹ Letters and other reminiscences were left behind by Lucy Mack, Joseph Jr., Hyrum, William, and Katharine. Many of Joseph Sr.’s patriarchal blessings are still in existence, as are some comments he made in 1834 regarding his family.¹⁰

Additionally, Joseph Sr.'s father, Asael, wrote a personal letter in 1796 that is still in existence and left a written address to his family in 1799. Also, Lucy's father, Solomon Mack, published an autobiographical work around 1811.¹¹ Joseph Sr.'s younger brother John left a short autobiography and some reminiscences related to family members. Another brother, Jesse, wrote a letter to Hyrum in 1829.¹² In addition, Joseph ^[26] Jr.'s son Joseph Smith III left numerous recollections of family life that have been compiled into a single volume.¹³ Several cousins of the Smith children also kept journals.¹⁴ Lastly, journals or other personal recollections and personal correspondence of the grandchildren of Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith will be consulted, although too voluminous to list.

In addition to published documents, a thorough search will be made of the LDS Church archives in Salt Lake City, Utah, and the Community of Christ Library-Archives in Independence, Missouri, to determine if there is any historical material related to the Smith family that would be pertinent to this study.

Secondary Sources

Secondary sources will include statements made by neighbors and acquaintances of the Smith family. Many individuals have written of their impressions or experiences with members of this family. Emphasis will be given to those persons who were well acquainted with members of the family. Although neighbors and friends may add insight into the Smith family, statements made by those in the family circle and incidents related to their interaction will be most relevant to this study.

Other sources include biographies of family members. There have been numerous biographies written of Joseph Smith Jr. since Mormonism's founding in 1830. Studies ^[27] have attempted to examine both the psyche and character of this historical figure.¹⁵ In more recent years, there have been numerous articles and editorials written on the Prophet from a host of different perspectives.¹⁶ While much emphasis has been placed, both within and without the LDS Church, on understanding Joseph, surprisingly little attention of this type has been devoted to other family members.

Research on Smith Family Members

Although research on family interaction is limited, Calvin Rudd did a detailed study on the life of William Smith, and Dean L. Jarman considered William's older brother Samuel Harrison.¹⁷ Several authors have written biographies on the life of Joseph Smith Sr. Earnest M. Skinner's biography on Father Smith is outdated due to research that has emerged since it was written, but it gives a good overall historical background of his life.¹⁸ Another biography, written by Mark L. McConkie, follows a thematic format and adds insights into Joseph Sr.'s personality.¹⁹ Hyrum has been treated more extensively in the literature, with a full-length biography as well as a number of scholarly articles.²⁰

An article by Richard L. Anderson summarizes much of what is known about Alvin, the oldest Smith son.²¹ Other than Joseph Jr. and Hyrum, William has been written about most extensively. Besides Calvin Rudd's biographical thesis on William Smith, several recent articles have attempted to analyze William's personality, character, and motivations, with an emphasis on the period of his ^[28] life following the death of his brothers.²² One article has been written about Don Carlos, the youngest brother in the family.²³ Information about the Smith daughters—Sophronia, Katharine, and Lucy—is limited.²⁴

Research on Smith Family Dynamics

Cecil McGavin wrote the one book published on the family of Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith. McGavin focused his research on specific individuals and subsets of the family (i.e., brothers of the prophet), giving short biographies of each member. However, he failed to connect individuals into a larger family picture and to address interpersonal relationships among family members. In addition his historical research methods are not satisfactory by today's standards.²⁵

There has been limited research on family dynamics within the Smith household. Much of the research pertains to Joseph Jr. and Emma Hale Smith. Recently a book has been published focusing on Joseph and Emma's relationship.²⁶ This work highlights family dynamics and the personalities of each partner within a historical framework. Several authors have written about how Joseph and Emma celebrated the holidays.²⁷

Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery have addressed various aspects of Joseph and Emma's relationship as well, largely focusing their study on Emma's perspective.²⁸ In addition there are several short articles that highlight Joseph Jr.'s role as husband, father,^[29] son, or brother.²⁹

Other studies have addressed the Smith family's work ethic and productivity,³⁰ honesty,³¹ physical strength and athleticism,³² and gentility.³³ Several authors have studied the ancestors of Joseph Jr. and touched on their personalities and familial characteristics.³⁴ Still other scholars have studied the movements and events in the Smith family prior to their move to Kirtland, Ohio, in 1831.³⁵ Richard L. Bushman's study *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* dedicates several pages to an interpretation of the personalities of Lucy and Joseph Sr.³⁶

Although there exists considerable research on individual Smith family members and detailed historical records of events and movements that helped shape their lives, little analysis or synthesis has been done on the family itself. Some research exists on the personalities of a few family members, but there is little scholarly work on how family members interacted with each other and the kind of familial characteristics they exhibited.

There is also a need to bring together existing literature to give a more complete profile of the first family of Mormonism. This research, therefore, will attempt to ascertain what familial qualities were characteristic of the Smith family, what kind of interpersonal relationships they experienced, and how they operated as a family unit. The sources will then be discussed within a family process framework that includes five variables—cohesion, resiliency, conflict^[30] management, religiosity, and family work and recreation.

The scope of this study will be focused on the immediate family of Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith. Emphasis will be placed on interactions among these family members during the time period when the children were actually in the home, prior to their marriages and being launched from the family. However, latitude will be granted to highlight characteristics or interaction among parents and their adult children and among adult siblings that would add depth to the understanding of this family's qualities. The generational research will be limited to material that relates

specifically to understanding the immediate family of Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith.^[31]

Notes

1. William M. Pinsof and Lyman C. Wynne, "The Efficacy of Marital and Family Therapy: An Empirical Overview, Conclusions, and Recommendations," *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy* 21, no. 4 (1995): 585–613; Steven R. H. Beach and K. Daniel O'Leary, "Current Status of Outcome Research in Marital Therapy," in *Handbook of Family Psychology and Therapy*, ed. Luciano L'Abate, vol. 2 (Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1985), 1035–1072. Other names for, or extensions of, this discipline include family science, human studies, family life education, human ecology, and marital and family therapy.

2. Dorothy Stroh Becvar, *Systems Theory and Family Therapy: A Primer* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1999), 1–2.

3. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and his Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853).

4. Donna S. Hill, *Joseph Smith, the First Mormon* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977), 32.

5. Martha Jane Knowlton Coray recorded Lucy's narrative in a small notebook. She then expanded these notes into a "preliminary manuscript" and, with the assistance of her husband, Howard Coray, and Lucy, began revising the manuscript for publication. Richard L. Anderson, "Circumstantial Confirmation of the First Vision through Reminiscences," *BYU Studies* 9, no.3 (1969): 388.

6. Lavina Fielding Anderson, ed., *Lucy's Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith's Family Memoir* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001).

7. Richard L. Anderson, "The Reliability of the Early History of Lucy and Joseph Smith," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 4, no. 2 (1969): 13–28.

8. Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith: Vol. 1, Autobiographical and Historical Writings* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989); Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith: Vol. 2, Journal 1832–1842* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992); Dean C. Jessee, comp. and ed., *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002).

9. William Smith, *William Smith on Mormonism* (Lamoni, IA: Herald Steam Book and Job Office, 1883).

10. For information regarding Joseph Sr., Lucy Mack, Joseph Jr., William, and Katharine, see Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 1 (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996). The journals of Hyrum Smith and Samuel H. Smith are available at L. Tom Perry Special Collections at Brigham Young University. [Editor's note: Since the writing of this dissertation, the author has edited a volume that includes biographies of each member of the Smith family; see Kyle R. Walker, ed., *United by Faith: The Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith Family (American Fork, UT: BYU Studies and Covenant Communications, 2006).*]

11. Documents related to Asael Smith and Solomon Mack (including Mack's autobiography) are reproduced in

their entirety in Richard L. Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage*, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003).

12. Ibid., 188–94; Jesse Smith to “Hiram Smith,” June 17, 1829, Joseph Smith Letterbook 2, LDS Church Archives, 59–60, also published in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:551–54.

13. Mary Audentia Smith Anderson, ed., *The Memoirs of President Joseph Smith III, 1832–1914* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1979).

14. George A. Smith, “Sketch of the Autobiography of George Albert Smith,” *Deseret News*, August 11, 1858, 109; Oliver R. Smith, *Journal of Jesse Nathaniel Smith* (Provo, UT: Jesse N. Smith Family Association, 1970).

15. Robert D. Anderson, *Inside the Mind of Joseph Smith: Psychobiography and the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999); Thomas Morain, *The Sword of Laban: Joseph Smith Jr. and the Dissociated Mind* (Washington, DC: APA Press, 1998); Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith*, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1971); I. Woodbridge Riley, *The Founder of Mormonism: A Psychological Study of Joseph Smith Jr.* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1902). Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984); Hill, *Joseph Smith*; Truman G. Madsen, *Joseph Smith the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1989).

16. For example, see Susan Easton Black and Charles D. Tate Jr., *Joseph Smith: The Prophet, the Man* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center and Brigham Young University, 1993); Richard L. Bushman, “Was Joseph Smith a Gentleman? The Standard for Refinement in Utah,” in *Nearly Everything Imaginable: The Everyday Life of Utah's Mormon Pioneers*, ed. Ronald W. Walker and Doris R. Dant (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1999), 27–43; Larry C. Porter and Susan Easton Black, eds., *The Prophet Joseph: Essays on the Life and Mission of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988).

17. Calvin P. Rudd, “William Smith: Brother of the Prophet Joseph Smith” (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1973); Dean L. Jarman, “The Life and Contributions of Samuel Harrison Smith” (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1961).

18. Earnest M. Skinner, “Joseph Smith, Sr., First Patriarch to the Church” (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958).

19. Mark L. McConkie, *The Father of the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1993).

20. Pearson H. Corbett, *Hyrum Smith: Patriarch* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1963); Irene M. Bates and E. Gary Smith, *Lost Legacy: The Mormon Office of Presiding Patriarch* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 59–71; Ronald K. Esplin, “Hyrum Smith: The Mildness of a Lamb, the Integrity of Job,” *Ensign* 30, no. 2 (2000): 30–36; Bruce A. Van Orden, “Hyrum Smith: Brother of the Prophet,” *Mormon Heritage Magazine* 1 (1994): 18–23, 48. [Since the completion of this dissertation in 2001, there have been several noteworthy publications. Jeffrey S. O' Driscoll's biography of Hyrum—Hyrum Smith, a Life of Integrity (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003)—has supplanted Corbett's earlier book, and Ronald K. Esplin has published a book length chapter

highlighting Hyrum and Mary Fielding's relationship. See Ronald K. Esplin, “Hyrum Smith,” in Walker, United by Faith, 122–63.]

21. Richard L. Anderson, “The Alvin Smith Story: Fact and Fiction,” *Ensign* 17, no. 8 (1987): 58–72. [Anderson has updated his earlier work in an article published since the completion of this dissertation. See Richard L. Anderson, “Alvin Smith,” in Walker, United by Faith, 82–121. See also Larry C. Porter, “Reminder of the Fairness of God,” *Ensign* 8, no. 9 (1978): 65–67.]

22. Bates and Smith, *Lost Legacy*, 72–103; Paul M. Edwards, “William B. Smith: A Wart on the Ecclesiastical Tree,” in *Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History*, ed. Roger D. Launius and Linda Thatcher (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Paul M. Edwards, “William B. Smith: The Persistent ‘Pretender,’” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18, no. 2 (1985): 128–39; Irene M. Bates, “William Smith, 1811–93: Problematic Patriarch,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16, no. 2 (1983): 11–23; E. Gary Smith, “The Patriarchal Crisis of 1845,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16, no. 2 (1983): 24–35.

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25. E. Cecil McGavin, *The Family of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1963). For example, see the section of McGavin's book dealing with Emma Smith, pp. 193–217.

26. Gracia N. Jones, *Emma and Joseph: Their Divine Mission* (American Fork, UT: Covenant Communications, 1999).

27. Gracia N. Jones, *Priceless Gifts: Celebrating the Holidays with Joseph and Emma Smith* (American Fork, UT: Covenant Communications, 1998); Larry C. Porter, “Christmas with the Prophet Joseph,” *Ensign* 8, no. 12 (1978): 9–11.

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Saint Church History: New England, ed. Donald Q. Cannon (Provo, UT: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1988), 53–64.

32. Alexander L. Baugh, “Joseph Smith’s Athletic Nature,” in Black and Tate, *Joseph Smith: The Prophet, The Man*, 137–50.

33. Bushman, “Was Joseph Smith a Gentleman?”

34. LaMar Garrard, “The Asael Smith Family Moves from Vermont to New York, 1806 to 1820,” in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: New York*, ed. Larry C. Porter, Milton V. Backman Jr., and Susan Easton Black (Provo, UT: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1992), 15–31; A. Gary Anderson, “The Mack Family and Marlow, New Hampshire,” in Cannon, *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: New England*, 43–52; Richard L. Bushman, “Joseph Smith’s Family Background,” in Porter and Black, *The Prophet Joseph*,

1–18; Anderson, *Joseph Smith’s New England Heritage*; Richard L. Anderson, “Joseph Smith’s Home Environment,” *Ensign* 1, no. 7 (1971): 57–59; Mary Audentia Smith Anderson, *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1929).

35. Larry C. Porter, *A Study of the Origins of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the States of New York and Pennsylvania* (Provo, UT: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History and BYU Studies, 2000); H. Michael Marquardt and Wesley P. Walters, *Inventing Mormonism: Tradition and the Historical Record* (Salt Lake City: Smith Research Associates and Signature Books, 1994); Bushman, *Beginnings of Mormonism*.

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Chapter 4

Cohesion

In examining the Smith family, I have attempted to extrapolate any evidence that would help ascertain the level of connection among family members. First, a background of the Smith parents attempts to determine the type of family connection they experienced in their families of origin. Next, I will provide an analysis of relational dynamics during the Smith children's formative years, including events surrounding the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, the organization of the Church, and Joseph Smith Jr.'s emergence as a prophet. Lastly, I will highlight the marital, parent-child, and sibling relationships over the course of the family's life-span. It is hoped that this analytical format will result in a clearer picture of the Smith family relationships.

Generational Cohesiveness

The Solomon and Lydia Gates Mack Family

Lucy Mack Smith's parents, Solomon and Lydia Gates Mack, established a family environment that created a tightly knit family group. Lydia led out in the family's secular and moral education. She made sure that each morning and night the family gathered for a devotional that included prayers and exhortations on the importance of loving each other within the family. As a result, the children reportedly gained habits of "piety and gentleness" that created a happiness within the home.¹ Solomon recalled that "their mother's precepts and example . . . had a more lasting influence upon their future character" than any other single factor.²

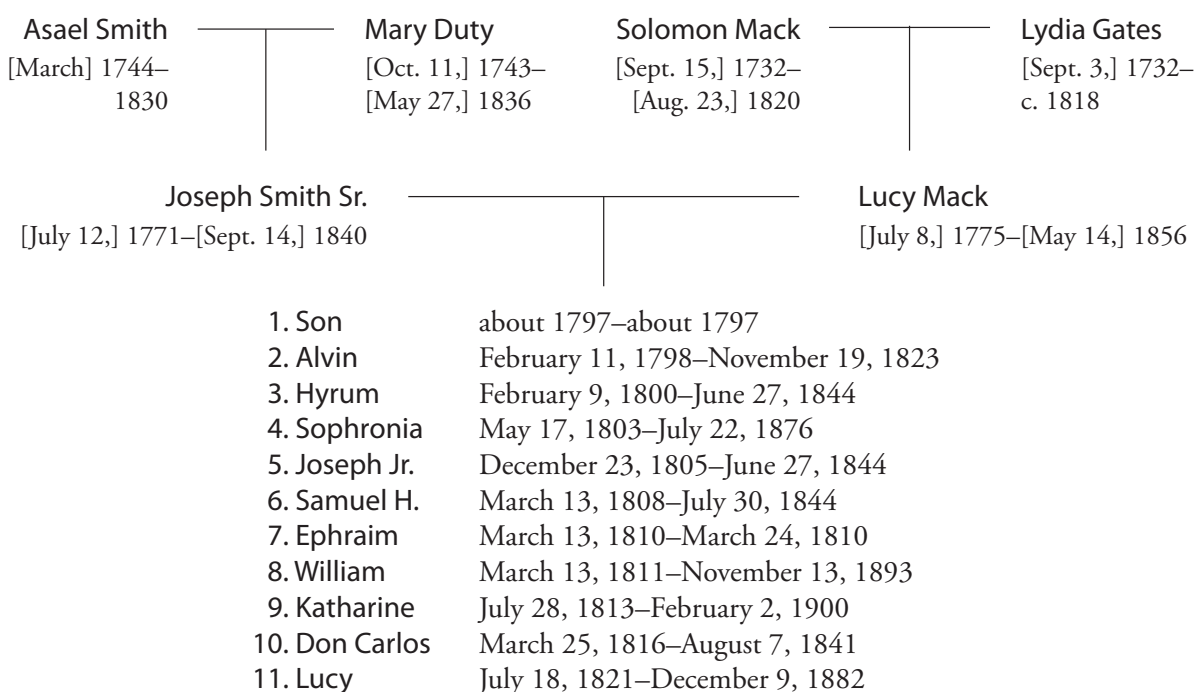


Fig. 5. Pedigree and descendancy of Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith ^[32]

Perhaps the most convincing evidence of the closeness of the Mack family was the sibling relationships. Lucy's older sisters, Lovisa and Lovina, both experienced lengthy terminal illnesses that illustrate the siblings' devotion to one another. Lovisa, who became ill several years after her marriage, sent for Lovina to care for her. Lovina watched over her for the next two years, "observing [her] every change and symptom with deepest emotion." Although she was given up for dead, eventually Lovisa recovered, only to have Lovina brought down to her sickbed.³

During Lovina's illness, Lucy played the role of caretaker. She reports watching over Lovina for three years and never allowing herself "to go an hour, at a time, beyond the sound of her voice while she was sick." Toward the end of Lovina's prolonged illness, Lucy, although only thirteen years old, tenderly carried Lovina to her own bed, where she died in peace.^{4 [33]}

Only a few months later, Lovisa became ill again and sent for her father. After Solomon arrived, she desired to return home with him—perhaps to visit her mother and siblings one last time. Solomon reluctantly complied and carefully cared for his daughter on the trip home. However, after four days on the trip, her illness worsened and she died. During her final hours, Lovisa's thoughts were with her family, whom she had hoped to visit one last time. Before she died, Lovisa wrote a poem as a farewell to her family: "Father and mother, now farewell: And husband, partner of my life, Go to my father's children, tell That lives no more on earth thy wife; That while she dwelt in cumbrous clay, For them she prayed both night and day."⁵ These words stand as a testament to the affinity she felt towards her parents and siblings. At Lovisa's request she was buried next to her sister Lovina, both having died of consumption in the same year.⁶

Both Lovisa and Lovina's experiences with illness and death give us a glimpse into the Mack family. Typically, families either grow closer together or move farther apart following the loss of a family member. For the Mack family, the death of the sisters drew them together. Lucy struggled emotionally after the death of her sisters. She became so despondent that she felt life was not worth living. However, her parents and brother, Stephen, were aware of her struggle, and

Stephen insisted on taking her back to his home in Tunbridge, Vermont, to care for her. The Mack parents agreed, feeling that this might help her deal with her grief. It appears to have had the desired effect, and Lucy lived with Stephen for the next year or so, met Joseph Smith, and later married. The closeness of these siblings is evident in the gift of one thousand dollars—a significant sum of money for the day—that Stephen and his business partner John Mudgett gave to Joseph and Lucy at the time of their wedding.^{7 [34]}

Another example of the closeness among Mack family members occurred when Lucy contracted consumption, the same illness that took the lives of her older sisters. During this time of illness, it was Lucy's mother, Lydia, who looked after Lucy night and day. Lucy records, "My mother watched over me with much anxiety, sparing herself no pains in administering to my comfort." After Lucy made a covenant with God, she was miraculously healed, and it was Lydia who exclaimed, "Lucy you are better."⁸ We know that Lucy continued her association with her mother; the two lived in close proximity to one another for the next fourteen years, until Lucy and Joseph moved to New York.

When this happened, Lydia helped the family prepare to move. She intended to assist her daughter on the journey to Palmyra, but was severely injured near South Royalton when the sleigh (or wagon, as one account specifies) in which they were riding overturned. Lydia was then obliged to stay with some Mack relatives.⁹ As the time came for parting, both Lydia and Lucy sensed that this would be the last time they would see each other. The affinity that mother and daughter held for each other is evidenced in Lucy's record, where she recounted,

Here I was to take leave of that pious and affectionate parent to whom I [was] indebted for all the religious instructions as ^[35] well as most of the educational privileges which I had ever received[.] The parting hour came[,] my mother wept over me, long and bitterly. . . . She told me . . . to continue faithful . . . that I may have the pleasure of embracing you in another fairer World above.¹⁰

The bond Lucy experienced in her family of origin continued to manifest itself in her own family. Lucy's attitude toward her own children and marriage served to create a strong sense of family identity for the Smiths.

The Asael and Mary Duty Smith Family

Joseph Sr.'s parents, Asael and Mary Duty Smith, also attempted to create a strong sense of family togetherness. Asael exuded extreme family loyalty. When his own father, Samuel, died leaving many outstanding debts, it was Asael who stepped up to ensure that his father would not "have it said of him that he died insolvent." Despite the fact that the economy was in a depression and that he had eleven children of his own, Asael was able to pay off his father's debts within five years. The fact that he also supported his stepmother throughout this time period makes his accomplishments quite remarkable.¹¹

Probably the most critical factor that influenced Asael's desire for a strong family connection was deprivation in his own upbringing. His mother died within the year of his birth, and he was largely raised by a stepmother. Asael later confessed that his ^[36] stepmother "did not treat him so kindly as some mothers treat their children."¹² Perhaps Asael summarized his feelings about this mistreatment when he counseled his wife that if she should remarry, she must "remember what I have undergone by a stepmother, and do not estrange your husband from his own children."¹³ However difficult his own upbringing, Asael appeared determined not to let similar difficulties be a part of his own family. Yet, growing up without his biological mother and having his father somewhat detached, certainly had its effects. One of those effects appeared to be an increased attachment to his wife and children.

As his children grew, his strong sense of connection with various family members became more apparent. On one occasion, Asael bought a piece of ground in Vermont, while at the same time leasing land in Ipswich, Massachusetts. After the Vermont purchase, he planned to send his two oldest sons, Jesse and Joseph (twenty-three and twenty respectively), to prepare the land for the family to move to the next spring. But those plans were short-lived, and Asael "changed his mind, as he could not bear to have his boys so far from him. . . . He always loved to have his children close by."¹⁴ Instead, in succeeding years Asael purchased several tracts of land of one hundred acres each, and "further conveyances hint at partnership with his sons." It was difficult for Asael to have distance between him and his sons—his personality necessitated that they be near.¹⁵ ^[37]

Asael's attitude toward his family is most clearly outlined in his writings. The very fact that he wrote a family address in his declining years and begins that address with "my dear selfs" is a testament to his close affinity for his family. In this address, he speaks to his wife and children. He begins by expressing his appreciation to his spouse, whom he thanks "with all the strength and powers that is in me, thank you for your kindness and faithfulness to me." Yet most of the address centers on instructions to his children. He charges them,

Live together in an undivided bond of love. You are many of you, and if you join together as one man, you need not want anything. . . . I pray, beseech, and adjure you by all the relations and dearness that hath ever been betwixt us and by the heart-rending pangs of a dying father, whose soul hath been ever bound in the bundle of life with yours, that you know one another. Visit as you may each other. Comfort, counsel, relieve, succor, help and admonish one another. . . . Join together to help one another.¹⁶

What concerned Asael most was maintaining the unity and closeness he had tried to promote among the family. He wanted them to live the Christian principles that would enable them to stay close to each other and to their mother after his death. He was also ^[38] concerned about their teaching these same principles to their own children and hoped that they would reflect upon his words even after his decease. Joseph Sr., greatly influenced by the loyalty promoted in his father's family, brought this same sense of devotion into his own home. In fact, both Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith came from very cohesive backgrounds, where solidarity among family members was encouraged and demonstrated. At no time is this more evident than in the 1820s, when the initial events of the Restoration took place.

Events of the Restoration

An understanding of how the Smith family responded to events surrounding the Restoration of the gospel, including Joseph Jr.'s emergence as prophet and president of the Church, deserves close scrutiny in examining the cohesiveness of familial relationships. Perhaps no other time period in Church history has been written about so extensively as the years between 1820 and 1830.

This was a critical developmental period to the Smith family identity. During these years Joseph reported being visited by God the Father and Jesus Christ, Moroni, Peter, James, John, and a host of other angels. Additionally, Joseph was tutored by Moroni and subsequently translated and published the Book of Mormon. Lastly, the Prophet was called on to establish and officially organize The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Thus, it is imperative that we examine family members' reactions to these critical events that shaped the remainder of their lives.

The Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon—A Family Affair

As soon as Moroni's message was made known to Father Smith and later to the rest of the family, they all came together in support of Joseph Jr.'s sacred mission. There ^[39] is ample evidence that family members did not view these happenings as Joseph's experience alone, but rather as fulfillment of familial prayers and searches for generations. Thus, it wasn't just Joseph Jr. who was being called to do this great work, rather it was the Smith family who would band together to bring about God's purposes. Nowhere is this more evident in the historical records than in the events that transpired in the coming forth of the Book of Mormon and the establishment of the Church.

The family's involvement with these events materialized following Moroni's initial visits, which occurred September 21 and 22, 1823. Several of Moroni's warnings and commandments, as reported by Joseph Jr., designated familial involvement. One of the angel's cautions was to make Joseph aware that Satan would try to tempt him to use the plates to get rich, because of the "indigent circumstances" of the family.¹⁷ An additional warning included a charge to keep these matters within the family, because if others discovered them, they would "want to kill [them] for the sake of the gold."¹⁸ Further, the angel indicated that as soon as Joseph obtained the plates, his family's name would be "cast out as evil by all people."¹⁹ Finally, the messenger specifically directed Joseph to tell his father about the visitation. Family involvement was not just desired, it was commanded.

These very charges likely had the effect of binding the family closer together. In a sense, it became the *family's* sacred mission to ensure that

the plates were protected from outsiders. This common purpose and family secret drew family members together. In a sense, it was the family against the world. Knowing that others would stop at nothing to obtain the plates—even to the point of seeking their very lives—created a ^[40] sense of hypervigilance in looking out for each other. Family members had to be on their guard, not only to protect the plates, but to safeguard one another from those who were after the record for baser motives.

Although their family closeness did not begin with Joseph's visions, it certainly was solidified by them. The family began almost immediately to cling together around the events of the Restoration. The family gathered each evening to discuss Moroni's message and hear from Joseph about an ancient covenant people who had lived in the Americas. Mother Smith recounts the circumstances: "We continued to get the children together every evening, for the purpose of listening [to Joseph]. . . . I presume our family presented an aspect as singular as any that ever lived upon the face of the earth—all seated in a circle, father, mother, sons, and daughters, and giving the most profound attention to a boy, eighteen years of age. . . . The sweetest union and happiness pervaded our house."²⁰

The following year, in September 1824, Joseph Jr. felt that the time had come for him to obtain the record. The family was also aware of these circumstances, and they were deeply concerned about their son and brother. At his attempt, Joseph was informed by Moroni that the time had not yet come for the plates to be delivered, for Joseph was not yet sufficiently prepared. The family, expecting him to bring home the record, met him at the door as he returned from his interview with Moroni. When his father inquired why he could not obtain the plates, Joseph replied that the angel would not let him, because he ^[41] had not been completely faithful to the original charge. Mother Smith concludes this scenario: "We, therefore, doubled our diligence in prayer and supplication to God."²¹ It is notable that Mother Smith emphasizes that it was the entire family who doubled their collective efforts in order that *they* might obtain the record. The whole family was now involved with the intimate details of Joseph's interaction with the angel and began laboring together to ensure that Joseph would secure the record.²²

This family mission to obtain the plates, combined with the accompanying sense of protection felt by family members, increased as Moroni's warnings began to come to pass. Joseph experienced severe persecution, which included such things as physical assault, harassment, and lawsuits. It wasn't long until these difficulties extended to the entire family. The familial reactions to these increased hardships reveal much about the character of the family.

As early as 1820, the family began to deal with external conflict in their hometown of Palmyra. When Joseph made known his vision of the Father and Son to a local minister, he was treated with contempt and disdain. Further, in telling of this vision he incited "bitter persecution," which gradually increased against him, and he became the focus of many ministers' mistreatment.²³ It was also about this time that someone attempted to kill Joseph by firing a shot at him from underneath a ^[42]wagon. Although the assailant missed his target, it distressed the family, who immediately went in search of the assassin. Although they could not find the individual, experiences such as these increased the vigilance of the family in looking out for each other. Father and Mother Smith's protectiveness of their son Joseph intensified to a point that if he was a half hour late in coming home they became "apprehensive of some evil befalling him."²⁴

On one occasion, the younger Joseph came home and reported that he had just received the "severest chastisement" of his life. Thinking that a neighbor had reprimanded his son, the protective father responded that he "would like to know what business anybody has to find fault with you!" Joseph, attempting to ease his father's anxiety, explained that it was the angel Moroni who had chastised him.²⁵ This experience illustrates the protective attitude of family members for one another, which increased after experiences with antagonists.

As the time approached when Joseph was to receive the plates, the whole family became more intensely involved in obtaining the sacred record. On the evening of September 21, 1827, Joseph approached his mother and asked if she had a chest with a lock and key. Mother Smith records that she knew "in an instant what he wanted it for," an obvious indication of her foreknowledge of, and involvement with, his obtaining the plates.

Unable to meet his request, she spent several sleepless hours praying for Joseph's success while he and his wife, Emma, were at the Hill Cumorah.²⁶

The couple was still missing during the early morning hours as the rest of the family, unaware that they were gone, arose and came to breakfast. Mother Smith then assumed the role of protector of ^[43]her son. She had previously formed a covert alliance with Joseph to ensure that no one interfere with his obtaining the ancient record. She managed to put off her husband, who desired to eat breakfast with his missing son. She also managed to bide some time with Joseph Knight Sr., who became alarmed when he noticed his horse and wagon—which Joseph and Emma had borrowed—was missing. Due to Lucy's efforts, Joseph and Emma had enough time to obtain the plates, breastplate, and Urim and Thummim without attracting the notice of the rest of the family or friends.²⁷ Once the mission was completed, Joseph told all those in the household, including the visitors, about all that he had obtained.²⁸

After receiving the plates, the family came together to protect them from outsiders. Before Joseph had even brought the plates to the house,²⁹ the family discovered a plot being concocted to wrest the plates from him. It was the overprotective Father Smith who discovered that a dozen or so men were scheming to find "Joe Smith's gold bible." He proceeded directly to the home of Samuel Lawrence, a leader of the group, and sat outside the door, hoping to learn of their plans. When he was satisfied he had learned of their determination to steal the plates, the elder Joseph hurried home to locate his son and the plates.^[44]

After learning of the danger reported by Father Smith, Emma volunteered to deliver the warning message to her husband, who was working in nearby Macedon. Emma told Joseph what had transpired, and they immediately rode home together. On their arrival, the Prophet found his father distraught with worry, reportedly pacing back and forth while awaiting his son's safe return. Mother Smith was also concerned about the safety of the plates and felt "apprehensive that enemies might discover their place of deposit." Joseph Jr. attempted to reassure his parents and other family members that the record was safe for the time being, but immediately began preparations to retrieve them from their place of seclusion.³⁰

Retrieving and Protecting the Plates

As soon as Joseph Jr. arrived home, the whole family began to prepare for the arrival of the record. As the family anticipated its arrival, there was a feeling of great excitement in the household. At least part of this anticipation had to do with the expectation of family members that they would both see and handle the plates of gold, the fulfillment of four long years of family preparation.³¹ Although Joseph had shown family members other artifacts, including the Urim and Thummim, it was the ancient record that the family was most concerned ^[45] about.³²

With his arrival at the homestead, Joseph set in motion events that illuminate the family's unity in obtaining the record. He immediately sent his younger brother Don Carlos down the road to retrieve their older brother Hyrum.³³ Upon Hyrum's arrival, Joseph proceeded to instruct him to have a chest, including lock and key, ready to go by the time he returned from the woods with the plates. Hyrum returned to his place of residence, and Joseph went in pursuit of the plates while the family anxiously awaited his return.³⁴

The retrieval of the plates did not go as smoothly as planned. After taking the plates from the birch log in which they had been hidden, Joseph wrapped them in a linen frock. While journeying home, he was physically assaulted three times, which caused a severe injury to his hand. When he finally reached the Smith property, he was severely shaken and out of breath. After recovering a little, he finished his arduous journey and entered the house.³⁵

From the moment he entered the home, the family was prepared to receive him. Younger sister Katharine took the plates from him and set them on the table. She ^[46] watched over him until he was able to catch his breath and treated his bruised hand.³⁶ A neighbor, Martin Harris, recalled that Mother Smith was also involved in receiving the plates and looking after Joseph upon his arrival.³⁷

After recovering some, Joseph asked eleven-year-old Don Carlos to send their father in pursuit of the attackers, a request he instantly obeyed. After Don Carlos had completed the task, Joseph then sent him to get Hyrum, so that he could put the plates into the previously requested chest. Hyrum's anxiety was manifest as soon as Don Carlos arrived. On seeing his brother, he dropped

the cup from which he was drinking, jumped from the table, dumped the contents of the chest, and rushed out of the house, to the surprise of his sisters-in-law, who were present. When Hyrum arrived at the frame house, Joseph used the chest to lock up the record. Unable to locate the attackers, Father Smith arrived in time to hear his son relate the entire episode to his family and several close friends who had gathered around him. The younger Joseph then asked his father to put his dislocated thumb back into place.³⁸

Within forty-eight hours of receiving the plates, the warnings from Moroni had been verified in the minds of all the family members. The roles Father and Mother Smith, Hyrum, Katharine, and Don Carlos played in protecting both the plates and Joseph Jr. are well documented. We can safely assume that other family members, if they were present, were also actively involved. Over the next few years, the family would thwart other ^[47] attempts of enemies trying to get the plates. As rumors spread that Joseph had obtained the plates, many people stopped by to get a glimpse of the treasure. When the family refused, so as to honor the angel's commission, persecution increased.³⁹

The two oldest sisters, Sophronia and Katharine, remembered this time as one in which the "atmosphere of the home became charged with watchfulness, obligation, and care lest someone might at an unguarded moment seize the plates and make away with them." Katharine, along with other family members, was ever vigilant in looking out for her brother's safety. On one occasion, on hearing a ruckus outside, Katharine hurriedly opened the door and found Joseph Jr. attempting to escape a mob who were seeking to find the plates. On seeing Katharine, Joseph thrust the wrapped plates into her arms, instructing her to quickly take and hide the plates, as he rushed off into the darkness. Katharine, apparently prepared for such circumstances, rushed to her room where her older sister, Sophronia, helped her hide the bundle in their bedding. The girls then pretended to be asleep. The mob, unable to locate Joseph, began searching the house. Notwithstanding their determination to obtain the plates, when the mob saw the sleeping sisters, they left them undisturbed.⁴⁰

In yet a different set of circumstances, Joseph Jr. became apprehensive about the safety of the plates. Fearing that a mob would soon be

approaching, the family was on ^[48] high alert. After burying the plates and breastplate under the fireplace hearth, the foreseen band was heard approaching. Borrowing a strategy picked up from his Grandfather Mack, Joseph rallied his father, Samuel, William, and Don Carlos to rush out of the house. The younger Joseph barked out commands as if he had a “legion at hand,” and the confused mob disbanded, fleeing into the nearby woods.⁴¹

As the events of the Restoration unfolded, persecution continued. During these critical years, parents and siblings came together to protect the plates and each other to fulfill their family mission—to establish the kingdom of God. This became increasingly the case as the family became more and more ostracized from the community in which they were living. All family members began to feel this sense of isolation.

William reflected that “we never knew we were bad folks until Joseph told his vision.”⁴² Sophronia experienced great discouragement as her peers withdrew their friendship, which reportedly became such a trial to her that it negatively affected her physical health.⁴³ Likewise, Joseph Jr. reports that he was “hated and persecuted” for making known his vision.⁴⁴ However, the persecution the family jointly experienced served to bind them together, rather than pull them apart. As they were rejected in society, they were increasingly drawn into their family relationships. Thus, as persecution increased, so did bonds between family members. These events not only served to heighten the family feeling of connectedness, but also confirmed to the family the truthfulness of the angel’s warnings, Joseph Jr.’s ^[49] prophecies, and thus the legitimacy of the family mission. The entire family wholeheartedly accepted the truthfulness of their son and brother’s mission and lent their support to further the cause he had espoused.

A Prophet among Them

This familial support began following Joseph’s visions in the early 1820s. At the time young Joseph received his first vision of the Father and the Son, he received a promise that “the fulness of the gospel should at some future time be made known” to him.⁴⁵ The fulfillment of this promise began when Joseph prayed on September 21, 1823, and was tutored by Moroni on three separate occasions

during that night. The next morning, the angel visited Joseph a fourth time, commanding him “to go to [his] father and tell him of the vision.” Joseph obeyed, and his father replied that “it was of God . . . and to go and do as commanded by the messenger.”⁴⁶

Joseph Smith Jr’s parents became their son’s first converts, and his siblings soon followed. The younger Joseph indicated that his father “was the first person who received my testimony after I had seen the angel, and exhorted me to be faithful and diligent to the message I had received.”⁴⁷ Even the Prophet was somewhat surprised that his father should accept so readily his miraculous experiences with Moroni.⁴⁸ His acceptance must have greatly comforted the seventeen-year-old boy, ^[50] whose prior revelatory experience had been scoffed at by local ministers. Mother Smith also supported her son, viewing his call to bring forth the record as the fulfillment of her prayers. In fact, his parents were his greatest supporters in a cause that was largely suspect by most societal standards of the time.

Within a few years, that loyalty would be tested. Father Smith was imprisoned in the fall of 1830 by those who opposed the work of his son Joseph. Although offered an escape if he would “burn up those Books of Mormon,” Joseph Sr. held fast and subsequently spent the next month in a dismal jail cell, with little to eat or drink. Even in these trying circumstances, Father Smith continued to testify of his son’s mission. During his stay he managed to preach to and convert two individuals, whom he later baptized following his release from prison.⁴⁹

Mother Smith also had ample opportunity to declare her support of her son. When confronted or challenged concerning her support of her prophet-son, she was unwavering. On the occasion of her husband being taken to debtor’s prison, Lucy testified that “God has raised up my son to bring forth a book, which was written for the salvation of the souls of men . . . and you think . . . you will compel us to deny the work of God, and destroy a book which was translated by the gift and power of God. . . . We shall not burn the Book of Mormon, nor deny the inspiration of the Almighty.”⁵⁰

In yet a different set of circumstances, when confronted by a committee from the ^[51] Western Presbyterian Church as to whether she had been

deceived, Lucy was firm in her conviction and loyal to her son. Said she, "If you should stick my flesh full of faggots, and even burn me at the stake, I would declare, as long as God should give me breath, that Joseph [Jr.] has got that Record, and that I know it to be true."⁵¹

Joseph's siblings were similarly supportive. Younger brother William reflected the family's attitude towards Joseph's experiences: "We all had the most implicit confidence in what he said. He was a truthful boy. Father and Mother believed him. Why should not the children?"⁵² William further summarized the family sentiment, indicating that from the time Joseph first related his experience with the angel Moroni,

the whole family were melted to tears, and believed all he had said. Knowing that he was very young, that he had not enjoyed the advantages of a common education; and knowing too, his whole character and disposition, they were convinced that he was totally incapable of arising before his aged parents, his brothers and sisters, and so solemnly giving utterance to anything but the truth.⁵³

These statements summarize the family feeling at the time and reflect their unanimous acceptance of their son and brother and his mission. This unanimity is even more remarkable when one considers that Joseph was not the oldest, but rather the fourth-^[52] born in a family of nine children.

One might think that the older siblings in particular might have felt some jealousy as the family focus riveted on their younger brother. Yet just the opposite appears to be the case. Alvin, the oldest son, showed great trust in his youthful brother's story. After Moroni's fourth visit on September 21–22, 1823, it was Alvin who obeyed Joseph's request to bring their father to him to hear of the visitation. It was also Alvin who perceived Joseph's fatigue later that evening and proposed that all should work hard enough the next day in order to have time in the evening to listen to his experiences.⁵⁴ Mother Smith recalled that Alvin "manifested a greater zeal and anxiety in regard to the record . . . than any of the rest of the family," a clear indication of his acceptance of Joseph's experiences. Even on his deathbed, Alvin counseled his younger sibling to "do everything that lies in your power to obtain the [r]ecord. Be faithful in receiving instruction, and in keeping every commandment that is given you."⁵⁵

Hyrum's loyalty to his younger brother-prophet is well documented. He also listened to

Joseph recount his experiences with the angel Moroni during the nightly family gatherings. Even before the Church was officially organized in 1830, Hyrum desired to tell others of his brother's story and testify of the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon.⁵⁶ On one occasion, when Hyrum was challenged by^[53] local ministers as to the possibility of his being deceived by his younger brother concerning the Book of Mormon, Hyrum defended Joseph and "testified boldly" as to its truthfulness. Hyrum then challenged the ministers to read and pray for themselves so that they too could receive a testimony of the book.⁵⁷ Hyrum believed firmly in his younger brother's claims of being a prophet, seer, and revelator.

Sophronia, the older sister of the prophet, also supported his mission and calling. She became a member of the Church "from the time it was established."⁵⁸ Her support is evidenced by her following her brother to Kirtland and Far West and then to the Nauvoo area. All these migrations occurred after she was married, in spite of her husband's often wavering belief.⁵⁹ She also received her temple endowment on December 23, 1845, following the death of Joseph and Hyrum.⁶⁰

In addition, the family's missionary efforts indicate their belief in and acceptance of Joseph as a prophet. Some of the earliest converts, even before the organization of the Church, came through the missionary efforts of the Smith parents. Some of the individuals whose belief in the Book of Mormon was likely strengthened by Father and Mother Smith were Martin Harris, Oliver Cowdery, Orrin Porter Rockwell, and Thomas B. Marsh.⁶¹ Hyrum's testimony also played a critical role in the conversion of early converts such as Parley P. Pratt, Solomon Chamberlain, Jared Carter, and Ezra Thayre.^{62 [54]}

Samuel was an early missionary and a major contributor to the eventual conversion of several individuals in Brigham Young's family. During the year and a half following the organization of the Church, Samuel's labors included traveling over four thousand miles and establishing several branches of the Church.⁶³ In August 1830, Father Smith, along with his son Don Carlos, traveled to St. Lawrence County, New York, to preach and to sow the seeds that would ultimately lead to the conversion of much of Joseph Sr.'s immediate family and a Baptist by the name of Solomon Humphrey.⁶⁴ Hyrum also labored and preached

whenever opportunity arose as he presided over the newly established Colesville, New York, branch of the Church.⁶⁵ The expansion of the early Church in New York was materially aided due to the combined missionary efforts of the Smith family.

As time went on, the family recognized that through the Restoration and Joseph Jr.'s instrumentality, many of their hopes and prayers were to be fulfilled. The family became firsthand witnesses of the Restoration and Joseph's most ardent supporters. Hyrum testified, "I had been abused and thrust into a dungeon, and confined for months on account of my faith, and the testimony of Jesus Christ. However I thank God that I felt a determination to die, rather than deny the things which my eyes had seen, which my hands had handled, and which I had borne testimony to."⁶⁶ Further, Hyrum knew and testified that his brother Joseph was "the Prophet of the Lord that Was RaisD up in the last Days."⁶⁷ Samuel testified, "I know the book [of Mormon] to be a revelation from God, translated by the gift and power of the Holy Ghost, and that my brother, Joseph Smith, Jun., is a prophet, seer and revelator."⁶⁸ ^[55] Finally, Joseph indicated that his younger brother Don Carlos "was one of the first to receive my testimony" and at the young age of fourteen "bore testimony to the truth of the latter-day dispensation."⁶⁹

The Smith sisters were just as supportive, although less visible. To those who visited her, Sophronia frequently testified of the "truth of the work" that her brother had been instrumental in bringing forth.⁷⁰ Katharine similarly testified, "I am the only surviving sister of the martyrs Joseph and Hyrum Smith, and will soon be 73 years old. I can testify to the fact of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, and also to its truth, and the truth of the everlasting gospel as contained therein. . . . While I can I will bear my testimony to the truth of the latter day work, both spiritual and temporal. I know that it is true."⁷¹

While in most circumstances a "prophet is not without honour, but in his own country, and among his own kin" (Mark 6:4), this was not the case in the Smith home. As soon as Joseph Jr. made known his mission, family members rallied around and gave him their unyielding support. His declaration of visions and the appearance of angels was not unique in his day,⁷² but for an entire family to accept and follow his lead was peculiar. One factor that certainly played a role in family members'

acceptance of Joseph as a prophet of God was the familial bond that was already in place within the Smith family when the events of the restoration ^[56] unfolded. This closeness did not originate within this immediate family, but rather was an outgrowth of the Smith parents' youthful experiences in their own families. All family members unequivocally accepted his calling, notwithstanding that the Prophet himself felt that if he had not experienced what he had, it would have been difficult for him to believe it.⁷³ All of the Smith family, including spouses, lent their support as they followed Joseph Jr. to Ohio, Missouri, and on to Illinois, where he and his brother Hyrum were later martyred.

Parental Personalities

It is helpful to analyze each of the Smith parents' personalities, to better our understanding of their subsequent relationship. Joseph Sr. appears to be quiet and unassuming throughout the historical records. His personality reflected a very humble manner. Evidence of his nature is implicit in the numerous patriarchal blessings administered to the Saints in the years 1833 to 1840.⁷⁴ Often he began these blessings with wordings something akin to "thy servant lacks wisdom and asks thee," or "thy servant feels his weakness and claims assistance."⁷⁵ Even in his family relationships his manner seems reserved and affectionate. He was a tenderhearted man, who often showed his emotion by weeping during difficult circumstances.⁷⁶ ^[57]

Yet even with this kind disposition, Father Smith was still able to confront difficult situations. During young Joseph's leg operation (see chapter 5), Joseph Sr. held his son throughout the gruesome and painful surgery. When persecution was at its height in the Palmyra vicinity, it was Father Smith who led out in protecting his son, even to the point of putting his own life in jeopardy. He stood up to his creditors in Palmyra by defending his belief system. He defended his family's reputation by taking out an ad out in the local paper to counter rumors that the family had dug up Alvin's body for occult purposes.⁷⁷ Joseph Sr. could assert himself when necessary.

Antagonists of the Church have often highlighted Father Smith's use of alcohol as an influential factor in the family. Most of the neighbors'

reports of his alcoholism were collected by Philastus Hurlbut and Arthur Deming, two individuals clearly antagonistic towards the Prophet and his family and whose sole purpose was to disparage their reputation and thus refute the legitimacy of the Church's foundation.⁷⁸

Notwithstanding, Father Smith admitted to being "out of the way through wine" on occasion. What "out of the way" entails is entirely left to speculation. Richard L. Bushman argued that Joseph Sr.'s statement is referring to a time prior to Hyrum leaving home in 1826, because "there is no evidence of intemperance after the organization of the Church."⁷⁹ Whatever the case, the Smiths do not fit the model of a typical alcoholic family, and the children do not manifest the typical symptoms characteristic of adult ^[58] children of alcoholics.⁸⁰ Others have argued the point, but recent analysis suggests inconclusive evidence of alcoholism on the part of Father Smith.⁸¹

Father Smith appeared to have a quiet strength, a strength that was felt by the family. His children often sought blessings and counsel from him, particularly in difficult circumstances.⁸² When separated from her husband, Lucy felt great strength in reuniting with him for both his emotional and temporal support.⁸³ He enjoyed close connections with his children. They respected their father and considered it a blessing to have his companionship and wisdom. Joseph Jr. indicated the great benefit it was to him to have both "his [father's] company and advice, esteeming it one of the greatest earthly blessings to be blessed with the society of [a father] . . . whose mature years and experience render [him] . . . capable of administering the most wholesome advice."⁸⁴

Lucy was as outspoken and assertive as her husband was unassuming and ^[59] reserved. She was the one who stood up to a team of doctors who wanted to amputate young Joseph's leg. She stated boldly, "Gentlemen, what can you do to save my boy's leg?"⁸⁵ When her husband was forced to flee New York for Ohio due to increased persecution, it was Lucy who led the Fayette Branch of the Church in their migration westward when others vacillated. This was a remarkable feat, given that the migration occurred in the dead of winter and she was fifty-five years old at the time.⁸⁶ She could be stubborn at times, refusing to obey if it went against her value system. Lucy stood up to and effectively dealt with ministers, neighbors,

creditors, a teamster, leaders of the Church, and members of her family.⁸⁷

Because of her ability to deal with difficult situations assertively, she was well respected by those who knew her. On one occasion when Porter Rockwell's mother had difficulties in disciplining her son, she deferred to Lucy, saying, "Mother Smith, do get Porter back, for he won't mind any body but you."⁸⁸ One friend of the family remembered her as being "one of the finest of women—always helping them that stood in need."⁸⁹

At the same time there was another side to Lucy's personality. Richard L. Bushman summarizes:

Lucy was a comforter too. She was the one to pace the floor with Sophronia clasped to her bosom until the child began breathing again. When Joseph's leg began to swell, Lucy carried him much of the time. She had covenanted with God ^[60] during an earlier religious crisis to comfort her family to the best of her ability, but her comfort was more intense and high-strung. After Sophronia caught her breath, Lucy sank to the bed, "completely overpowered by the intensity of my feelings." She carried Joseph so much that she was taken ill herself. "The anxiety of mind that I experienced, together with my physical overexertion, was too much for my constitution, and my nature sunk under it."⁹⁰

Lucy could also be tender and affectionate in her family relationships. Some have interpreted Lucy's self-description as an indication of clinical depression,⁹¹ but when balanced in light of the circumstances, it appears to be a very normal response to the extreme stresses Mother Smith experienced. Rather than indicating depression, the remarkable resiliency of Mother Smith is a testament to her emotional health. The very fact that she returned to activity and continued to assume leadership roles and be assertive in her relationships is evidence that she was not clinically depressed. As Lavina Fielding Anderson has intuitively surmised,

It seems to me that depression at such . . . time[s] would be altogether normal, not clinical. . . . Grief and ill health can certainly contribute to episodes of depression; but do they provide evidence that Lucy was chronically or clinically depressed? And from two episodes that may or may not have been clinical depression, is it safe or responsible to hypothesize ^[61] a continuing condition?⁹²

The Smith parents also shared certain qualities. Both seemed to be equally concerned about their roles as parents. Each parent felt strongly about the instruction of their children, and when

circumstances permitted they sought out educational opportunities.⁹³ Father and Mother Smith also taught their children to work. They both had strong religious backgrounds and sought to instill these values in their children, although Lucy's approach was more formal than her husband's. The parents also shared with their children a belief in the miraculous. Finally, the couple was jointly charitable towards those who were forlorn, frequently taking individuals into their home to provide for their basic needs. These commonly held values served to unify them as a couple.

Interfamilial Relationships

Marital Relationship

Very little is known about Joseph Sr. and Lucy's relationship. Lucy's historical narrative offers only a few glimpses into the relationship. However, these few instances may be representative of their overall feelings for one another.

Lucy's narrative reveals a glimpse of the marital relationship in 1802 to 1803, at a time when Lucy became deathly ill. Joseph Sr. was particularly vigilant in looking after Lucy during this episode. Taking her by the hand, he lamented, "Oh, Lucy! my wife! my wife! you must die! The doctors have given you up; and all say you cannot live."⁹⁴ [62] Fortunately, Lucy went on to recover. Yet the tender emotions expressed and the diligent care manifest during a difficult hour revealed their concern for one another. As the couple endured many difficulties, aspects of their relationship became increasingly apparent.

About 1811, Sophronia contracted a severe illness that lasted the better part of three months. The exhausted couple watched tirelessly over her. During the bleakest hour, Lucy recounted, "As she thus lay, I gazed upon her as a mother looks upon the last shade of life in a darling child. In this moment of distraction, my husband and myself clasped hands, fell upon our knees by the bedside, and poured out our grief to God, in prayer and supplication, beseeching him to spare our child yet a little longer."⁹⁵

This reflects another aspect of their relationship. The Smith parents were a partnership that would turn to prayer when in need of comfort. But it wasn't just during difficult times that this couple engaged in religious activities. Morning

and evening prayers, which included hymn singing, were a daily ritual in the home. William recalled the circumstances: "I was Called upon to listen to Prayrs boath night and morning. My Fathers favourit evening hymn runs thus 'The day is past and gone / The evening shades appear / O may we all [⁶³] Remember well / The night of death draws near.' Again and again was this hymn sung while upon the bending knees[.] My parents Father and Mother poured out their Souls to God the doner of all Blessings."⁹⁶

The couple were also affectionate towards each other. Lucy described her husband as being an affectionate and tender companion.⁹⁷ She also had such intense feelings for her husband that she indicated a willingness to sacrifice her life for him. Even years after losing her beloved husband, Lucy reflected a yearning to hold the "warm hand" of her husband and "rest [her] weary head upon that affectionate breast that supports it now no more."⁹⁸ This statement clearly confirms the support she experienced while he was still living.

Joseph Sr. shared similar feelings for his beloved companion. On several recorded occasions he articulated his feelings for his beloved spouse. The first, said indirectly during a recorded speech of Father Smith, reflected his attitude towards marriage: "I wonder how men find forgiveness for making light of . . . women[.] you must be careful[,] the sealings are . . . sacred[,] women are the jewels of God. Does a man love a woman less because she has a wrinkle or gray hair or turn to a fair face although she has borne children—now be to her faults a [⁶⁴] little blind—cherish love and take care of her."⁹⁹

This statement takes on greater significance when one considers that this speech was likely given during the last year of Joseph Sr.'s life (1840). Therefore, one can read between the lines and ascertain his feelings and attitude towards Lucy, who likely had a "wrinkle or gray hair" at age sixty-five. This statement also reflected Father Smith's attitude towards women—whom he termed "the jewels of God."

Another example that illustrated the quality of the couple's relationship occurred just prior to Joseph Sr.'s death. Surrounded by family, Joseph remarked to Lucy, "Mother, do you not know, that you are the mother of as great a family as ever lived upon the earth?" He continued by expressing his concern for the family's safety, knowing

that in coming years they would likely continue to be surrounded by their enemies. Later, on the same occasion, he continued on a more personal note to Lucy. Lucy recounted his words:

Mother, do you not know, that you are one of the most singular women in the world? “No,” I replied, “I do not,” Well, I do, he continued, you have brought up my children for me by the fireside, and, when I was gone from home you comforted them. You have brought up all my children, and could always comfort them when I could not. We have often wished that we might both die at the same time, but you must not desire to die when I do, for you must stay to ^[65] comfort the children when I am gone. So do not mourn, but try to be comforted. Your last days shall be your best days, as to being driven, for you shall have more power over your enemies than you have had. Again I say, be comforted.¹⁰⁰

This conversation, just before Father Smith’s death, reveals some important aspects of the marital relationship. First, it illustrates the closeness and affection they shared for one another. Their conversation itself reveals almost a playfulness in expressing their marital affection. Also, this interaction indicated that they both desired to die at the same time, evidence that they had at times discussed this very matter. Joseph Sr. could also be complimentary towards his wife; in this instance he expressed twice his appreciation for the role she played in raising their children. Lastly, it is evident that Joseph was concerned for Lucy’s comfort and protection after his death, again perhaps due to the role of “protector” he enacted in the family. Recorded examples of interaction between the Smith couple are rare, and, as a result, we must look to their relationships with their children to gain further insights into the cohesiveness of the family.

Parent-Child Relations

Much of Joseph Sr. and Lucy’s marital relationship focused on bringing up their children in the ways of the Lord. Both parents appear to have spent considerable time in giving the children a religious paradigm and been quite diligent in instruction. William, who (by his own admission) was less religiously inclined ^[66] than the rest of the family, often felt that his father’s habits of prayer and hymn singing were so frequent that they became burdensome. This may have been because the focus of the prayers often had to do with ensuring that the children stayed away from

“sin and from evil works.”¹⁰¹ William recalled that his mother was persistent: “She prevailed on us to attend the [religious] meetings, and almost the whole family became interested in the matter. . . . My mother continued her importunities and exertions to interest us in the importance of seeking for the salvation of our immortal souls, until all of the family became either converted or seriously inclined.”¹⁰²

Mother Smith, whose search for a church had spanned several decades, finally prevailed on Hyrum, Sophronia, and Samuel to unite with her in the Western Presbyterian Church of Palmyra.¹⁰³ It appears the other children were either too young or did not share Lucy’s desire to “officially” unite with any particular church. Yet even those who did not wish to join a particular church manifested a high degree of religious devotion, including reading the Bible, saying prayers, and attending local meetings.¹⁰⁴

Father and Mother Smith were also affectionate and tender in their relationships with their children. An example of this came following the family’s temporary separation from their father when he went to prepare a place for the family prior to their move to ^[67] Palmyra. After enduring much hardship during the arduous journey, the family was finally reunited. Lucy recounted that “the children surrounded their Father clinging to his neck covering his face with tears and kisses that were heartily reciprocated by him.”¹⁰⁵ Lucy similarly showed her maternal care during both Sophronia’s and Joseph’s illnesses. In both cases she tenderly carried her children to ease their suffering.¹⁰⁶ When either parting or reuniting with her children, Mother Smith would frequently hold their hands.¹⁰⁷

Both parents appear to have been especially supportive of their children in their life pursuits. The parental acceptance of their prophet-son has already been verified—they were among his most ardent supporters. They followed him to Ohio and Missouri and to Illinois. They accepted his word as if it were from God himself. At one point, Father Smith even refused to join the migration from Missouri to Illinois until he had a revelation from his son instructing him to do so.¹⁰⁸ The bond between the two was particularly close. Joseph Sr. typically breakfasted with his namesake son, even into adulthood, and was disappointed when his son was absent from such occasions.¹⁰⁹ When

Joseph Jr. was taken prisoner at Far West, both Father and Mother Smith “heard him scream,” and the parents

supposed they were murdering him. . . . Soon after the screaming commenced, five or six guns were discharged. At this, Mr. Smith, folding his arms tightly across his heart cried out, “Oh, my God! my God! they have killed my son! ^[68] they have murdered him! and I must die, for I cannot live without him!” He was so distraught over his son’s presumed death, that Father Smith “was immediately taken sick, and never afterwards entirely recovered.”¹¹⁰

This statement reflects the strong attachment between a father and his son.

Although the bond between Father and Mother Smith and their son Joseph Jr. was particularly close, this parental support was not exclusive to their prophet-son. Alvin, the oldest son, received support in building the frame house on the Smith family property. According to one historian, this frame home was to be Alvin’s primary place of residence, with a room for his father and mother.¹¹¹ If this is true, it shows the support the Smith parents provided in helping their mature children launch out on their own.¹¹² Hyrum also received considerable support when he married Jerusha Barden in November 1826. He was allowed to live in the older log home located on the family property.

Perhaps even more outstanding than temporal support, which was quite common for the day, was the emotional support Joseph and Lucy provided for their married children. Lucy enjoyed a close association with her daughter-in-law until Jerusha’s death in 1837. Reflecting on her relationship, Lucy indicated that Jerusha was “one of the most excellent of ^[69] women,” from whose ongoing association she derived much happiness.¹¹³

A few months after Hyrum married, Joseph Jr. courted and married Emma Hale of Harmony, Pennsylvania. Lucy expressed that “we were pleased with his choice, and not only consented to his marrying her, but requested him to bring her home with him, and live with us.”¹¹⁴ Once again we see the parental support of newlyweds, as they prepared a place for them to live in the Smith home. Contrast this reception of the newlyweds with that of Isaac Hale, Emma’s father, who eventually disowned his daughter for marrying someone he did not approve of.¹¹⁵

Lucy’s relationship with her daughters-in-law was particularly close. At the time of Jerusha’s

death in 1837, Lucy indicated that “the family were so warmly attached to her, that, had she been our own sister, they could not have been more afflicted by her death.”¹¹⁶ Similarly, Emma was like a daughter to Lucy. Even after the martyrdom and after Emma had remarried, Lucy spent her final years living with Emma.¹¹⁷

Although less is known about the parents’ relationships with their sons-in-law, they also appear to be positive. Mother Smith also lived with her daughter Lucy and her husband, Arthur Millikin, after the martyrdom. The elder Lucy once again commented on the closeness she felt to both immediate and extended family relationships: “Arthur and Lucy took care of me and faithfully did they watch over me[,] never was a disconsolate widow more blessed in her children than I was in them.”¹¹⁸

However, as was customary for the day, it appears that the male children in the ^[70] family received more temporal support. The parents may have had the attitude that when their daughters married, it became their husbands’ responsibility to provide for and protect them. Notwithstanding, in 1845 Mother Smith transferred property to her daughter Lucy and her husband, evidence that Lucy offered support to her daughters as well as her sons.¹¹⁹

The children appear to have reciprocated this support. Alvin, the eldest, was constantly concerned about the family’s welfare. He spent much of his adult years assisting the family in paying off the contracted one hundred dollars a year, owed on their Palmyra farm. It was Alvin who led out in building the frame house on their rented property for the purpose of making his parents’ last years more comfortable. His greatest desire was to have “everything arranged for their comfort, and they shall not work any more as they have done.” Even in his dying moments, Alvin wanted his next younger brother, Hyrum, to understand what now devolved upon him: “Hyrum, I must die. Now I want to say a few things, which I wish to have you remember. I have done all I could to make our dear parents more comfortable. I want you to go on and finish the house, and take care of them in their old age, and do not any more let them work hard, as they are now in old age.”¹²⁰

As he left his parting words with his other siblings, Alvin continued to counsel them on their respective relationships with their parents. He

charged Sophronia ^[71] to “never forsake” father and mother and counseled several to “be kind to them, and remember what they have done for us.”¹²¹ Although it is typical for the oldest child to be responsible for his parents, Alvin showed great care and tenderness for his parents’ well-being.

This concern for parents was mutual throughout the entire family. For example, Hyrum appeared to have been faithful to the charge his older brother gave him. Father Smith indicated that Hyrum had “toiled hard and labored much for the good of [his] family: [he] has been a stay many times to them, and by [his] diligence they have often been sustained.”¹²² Hyrum, along with the other children, was continually protective of his parents and their welfare.

This care was manifest on many occasions. As the younger children grew to adulthood, they assumed the role of safeguarding their parents. In one instance, when Father Smith was temporarily in prison, a mob gathered around the Smith home to try and locate Hyrum. Frustrated that Hyrum was not at home, the mob began ransacking the house. Within a few minutes, nineteen-year-old William came rushing into the house. On learning from his mother the intentions of the mob, William grabbed a large handspike and rushed to the defense of his mother. According to Lucy, he cleared a part of the mob out of the chamber and then flashed his handspike, threatening, “Away from here, you cut-throats, instantly, or I will be the death of every one of you.” The wrath of William must have been effective, for the mob dispersed from the home.¹²³

Later that same evening, Samuel arrived at the home after 1:00 am. He had traveled over twenty miles after sunset and was sick and fatigued. However, on learning ^[72] that his father was in the debtors’ prison, he rested only a few hours and left by sunrise to visit his father and try to secure his release.¹²⁴ Unsuccessful in achieving his goal, Samuel spent the next twenty-four hours with his jailed father, providing a listening ear and much-needed food. Shortly thereafter, it was Samuel who successfully moved the family to nearby Waterloo, “after much fatigue and perplexities of various kinds.”¹²⁵ Such was the care the children had for their parents in times of distress.

This care continued as the children moved into adulthood. After Joseph Jr. received the revelation to gather to Ohio, he and Samuel were the

first to make the journey to the gathering place. However, Joseph’s foremost concern was ensuring the rest of the family be safely gathered as well. In a letter to Hyrum, Joseph indicated his concern: “David Jackways has threatened to take father with a supreme writ in the spring you had better come to Fayette and take father along with you[.] Come in a one horse wagon if you can[.] Do not come threw Bufalo for they will lie in wait for you[.] God protect you[.] I am Joseph.”¹²⁶

Hyrum, obediently following his brother’s directive, left the Colesville Branch in the hands of Newel Knight. Hyrum picked his father up in Waterloo and proceeded on his journey to Ohio, evading any trouble by following his younger brother’s advice to avoid ^[73] Buffalo.¹²⁷

William similarly attempted to protect his father from danger on occasion. In one instance, at a Sunday meeting in a Kirtland home, Warren Parrish attempted to interrupt Father Smith’s sermon. Apparently Joseph Sr. made some negative comments about Parrish’s questionable activity related to the Kirtland Safety Society Bank. Joseph Sr. called on the justice of the peace to help control Parrish until Joseph Sr. had finished his sermon. Matters escalated to the point that Parrish attempted to drag Father Smith from the stand. William, ever protective of his parents, intervened by subduing Parrish. William then picked up Parrish and carried him halfway across the room, intending to throw him from the premises. But before he could accomplish his purpose, he was surrounded by a group of men who threatened him with violence if he continued his course.¹²⁸

Another example of the children’s parental care for their aged parents occurred during the exodus from Missouri in the winter of 1838 to 1839. It was the youngest son, Don Carlos, who led the caravan of Smiths on this particular journey. Carlos, as he was called, in exasperation from a grueling journey, turned to his father and said, “Father, this exposure is too bad, and I will not bear it any longer; the first place that I come to that looks comfortable, I shall drive up and go into the house, and you . . . follow me.”^{129 [74]}

Carlos’s concern for his parents was soon manifest. As he drove the wagon up to the next house he remarked to the owner, “I have with me an aged father, who is sick, besides my mother. . . . We have travelled two days and a half in this rain, and if we are compelled to go much further, we

shall all of us die. If you will allow us to stay with you over night, we will pay you almost any price for our accommodation.”¹³⁰ Don Carlos succeeded in securing a comfortable night’s stay and in caring for his elderly parents.

Samuel was no less supportive. Several days later, he coordinated efforts to have his parents ferried across the Mississippi River. He then made arrangements for them to live in the house that he and his family had been occupying, so that the rest of the family could all move in together. Samuel then moved his family into another house.¹³¹ A granddaughter of Samuel’s recalled that “the family would never forget Samuel’s devotion to them during those first weeks in Quincy, Illinois. How often he had been on hand to help them, when they needed him most!”¹³²

Later, in the spring of 1839, Hyrum and Joseph Jr. bought property in Commerce, Illinois, and sent for their parents to come from Quincy. On their arrival, the younger Joseph prepared a room for them to live with his family. He later had a house built for them near his own, larger than any they had ever lived in. After Father Smith passed away, Joseph invited his mother to live with him again in order to ease her burdens.^{133 [75]}

But it wasn’t just temporal support that the children provided for their parents. They also tenderly nursed their parents during times of illness. When severe illness struck Lucy in Nauvoo, she indicated that “for five nights Emma never left me, but stood at my bed-side all the night long, at the end of which time, she was overcome with fatigue. . . . Joseph then took her place, and watched with me the five succeeding nights, as faithfully as Emma had done.”¹³⁴

The children’s care for their father is illustrated when he was sick in 1835. Joseph Jr.’s journal entries are as follows:

Wednesday, 7.— Went to visit my father, found him very low, administered some mild herbs.

Thursday, 8.— At home. I attended on my father with great anxiety.

Friday, 9.— At home. Waited on my father.

Saturday, 10. — At home, and visited the house of my father, found him failing very fast.

Sunday, 11. — Waited on my father again, who was very sick. . . . I waited on him all this day with my heart raised to God in the name of Jesus Christ, that He would restore him to health.¹³⁵

It was no different when Father Smith was again ill in 1840. Both Hyrum and Joseph Jr. ^[76] administered to his needs and successfully “alleviated his distress.”¹³⁶ All the children cared for and sought to make their parents as comfortable as possible, even though the Smith children were married and had families of their own to look after.

Cross-Gender Sibling Relationships

According to the records, sibling relationships between the male and female children appear to be close, but there is little evidence to document the depth of those relationships. A few incidents in history do point to the connections between the male and female children. These incidents largely surround Joseph Jr.’s relationships with his siblings, and most of the surviving documents concern him.

As noted previously, Katharine exhibited great anxiety over Joseph Jr.’s safety during the difficulties in securing the plates. It was Katharine who tenderly doctored his bruised hand after he was attacked while retrieving the plates from their hiding place. Although eight years his junior, Katharine appears to have remained in close contact with Joseph Jr.

In their adult years the two continued their close association, visiting each other as often as occasion would allow. Katharine lived in Plymouth, Illinois, during the Saints’ stay in Illinois, some thirty-five miles from Nauvoo. Despite the distance, the two siblings still visited each other. On one such visit during the Nauvoo years, when Katharine was struggling to make ends meet, Joseph Jr. attempted to cheer his sister by reminiscing about their early years together. They spoke of Alvin, their deceased brother, ^[77] and happily reflected on some incidents from his life.¹³⁷

Later, Katharine indicated that she visited Joseph Jr.’s house in Nauvoo “a great many times and . . . conversed with him about many subjects.”¹³⁸ During these visits, Katharine indicated that her older brother would treat her “royally” by giving her “silk dresses and other valuable presents.” She noted that her brother was “very hospitable, and naturally kind to everyone” in their family.¹³⁹ It appears that as Joseph gradually became more financially secure, he took great care to ensure that his financially distraught sister had some of the niceties of the time.

Their last contact came just five days before the martyrdom, when Katharine was visiting Nauvoo. During their final exchange—one Katharine never forgot—Joseph expressed his desire to get together with her at her home once the present difficulties had passed.¹⁴⁰

Other sibling relationships appear close as well. For example, at the time of Alvin's death, Mother Smith remembered that Alvin requested to see his youngest sister, Lucy. She explains, "He was always very fond of her, and was in the habit of taking her up and caressing her, which naturally formed a very strong attachment on her part to him." She further remembered, "We took her to him, and when she got within reach of him, she sprang from my arms and caught him round the neck, and cried out, 'Oh! my Amby,' and kissed him again and again. . . . He then kissed her. . . . We took hold of her to take her away; ^[78] but she clinched him with such a strong grasp, that it was with difficulty we succeeded in disengaging her hands."¹⁴¹

Alvin, twenty-three years her senior, appeared to be like a second father to two-year-old Lucy. His subsequent death was difficult for the young child. Immediately following his death, Mother Smith indicated that young Lucy "cried to go back to Alvin." As they unsuccessfully tried to explain death to the young child, they finally resorted to bringing her over near the corpse. She then "renewed her cries . . . [and] again threw her arms around him, and kissed him repeatedly. And until the body was taken from the house she continued to cry, and to manifest such mingled feelings of both terror and affection at the scene before her, as are seldom witnessed."¹⁴²

Besides some documentation on Joseph Jr. and Katharine, and Alvin and Lucy, there is little information on what type of relationships the siblings enjoyed across gender lines. However, we do know that they did not lose contact as they moved into their more mature years. For example, Joseph Jr. performed Lucy and Arthur Millikin's wedding in 1840.¹⁴³ There are recorded instances of Hyrum calling on Katharine. And Joseph Jr. also visited Sophronia after they had moved into adulthood.¹⁴⁴ During a period of illness in the family, Samuel frequently carried his seventeen-year-old sister Lucy downstairs so that she could visit with her mother.¹⁴⁵ In addition, William lived near his sisters while in Plymouth and Colchester, Illinois.

Yet most of these instances are vague references, ^[79] giving little information on the nature of the relationships. In fact, as the children moved into their adult years, their closest relationships were with the siblings of their own gender.

The Smith Sisters' Relationships

The three sisters in the family—Sophronia, Katharine, and Lucy—enjoyed a close association throughout their entire lives. Although not very close in age, the three of them managed to create and maintain close connections. Katharine and Lucy's bond developed quite early, as Katharine led out in caring for her younger sister during her earliest years.¹⁴⁶

Certainly the sisters' responsibilities were different from the brothers' in the family, and many of their early associations centered in performing domestic labors, as was common for the day. There are also references to the roles each of the daughters played in nursing and caring for the ill, both within and without the immediate family. Yet the care they showed for each other was evidence of the bond they shared with one another.

In Kirtland, both married sisters, Sophronia and Katharine, received migrating converts into their respective homes. Ten-year-old Lucy, trained in her domestic responsibilities by this time, often assisted her older sisters in caring for their families. The younger Lucy spent considerable time at Sophronia's home, assisting in caring for her newborn baby, Maria. This help was desperately needed, as Sophronia's health was precarious.^{147 [80]}

During the Kirtland years, Sophronia and Katharine led out in forming weaving clubs. They jointly participated in setting up looms, where they would spin, knit, and card wool. As time went on, much of what they produced went to clothe the Kirtland Temple workers.¹⁴⁸ Katharine indicated that the Smith women "spent our whole time in waiting upon the comers and goers in cooking and washing."¹⁴⁹ By early 1836, Sophronia and Katharine had likely made the carpets and large curtains for the interior of the temple, since their own father was appointed to oversee the sisters in this facet of construction. The size of the curtains reflects the massive amount of labor the sisters performed. The curtains had to be large enough to be lowered from the ceiling to divide certain portions of the rooms, so as to create privacy.¹⁵⁰ Calvin Stoddard, Sophronia's husband,

was singled out and blessed by the Prophet for his labors on the Kirtland Temple. This commendation for work done on the temple could be extended to Sophronia as well.¹⁵¹

During the Smiths' migration from Kirtland to Missouri, Katharine gave birth to a son in a small, run-down hut in a pouring rain. The next day she was moved to a more comfortable shelter. During this difficult episode, Sophronia cared for her younger sister to ensure her safe recovery. She stayed by her side for the next few days, until Katharine regained strength and could continue the arduous journey to Far West, Missouri.¹⁵² In Far West, the three sisters lived together in a large rooming house. Their stay in Far West was short-lived, however, and within a year they were driven with the rest of the Saints from the state of Missouri.

Along with their parents and Don Carlos, the sisters traveled as a ^[81] group from Far West to Quincy, Illinois, where they spent the spring, before moving to Commerce, Illinois. The noted exception was Katharine, whose husband found work in Plymouth, some thirty miles away. Katharine's separation from her sisters was painful; she had never before been separated from her family. It reportedly "grieved her deeply" to be at such distance.¹⁵³

In order to deal with her grief, Katharine visited Nauvoo frequently, staying for several days at a time. At each departure, she felt a great sense of loneliness in being so far removed from her loved ones. Following the martyrdom of Hyrum and Joseph, the loneliness and fear were too much for Katharine, and she and her husband finally moved to Nauvoo. Reunited in Nauvoo and all married by this time, the three sisters and their families lived together in the William Marks home. They cared for their widowed mother and sister-in-law Emma. As persecution increased, the sisters, along with their families, moved away from Nauvoo.¹⁵⁴

Both Sophronia and Lucy settled near each other in the small community of Colchester, forty miles east of Nauvoo. After several years of separation, Katharine and her husband settled in close proximity to her sisters, first in Webster and then in nearby Fountain Green, Illinois.¹⁵⁵ They apparently stayed in close touch with each other, for Katharine would often indicate in her letters such things as "Aunt Sophronia and Aunt Lucy and families are well."¹⁵⁶ Katharine's letters

also indicate particulars ^[82] concerning her sisters' families, another sign of their continued close association.¹⁵⁷ On occasion, Sophronia and Katharine also jointly babysat each other's grandchildren. Katharine, who constantly struggled with poverty, was assisted financially by her sister Sophronia, who provided the necessary funds so that Katharine's son Don Carlos could obtain a common education. Later on, Sophronia also provided financial assistance so he could further his education at an Illinois cadet school.¹⁵⁸ The three sisters linked themselves with the Reorganized Church in 1873, thirteen years after its organization.¹⁵⁹ They enjoyed close relationships within the bonds of sisterhood throughout the remainder of their lives.

The Smith Brothers' Relationships

The male children also stayed close to each other throughout their entire lives. Although the foundations for solidarity were laid in their youth, they were solidified as the brothers moved into adulthood.

The trauma associated with Alvin's death deeply affected the brothers. Joseph Jr. appeared to be particularly close to Alvin. While the other older siblings followed their mother in joining the Presbyterian Church, both Alvin and Joseph Jr. remained aloof. The two of them adopted an attitude toward organized religion similar to their father's.¹⁶⁰ We could surmise that this created a unique connection between the two brothers and with their father ^[83] as well. Evidence supports this hypothesis. It was Alvin who was most zealous in inquiring about the plates and who was more eager "than any of the rest of the family" to hear of his younger brother's experiences.¹⁶¹ There is even some indication that Alvin was the individual identified by the angel Moroni as the person who should accompany Joseph to get the plates.¹⁶² If this is true, then Joseph Jr. and Alvin may have both been jointly preparing to retrieve the plates, an obvious indication of their close association.

After Alvin's death, Joseph Jr. reported "the pangs of sorrow that swelled [his] youthful bosom and almost burst [his] tender heart." Joseph had the utmost respect for his oldest brother. Joseph felt that Alvin "was the . . . noblest of my father's family" and that "in him there was no guile." Joseph subsequently penned what he called these "childish lines," reflective of his feelings at the loss of his brother: "From the time of his birth / he

never knew mirth. / He was candid and sober and never would play; / and minded his father and mother in toiling all day." Further, Joseph felt that his older brother "was one of the soberest of men."¹⁶³ Lucy even indicated that one of Joseph's motivations in getting married was to overcome the loneliness that resulted from Alvin's death.¹⁶⁴ Joseph paid tribute to Alvin by naming his first-born son after his revered brother.

The younger Joseph continued to have Alvin in his thoughts when the doctrine of ^[84] baptism for the dead was revealed. Joseph was mindful of Alvin as he went and informed his father of the newly revealed doctrine in 1840. After explaining the doctrine to his father, their discussion turned to Alvin, and Father Smith instructed Joseph to "be baptized for Alvin immediately."¹⁶⁵

After Alvin's death, the remaining five brothers stayed close. When Joseph Jr. went to Harmony, Pennsylvania, in 1829 to work on the translation of the Book of Mormon, both Hyrum and Samuel visited him there. On April 5, Samuel arrived in Harmony with Oliver Cowdery. Before his arrival, Samuel had reportedly acted as scribe for his brother for a time. It appears that Samuel either spent the next few months with Joseph and Emma in their Harmony home or came to visit a second time in late May. It was during the latter part of May that Joseph and Oliver commenced proselytizing among their "acquaintances and friends." Samuel was the first to receive their testimony; after obtaining a personal witness of the truth of their message, he was baptized on May 25, 1829. Samuel left his brother's home in Harmony "greatly glorifying and praising God" and returned to his father's home in Palmyra.¹⁶⁶

A few days after Samuel left Harmony, Hyrum came to visit Joseph. At least one Hyrum Smith biographer felt that it was Samuel's influence that likely persuaded Hyrum to make the trip to Harmony. Hyrum also inquired concerning the work Joseph and Oliver were engaged in and was rewarded with a revelation from the Lord through his brother the Prophet.¹⁶⁷ So even ^[85] after the male children had moved into adulthood, they still closely associated with one another. This is particularly evident when the brothers were separated from each other, as both Hyrum and Samuel sought to stay in close contact with Joseph.

Their care and concern for each other became increasingly evident as the years progressed. When

Hyrum was forced to deal with church business in Far West in 1837, he left a sick wife in Kirtland, who was on the verge of delivering their sixth child. Hoping to make the best out of a difficult situation, Hyrum called on his younger brother Don Carlos to look after his family while he was gone. Don Carlos not only looked after the family, but moved in so as to provide constant care. This is quite remarkable, given that Don Carlos was married and had a one-year-old daughter. After Jerusha delivered a healthy baby girl, her health deteriorated quickly, and within two weeks she was dead.¹⁶⁸

The tender feelings the brothers held for Hyrum emerged poignantly in their letters and journals. Don Carlos, whose job it was to look after Hyrum's family in his absence, was especially moved. Both he and Samuel immediately wrote to Hyrum in Far West, and Don Carlos described the details surrounding Jerusha's death. He reported that before her death, he called the entire family to her bedside, where Jerusha instructed one of the children to "tell your father when he comes that the Lord has taken their mother home and left you for him to take care of." Seeking to comfort his brother, Don Carlos reassured Hyrum that he would look after his children until his return. Samuel also expressed his sentiments to Hyrum in the letter, relating additional happenings of her final days.¹⁶⁹ ^[86]

Joseph Jr. felt deeply for his brother during this particular hardship. Ronald Esplin has summarized, "Joseph . . . felt a personal urgency to rescue Hyrum from despondency and the additional family responsibilities thrust upon him by Jerusha's death. . . . Hence, Joseph informed Hyrum that it was the Lord's will that Hyrum should marry Mary Fielding."¹⁷⁰ Hyrum followed Joseph's advice, marrying Mary Fielding on December 24, 1837. Joseph, Don Carlos, and Samuel all rallied around their brother during a challenging time in his life.

The same would be true when Hyrum and Joseph were confined for over four months in Liberty Jail the following winter. Once again, the youngest brother, Don Carlos, took care of his brothers' families. He wrote frequently to his brothers, each time informing them of the current status of their respective families. He often tried to reassure Joseph and Hyrum, who were obviously anxious concerning the welfare of their

families—especially since they had recently been driven from Missouri to Illinois. In one letter, he reassuringly writes, “Emma and the children are well; they live three miles from here, and have a tolerably good place. Hyrum’s children . . . are living at present with father; they are all well. Mary [wife of Hyrum] has not got her health yet, but I think it increases slowly.”¹⁷¹

In later letters, Don Carlos continued to try to alleviate his brothers’ fears regarding their families. He reported to them that their families were in “better health ^[87] now than at any other period since your confinement.” At one point, Don Carlos’s spouse, Agnes, sent an accompanying letter with similar sentiments: “Your little ones are as playful as little lambs; be comforted concerning them, for they are not cast down and sorrowful as we are; their sorrows are only momentary but ours continual.”¹⁷² William showed similar concern for his brother’s feelings, writing, “Do not worry about [your families], for they will be taken care of. All we can do will be done.”¹⁷³

This provided much-needed comfort for the brothers, who frequently expressed concern for their wives and children. In fact, Don Carlos’s reassurances to Hyrum that Mary was on the rebound appeared to have the desired effect, as Hyrum wrote that he had learned that her health was improving and indicated that “this fact was good news.”¹⁷⁴

Don Carlos’s letters reflected his love and devotion to his older brothers. After receiving correspondence from Hyrum in Liberty Jail, Don Carlos confided,

Reading a line from you to myself . . . awakens all the feelings of tenderness and brotherly affection that one heart is capable of containing. . . . If I did not know that there is a God in heaven . . . and that He is your friend in the midst of trouble, I would fly to your relief, and either be with you in prison, or see you breathe free air. . . . You both have my prayers, my influence and warmest feelings, with a *fixed determination*, if it should so be that you should be ^[88] destroyed, to *avenge* your blood four fold. . . . Do not be worried about your families. Yours in affliction as well as in peace.¹⁷⁵

Don Carlos’s loyalty to his brothers is clearly evident in the letter. Their suffering was his suffering. Whatever help he could render, even if that included fighting a war or going to prison to be by their side, he was willing to give. The same was true in 1835 when a court summoned and

charged Samuel with neglecting his military duty. Hyrum, Joseph, and Don Carlos all showed their support by accompanying Samuel to trial and defending what they felt was his innocence.¹⁷⁶

The bond between the brothers continued to deepen as they lived, worked, and served with each other. Joseph, Hyrum, and William were all with Zion’s Camp in the summer of 1834. During the outbreak of cholera, all three contracted the dreaded disease. At one point during the height of its outbreak, Hyrum and Joseph prayed together to ascertain if they would recover to see their families again. After kneeling together twice, the brothers felt as though the “heavens were sealed against [them].” Undeterred, the brothers knelt again, “concluding never to rise to [their] feet again, until one or the other should get a testimony that [they] should be healed.” After Hyrum obtained an affirmative answer that they would recover, the camp disbanded, and the three brothers made the long trek back to Kirtland together.¹⁷⁷

Oftentimes the brothers’ civic responsibilities overlapped, giving them connections both within and without the official church organization. Don Carlos and ^[89] William both edited and published newspapers.¹⁷⁸ All of the brothers were jointly involved in the Nauvoo Legion, the Masonic society, and in other civic positions while in Nauvoo.

The closeness of the brothers is also evident in their progression in the ministry and in their leadership assignments. All the brothers consistently preached the gospel, and all were formally called on missions at one time or another. Hyrum and Joseph worked closely in the highest councils of the Church, and Joseph respected Hyrum as a wise counselor in administrative matters. Joseph sought to strengthen his younger brothers by giving them opportunities to serve as well, even in their youth. Samuel and Don Carlos served early as missionaries and spoke in public gatherings of the Saints. On one such occasion, Samuel and Don Carlos took turns preaching at a Sunday meeting in Kirtland. Joseph, who attended the gathering, commented in his journal that “these young Eldrs did well concidering their advantages and experiance and bid fair to make useful men in the vinyard of the Lord.”¹⁷⁹

It wasn’t long before the Prophet would use his younger brothers in administrative capacities. Five days after he had preached, Don Carlos was put in as president of the high priests quorum

in Kirtland—unanimously sustained although only nineteen years of age. Later, he served in a similar capacity while in Commerce, Illinois.¹⁸⁰ Although a missionary companion described Samuel as being “slow of speech,” he also held Church administrative positions.¹⁸¹ He served as ^[90] president of the Kirtland high council and was appointed bishop in Nauvoo.¹⁸²

As the Prophet and President of the Church, Joseph used his influence to help his brothers achieve their spiritual potential by issuing them assignments. This was particularly true of his younger brother William. When the Twelve Apostles were selected in 1835, the three witnesses led out in their selection. However, Joseph was involved in the process, and he reportedly presented the name of William Smith. Oliver Cowdery, one of the three witnesses, recalled the circumstances: “At the time the Twelve were chosen in Kirtland . . . it had been manifested that Brother Phineas [Young] was entitled to occupy the station as one of that number; but owing to Brother Joseph’s urgent request at the time, Brother David [Whitmer] and myself yielded to his wish, and consented for William to be selected.”¹⁸³

William had often lagged behind the other Smith children spiritually. Even younger brother Don Carlos was ordained to a priesthood office before William.¹⁸⁴ Joseph undoubtedly recognized William’s potential and felt that an important position and calling in the Church would serve to deepen his commitment and channel his energies in the right direction. At the time of his ordination as an apostle, William was in good standing with the Church; but within a few months his standing as an apostle would be in question for his unchristian conduct.¹⁸⁵ In fact, William would often vacillate in his fellowship with fellow Apostles over the next ten years. What ^[91] is remarkable about William’s vacillation is that his brothers remained committed to him and his calling, even when many others did not. This is more remarkable when one considers that Joseph’s loyalty to his brother continued even after he and William had serious conflict with each other. Joseph had the authority and support from other quorum members to remove William from office, yet he chose to reinstate him time and time again.

At one point in 1835, William, feeling unworthy to continue in his office as an apostle, attempted to resign. However, Joseph forgave him

his misdeeds and encouraged him to rise above his weaknesses and magnify his apostleship and calling. Further, Joseph received a revelation in behalf of his brother, which helped to appease the anxieties of the rest of the Twelve concerning William. Through Joseph’s labors, William was eventually reinstated in his former calling.¹⁸⁶

The same would be true in 1839, when William was once again considered out of fellowship with the rest of the Quorum of the Twelve. Both Joseph and Hyrum came to his defense, and through their intercession William was once again reinstated.¹⁸⁷ This fellowship did not last long, however; William failed to serve an assigned mission with the rest of the Twelve in 1839. His excuse was that he was too poor, but in reality he was financially better off than his fellow Apostles.¹⁸⁸ Joseph nevertheless continued to support him in his calling, and ^[92] within a short time, William resumed his duties as an Apostle and took on new responsibilities both in the Church and in the Nauvoo community.

Later William was tried for adultery and other sins by his fellow Apostles. Likely wanting to keep himself at a distance, Joseph had Brigham Young conduct the proceedings. Before they took place, Emma spoke with her husband and convinced him that the charges were trumped up to damage the Smith family reputation. Joseph attended the trial, arose during the proceedings, and rebuked those present, stating, “Bro. Brigham I will not listen to this abuse of my family a minute longer. [I] will wade in blood up to my knees before I will do it.”¹⁸⁹ Despite the difficulties between Joseph and William, the Prophet remained remarkably loyal to his younger brother.

All the brothers supported each other during difficult circumstances. During the height of conflict in Far West, Samuel’s family witnessed and experienced many atrocities from the Missourians. Samuel’s wife was due to deliver their third child, yet on learning of serious illness in William’s family, who lived thirty miles away, Samuel procured a carriage and brought the entire family back to Far West. Here William’s family was nursed back to health, and Samuel returned to Marrowbone to witness the birth of his son. This hundred-mile trip constituted a great sacrifice on Samuel’s part in behalf of his younger brother.¹⁹⁰

Samuel was also extremely concerned about the safety of his brothers when they were

incarcerated in Carthage Jail. He determined to visit them from the very time he ^[93] learned of their imprisonment. However, on his first attempt he was turned back by a mob. Not to be deterred in his efforts to reach his brothers, Samuel returned immediately to his home south-east of Carthage and acquired a swift horse. On his immediate return to the Carthage vicinity, he learned the shocking news that both his beloved brothers had been murdered. Notwithstanding the danger, Samuel pressed on, reportedly uttering, "God help me, I must go to them."

Before he could reach his brothers, several members of the mob spotted and identified Samuel. A warning shot was fired by the men, who were reportedly expecting him. Samuel, recognizing the precarious circumstances he was in, turned his horse and headed for the nearby woods for protection. The men gave chase and nearly killed Samuel; a bullet passed through the top of his hat. Fortunately, Samuel was able to elude his pursuers, and he eventually arrived in Carthage. He was physically exhausted and also emotionally distraught over the death of his brothers. Samuel assisted in the removal of his brothers' bodies from the jail to a nearby hotel. He then acted as guard over the bodies as they were transported back to Nauvoo.¹⁹¹

Samuel risked his life in trying to protect his older brothers. As it turned out, Samuel actually gave his life in attempting to secure their safety. A growing pain in his side, a result of being chased by the mob, was reported as the reason for his death only a month after his brothers were murdered.¹⁹² Perhaps this unrelenting devotion is what led older brother Joseph to comment, "There is ^[94] Brother Samuel H. Smith, a natural brother—he is even as Hyrum."¹⁹³ In light of Hyrum and Joseph's relationship, no higher compliment could be paid to Samuel.

Although the relationships among all the Smith siblings appear to be close, perhaps none was closer or has been as well documented as that of Hyrum and Joseph's. Though almost six years apart, they bonded from their earliest years. Their closeness was first evident during Joseph's leg operation (see chapter 5), when he was seven and Hyrum was twelve or thirteen. During a particularly difficult and painful period before Joseph's operation, Hyrum relieved his mother by lending assistance. Lucy recounted,

Hyrum, who was rather remarkable for his tenderness and sympathy, now desired that he might take my place. As he was a good, trusty boy, we let him do so; and, in order to make the task as easy for him as possible, we laid Joseph upon a low bed, and Hyrum sat beside him, almost day and night, for some considerable length of time, holding the affected part of his leg in his hands, and pressing it between them, so that his afflicted brother might be enabled to endure the pain, which was so excruciating, that he was scarcely able to bear it.¹⁹⁴

It was characteristic of Hyrum to demonstrate this type of care, as he had similarly ^[95] cared for Samuel and Sophronia when they were ill.¹⁹⁵ But Hyrum's special watchfulness over his younger brother in a most difficult hour cemented the brothers' relationship. In fact, Hyrum gradually assumed the role of protector of his younger brother. Several years later, when the family moved from Norwich, Vermont, to Palmyra, New York, a man by the name of Caleb Howard was hired to assist the family. During the course of the journey, this man reportedly singled out Joseph and made him walk in the snow, notwithstanding Joseph had just recently stopped using his crutches. It was then that Joseph's brothers Alvin and Hyrum attempted to defend their younger brother from this abuse, only to be knocked down by Howard.¹⁹⁶

Hyrum's protectiveness of his younger brother continued throughout their lives. Hyrum would often warn Joseph of potential danger. On one such occasion he recalled, "My brother Hyrum called in the evening, and cautioned me against speaking so freely about my enemies . . . in such a manner as to make it actionable."¹⁹⁷ When Joseph selected twenty men to be his bodyguards, he indicated that Hyrum should be captain over the group.¹⁹⁸ Hyrum took this commission seriously. When the Prophet was secretly kidnapped in June 1843, it was Hyrum who led the way to ensure a safe return. On learning of his brother's ^[96] circumstances, Hyrum summoned a large group of citizens in Nauvoo and led out in raising funds and organizing volunteers for a rescue mission for his brother. Eventually the organized company intervened and secured the Prophet's safe return to Nauvoo. After Joseph arrived, the brothers embraced, and Hyrum "wept tears of joy" on seeing his brother delivered from his captors.¹⁹⁹

However, the relationship was not simply based on an older brother's protective role. These

brothers enjoyed a close association into their adult years. In fact, in 1843 Hyrum indicated that he had “been acquainted with him [Joseph] ever since he was born, which was thirty-seven years in December last; and I have not been absent from him at any one time not even for the space of six months, since his birth, to my recollection, and have been intimately acquainted with all his sayings, doings, business transactions and movements, as much as any one man could be acquainted with another.”²⁰⁰

They appear to have stayed in close proximity to one another throughout their lives. Hyrum was one of the few unwavering followers of the prophet and one who had known him from the very first. Because of this unwavering loyalty, Hyrum was trusted by Joseph to serve in many leadership positions. Even prior to the official organization of the Church, it was Hyrum who was trusted with the printer’s copy of the manuscript of the Book of Mormon. Later on he would serve on the Kirtland Temple building committee and the Kirtland high council, as an Assistant and then Second Counselor^[97] in the First Presidency, and finally as Patriarch and Assistant President of the Church.²⁰¹ This last position was significant because it represented a position second only to the Prophet himself. In fact, even Brigham Young indicated that Joseph had ordained Hyrum to take his place should he have lived.²⁰² Thus, Hyrum was one of most trusted and loyal of all Joseph’s followers.

During their final days, the brothers’ mutual affection for one another was clearly manifest. Their final days in Nauvoo were spent in hiding together. They debated whether to turn themselves in, as a warrant for their arrests had been issued. Joseph, out of respect for his older brother, deferred to Hyrum, who felt that they should turn themselves in. Although Joseph felt that turning themselves in would be certain death, he followed Hyrum’s counsel, stating, “If you shall go back I will go with you.” As it turned out, Joseph was more concerned about his brother’s safety than he was his own. Joseph lamented to a close friend, “I want Hyrum to live to avenge my blood, but he is determined not to leave me.” Even during their final hours, Joseph regretfully reflected, “Could my brother, Hyrum but be liberated, it would not matter so much about me.”²⁰³

Joseph aptly expressed his respect for his older sibling. Said he, “There was Brother Hyrum . . . a natural brother. Thought I to myself, Brother Hyrum, what a faithful heart you have got! . . . O how many are the sorrows we have shared together.”²⁰⁴ This last statement appeared characteristic of the family at large. That^[98] is, their common suffering bonded them ever closer together. Perhaps Joseph and Hyrum had more trials in common than any other members of the family. Their brotherhood was especially deep felt. On another occasion Joseph reflected, “And I could pray in my heart that all my brethren were like unto my beloved brother Hyrum, who possesses the mildness of a lamb, and the integrity of a Job, and in short, the meekness and humility of Christ; and I love him with that love that is stronger than death, for I never had occasion to rebuke him, nor he me, which he declared when he left me to-day.”²⁰⁵

They stood fast by one another. Theirs was a lifelong friendship that was forged during their earliest years and continued until their deaths. Many have reflected on how fitting it was that they should die together. As one close friend of the brothers put it, “In life they were not divided, and in death they were not separated!”²⁰⁶

All of the siblings appeared to have been close to each other. The same-gender siblings enjoyed the closest associations with one another. The connections between Alvin and Joseph and Hyrum and Joseph are well documented. Yet all of the brothers^[99] continued to maintain close associations throughout their lives. With the exception of Joseph and William’s relationship, there was very little conflict between siblings. Even in this relationship the brothers continued to support each other following their difficulties. (See chapter 6 for a discussion of the brothers’ difficulties.)

One last indication of the closeness of the entire family was the naming of their children. Hyrum named his first child Lovina, after his deceased aunt, whom Mother Lucy had enjoyed a close relationship with but whom Hyrum had never known. He also had a daughter Mary, so named for his grandmother Smith, and a son named for his Uncle John Smith. Lastly, Hyrum’s first son from his second marriage was named after his brother Joseph.

Joseph Jr. also named his children after various family members. His firstborn son he named Alvin, after his deceased brother, of whom he was

very fond. Joseph also named two sons, David Hyrum and Don Carlos, for his brothers. Samuel had two daughters whom he named Lucy, after his mother and sister. Both of these children died in infancy. William also had a daughter named Mary, possibly named for his grandmother Smith. He also had a son he named for Hyrum and a son named Edson Don Carlos, after his younger brother.

Katharine named children after her mother, Lucy, and her Grandfather Solomon. In addition, she named two of her sons for her brothers Alvin and Don Carlos. She also named one child for her sister-in-law Emma. Don Carlos Smith named a child after his oldest sister, Sophronia. He also named a daughter Josephine, after his brother Joseph.^[100] Lucy, the youngest daughter in the family, had sons named for Don Carlos, William, and Hyrum. (For further information on the Smith children's families see the appendix.)

Although naming children after family members was common for the day, it still gives an indication of the closeness of the family. It also reveals the bond between siblings, who so frequently named their children for brothers and sisters. This naming of children for siblings was less common in history than naming children for ancestors.

Familial Relationships after the Martyrdom

By the end of the summer of 1844, over half of the Smith siblings who had grown to maturity were now deceased. Given that Father Smith had passed away in 1840, only five of the eleven family members were still alive. Mother Smith, the three daughters, and William, the only surviving son, were left to try and hold together the remainder of their severed family.

When the martyrdom occurred, William was on a mission in the east caring for his ill wife, Caroline. Her illness prevented him from returning immediately to Nauvoo. Thus, the female portion of the Smith family, including the daughters-in-law, was left alone to mourn the loss of the three men. This was a most difficult period for the family. William, who certainly felt the pressure of being the only surviving male member of the family, sought to comfort those who mourned in distant Nauvoo. He wrote from New Hampshire requesting Brigham Young "to go & see mother & read this letter to her & rem[em]bre me to Emma[,] Mary[,] Lucy[,]²⁰⁷ Catharin[,] Sophronia[,]^[101] Agnes[,]²⁰⁸

Arther[,]²⁰⁹ Mc[Cleary]²¹⁰ & Jenkins."²¹¹ When Young visited them, he reported that the Smith family "rejoiced exceedingly to hear from you."²¹² A month later William wrote to W. W. Phelps, again asking him to "call and see my mother, and give her a word of consolation from me." William further requested Phelps to "remember me also to my sisters Sophronia, Catherine, Lucy and their husbands, and the martyrs' widows."²¹³ Upon being informed of William's letter, Mother Smith reportedly "cried for joy" and "blessed [him] in the name of the Lord."²¹⁴

While William remained in the East, Mother Smith took comfort by living with her daughter Lucy and her husband, Arthur Millikin. At the time of the assassinations, Mother Smith was living with Emma but had moved in with Lucy and Arthur by September. Mother Smith may have moved in to assist the Millikins because they were expecting their second child.²¹⁵ They lived in the Jonathan Browning home, which was provided for them by the Church. Here they resided for approximately a year, when they all moved together to the William Marks home. The following year, in April 1846, Mother Smith moved into the Joseph Noble home, as Church leaders had deeded this property to her.²¹⁶^[102]

On May 4, 1845, William returned to Nauvoo with his wife, whose health continued to deteriorate. Eighteen days later, Caroline Grant Smith passed away, leaving William a widower to care for their two young daughters. William lived at the William Marks home with his mother and sisters during this time, and they undoubtedly assisted him in caring for the young girls.²¹⁷ It was not long, however, before theological differences emerged between William and other leaders of the Church.

The chasm between William and rest of the Twelve Apostles began to widen, as he felt the Smith family was not being properly recognized in ecclesiastical ranks. In June, William wrote to Brigham Young, the recognized leader of the quorum, and expressed his view that he wanted "all men to understand that my Father's family are of the royal blood and promised seed and no men or set of men can take their crown or place in time or in eternity."²¹⁸ This statement would become William's claim for years to come. Often he would state unmistakably that he felt the rights of the Smith family had been trampled upon. He took

exception to the fact that the Smith family “should be deprived of all honor and station in the church, [and] have no word of controlment in the affairs of the church.”²¹⁹ Within a few months, he was severed from fellowship with the quorum, only this time neither Joseph nor Hyrum were available to make intercession. William was subsequently excommunicated from the Church on October 19, 1845.²²⁰

Following his excommunication, William increased his distance from the Church. Feeling that he had been wronged, he attempted to undermine Brigham Young and his ^[103] followers. This created a dilemma for the remaining family members, particularly Lucy Mack Smith. She increasingly felt as though she had to choose between her family and the Church. Mother Smith failed to see the difference—her family was intertwined with the very foundations of the Church. As Jan Shippo observed, “The Mormonism that emerges in Mother Smith’s history explains why William would claim that the Saints were dependant on the Smith family for the priesthood. Lucy’s story makes constant use of the pronouns ‘we’ and ‘us’ instead of simply referring to ‘Joseph.’ The martyrdom had caused a fundamental shift in perceptions of the right to church leadership.”²²¹

Yet the remaining Smith family members had difficulty making that shift. William certainly played a part in the family’s failure to make the transition. He used the family to try and further his own agenda as he maneuvered for positions of prominence in the Church and in two break-offs of the Church, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and the Strangites. To Brigham and the Twelve, William threatened “that if he went away, he would take along with him, his sisters, his mother, and the last remains of the family.”²²² He promised Strang “the whole Smith family,” along with the Egyptian mummies and accompanying papyri.²²³ At other times, in order to strengthen his cause, William falsified the signatures of ^[104] siblings in documents.²²⁴ William likely did not perceive his behavior as manipulative of his mother and sisters, as the family had normally been united in whatever cause they had undertaken. The family was connected to the point that when William spoke he felt he represented the entire family. As the last remaining male member of the family, he viewed himself as the spokesperson and leader. William felt that

no matter the direction he chose, the rest of the family would naturally follow.

When the Church deeded the Joseph Noble home to Mother Smith in 1846, it came with stipulations. Brigham Young, along with the other remaining Apostles, reportedly would allow Lucy Mack Smith to take possession of the Noble home only if she would not allow William to live there. Mother Smith stood fast by her son. She wrote immediately to Brigham Young, stating firmly that she felt the brethren were “put[ting] limits to my affections . . . if I do not drive my children from my door. . . . I am called upon to banish from my home the few of my family who are left as my only solace.” She further stated that she felt to “thank kind Heaven that has implanted in my bosom affection which gold cannot buy . . . the cords of affection ^[105] that binds me to the children of my bosom even eternity itself cannot break, they are interwoven with the finest arteries of my heart, and the love that flows through them is the only principle that enlivens and cheers me in this vale of tears.”²²⁵

Mother Smith made clear her undeviating support of William. She also struggled with not having the family at the center of Church authority. The rest of the family was certainly aware of William’s conflicts with the Twelve Apostles, and it was a focus of deliberation among the family in the years following the martyrdom. Even after William’s excommunication, Mother Smith continued to defend her son publicly.²²⁶ William’s brothers-in-law also stood by him, acting as his protectors against any harm that might befall him.²²⁷ In the summer of 1845, William left Nauvoo and went to Galena, Illinois, and later to St. Louis, Missouri, while the rest of the family group remained in Nauvoo.²²⁸

The Smith family shared the belief that the right of presiding belonged in the family. To what extent William influenced this attitude through his behavior following his return to Nauvoo remains unknown. These sentiments may have already existed, but even if that were true, it is very likely that William solidified this belief within the family.

By the time the Saints began the exodus to Utah, Lucy and her children had decided to ^[106] remain behind. Perhaps Lucy felt that her salvation was assured. After all, she had received the highest ordinances of the temple, including an

assurance that her calling and election was made sure.²²⁹ Hence, her salvation was not dependant on whether she went west, as many of those who gathered to Utah were prone to think. For Lucy, she could have the best of both worlds—her family close by and the assurance of eternal life. Yet at the same time, it must have been disappointing for her to lose the formal organization of the Church, something she had searched for the first fifty years of her life. This may have been a contributing factor in her vacillatory behavior when she was deciding whether to go west with the Saints or remain with her family in Illinois. Ultimately she chose the latter.

There is evidence that Mother Smith, Katharine, and Lucy all felt that the rights of leadership belonged to the Smith family, but they were not as opposed to the LDS migration as is sometimes thought. Mother Smith was often visited by LDS leaders from the West prior to her death. On one such occasion she “clasped” the visitor in her arms and remarked, “I am glad to see a man again from Salt Lake. She cried for Joy, and said she had desired for two years to be with the Saints in the vallies of the Mountains.”²³⁰ During the 1860s, Katharine was not opposed to a unification with those who went west. She wrote to her nephews in Utah, “[I] would be excedind[ly] glad if all of us . . . connescion one and all could live in a Society together and believ in one Lord one Saveioure one faith one baptism and See eye to eye . . . this ^[107] [is] the Sincere desire of my heart.”²³¹ Similarly, Arthur and Lucy Millikin wrote to their nephew John Smith (Hyrum’s son), who lived in Utah. They stated, “I think you & all the Smith family should look into this matter & see if you are not the successors of Joseph the Prophet & Hyrum the Patriarch & should lead & govern the Church in the last days.”²³²

The remaining family members shared the belief that the right to govern in the Church belonged to the Smith family, and yet they were not opposed to those members of the family in Utah assuming such leadership. Eventually, the three sisters and their families all joined the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (led by Joseph Smith III), a church which conformed with their belief that some member of the Smith family should govern the affairs of the Church.²³³

The family not only held similar convictions, but stayed in close proximity to each other for the

remainder of their lives. Prior to the Saints leaving for Utah, Mother Smith had moved with Lucy and Arthur to Knoxville, Illinois, to avoid the battle of Nauvoo. It wasn’t until the spring of 1847 that they returned to Nauvoo. Here they lived in the Noble home until 1849. Mother Smith, the Millikins, and Samuel’s orphaned daughter, Mary Bailey Smith, all moved to Webster, Illinois, in the fall of 1849. Jenkins and Katharine had moved to this area three years prior and likely were the impetus for the family move. Recently widowed, Sophronia and her daughter, Maria, moved in with Mother Smith and the Millikins in Webster as well. For a time then, Mother Smith and her daughters and their families all lived together in and around Webster/Fountain Green. Eventually, in the spring of 1852, Lucy returned to Nauvoo to reside in the Mansion ^[108] House. Here she would spend the remaining four years of her life, being cared for by Emma, her grandchildren, and Lewis, Emma’s second husband.²³⁴ The three sisters stayed in close contact for their remaining years, as they lived only a short distance from each other the rest of their lives.

Summary

Early-nineteenth-century families appear to have had more opportunities for bonding than modern families. Of necessity, families spent more time together then. They often spent considerable amounts of time working side by side on the family farm, all for a common purpose and goal. In addition, parents typically provided temporal support, including land, for the succeeding generation, which meant generations usually lived in close proximity to one another. Be that as it may, the cohesiveness of the Smith family was extraordinary.

First, when outsiders persecuted and shunned the family, its members drew together even more closely. Following Joseph Jr.’s visionary experiences, the Smiths clung together due to their unorthodox religious views, which ostracized them from the society in which they lived. Besides a few believing neighbors, the Smiths’ only friends were family. This extrafamilial persecution served to increase intrafamilial solidarity.

A second reason this family had an especially strong bond was their religious beliefs. Nowhere is this more evident than in the early years of the

Restoration. The family was still largely intact, and all family members rallied around ^[109] Joseph Jr. and his call to lead out in reestablishing the kingdom of God. The entire Smith family felt strongly that they, one and all, played critical roles in bringing this about. Even messages from heavenly visitors served to create a sense of hypervigilance in looking out for one another. These beliefs fostered a special cohesiveness in the family, as the entire family unitedly labored in this common cause.

The loyalty continued after the martyrdom of Joseph Jr. and Hyrum. Family members clung to each other and felt strongly that they were the first family of Mormonism—and as such were entitled to special privileges and rights. This attitude certainly influenced Lucy Mack Smith, the Smith sisters, and William to remain behind when the larger company of Saints went west. All remaining Smith family members felt that the right to preside in the Church belonged to the Smith family—a testament to their strong family identity. The closeness of the family, forged during the children's formative years, lasted throughout their lives. ^[110]

Notes

1. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853), 19.
2. Lavina Fielding Anderson, ed., *Lucy's Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith's Family Memoir* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001), 228, spelling corrected.
3. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 24.
4. *Ibid.*, 26.
5. *Ibid.*, 29.
6. Richard L. Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and BYU Press, 2003), 75–85.
7. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 36–37, 45. Lydia Mack had previously charged Stephen to look after the youngest daughter, Lucy. Stephen took this charge seriously, as evidenced by his insistence that Lucy live with him on two separate occasions.
8. *Ibid.*, 46–47. Lucy left several accounts of her interactions with her mother; see Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 47, 56, 68. Also, note the similarity between Lucy and Lovisa's illness experiences, as they both were miraculously healed after making a solemn covenant with God.
9. *Ibid.*, 68–69; Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith, Vol. 1: Autobiographical and Historical Writings* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989), 269.
10. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 314–15.
11. Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage*, 121–24.
12. John Smith, Journal, 20 July 1839, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, 7.
13. Asael Smith, "Address to his Family," April 10, 1799; photocopy of original in Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage*, 167.
14. John Smith, Journal, 15–16.
15. Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage*, 102. Research indicates that the family continued their close ties in subsequent years by settling near one another. Nine members of the family moved to New York, including the parents, Asael and Mary Duty, sons Jesse, Joseph, Asael Jr., Samuel, Silas, and John, and daughter Susan. With the exception of Joseph, who moved to Palmyra, New York, all eight of the other family members settled in St. Lawrence County, New York. The three other daughters, Priscilla, Mary, and Sarah, all married before the family left Vermont and did not follow to New York. One other son, Stephen, died while the family was still in Vermont. LaMar E. Garrard, "The Asael Smith Family Moves from Vermont to New York, 1806 to 1820," in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: New York*, ed. Larry C. Porter, Milton V. Backman Jr. and Susan Easton Black (Provo, UT: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1992), 14–31.
16. Asael Smith, "Address to his Family," as cited in Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage*, 2d. ed., 166, 173–74.
17. Joseph Smith, *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1957), 1:14.
18. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 343.
19. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 84.
20. *Ibid.*, 84.
21. *Ibid.*, 86.
22. For example, after Joseph made known to his father all that the angel had told him, Lucy remembered that later that same evening, "when Joseph came in . . . he told the whole family all that he had made known to his father in the field. . . . We sat up very late and listened attentively to all that he had to say." Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 342.
23. *History of the Church*, 1:6–7.
24. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 373.
25. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 99.
26. *Ibid.*, 100.
27. *Ibid.*, 99–101. Certainly Joseph Smith Sr., Joseph Knight Sr., and Josiah Stowell were all aware of the significance of that day (September 22, 1827), but were unaware that Joseph Jr. and Emma had already gone to retrieve the plates. Perhaps due to her son's previous failures to obtain the plates, Lucy was particularly protective on this occasion in order to prevent any interruption that might jeopardize his obtaining the record. For a further discussion on Joseph Knight Sr. and Josiah Stowell being aware of Joseph's intentions to obtain the plates on this occasion, see Andrew H. Hedges, "Protecting the Plates in Palmyra," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 8, no. 2 (1999): 18–21.
28. Dean Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection of Early Mormon History," *BYU Studies*, 17, no. 1 (1976): 33.
29. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 102–3. After obtaining the plates, Joseph Jr. hid them in a hollow

tree between the Hill Cumorah and his log home in Palmyra. Hedges, "Protecting the Plates," 20.

30. Ibid., 102–4. The day after obtaining the plates, Joseph Jr. dug a well for a widow in Macedon to help pay for a chest that would serve to secure the record.

31. Joseph Smith Sr., William, and Katharine all expected both to see and handle the plates when Joseph first brought them home. "The Old Soldier's Testimony. Sermon preached by Bro. William B. Smith, Deloit, Iowa, June 8th, 1884. Reported by C. Butterworth," *Saints' Herald* 31, no. 40 (4 October 1884): 643–44; William Smith, *William Smith on Mormonism* (Lamoni, IA: Herald Steam Book and Job Office, 1883), 11; Katharine Smith Salisbury to Dear Sisters, *Saints' Herald* 33 (March 10, 1886), 260.

32. Lucy, Joseph Sr., and William all described the Urim and Thummim in detail but they were likely covered with a "silk handkerchief" at the time. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 101. Fayette Lapham, "Interview with the Father of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet, Forty Years Ago. His Account of the Finding of the Sacred Plates," *Historical Magazine*, 2nd. ser., 7 (May 1870): 305–9, as cited in Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 1 (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), 462; "Statement of J. W. Peterson Concerning William Smith," 1 May 1921, Miscellaneous Letters and Papers, Community of Christ Library-Archives, Independence, MO, as cited in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:507–8, 328 n. 137. Lucy is the only one who described her experience with the Urim and Thummim prior to the retrieval of the plates. Concerning the plates being the primary focus of the family's attention, see Mother Smith's account where she expresses concern that Joseph "did not tell me anything of the record." Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 379.

33. At this time, Hyrum was married to Jerusha Barden and living in the former Smith family residence called the "log home." His parents' family was living in the newly completed frame house on the same property, a few hundred yards away.

34. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 104.

35. Ibid., 104–5. See also Hedges, "Protecting the Plates," 20–21.

36. "The Prophet's Sister Testifies She Lifted the B of M. Plates," *The Messenger* (Berkeley, CA), October 1954, 1, 6, typescript located in LDS Church Archives.

37. Joel Tiffany, "Mormonism—No. II," *Tiffany's Monthly* 5 (August 1859): 166.

38. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 104–6; "The Old Soldier's Testimony," 643.

39. Jesse, "Joseph Knight's Recollection," 33; Hedges, "Protecting the Plates," 22.

40. Mary Salisbury Hancock, "The Three Sisters of the Prophet Joseph Smith," *Saints' Herald* 101, no. 2 (11 January 1954): 36. This event had to occur in the fall of 1827, prior to Joseph's departure for Harmony, Pennsylvania, as Sophronia was married to Calvin Stoddard in December of that year and moved away from the family home shortly thereafter.

41. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 108. Hyrum, who lived close by at the time, may have also been a participant.

42. John W. Peterson to Editor, "Wm. B. Smith's Last Statement," *Zion's Ensign* (Independence, MO) 5 (13 January 1894): 6.

43. Hancock, "The Three Sisters," 35.

44. Jesse, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:275.

45. Smith, 1976, 4:536.

46. Ibid., 1:430, 281.

47. *History of the Church*, 4:190.

48. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 82. Lucy reported that Moroni had previously commanded Joseph Jr. to tell his father of his experience, but Joseph was reluctant because he felt that his father would not believe him. Joseph must have not only told his father of his experience with Moroni, but also of his reluctance to tell him for Lucy to have recorded it in her history. This indicates a deeper level of disclosure and provides additional evidence of the closeness of the Prophet's relationship with his parents.

49. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 165.

50. Ibid., 160–61.

51. Ibid., 146.

52. Peterson, "Wm. B. Smith's Last Statement," 6.

53. *William Smith on Mormonism*, 9–10.

54. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 83.

55. Ibid., 88–90. Alvin Smith died November 19, 1823, two months after his brother's initial visit to the Hill Cumorah.

56. *History of the Church*, 1:45–46; See also the Doctrine and Covenants 11:15–26.

57. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 469.

58. Jessie Salisbury, "Died," *True Latter Day Saints' Herald*, 23, no. 19 (1 October 1876): 607.

59. Fred C. Collier and William S. Harwell, eds., *Kirtland Council Minute Book* (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing, 1996): 4; [Editor's note: Since the original dissertation was published, the following source has become available: Gracia N. Jones, "Sophronia Smith Stoddard McCleary," in United by Faith: The Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith Family, ed. Kyle R. Walker (American Fork, UT: BYU Studies and Covenant Communications, 2005), 175–77.]

60. Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register, typescript copy located at the Land and Records Office, Nauvoo, Illinois. The washing and anointing and the endowment were completed on December 23, 1845, and her sealing to her second husband, William McCleary, took place January 27, 1846. Her first husband, Calvin Stoddard, died in 1836.

61. Mark L. McConkie, *The Father of the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994), 113–15.

62. Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 20, 22; Larry C. Porter, "Solomon Chamberlain—Early Missionary," *BYU Studies*, 12, no. 3 (1972): 314–18; "Testimony of Brother E[zra] E. Thayer," *The True Latter Day Saints' Herald*, 3, no. 4 (October 1862), 79–80; Pearson H. Corbett, *Hyrum Smith: Patriarch* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1963), 79; Pearson H. Corbett, *Hyrum Smith: Patriarch* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1963), 79–80.

63. Susan Easton Black, "Early Missionary Journeys," in *Historical Atlas of Mormonism*, ed. S. Kent Brown, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard H. Jackson (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), 14; Samuel H. Smith Journal, 1831–1833,

typescript copy, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

64. *History of the Church*, 4:393.
65. Corbett, *Hyrum Smith: Patriarch*, 79–80.
66. “Hyrum Smith to the Saints Scattered Abroad,” as cited in *Times and Seasons* (Commerce, IL), 1, no. 2 (December 1839): 23.
67. Hyrum Smith Journal 1832–33, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.
68. “History of Brigham Young,” *The Latter-Day Saints’ Millennial Star*, 25:361.
69. *History of the Church*, 4:393.
70. Salisbury, “Died,” 607.
71. Katharine Smith Salisbury to Dear Sisters.
72. Whitney Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850* (London: Cornell University Press, 1950), 81; Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 58–59.
73. *History of the Church*, 6:317.
74. Joseph Smith Sr. was ordained Patriarch to the Church on December 18, 1833 by Joseph Jr., Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams. *History of the Church*, 4:190.
75. Patriarchal Blessing Book A, entry for December 9, 1834, LDS Church Archives. These quotes come from blessings given to Abel Butterfield and Flora Jacobs.
76. During the ordeal of Joseph Jr.’s leg operation (see chapter 5), Lucy recorded that her husband “burst into a flood of tears, and sobbed like a child.” After being separated from her husband during the migration of the family to New York, Lucy indicated that her husband “reciprocated” the children’s “tears and kisses.” Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 307, 317.
77. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 102–3; 160–61; Richard L. Anderson, “The Alvin Smith Story: Fact & Fiction,” *Ensign* 17, no. 8 (August 1987): 68–69.
78. Richard L. Anderson, *Investigating the Book of Mormon Witnesses* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1981), 142–43.
79. Bushman, *Beginnings of Mormonism*, 208 n. 55.
80. Such symptoms include lack of self-esteem, difficulty following through with projects, and struggles in establishing and maintaining intimate relationships. Janet Geringer Woititz, *Adult Children of Alcoholics*, rev. ed. (Deerfield Beach, FL: Health Communications, 1990).
81. See recent discussion on the subject by Lavina Fielding Anderson, who, after analyzing the existing evidence, concluded, “Since the evidence is shaky that Joseph Sr. regularly and repeatedly drank to intoxication, I find even less persuasive the assertions that he was an alcoholic.” Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 26.
82. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 266–70; *History of the Church*, 2:353. Also see chapter 6 for a discussion on Father Smith’s role as moderator between Joseph Jr. and William during a period of turmoil.
83. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 70, 183–
84. Lucy recalled one such reuniting: “The joy I felt in throwing myself and My children upon the care and affection of a tender Husband and Father doubly paid me for all I had suffered.” Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 317.
84. *History of the Church*, 2:289.
85. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 63.
86. *Ibid.*, 173–83.
87. *Ibid.*, 68–69, 100, 110, 146; Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 786–87.
88. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 179.
89. Sally Parker to John Kempton, August 26, 1838, Sunbury, Ohio, microfilm at Family History Library, Salt Lake City, as cited in Anderson, *Investigating the Book of Mormon Witnesses*, 25.
90. Bushman, *Beginnings of Mormonism*, 34.
91. Robert D. Anderson, *Inside the Mind of Joseph Smith: Psychobiography and the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999), 17. [Also see Dan Vogel, *Joseph Smith: The Making of a Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2004), 4, which was published after this dissertation was completed.]
92. Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 27.
93. Father Smith worked as a schoolteacher for a time in Vermont. Neighbors in Palmyra and Manchester, New York, indicated that the children were also instructed in the home. John Stafford Interview, as cited in William H. Kelley, “The Hill Cumorah, and the Book of Mormon,” *Saints’ Herald* 28 (1 June 1881): 167. Hyrum attended school at Moor’s charity school, housed on Dartmouth campus for a time. Porter, *Origins of the Church*, 9.
94. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 47.
95. *Ibid.*, 60–61.
96. William Smith, “Notes Written on ‘Chambers’ Life of Joseph Smith,” circa 1875, 29, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City. The hymn cited by William was written by John Leland (1754–1841), a Baptist minister. Incidentally, Emma Smith included this hymn in the Church’s first hymnal, published in 1835. Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:487.
97. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 162.
98. Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 30.
99. Martha Jane Knowlton Coray, “Joseph Sen.,” Notebook (Nauvoo), 1840s, Coray Family Collection, Ms. 1422, Box 2, fd. 4, Archive of the Mormon Experience, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, as cited in Lavina Fielding Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 31.
100. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 266, 269–70.
101. William Smith, “Notes,” 28.
102. *William Smith on Mormonism*, 6–7.
103. Milton V. Backman Jr. and James B. Allen, “Membership of Certain of Joseph Smith’s Family in the Western Presbyterian Church of Palmyra,” *BYU Studies* 10, no. 4 (Summer 1970): 482–84.
104. For example, William reported that he attended the various denominational meetings with other members of his family, “but being quite young and inconsiderate, did not take so much interest in the matter as the older ones did.” *William Smith on Mormonism*, 6. Joseph Jr. indicated that although he kept himself “aloof” from the various denominations then extant in his neighborhood, he “attended their several meetings as often as occasion would permit.” Jessee, *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:270.
105. Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 317.
106. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 61–63.

107. *Ibid.*, 183, 251.
108. *Ibid.*, 252–53.
109. *Ibid.*, 100.
110. *Ibid.*, 249.
111. Donald L. Enders, Unpublished presentation at the Smith Farm, Palmyra/Manchester, New York, July 10, 1999, typescript in possession of the author.
112. Further evidence to support this claim came from Mother Smith, who indicated that Alvin was engaged to be married at the time of his death in November 1823, right when he was working heavily on finishing the frame home. At least part of his motivation in finishing the frame home may have been to provide shelter for himself and his future bride. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 355.
113. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 93, 214–15.
114. *Ibid.*, 93.
115. Susan Easton Black, “Isaac Hale: Antagonist of Joseph Smith,” in Porter, Backman, and Black, *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: New York*, 100–105.
116. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 215.
117. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 791–96.
118. *Ibid.*, 727.
119. Lucy Smith Millikin File, Nauvoo Land Records Book, 1841–1855, 107, Land and Records Office, Nauvoo, Illinois.
120. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 87–88.
121. *Ibid.*, 88.
122. Joseph Smith Sr. Blessing on Hyrum Smith: Patriarchal Blessing Book 1:2–3, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City.
123. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 163–64.
124. *Ibid.*, 164.
125. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 164, 167. The family actually relocated to a small unincorporated village called the “Kingdom,” located on the Seneca River between Waterloo and Seneca Falls. Larry C. Porter, “A Study of the Origins of the The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the States of New York and Pennsylvania” (Provo, UT: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History and BYU Studies, 2000), 268.
126. Joseph Smith to Hyrum Smith, Kirtland, Ohio, 3 March 1831, in *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 2d ed., rev., comp. and ed. Dean C. Jessee (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002), 257–58.
127. Larry C. Porter, “‘Ye Shall Go to the Ohio’: Exodus of the New York Saints to Ohio, 1831,” in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Ohio*, ed. Milton V. Backman Jr. (Provo, UT: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1990), 5–6.
128. One member of the group who surrounded William was former apostle John Boynton, who reportedly drew a “sword from his cane, presented it to William’s breast, and said ‘if you advance one step further, I will run you through.’” Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 211.
129. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 255.
130. *Ibid.*
131. *Ibid.*, 257–58.
132. Ruby K. Smith, *Mary Bailey* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954), 81.
133. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 261–62, 265, 274.
134. *Ibid.*, 274.
135. *History of the Church*, 2:288–90; See also Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 90–91.
136. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 265.
137. Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), 291; Herbert S. Salisbury, “Reminiscences of Joseph Smith: As Told by His Sister, Catherine Smith-Salisbury, to Her Grandson, Herbert S. Salisbury,” *Saints' Herald* 60, no. 41 (8 October 1913): 984.
138. “Katharine Salisbury to Dear Readers of the Herald,” 13 April 1893, *Saints' Herald*, 40, 275.
139. Salisbury, “Reminiscences of Joseph Smith,” 984.
140. “A Sister of the Prophet,” *Carthage Republican*, 16 May 1894, 5.
141. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 88–89.
142. *Ibid.*, 89.
143. “Hymenial,” *Times and Seasons* 1 (June 1840): 127.
144. Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 21; Herbert Salisbury, “Reminiscences of Joseph Smith,” 984; Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 171.
145. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 258.
146. Mary Salisbury Hancock, “The Three Sisters of the Prophet Joseph Smith,” *Saints' Herald* 101, no. 2 (11 January 1954): 35.
147. *Ibid.*, 58.
148. *Ibid.*
149. Katherine Salisbury to Sister Frances, 24 December 1886, *Saints' Herald* 34, no. 6 (5 February 1887): 84.
150. Milton V. Backman Jr. *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830–1838* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 158–59.
151. *History of the Church*, 5:206–8.
152. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 220.
153. Hancock, “The Three Sisters,” 82.
154. Kyle R. Walker, “Katharine Smith Salisbury: Sister to the Prophet,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 3, no. 2 (Fall 2002): 13–22.
155. Fountain Green is within a few miles of Webster, Illinois (formerly called Ramus, and then Macedonia). Ramus/Macedonia was an early settlement of the Saints during the Nauvoo years.
156. Kyle R. Walker, “Katharine Smith Salisbury and Lucy Smith Millikin’s Attitudes toward Succession, the Reorganized Church, and Their Smith Relatives in Utah,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 170.
157. *Ibid.*; Katharine Salisbury to John Taylor, Fountain Green, IL, August 15, 1879, John Taylor Presidential Papers, 1877–1887, Box 5, fd. 6, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City.
158. Hancock, “The Three Sisters,” 34; Herbert S. Salisbury, “The Western Adventures of Don Carlos Salisbury,” unpublished manuscript, 4–5, typescript in possession of the author.
159. *History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*, 8 vols. (Independence, MO: Herald House, 1973) 4:4. For evidence of their similarities in theology, see Walker, “Katharine Smith Salisbury and Lucy Smith

Millikin's Attitudes," 165–72. Although the three sisters appear to have unitedly joined with the Reorganized Church in 1873, evidence does not indicate active affiliation. Sophronia and Lucy were too far distant from any branch of the RLDS Church, though Katharine became more involved after her two sisters' deaths.

160. William Smith indicated that prior to his death "Alvin was not a church member." "Statement of William Smith, Concerning Joseph, the Prophet," *Deseret Evening News* 27 (20 January 1894): 11.

161. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 90.

162. Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection," 31; Kyle R. Walker, "Katharine Smith Salisbury's Recollections of Joseph's Meetings with Moroni," *BYU Studies* 41, no. 3 (2002): 14.

163. *History of the Church*, 5:126–27.

164. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 93.

165. *Ibid.*, 266. Hyrum was baptized by proxy for Alvin later that same year. Anderson, "The Alvin Smith Story," 70; see also fn. 76.

166. Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:10, 232, 292.

167. Pearson H. Corbett, *Hyrum Smith, Patriarch* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1963), 48–49; Doctrine and Covenants 11.

168. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 214.

169. Samuel H. Smith and Don Carlos Smith to Hyrum Smith, Kirtland, Ohio, October 13, 1837, holograph letter, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City; *History of the Church*, 2:519.

170. Ronald K. Esplin, "Hyrum Smith: The Mildness of a Lamb, the Integrity of Job," *Ensign* 30, no. 2 (February 2000), 34.

171. Don Carlos Smith and William Smith to Joseph Smith, Quincy, IL, March 6, 1839, as cited in *History of the Church*, 3:273–74.

172. Don C. and Agnes Smith to Hyrum and Joseph Smith, April 11, 1839, n.p., as cited in *History of the Church*, 3:313–14.

173. Don Carlos Smith and William Smith to Joseph Smith, Quincy, IL, March 6, 1839, as cited in *History of the Church*, 3:273–74.

174. Hyrum Smith to Mary Fielding Smith, March 20, 1839, Liberty, MO, as reproduced in Thomas D. Cottle and Patricia C. Cottle, *Liberty Jail and the Legacy of Joseph* (Portland, OR: Insight, 1998), 130.

175. Don C. and Agnes Smith to Hyrum and Joseph Smith, April 11, 1839, n.p., as cited in *History of the Church*, 3:313–14.

176. *History of the Church*, 2:292.

177. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 201. George A. Smith, "History of George Albert Smith: Zion's Camp, 1834, May 16 to May 22," photocopy of handwritten account, ca. 1970, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

178. Don Carlos served as editor of the *Times and Seasons* from 1839 to 1841, and William was editor of *The Wasp* from 1842 to 1843.

179. Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:188.

180. *History of the Church*, 2:370, 4:12.

181. Orson Hyde, "History of Orson Hyde," *Latter Day Saint Millennial Star* 26 (1864): 774.

182. *History of the Church*, 2:518; 5:119.

183. Oliver Cowdery to Brigham Young, Elkhorn, WI, February 27, 1848, as cited in *Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, February 27, 1848, 1–2, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City; hereafter cited as *Journal History*.

184. Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:475.

185. Calvin Rudd, "William Smith, Brother of the Prophet Joseph Smith" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1973), 46.

186. *Ibid.*, 46–48; *History of the Church*, 2:343–44. [Editor's note: Since the original dissertation was published, the following source has become available: Kyle R. Walker, "William B. Smith," in *United by Faith: The Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith Family*, ed. Kyle R. Walker (American Fork, UT: BYU Studies and Covenant Communications, 2005), 258–61.]

187. Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1901–36), 1:86–87; Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898*, typescript, ed. Scott G. Kenny, 9 vols. (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1983–85), 1:335.

188. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:87.

189. Abraham H. Cannon, Diary, April 9, 1890, LDS Church Archives, as cited in Irene M. Bates and E. Gary Smith, *Lost Legacy: The Mormon Office of Presiding Patriarch* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 98. Brigham's support of Joseph's feelings was evident during the trial, as he responded to the Prophet's rebuke by stating, "Bro. Joseph I withdraw the charge."

190. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 221, 224.

191. Mary Bailey Smith Norman, "Samuel Harrison Smith," June 24, 1914, copy in *Journal History*, July 25, 1844, 4; *History of the Church*, 7:110–11.

192. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:243. Joseph and Hyrum were killed June 27, 1844, and Samuel died on July 30, 1844.

193. *History of the Church*, 5:109.

194. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 63.

195. Hyrum cared for his two younger siblings on an occasion when their parents were gone visiting Joseph Jr. in Harmony, Pennsylvania. Mother Smith remembered that Hyrum left "his own house, and quitted business, in order to take care of them during our absence." Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 128.

196. Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:268. Joseph reportedly used crutches for three years following his surgery at age seven.

197. *History of the Church*, 6:403.

198. *Ibid.*, 2:88.

199. *Ibid.*, 5:446–47, 459.

200. *Journal History*, July 1, 1843, 1.

201. Lyndon W. Cook, *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 20; Esplin, "Hyrum Smith," 36.

202. *Times and Seasons* 5 (15 October 1844): 683.

203. *History of the Church*, 6:546, 550, 592.

204. *History of the Church*, 5:107–8.

205. *History of the Church*, 2:338. Not only did Hyrum and Joseph experience the trials common to the entire family prior to the organization of the Church, they also experienced over four months in Liberty Jail together, as well as being hunted and afterwards jailed in Carthage for the destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor*.

206. *Ibid.*, 6:630. These lines were penned by John Taylor, who witnessed the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. He later became the third President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

207. Lucy Smith Millikin.

208. Agnes Coolbrith Smith, wife of Don Carlos Smith and plural wife of Joseph Smith Jr. after Don Carlos's death.

209. Arthur Millikin, Lucy's husband.

210. William McCleary, Sophronia's husband.

211. Wilkins Jenkins Salisbury, Katharine's husband. William Smith to Brigham Young, October 16, 1844, Petersborough, NH, LDS Church Archives.

212. Brigham Young to William Smith, September 28, 1844, Nauvoo, IL, as cited in *The Prophet* 1 (9 November 1844).

213. William Smith to William W. Phelps, 10 November 1844, Bordentown, New Jersey, as cited in *The Prophet* 1 (23 November 1844).

214. W. W. Phelps to William Smith, 25 December 1844, Nauvoo, IL, as cited in the *Times and Seasons* 5 (1 January 1845): 759.

215. On September 13, 1844, Lucy Millikin gave birth to a daughter named Sarah.

216. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 779–91. The family group who lived at the Marks' home in the years 1845 to 1846, included Mother Smith, Sophronia and her husband and daughter, William and his two daughters, Katharine and her four children, daughter Lucy and her husband and two children, and Samuel's orphaned daughter, Mary Bailey Smith.

217. Walker, "William Smith," 275–77.

218. William Smith to Brigham Young and the Quorum of the Twelve, June 30, 1845, Nauvoo, IL, as cited in William Clayton, *The Journals of William Clayton*, ed. George D. Smith (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 170–71.

219. William Smith, "A Proclamation," *Warsaw Signal* (Warsaw, IL) 2, no. 32 (October 29, 1845): 1.

220. *History of the Church*, 7:483.

221. Bates and Smith, *Lost Legacy*, 101–2 n. 77; citing Jan Shippis, "The Prophet, His Mother, and Early Mormonism: Mother Smith's History as a Passageway to Understanding" (paper presented at the Mormon History Association annual meeting, Logan, UT, May 6, 1979), 17.

222. John Taylor, *John Taylor Nauvoo Journal*, ed. Dean C. Jessee (Provo, UT: Grandin Book, 1996), 71.

223. William Smith to James Jesse Strang, March 1, 1846, Nauvoo, IL, as cited in *Voree Herald* 1 (July 1846); William Smith to James Jesse Strang, December 19, 1846, Knoxville, IL, Yale University.

224. In a letter to Strang in 1846, William Smith states, "The whole Smith family . . . join in sustaining J. J. Strang" (Smith, March 1, 1846). Katharine later wrote "asking for an explanation concerning my name being signed to a document or certificate in support of J. J. Strang being leader of the church. . . . I now in truth declare that I never signed my name to such certificate or document; neither did I give my consent for anyone to sign it. I never knew anything about Strang or his work, nor heard of him for several years after I left Nauvoo." She further states, "I do not believe that my mother, Lucy Smith, or my sisters, Lucy Millikin and Sophronia McClerrie, signed any such certificate" (Salisbury, 1899, 46:261).

225. Lucy Mack Smith to Messrs Babbit, Heywood, and Hulmer, March 22, 1846, as cited in *Voree Herald* 1, no. 8 (August 1846): 3.

226. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 784–89.

227. As William distanced himself from the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, he often felt that his life was in jeopardy and took precautions to protect himself. *John Taylor Nauvoo Journal*, 70.

228. Rudd, "William Smith," 127–29.

229. Joseph Smith, *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith*, ed. Scott H. Faulring (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 418, 426. Also see Andrew F. Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Succession Question" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1981), 103, for a discussion on the higher ordinances of the temple that a "few of the faithful" Saints received, including Lucy Mack Smith.

230. Kenny, *Journals of Wilford Woodruff*, 4:445.

231. Katharine Salisbury to nephews John, Joseph F., and Samuel H. B. Smith, September 11, 1865, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

232. Arthur Millikin to John Smith, July 25, 1863, Colchester, IL, copy of original in L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Provo, UT.

233. *History of the Reorganized Church*, 4:4. For evidence of their similarities in theology, see Walker, "Katharine Smith Salisbury and Lucy Smith Millikin's Attitudes," 165–72. Although the three sisters appear to have unitedly joined with the Reorganized Church in 1873, evidence does not indicate active affiliation. Sophronia and Lucy were too far distant from any branch of the RLDS Church, while Katharine became more involved after her two sisters' deaths.

234. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 213, 796. Lewis Crum Bidamon, whom Emma married on December 23, 1847, "was very kind to Lucy. When she could no longer walk, he made her a wheeled chair in which the children took her for strolls in the garden and around the house."

Resiliency and Religiosity: Overcoming Afflictions through Seeking the Divine

In examining the research regarding the Smith family, there emerged a correlation between the family's religious behavior and their ability to cope with trials. For this reason, the family process concepts of resiliency and religiosity will be examined together. Modern social science research provides insights on how tragedies can turn people towards religion.

Death, Illness, and Religiosity

For Joseph Sr. and Lucy, death and serious illness were recurrent themes throughout their first thirty years of marriage. Current social science research indicates that losing a child is one of the most serious traumas of adult life, regardless of the age of the child.¹ The Smith parents experienced death at both ends of the spectrum, losing two children in infancy and another in the prime of his life. A widow by 1840, Lucy Mack Smith was also preceded in death by over half of her adult children.

Even among early-nineteenth-century families, who no doubt expected to experience the loss of children, grieving followed a normal process.² Parents typically feel a loss of control and a sense of helplessness due to their inability to protect their child. Often, there is an overwhelming sense of shock that tests parents' adaptive capacity. Death creates major stressors and can even generate changes in the parents' lives. With the death of a child, parents face an event that is difficult to understand. However, there is also a strong desire to make sense of the experience by attributing meaning to it. Successful reconstruction of ^[111] healthy family functioning after the loss of a child depends largely on the family's ability to accept the trauma and find a "regenerative use for the pain." Very often, grieving parents find that spiritual or religious activity provides an important source of comfort and meaning. Beliefs regarding

immortality are especially strengthened, for they allow for reunification with the deceased child.³ For many parents, including the Smiths, religiosity provides the necessary compensation to an otherwise incomprehensible event.

Similarly, the possibility of death of a loved one due to severe illness creates comparable feelings in parents. Four members of the Smith family—Mother Smith, Alvin, Sophronia, and Joseph Jr.—experienced severe illness where their lives hung in the balance. Those who experience extreme stress due to such a crisis also show an increase in religious activity. Beliefs regarding religion and immortality are likewise strengthened as a way to manage thoughts of death and associated anxiety. This is dramatically illustrated in persons who endure a near-death experience.⁴ The Smiths' experiences with death and illness coincide with this research. With each trauma they experienced, Joseph Sr. and Lucy sought understanding by deepening their relationship with God and increasing their involvement in religious activities.

Financial Stress and Religiosity

The idea that those who are economically deprived adhere more strongly to religion is common among sociological research and theory. There is substantial research today that indicates that those with lower socioeconomic status show a greater desire for religious devotion. ^[112] Those who are in lower socioeconomic classes are more likely to both read the Bible and pray privately. In addition, they are more likely to desire a religious experience and be more focused on the next life than those in higher socioeconomic groups.⁵

In social science research this can be best understood by using an exchange perspective. That is, any form of deprivation, whether it is socioeconomic status or the loss of a loved one, reduces one's overall level of satisfaction. With a decrease

in satisfaction, the compensatory behaviors that one is capable of performing become more valued. Thus, one will perform such actions more frequently and more intensely.⁶

Adhering more firmly to religion is one type of action that a grieving parent can perform that at the same time provides rewards. Although families may not be able to do anything regarding their socioeconomic status and most assuredly can do nothing to bring back the life of the deceased child, the family can pray, attend church, and hold more firmly to their religious beliefs. Channeling energy towards circumstances over which they have control restores a sense of order to parents whose lives have been disrupted by trauma.⁷

However, it should be noted that an increase in religious commitment following trauma is not typical of all families. In fact, research indicates that an increase in dedication is most likely to occur among those who have had prior religious commitment. Thus, it is more common for adults who have a religious heritage to increase commitment to religion when going through a crisis such as death, illness, or financial ^[113] difficulty.⁸ Such was the case for Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith, whose parents provided that kind of religious background.

Generational Religiosity

Joseph Sr.'s parents, Asael and Mary Duty Smith, provided a religious environment for their children. The couple had their first three children baptized in 1772 and then declared their own profession of faith by "owning the covenant," which entailed accepting the scriptures, recognizing Christ's atonement, and living a Christian lifestyle.⁹ While Asael believed in the providence of God and in the Savior Jesus Christ, he kept himself aloof from the organized religions of the day, stating that "outward forms, rites, and ordinances" would not substitute for the place of Christ's love.¹⁰

However, Asael was not so firmly set against organized religion that he opposed his son Joseph Sr. when he introduced the restored gospel to his father in 1830. Instead, Asael readily accepted, as it confirmed his expectation that "something would appear to make known the true gospel."¹¹ Furthermore, Asael reported "that he always knew that God was going to raise up a branch of his

family to be a great benefit to mankind."¹² Asael accepted the restoration and read the Book of Mormon nearly through, but died in October 1830, shortly after the Church was organized. Asael's wife, Mary Duty Smith, eventually joined the Saints in Kirtland, accepted the restoration, and desired baptism at the hands of her grandson Joseph Jr.¹³ ^[114]

Lucy Mack Smith also came from a religious background, although her father, Solomon Mack, had never read the Bible until he went through a conversion "to the Christian faith" in the winter of 1810 to 1811. He began to study the Bible and had several miraculous manifestations in which he saw a light "as bright as fire" and heard his name called out.¹⁴

By 1811 the conversion experience had completely changed the focus of Solomon's life. Solomon summarized that he had "worried and toiled until an old age to lay up treasures in this world, but the Lord would not suffer me to have it. But I now trust I have treasures laid up that no man can take away." He concluded his conversion experience by stating, "Everything appeared new and beautiful. Oh how I loved my neighbors. How I loved my enemies—I could pray for them. Everything appeared delightful. The love of Christ is beautiful."¹⁵ The concluding years of Solomon's life were spent peddling an autobiography of his conversion experience, which he considered a missionary activity.¹⁶

It was Lucy Mack Smith's mother, Lydia Gates Mack, who provided a religious backdrop for Lucy's formative years. Solomon referred to his wife as his "instructor" in religious matters. He reported that his wife had given him many warnings concerning religious matters, but he had failed to give heed to them until the winter of 1810 to 1811.¹⁷ In adulthood, Lydia enrolled in the Congregational Church and taught her children that families would be reunited after this mortal life was ended. She also led out in making sure the family participated in ^[115] morning and evening prayers, a tradition that would be carried on in the next generation. Her dying words were a testament to her religious convictions: "I must soon exchange the things of earth for another state of existence, where I hope to enjoy the society of the blessed. . . . I beseech you to continue faithful in the exercise of every religious duty to the end of your days."¹⁸

Joseph and Lucy were raised in families that were religiously devout. Certainly their family of origin experiences provided the religious background that each partner brought to the marriage. The transformation that took place in the life of Solomon Mack is especially noteworthy, as it would foreshadow the conversion experiences of Lucy Mack Smith and Joseph Smith Sr. They too came to a point in their lives where they turned from laying up the treasures of the world, to what they described as “set[ting] out in the service of God.”¹⁹ Their religious heritage would play a significant role in the coming years as each partner turned to religion in times of crisis.

Death and Illness in the Smith Family—Early Years

Joseph Smith Sr. and Lucy Mack were married on January 24, 1796, in Tunbridge, Vermont.²⁰ The couple began life in quite prosperous circumstances. Asael, Joseph’s father, gave Joseph and Lucy part ownership of a farm in Tunbridge, Vermont. In addition, Lucy’s brother, Stephen Mack, and his ^[116] business partner, John Mudget, each gave five hundred dollars to Lucy as a wedding present. The one-thousand-dollar gift was a significant sum of money for the time period.²¹ It was in these favorable conditions that Joseph and Lucy began farming their Vermont property.

However, tragedy soon hit the Smith household. Sometime between the middle of 1796 and the spring of 1797 the Smiths lost their firstborn son. Although it was common to lose children in childbirth during this period of history, it was especially trying for the newly married couple to lose their first child. It would be the first of two infants that they would lose; in 1810, Lucy gave birth to a son, Ephraim, who lived just eleven days.²² This was another trying time for the Smiths. Many years later, Joseph Sr. reflected on the loss of his infant children, indicating, “The Lord in his just providence has taken from me, at an untimely birth, a son; this has been a matter of affliction. . . . Another has been taken also in his infancy.”²³

Following the death of his firstborn son, Joseph Sr. sought comfort through increased involvement with religious societies. In December 1797, Joseph signed a declaration of membership

in the Universalist Society, whose central tenant was universal salvation.²⁴ There is also evidence that indicates Joseph Sr. may have joined the Anabaptist Society in 1799. One of the fundamental beliefs of the Anabaptist Society was the rejection of the doctrine of infant baptism, as well as a denunciation of other ^[117] Calvinistic tenants common in that day.²⁵

Joseph Sr. likely had leanings towards these societies because they provided the hope that he would once again see his children in the afterlife. Acceptance of these beliefs would also explain why the Smith parents did not have any of their children baptized.²⁶ If the Smiths accepted the doctrine of infant baptism and subsequently had their future children baptized, where would that leave their infants lost in childbirth? The Calvinist theology of the day taught that unbaptized infants would go to hell, thus eliminating hope of reunification in the next world.²⁷ The trauma of death was likely eased through an increased involvement in these societies, whose doctrine provided understanding and comfort for the Smiths during this difficult time.

Lucy’s quest for religion may have begun following the deaths of her infants, but it was more apparent following her near-death experience that took place in 1802. Lucy indicated that a “hectic fever” had set in, and doctors diagnosed it as consumption. Both attending physicians and family members feared for her life. As the gravity of the situation became apparent, Joseph Sr. became increasingly concerned. He came to her bedside, tenderly took his wife by the hand, and mourned aloud, “Oh Lucy! my wife! my wife! you must die! The doctors have given you up; and all say you cannot live.”²⁸

During her sickness, a Methodist minister visited and asked her if she was ^[118] prepared to die. Knowing that she was ill prepared to answer such a poignant question, Lucy explained that she “knew not the ways of Christ . . . there appeared to be a dark and lonesome chasm, between myself and the Saviour, which I dared not attempt to pass.” As a result of the minister’s visit, and fearing her impending death, Lucy made a covenant with the Lord that if she survived the illness she would serve God as best she knew how. This included a promise to not only be more diligent in seeking salvation, but also to be a greater comfort to her mother, husband, and children. A heavenly

voice then confirmed her covenant, and her health returned immediately.²⁹

Lucy took her covenant seriously. In an attempt to fulfill her promise, she commenced her quest to find God. Lucy searched among the current religions, only to meet with disappointment. What most troubled her about the religions of the day was the ministers' disbelief in miracles. After all, she had just been miraculously healed from a terminal illness. Not finding an organization on earth that coincided with her religious convictions, she resorted to reading the Bible and taking the Apostles as her example. However, her belief that ordinances were necessary for salvation led her to seek out a minister who baptized her, yet left her free from formally joining with that particular church.³⁰

Financial Devastation—The Early Years

While Lucy's near-death experience was distressing enough to compel her to seek God more earnestly, Joseph Sr., upon his wife's recovery, turned his full attention to providing for the family. Father Smith sought to increase the family resources through ^[119] several business ventures. The couple rented their home and land while they tried their hand at storekeeping in nearby Randolph, Vermont. Father Smith purchased a line of goods from Boston that sold out quickly. However, payment was to be attained in commodities at harvesttime rather than in cash income, and Joseph Sr. was content waiting for his investment to come to fruition.³¹

Father Smith next directed his efforts in an entrepreneurial venture—the marketing of crystallized ginseng root. Although the investment looked very promising and Joseph stood to make as much as forty-five hundred dollars, a Mr. Stevens managed to swindle Joseph Sr. out of his rightful profits. By the time Mr. Stevens's wrongdoing was discovered, he had fled to Canada, and the Smith family was left with heavy debts.³²

In addition to the losses incurred through the ginseng investment, the debt Joseph had assumed for his store goods came due. As Richard Bushman has noted, "Forced to the wall, he [Joseph Sr.] took the step that blighted the Smith family fortunes for thirty years," and sold his equity in the farm for eight hundred dollars. Because that

amount was not enough to pay off the entire eighteen-hundred-dollar debt, Lucy contributed her one-thousand-dollar wedding gift. The Smiths were now free of debt but were without property, a home, or any financial resources. Continues Bushman, "Lucy said they made the sacrifice to avoid the the 'embarrassment of debt' but they soon knew the 'embarrassment of poverty.' They crossed the boundary dividing independent ownership from tenancy and day labor. It was a line that, for all their industry and ingenuity, the Smiths were not to recross until after the organization of the church in 1830."³³

In these most humble of circumstances, both Lucy and Joseph turned their attention to religion. Before leaving the farm at Tunbridge, but certainly knowing the ^[120] farm was to be sold—if it hadn't been already—Lucy noted that her "mind became deeply impressed with the subject of religion."³⁴ At the same time, Joseph Sr. similarly reflected "seriously upon the subject of religion."³⁵ Although Lucy mentioned her illness in Randolph as the cause of her seeking religion more intently, the loss of all their possessions probably contributed to her search. Lucy later described the loss of the Vermont farm as a "considerable trial," as they were "deprived . . . of the comforts and conveniences of life."³⁶

Financial struggles began to play a crucial role in the Smiths' involvement with religious behavior. For both parents, economic setbacks appear to correlate with increased religiosity. The manner in which the Smiths sought involvement with religion accords with social science research in that they sought a personal relationship with Deity (see previous section entitled "Financial Stress and Religiosity"). The Smith children described the manner in which their parents sought this personal relationship with God. They remembered that family prayers were held both "night and morning" and that their "Father and Mother pour[e]d out their Souls to God the doner of all Blessings."³⁷ In addition, their religious involvement included the singing of hymns, personal and family study of the Bible, and the reading of religious tracts and materials that were available to them.³⁸ Their behavior accords with modern social science research that indicates personal religious activities are more common among individuals in financial distress.³⁹

The Smiths were not alone in their experience, as evidenced by the growth of ^[121] different

denominations among the lower socioeconomic communities of farmers during the early 1800s. Milton Backman documented that during this time period, “countless unchurched Americans engaged in a quest for religious truth, religious enthusiasm increased, piety seemed more evident, and church membership increased at a steady, rapid pace.” Backman further reported that there was substantial growth among the Baptist, Methodist, Congregational, and Presbyterian denominations in farming communities of western New York.⁴⁰ Much of this growth likely had to do with the constant struggle for survival that was nearly universal among frontier families in western New York.

Gradually the Smiths were able to acquire enough goods that they were comfortable once again. How comfortable the Smiths were is difficult to determine, but we do know that they made frequent moves over the next nine years. Thus, we can assume that they were not comfortable to the point of owning property or a home. Father Smith farmed during the summer seasons and then taught school during the winter months. Thus, circumstances appear to have improved incrementally for the family.⁴¹

In the spring of 1810, a son, Ephraim, died just two weeks after he was born.⁴² Following his death, Joseph Sr. sought understanding through religion. During his religious quest, Father Smith began to have a series of dreams.^[122] According to Lucy, sometime during April 1811, the month after William was born, Joseph Sr. had his first dream. Lucy felt that at least some of these dreams were significant enough for her to record them “just as he told it to me.”⁴³

Over the next eight years, Joseph Sr. received a total of seven dreams, the last of which occurred just prior to his son’s First Vision.⁴⁴ There appears to be an overriding pattern to the dreams. In each of these dreams, there was a promise of healing or salvation that was just beyond a gate, under a tree, or through a door. In several of the dreams, eternal life was just beyond the reach of and unattainable by Joseph Sr.⁴⁵ The theme of the dreams implied that Joseph would need something more in order to secure his salvation. At the same time, the dreams’ portrayal of “barrenness” and “desolation” were interpreted by Joseph to represent organized religion and solidified his determination to

remain distant from the established religions of the day.⁴⁶

Joseph’s visionary experiences, along with his accompanying interpretation, likely had the effect of strengthening the couple’s hopefulness in enduring life’s challenges. The dreams were significant in that they assisted in cultivating a hope for the future.^[123] Joseph was thoroughly convinced that organized religion as it then stood could not provide the necessary rites to ensure salvation. Hence, he looked forward to the future, when these items would be made known in full. The anticipation of future revelation assisted the couple in enduring present difficulties.

Illness among Children

The next chapter in the Smiths’ lives was a move to Lebanon, New Hampshire. During the next year or so, their focus turned to providing for their present needs, if only temporarily. The family’s destitute circumstances improved, and they collectively celebrated their prosperity. Lucy reflected, “What do we now lack there is nothing which we have not a sufficiency of to make us and our children perfectly comfortable both for food and raiment as well as that which is necessary to a respectable appearance in society.”⁴⁷ The Smiths redoubled their efforts to provide for their future wants and looked forward to living comfortably as they moved into old age.

As was the pattern, the Smiths’ prosperous circumstances did not last long. In 1812, typhoid fever swept through the Connecticut River Valley, killing nearly six thousand people.⁴⁸ The Smith family was not exempt from the dreaded disease. All of the Smith children experienced bouts with the illness, with Sophronia, the eldest daughter, being most severely afflicted. After nearly three months of suffering, the attending physician relinquished any hope of recovery for Sophronia.^[124] Lucy described her daughter as lying “altogether motionless, with her eyes wide open, and with that peculiar aspect which bespeaks the near approach of death.” Mother Smith would certainly know what the “near approach of death” looked like, as she had, during her youth, been by the bedside of her own sisters, Lovisa and Lovina, prior to their respective deaths.⁴⁹

Once again, brought to the pinnacle of death, Joseph and Lucy turned to God for comfort and

support. The couple clasped hands, knelt in prayer, and petitioned God to spare their child. Lucy joyously recounted, "Did the Lord hear our petition? Yes, he most assuredly did . . . [and] gave us a testimony that she should recover." After receiving this testimony that their daughter would recover, Lucy arose from the prayer to find that Sophronia had stopped breathing. Others who were present expressed their belief that Sophronia had expired and encouraged Lucy to let her go. However, Lucy trusted in her answered prayer and "would not, for a moment, relinquish the hope of again seeing her breathe and live." Pressing the child to her bosom, Lucy paced the floor until her daughter began to breathe again. Miraculously, Sophronia completely recovered.⁵⁰ During a difficult time, the Smith parents found much-needed comfort through the medium of prayer. This experience left a lasting impression on the couple, as Joseph Sr. recounted the event some twenty-eight years later. In his final blessing to Sophronia in 1840, Joseph Sr. began, "Sophronia . . . thou hadst sickness when thou wast young, and thy parents did cry over thee, to have the Lord spare thy life."⁵¹ Supplication to Deity brought them through this trying ordeal and strengthened their ^[125] belief in a compassionate and all-powerful God.

The family's trials with sickness were not dispelled with Sophronia's recovery. Not long after their daughter's recuperation, the Smith parents turned their attention to their son. Seven-year-old Joseph was attacked with the typhoid fever as well. Again, this developed into a life-threatening illness and an agonizing experience for Joseph Sr. and Lucy. Joseph Jr. recorded that at one point during the illness, "my father d[e]spaired of my life."⁵² Although the doctors were able to alleviate the fever, Joseph was left with a sore under his arm, which was subsequently lanced, discharging a quart of fluid. Following the drainage, the pain "shot like lightning" down his side into his left leg. The leg then became infected, and surgeons were called in.⁵³

A team of doctors decided that it would be best to amputate the leg, as that was the standard form of treatment at the time for Joseph's condition. Both Mother Smith and young Joseph refused to consider amputation and petitioned the doctors to reconsider.⁵⁴ Eventually the surgeons agreed to an unconventional procedure where the infected bone would be drained and the dead bone fragments removed.⁵⁵

The youthful Joseph thought he could endure the surgery if "my father [will] sit on the bed and hold me in his arms." Joseph Jr., sensitive to his mother's disposition, requested his mother to "leave the room, for I know you cannot bear ^[126] to see me suffer so; father can stand it, but you have carried me so much, and watched over me so long, you are almost worn out."⁵⁶

Lucy reluctantly complied with her son's request and went several hundred yards from the home site in order to keep herself from interfering. However, upon hearing the screams of her son during the surgery, she rushed back to the house two different times to make sure he was all right. She vividly described bursting into the room and seeing "the wound torn open, the blood still gushing from it, and the bed literally covered with blood." Additionally, she stated that her son "was as pale as a corpse, and large drops of sweat were rolling down his face, whilst upon every feature was depicted the utmost agony!" She subsequently had to be detained from the room until the operation was completed. In all, Joseph Jr. went through a series of three painful operations. It was only after this third and final surgery, where the infected bone was successfully removed, that Joseph Jr. began to recover from the painful ordeal.⁵⁷

Although the outcome of the operation eventually proved successful, the family's experience with typhoid fever proved to be a considerable trial for Lucy and Joseph Sr. Joseph Jr.'s illness and ensuing operations came on the heels of Sophronia's nearly fatal experience. After her daughter's episode, Lucy recalled that her "strength was gone" and that she "sunk down by her [Sophronia's] side, completely overpowered." In the midst of Joseph Jr.'s illness, Lucy reportedly carried her son from place to place in order to alleviate his suffering. As a result of this added strain, Lucy notes that she "was taken very ill" herself due to "anxiety of mind . . . together with physical over- ^[127] exertion."⁵⁸ Joseph Sr. no doubt suffered through this time period as well. Just before his son's last operation, Father Smith reflected on the sufferings of his son and his wife and then "burst into a flood of tears, and sobbed like a child."⁵⁹

After nearly a year of illness, the Smiths were drained physically and emotionally. With the added burden of medical expenses, they were also financially devastated. This was likely the most

severe trial the couple had experienced thus far in their married life. Lucy reported that they were reduced to such a point that they “were now compelled to brake arrangements for going into some kind of buisness” in order to “provide for present wants rather than [seek] future prospects as we had previously contemplated.”⁶⁰

Although they were at their breaking point following these episodes of illness, the Smith parents exhibited several forms of coping behavior. First, Lucy relied on others for support. No longer could she do it alone. When Lucy’s physical constitution no longer allowed her to nurse her ill children, she called on her older children for support. Once she had physically overexerted herself, she allowed Hyrum to take her place. Hyrum faithfully supplanted his mother for the next three weeks, giving her much needed rest so that she might prepare for the pending surgeries which still lay ahead.⁶¹ Additionally, Joseph Sr. and Lucy shared the responsibilities in jointly supporting one another throughout this season of prolonged illness.

Participating in religious activities was another coping behavior manifest by the couple. As Mother Smith had made a habit of praying during times of crisis, she once ^[128] again cried out to God in the midst of Joseph’s surgery. In her history, Lucy poignantly summarized this period of family illness with the following: “Having passed through about a year of sickness and distress, health again returned to our family, and we most assuredly realized the blessing; and indeed, we felt to acknowledge the hand of God, more in preserving our lives through such a tremendous scene of affliction, than if we had, during this time, seen nothing but health and prosperity.”⁶² The family acknowledged the hand of God, who they felt helped them through a most difficult hour. Their hope and faith provided the necessary strength to an otherwise insurmountable course of events.

Difficulties Migrating to New York

After their trials with illness, the Smith family moved to Norwich, Vermont. For the next three years, the Smiths struggled against severe obstacles in trying to simply survive. For two consecutive years, their crops failed due to the extremely cold Vermont weather. Joseph Sr. was determined to stay on the farm one more season; he proposed

that if the family met with the same outcome, they move to New York. The next year proved disastrously cold, and the crops were a complete failure. The family resolved to leave the state. However, they did not do so before enduring additional hardships.⁶³

In addition to farm losses, Joseph and Lucy would have to pay their debts before they could leave the state. For generations, the Smiths had been strictly honest, ^[129] and “it was a point of honor” for Joseph Sr. “not to run out on their creditors as others did.”⁶⁴ Joseph Sr. got debtors and creditors together to settle his finances and then went ahead of the family to prepare the way for their coming to New York. However, at the very time Lucy was preparing to remove from Vermont, several men that the Smiths had previously settled their accounts with brought forth their books, which showed additional debts. These same men had earlier agreed to erase these debts in the presence of witnesses, but Lucy concluded that it would be better to pay the “unjust claims” rather than fight it in court. So Lucy made “considerable exertion” in order to raise one hundred and fifty dollars and “liquidated the demand.”⁶⁵

Although destitute of any means, Lucy refused the offer of raising a subscription on her behalf. A sense of self-reliant obstinacy was exhibited when Lucy remarked, “The idea of receiving assistance in such a way as this was indeed very repulsive to my feelings, and I rejected their offer.” Certainly Lucy could have benefited from some type of assistance, as she arrived in Palmyra with “barely two cents in cash.”⁶⁶

With finances settled, the family began the journey without their father but with the aid of a teamster named Caleb Howard. Circumstances were difficult simply because of family dynamics. Not only did Lucy have to care for eight children under the age of eighteen, she had the additional burden of caring for an infant, Don Carlos. If this wasn’t enough of an encumbrance for the sole parent, she was also taking care of her eighty-four-year-old mother, Lydia.^{67 [130]}

Lydia would not travel with the group long, however. Two days into the journey, the sleigh in which Lydia was riding overturned, and she was injured.⁶⁸ Due to the injury, Lucy and her mother would have to part, as Lydia desired to stay in the Tunbridge–Royalton area with relatives. The separation was extremely difficult for both mother

and daughter, as they recognized they would most likely never see each other again. Lydia died less than two years later, and Lucy assumed that it was because of the injury she had experienced while traveling with the Smith family. Lucy appears to have experienced some guilt in leaving her mother in such precarious circumstances. She reflected on the parting scene as a “severe” trial to “pass through,” and it still brought about intense feelings nearly thirty years after its occurrence.⁶⁹

The only comfort for Lucy at the time of separation was her mother’s parting counsel. Lydia instilled hope in her daughter by encouraging her to remain “faithful in the service of God,” so that they might “have the pleasure of embracing . . . in another and fairer world above.” Lucy would never forget this comforting counsel, as well as the location where it took place.⁷⁰ In fact, this very charge—to remain faithful to God so that she might be reunited with her mother—provided the hope Lucy needed to endure her life challenges.

After traveling some distance, Lucy’s impressions of teamster Caleb Howard turned sour. Lucy described Howard as an “unprincipled and unfeeling” man who handled goods, money, and people poorly. He was particularly hard on Joseph Jr., who had not been off crutches long and was forced to walk on foot for miles at a time.⁷¹ Near ^[131] Utica, New York, Howard attempted to take the family’s wagon and belongings and leave them to fend for themselves. Lucy’s assertiveness proved fortunate, as she seized the reigns of the horse and summoned witnesses, which prevented him from accomplishing his designs. Shortly after riding themselves of Howard’s services, the family arrived in Palmyra.

Coping with Poverty in Palmyra

After arriving in Palmyra, the Smiths once more began to counsel together on what course they should pursue. It was concluded that family members—everyone who was able—should pitch in so that they might procure land and eventually settle comfortably. Lucy was particularly determined to overcome the “embarrassments with which we were surrounded.” She did her part by painting “oil cloth coverings for tables and stands,” in which she prospered to the point of not only supplying family provisions, but replenishing furniture left behind in the move.⁷²

Joseph Sr. and his two oldest sons began to work diligently as well. Within a few years after arriving in Palmyra, the family had contracted for one hundred acres of land, cleared thirty acres for cultivation, and erected a log house. The Smiths worked hard, and gradually their circumstances improved. After a mere two years in the Palmyra area, Lucy reflected on their circumstances and reported that the family had a “comfortable though humble habitation built and neatly furnished,” and that they began to “rejoice in their prosperity.”⁷³ ^[132]

Around this period of moderate prosperity, Lucy recorded a conversation that took place between her and some of the “wealthy” wives in the area. Lucy recalled one of the ladies stating that Lucy “ought not to live in that log house of her’s any longer she deserves a better fate and I say she must have a new house.” Another woman agreed with the previous comment and then remarked that Lucy “ought to have the best of every thing.” Lucy rebuked the upper-class women. Mother Smith retorted that there was nothing that her family lacked and that she did not envy those who had more than she did, as her family was rich in the intangibles of life. Said Lucy,

I am the wealthiest woman who sits at this table. . . . I have never prayed for riches of the world as perhaps you have but I have always desired that God would enable me to use enough wisdom and forbearance in my family to set good precepts & examples before my children . . . that we might in our old age reap the reward of circumspection . . . [and have] the Pleasure of seeing our children dignify their Fathers name by an upright and honorable course of conduct in [the] after life.⁷⁴

Lucy’s religious paradigm assisted her in coping with constant poverty, as the Smiths were almost always in the lowest socioeconomic class.

Alvin’s Death

Family exertions then turned towards building a frame house on the rented farm, with Alvin leading out in construction. Alvin’s goal in constructing the frame house ^[133] reflected Lucy’s; he stated that he intended to have “everything arranged for their [Joseph Sr. and Lucy’s] comfort, and they shall not work any more as they have done.”⁷⁵ Alvin’s unselfish desire reflected his parent’s aspirations to move comfortably into old age. However, this ambitious undertaking by their oldest son was

circumvented by illness. The Smith family would have their dream of settling comfortably into their final years eradicated.

In November 1823, Alvin became ill with bilious colic. The regular physician being absent, the Smiths called upon a Dr. Greenwood, who gave Alvin a large dose of calomel. The medicine lodged in his stomach, and other doctors were called in to help remove it, with no success. Alvin, sensing his death was imminent, called his siblings together and gave them his parting sentiments individually.⁷⁶ With that accomplished, Alvin died at the young age of twenty-five.

This was a painful episode for the Smith family. Lucy recounted that “lamentation and mourning filled the whole neighborhood” and “more than usual grief filled the hearts of those from whose immediate circle he was taken.”⁷⁷ It was even difficult for the family to hear Joseph Jr. speak of the plates and his experiences with Moroni during this time period, as it brought painful reminders of Alvin, who had exhibited the greatest interest in the record. Lucy revealed the family sentiment at the time of his death when she recounted that the family “realized that he was gone . . . to return no more in this life [and] we all with one accord wept over our ir retrievable loss, and we could not be comforted.”⁷⁸ Over ten years after Alvin’s death, Joseph Sr. mentioned that his “heart [still] often mourns ^[134] his loss.”⁷⁹

Once again, because of the illness and death of Alvin, the Smiths sought solace through an increased involvement with religion. Lucy indicated that the family “flocked to the meeting house to see if their was a word of comfort for us that might relieve our overcharged feelings.”⁸⁰ The shock and mourning that resulted from Alvin’s death prompted the Smith family to deepen their commitment to church. Mother Smith reported that she felt a longing to “join in with them [fellow church members]” as did “most of the family.”⁸¹ Mother Smith, Sophronia, Hyrum, and Samuel had previously joined the Western Presbyterian Church of Palmyra, but they appear to have increased their involvement following Alvin’s death.⁸² The rest of the family appears to have attended their meetings as well.⁸³

Joseph Sr. attended several meetings with the rest, as was the case when the family was left destitute during their early years of marriage. However, his attendance was short-lived. William recalled

the reason his father peremptorily stopped his church attendance. Said he, ^[135] “My father would not join. He did not like it because a Rev. [Benjamin] Stockton had preached my brother’s funeral sermon and intimated very strongly that he had gone to hell, for Alvin was not a church member, but he was a good boy and my father did not like it.”⁸⁴

Once again, Joseph’s beliefs regarding organized religion were confirmed. How his oldest son, who was described as “one of the noblest of the sons of men,” who lived without “guile” or “spot,” could be damned to hell was beyond Joseph Sr.’s comprehension.⁸⁵ Although Father Smith ceased his formal church attendance, he continued to practice his private forms of religiosity, while the rest of the family “attended their several meetings as often as occasion would permit.”⁸⁶

Loss of Frame Home and Property

Not only was the grief difficult to bear, but Alvin’s death also brought about financial difficulty as well. The family’s resources were spent on finishing the house that Alvin had begun rather than paying the yearly installment that had come due. The services of Russell Stoddard had to be procured in order to finish the house. This same Stoddard proposed buying the frame home after it was completed, an offer that was flatly rejected by the Smiths. However, Stoddard was not to be denied. He went to an agent and portrayed the Smith family as destroying the property and getting ready to run from their debts. The agent panicked and sold the property from underneath the Smiths. After considerable exertion, the Smiths eventually got an acquaintance, Lemuel Durfee, to ^[136] purchase the farm and allow them to continue to live on the property. Now the family would have to pay rent as opposed to making payment on the contract, and the property was out of their hands.⁸⁷ This was a devastating blow to the family, who had worked diligently to provide for future wants.

It was especially overwhelming for Lucy, who had set her heart upon settling on the farm and aging comfortably in the frame house. She reported that this loss of the farm in 1825 hurt much more than the loss of their property back in 1803, as they had passed the prime of their lives. She examined the property and the industry

which the family had exhibited and recognized for the first time just how much the farm had meant to her. Lucy gazed upon the property with “yearning attachment.”⁸⁸ The family lived in the frame house for four more years, but in 1829 they were forced to move back into their former log home.⁸⁹

Coping through Conversion

At the same time the family lost their contracted property, events of the restoration were beginning to unfold. During the mid-1820s, the family gradually began to shift their focus to immaterial things. Between the years 1823 and 1829, as the events of the restoration unfolded, Joseph and Lucy understood the mission of their son more completely. They began to understand that not only was their son blessed with certain gifts, he was called to be the Lord’s prophet, the one who would restore Christ’s true church to the earth. As Joseph Sr. and Lucy began to realize the significance of the record to come forth, all of the trials and difficulties “with which [their] lives had been ^[137] rather singularly marked” began to be seen as purposeful. In fact, the family understood that the reason their lives had been “singularly marked” with trials was to prepare them for their significant mission. Now, more than ever before, they perceived their suffering in light of their role in the reemergence of Christ’s church on the earth.⁹⁰

As events of the restoration continued to unfold, the Smiths’ suffering took on increased meaning for the family, as they saw its purpose as bringing them to Christ and His Church. The “persecutions and afflictions” that the family had constantly “suffered” were now understood in a new light. As the chosen family of the restoration, they, like the faithful prophets of old, were to suffer for the “cause of Christ.” By 1829, the entire family began to take on language that reflected this manner of thinking and mode of dealing with difficulties. When Father Smith was imprisoned in a jail in Canandaigua, New York, he explained how his religious beliefs assisted him in coping. Said Joseph Sr., “They hurried me into this dismal dungeon. I shuddered when I first heard these heavy doors creaking upon their hinges; but then, I thought to myself, I was not the first man who had been imprisoned for the truth’s sake; and

when I should meet Paul in the Paradise of God, I could tell him that I, too, had been in bonds for the Gospel which he preached. *And this has been my only consolation.*”⁹¹ ^[138]

Father Smith found solace in his belief that his suffering was temporary and that, ultimately, he would dwell with the faithful prophets of the past in the “Paradise of God.” This, said he, was what gave him the strength to endure the many hardships that were a constant part of his life.

This same sentiment ran through the entire family. Joseph Jr.’s account of dealing with persecution after he made known his First Vision is remarkably similar to that of his father. Joseph said that he was surprised that his recounting of his vision should “attract the attention of the great ones of the most popular sects of the day, and in a manner to create in them a spirit of the most bitter persecution and reviling. But strange or not, so it was, and it was often the cause of great sorrow to myself.” Joseph Jr. then indicated what helped him endure such persecution, stating that he “felt much like Paul, when he made his defense before King Agrippa, and related the account of the vision he had when he had seen a light, and heard a voice; but still there were but few who believed him; some said he was dishonest, others said he was mad; and he was ridiculed and reviled. But all this did not destroy the reality of the vision . . . and though they should persecute him unto death, yet he knew. . . . So it was with me.” ^[139] ⁹²

Like his father, young Joseph found comfort in coping with persecution through comparing his circumstances to the religious leaders of old. Thus, the persecution he experienced would, in the end, lead to life with God and the faithful Saints of ages past. In his later teachings to the Saints, Joseph indicated that it was *only* through suffering that mankind would be made perfect.⁹³ Thus, the Prophet emphasized his belief that the ultimate purpose of afflictions was to literally bring one to God and his kingdom.

Lucy Mack Smith also interpreted her suffering as being a requisite to earning favor with God. After being forced to move from the comfortable frame home and the property that the family had labored so hard to develop, Lucy stated that the “cause of all our present privation as well as the misfortune[s]” were due to the fact that the family had turned their “back upon the world and set out in the service of God.” Then, so as to give

meaning to the otherwise unexplainable event of losing all they had hoped for, Lucy stated that she gave “all this up for the sake of Christ and salvation, and I pray God to help me to do so, without one murmur or a tear and in the strength of God I give them up from this time and I will not cast one longing look upon anything which I now leave behind me.”⁹⁴ Rather than viewing her property as stolen, Lucy interpreted losing her home and land as ^[140] a sacrifice for the cause of Christ. Hence, the suffering they endured was not in vain.

Mother Smith continued to view her trials through a religious lens in coping with numerous hardships. When her sons were taken as prisoners in Missouri, instead of being angry or vengeful towards their captors, she put faith in her belief that someday those men would answer “before the bar of God.”⁹⁵ When the family was told that both Hyrum and Joseph were to be shot by the Missouri militia, Lucy described her house as being filled “with mourning, lamentation, and woe.” Nevertheless, Lucy immediately found comfort through communicating with the Divine. She stated, “In the midst of my grief I found consolation that surpassed all earthly comfort[,] I was filled with the spirit of God.”⁹⁶ Although grief stricken when she lost her husband in 1840, she took comfort in her belief that she would eventually be reunited with him, “where parting shall be no more.”⁹⁷ When three of her sons died in 1844, her method of coping was similar. At the funeral of Hyrum and Joseph Jr., she cried out, “My God, my God, why has thou forsaken this family!” She then reported that a voice answered, “I have taken them to myself, that they might have rest,” which answer once again brought needed comfort. When Lucy later reflected upon the murder of her sons, she recorded, “My blood curdles in my veins,” but found solace in her ^[141] belief in an afterlife where the innocent would finally triumph over all their former enemies.⁹⁸

For Lucy, her longing for everlasting life with the faithful of ages past took on additional meaning. Her greatest desire was to live the kind of life that would reunite her with her pious sisters and faithful mother, who had all preceded her in death. Said Lucy, “My heart was burdened with anxiety distress and fear lest [lest] I shoul[d] by any means fail [in] . . . that preparation which was needful in order [to] meet my sisters in that world

which they had taken their departure.”⁹⁹ The hope of familial reunification once again assisted Lucy in enduring her mortal hardships.

The other children in the family also picked up on the family belief system—trials served an eternal purpose. When William remembered losing the frame home and property, he indicated that the family “thanked the Lord in all our affliction that we were counted worthy to suffer in his cause, and realize that our light affliction here would work for us ‘a much more exceeding and eternal weight of glory’ in the eternal world.”¹⁰⁰

Similarly, Katharine took comfort in the fact that she had endured great persecutions. She counseled fellow Saints to “be faithful, for there is a crown laid up for them that come up through great tribulation and faint not by the way.”¹⁰¹ In the midst of Hyrum and Joseph’s extremity in Liberty Jail, the two brothers prayed to the Lord for comfort. They took solace in the Lord’s response that their trials would “be but a small moment” in God’s time and that if they endured their “adversity” and “afflictions” well, they would triumph over all their enemies.^{102 [142]}

Summary

During the early nineteenth century, it was common for people to lose children, experience bouts with severe illnesses, and, for many, endure heavy financial losses.¹⁰³ The Smiths experienced all three on more than one occasion. Even so, the Smiths’ experience with hardships may not be considered abnormal. However, when the religious persecution the family jointly experienced is factored in, the Smiths’ difficulties were above and beyond what was typical for families of that time period.

Enduring the many misfortunes and trials was at least a part of the impetus that led the family to accept wholeheartedly their son and brother’s message of the Restoration, for the cause they espoused gave purpose and meaning to all the hardships they had experienced. Joseph Sr. now understood that his dreams were prophetic, and that their fulfillment came in the form of the Book of Mormon and the events surrounding the Restoration of the gospel.¹⁰⁴ Additionally, he would be able to end his quest for a church that coincided more precisely with that of the New Testament. Finally, Father Smith would find needed comfort in the revealed

doctrines regarding the salvation of little children and the confirmation that infant baptism was not of God.¹⁰⁵ These were beliefs he likely held before the Restoration, but which were not adhered to by the majority of religions in his day.

Joseph Sr. put his whole energies into the newly formed church, expressing “that ^[143] he had nothing to consecrate to the Lord of the things of the Earth, yet he felt to consecrate himself and [his] family.”¹⁰⁶ Lucy went through a similar process. She assisted dutifully in securing the plates in 1827, forsook Presbyterianism, and felt to surrender all temporalities for the gospel cause.¹⁰⁷

The whole Smith family ultimately accepted Joseph Jr.’s message, not only because they believed him, but because the trials in their lives turned them towards God. Through hardships, the family showed that struggles in life—death, illness, and financial devastation—could best be understood and overcome by attributing religious meaning. Although this mode of coping was not unique in early nineteenth-century America, nor is it among contemporary families, it reveals how the Smith family dealt with their challenges. They looked for answers through increased religious involvement and a greater desire for religious experience. Their united commitment to the cause was complete, and their religious beliefs in times of trial provided the necessary strength to endure the inordinate affliction they experienced throughout their lives. ^[144]

Notes

1. Kathleen R. Gilbert, “Couple Coping with the Death of a Child,” in *Death and Trauma*, ed. Charles R. Figley, Brian E. Bride, and Nicholas Mazza (Washington, D.C.: Taylor and Francis, 1997), 102.
2. Judith Walzer Leavitt, *Brought to Bed: Child-Bearing in America, 1750–1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 18–19.
3. Gilbert, “Couple Coping with the Death of a Child,” 101–2; Judith A. Cook and Dale W. Wimberly, “If I Should Die before I Wake: Religious Commitment and Adjustment to the Death of a Child,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 22, no. 3 (1983): 223.
4. Karolynn Siegel, Stanley J. Anderman, and Eric W. Schrimshaw, “Religion and Coping with Health-Related Stress,” *Psychology and Health* 16 (2001): 631–53; Robert Wuthnow, Kevin Christiano, and John Kuzlowski, “Religion and Bereavement: A Conceptual Framework,” 409–10.
5. James D. Davidson, “Socio-Economic Status and Ten Dimensions of Religious Commitment,” *Sociology and Social Research* 61, no. 4 (1977): 480.
6. Cook et al., “Religious Commitment and Adjustment,” 222–23.
7. Ibid., 223.
8. Ibid.; Davidson, “Socio-Economic Status and Ten Dimensions,” 480.
9. Richard L. Anderson, *Joseph Smith’s New England Heritage*, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and BYU Press, 2003), 118, 249n127.
10. Asael Smith “Address to His Family,” photographic facsimile reprinted in Anderson, *Joseph Smith’s New England Heritage*, 168.
11. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853), 155.
12. George A. Smith, “Sketch of the Autobiography of George Albert Smith,” *Deseret News*, 11 August 1858, 109.
13. Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1957), 2:443; Martha Jane Coray, “Copy of an Old Notebook,” typescript, Archive of the Mormon Experience, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.
14. Solomon Mack, *The Narrative [sic] of the Life of Solomon Mack: Containing and Account of the Many Severe Accidents he met with During a Long Series of Years, Together with the Extraordinary Manner in which he was Converted to the Christian Faith* (Windsor, VT: By the author, 1811), 19, 22–23.
15. Ibid., 23–24, 44, as cited in Anderson, *Joseph Smith’s New England Heritage*, 24.
16. Anderson, *Joseph Smith’s New England Heritage*, 29, 32.
17. Solomon Mack, *Narrative*, 20, 22.
18. Lucy Mack Smith, Preliminary Manuscript, as cited in Lavina Fielding Anderson, *Lucy’s Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith’s Family Memoir* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001), 315.
19. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 129.
20. Record of Births, Marriages, Deaths and Miscellaneous Records, Book “A,” p. 129, microfilm copy of original, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT; Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 37.
21. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 45; Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 29. By comparison, in 1825 when the Smith family was struggling to keep the Palmyra farm, Lemuel Durfee Sr. purchased the entire one-hundred-acre farm, including sixty acres of cleared land, several outbuildings, and a large frame house, all for \$1,135. Larry C. Porter, *A Study of the Origins of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the States of New York and Pennsylvania* (Provo, UT: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History and BYU Studies, 2000), 37, 43n191.
22. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 41, 56.
23. Patriarchal Blessing Book, December 9, 1834, Book 1, p. 1, LDS Church Archives, Family and Church History Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.
24. Record of Births, Marriages, Deaths, and Miscellaneous Records, Book A, December 6, 1797, 188; Milton V.

Backman Jr., *Christian Churches of America: Origins and Beliefs*, rev. ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), 152.

25. Record of Births, Marriages, Deaths, and Miscellaneous Records, Book A, November 12, 1799, 443; Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), 1:636. For a discussion of Joseph Sr.'s involvement in both the Universalist and the Anabaptist societies, see Vogel's discussion on pp. 633–36.

26. Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:636.

27. Milton V. Backman Jr., *American Religions and the Rise of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1965), 81–82.

28. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 47.

29. *Ibid.*, 46–47.

30. *Ibid.*, 48–49.

31. *Ibid.*, 45, 51.

32. *Ibid.*, 50–51; Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 30.

33. Bushman, *Beginnings of Mormonism*, 30; Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 286; Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 51.

34. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 54.

35. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 291. The statement attributed to Joseph Sr. is crossed out in the manuscript.

36. *Ibid.*, 298.

37. William Smith, "Notes Written on 'Chambers' Life of Joseph Smith," ca. 1875, 29, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

38. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 48.

39. James D. Davidson, "Socio-economic Status and Religious Commitment," 480.

40. Milton V. Backman Jr., *Joseph Smith's First Vision*, 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 53, 61–67.

41. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 56.

42. *Ibid.*, 41.

43. *Ibid.*, 56–57. It is interesting to note that Father Smith's increase in religiosity coincides not only with the death of his son, but with the conversion of Joseph Sr.'s father-in-law, Solomon Mack. Solomon published his narrative in 1811. The purpose of the narrative is contained in the subtitle: "An account of the many severe accidents he met with during a long series of years, together with the extraordinary manner in which he was converted to the Christian faith." Although the details of the relationship between the two families are limited, it is documented that Joseph Sr. rented a farm from his father-in-law from 1805 to 1808. Additionally, Lucy and her mother, Lydia, shared a close relationship where they each cared for each other in times of illness. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 47, 56, 68. In 1811, Solomon was living on a farm in Sharon, Vermont, and the Smith family was nearby in Royalton, Vermont. Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage*, 28–29. The Smiths were aware of Solomon's conversion, which took place around this same period of time (1810–1811), and it is possible that Solomon's conversion, as well as his newfound method of coping with physical challenges through his faith, had an influence on Joseph Sr.'s own religious leanings during this time of searching.

44. *Ibid.*, 73–74.

45. Bushman, *Beginnings of Mormonism*, 51.

46. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 57–58.

47. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 299.

48. Joseph A. Gallup, *Sketches of Epidemic Diseases in the State of Vermont from Its First Settlement to 1815* (Brattleboro, VT: Vermont Printing Company, 1928), as cited in Bushman, *Beginnings of Mormonism*, 32.

49. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 24–26, 60.

50. *Ibid.*, 61.

51. *Ibid.*, 268.

52. Joseph Smith, *The Papers of Joseph Smith Vol. 1: Autobiographical and Historical Writings* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989), 268n1.

53. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 62–63.

54. Dean C. Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:268; Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 63–64.

55. Leroy S. Wirthlin, "Joseph Smith's Boyhood Operation: An 1813 Surgical Success," *BYU Studies* 21, no. 2 (Spring 1981): 150–53. Joseph's leg infection has been diagnosed by Wirthlin as osteomyelitis (133).

56. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 64.

57. *Ibid.*, 63, 65.

58. *Ibid.*, 61, 63.

59. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 307.

60. *Ibid.*, 311.

61. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 63.

62. *Ibid.*, 65–66.

63. *Ibid.*, 67.

64. Bushman, *Beginnings of Mormonism*, 81; LaMar Garrard, "Traditions of Honesty and Integrity in the Smith Family," *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: New England*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon (Provo, UT: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1988), 53–64.

65. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 67–68.

66. *Ibid.*, 68.

67. *Ibid.*

68. Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:269.

69. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 68.

70. *Ibid.*, 69.

71. *Ibid.*, 68. Joseph Jr. used crutches following his series of leg surgeries resulting from typhoid fever.

72. *Ibid.*, 69.

73. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 321. See chapter 7, "Family Work and Recreation," for a further discussion on the Smiths' work ethic.

74. *Ibid.*, 321–22.

75. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 87.

76. *Ibid.*, 87–89.

77. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 354–55.

78. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 90.

79. Patriarchal Blessing Book 1, 1, LDS Church Archives.

80. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 357; this whole sentence is crossed out in original manuscript.

81. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 90.

82. Joseph Jr. indicated that Lucy, Hyrum, Samuel, and Sophronia all joined the Presbyterian Church around his fifteenth year (1820). Joseph also reportedly told his mother at the time of the First Vision he had learned for himself

“that Presbyterianism is not true.” *History of the Church*, 1:3, 6. Lucy indicated in her history that she continued to seek a church until “my eldest son had attained his twenty-second year” (approximately 1820), indicating that the family was already involved with Presbyterianism prior to Alvin’s death. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 48–49. Thus, Lucy’s comments that she “flocked to the meetinghouse” and desired to “join in” with fellow church members indicate an increase in commitment to the Presbyterian Church following Alvin’s death.

83. William Smith, *William Smith on Mormonism* (Lamoni, IA: Herald Steam Book and Job Office, 1883), 6–7; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998), 2:209, 210n9.

84. “Wm. B. Smith’s Last Statement” [John W. Peterson to Editor], *Zion’s Ensign* (Independence, MO), 5 (13 January 1894): 6.

85. *History of the Church*, 5:126–27.

86. *Ibid.*, 1:3.

87. Porter, *Study of Origins*, 36–37.

88. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 97–98.

89. Porter, *Study of Origins*, 37.

90. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 70. For further evidence of this familial attitude see chapter 4, subsection entitled “The Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon—A Family Affair.”

91. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 165, italics added.

92. *History of the Church*, 1:7.

93. *Ibid.*, 2:353.

94. Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 435–37.

95. *Ibid.*, 656.

96. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 251. Lucy consistently prayed during difficult episodes in her life. During a difficult stop in their migration from New York to Kirtland, she counseled the Saints to “lift your hearts to

God in prayer continually that we may be prospered.” Lucy Mack Smith, Preliminary Ms., as cited in Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 514. In like manner, when the family was migrating from Kirtland to Far West, Lucy earnestly sought and found a secluded place, where she prayed for three hours straight for her own healing and that of her daughter, who had just given birth in a deserted hut. She then indicated that she arose from her prayer “in as good health as I ever enjoyed” and soon found that the daughter whom she prayed for “was so much better.” Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 628–29.

97. Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 727.

98. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 278–79, 282.

99. Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 464.

100. *William Smith on Mormonism*, 14.

101. Katharine Salisbury to Dear Sister Walker, December 29, 1889, *Saints’ Herald* 36, no. 4 (26 January 1889): 53.

102. *History of the Church*, 3:293.

103. Nancy Grey Osterud, *Bonds of Community: The Lives of Farm Women in Nineteenth-Century New York* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 119–20; Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 219–20; Lewis D. Stilwell, *Migration from Vermont* (Montpelier, VT: Vermont Historical Society, 1948), 125–39.

104. “Gold Bible, No. 4,” *Palmyra Reflector*, 101, as cited in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 2:245.

105. These doctrines were revealed to Joseph Smith Jr. as early as June 1829 (see D&C 18:42 and Moroni 8).

106. *Far West Record: Minutes of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1844*, eds. Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 22.

107. Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 437.

Conflict Management

How families manage conflict or disagreement reveals much about the attributes of a family. Whether family members can come to a sense of resolution is indicative of the level of family functioning. This section is designed to evaluate methods of problem resolution the Smith family engaged in and show whether or not those methods led to effective management or elimination of problems that arose.

Parental Strife

One area of discord for the Smith parents centered on their differences in religious orientation. Although both Joseph Sr. and Lucy were highly religious individuals, that religiosity varied in type. Early in their marriage, the couple's belief systems coincided quite well. Lucy was greatly concerned about her own salvation. For many years she searched to find a religious institution that accorded with her faith. Lucy felt caught between joining organized religion and remaining aloof. As she put it, "If I remain a member of no church, all religious people will say I am of the world; and if I join some one of the different denominations, all the rest will say I'm in error. . . . How can I decide in such a case as this, seeing they are all unlike the Church of Christ, as it existed in former days!" Joseph expressed similar views. He "would not subscribe to any particular system of faith, but contended for the ancient order."¹

At this point in their lives, both Lucy and Joseph Sr. were seeking a religion that provided something more than what was found on earth. They were searching for a type ^[145] of restoration that more closely paralleled Christ's New Testament church. The Smiths were not alone in their quest for the primitive religion. Roger Williams, founder of Rhode Island, and other Puritans believed that the true church did not exist

on earth. Williams proposed that all should serve God the best way they knew how, until a visible church should be established. Just how this "restoration" was to take place was unclear; in the meantime, individuals should live as "members of Jesus Christ's invisible church, according to their best understanding of scripture."² Many early converts to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints shared these restorationist beliefs prior to joining the Church.

Ultimately, Mother Smith found a minister who would baptize her without her having to attend the church the minister presided over. Joseph Sr. believed that salvation was universal and that none would be denied a heavenly inheritance. Hence, any formal organization was unnecessary, especially if it taught contrary to his belief. Joseph Sr. had a negative view of organized religion. With Lucy unable to find a church that harmonized with her ideology, and Joseph feeling that church attendance and outright forms were unnecessary, the couple got along equitably well.

However, once Lucy made a covenant to dedicate her life to the Lord during her severe illness in 1802–3, her attitude towards institutional religion changed. She now sought a formal organization in order to keep her covenant with the Lord (see chapter 5, subsection entitled "Death and Illness in the Smith Family—The Early Years"). Furthermore, she wanted her family to follow her in these endeavors.

During the early nineteenth century this was typical of mothers, who were celebrated as "the chief transmitters of religious and moral values."³ ^[146] Magazines of the day encouraged mothers to inculcate their children with religious values.⁴ The Smith children remembered their mother making great "exertions to interest us in the importance of seeking for the salvation of our immortal souls. . . . She prevailed on us to attend . . . meetings, and the whole family became interested in

the matter.”⁵ With Lucy striving to unite with a formal organization, she and her husband were now at odds, each possessing different religious ideologies. Adding to the rift, Lucy saw it as her role to convert the rest of the family. Marital conflict was inevitable; the two contrasting belief systems were destined to collide.

Mother Smith began attending different denominational meetings. While in Tunbridge, Vermont, Lucy attended the Methodist congregation. She strived earnestly to increase her husband’s desire for his salvation. Lucy indicated that she “endeavored to persuade . . . [her] husband to attend the methodist meeting[s].” She was to be disappointed in her attempt however, revealing, “he went a few times to gratify me,” but “my feelings were the only inducement for him to go.”⁶

Not only did Father Smith disagree with the doctrines of Methodism, but he had broken a family tradition by attending organizational religion. It was not long before Joseph Sr.’s oldest brother, Jesse, and his father expressed their opinions. The two came by on several occasions to persuade their son and brother of the futility of being involved with the Methodists. Lucy remembered that “they were so displeased” with Joseph Sr. and “said so much in regard to the matter, that my husband thought it best to desist” in attending.⁷ On another occasion, Joseph Sr.’s father came to the house ^[147] and “threw Tom Pain[e]s age of reason into the house and angrily bade him read untill he believed it.”⁸

The religious conflict between Joseph and Lucy had now spilled over into their extended family. Lucy felt ostracized from her husband’s family with regards to religion. This was escalated by the fact that the two men advised Joseph that “he ought not to let his wife go to the meetings [either].”⁹ Joseph ultimately concluded that it was “hardly worth our while to attend the meetings any longer, as it would prove of but little advantage to us; besides this, it gave our friends such disagreeable feelings.”¹⁰ Joseph was concerned about the feelings of his father and brother and ultimately sided with them. Lucy also affirmed that her husband followed their counsel and “accordingly . . . requested me not to go [as well].”¹¹

Lucy likely felt isolated and invalidated in her feelings and religious convictions. She may have also felt betrayed, as her husband sided with his own family over her. She indicated that she felt

“considerably hurt” by her husband’s decision and reported feeling “much depressed in spirit, which state of feeling continued until I retired to my bed.”¹²

Lucy’s response to her husband at the time of their conversation is revealing. After her husband requested she cease attending meetings, Lucy felt hurt. But instead of reacting immediately, Lucy held her tongue, choosing instead to “not reply to him then.”¹³ This response was not due to Lucy enacting a ^[148] traditional subservient role, as she would often stand up to men whom she disagreed with. Rather, she chose to avoid the possibility of escalating the conflict, deciding instead to pray to the Lord in behalf of her husband. Although hurt, Lucy was able to see beyond their differences to a larger concern—her husband’s salvation. She recorded, “I retired to a grove not far distant, where I prayed to the Lord in behalf of my husband—that the true Gospel might be presented to him, and that his heart might be softened so as to receive it, or, that he might become more religiously inclined. After praying some time in this manner, I returned to the house.”¹⁴

That night she dreamed about her husband. In her dream, she saw two trees, one very flexible and one very stiff and fixed. She interpreted the dream to mean that the trees

personated my husband and his oldest brother, Jesse Smith; that the stubborn and unyielding tree was like Jesse; that the other, more pliant and flexible, was like Joseph, my husband; that the breath of heaven, which passed over them, was the pure and undefiled Gospel of the Son of God, which Gospel Jesse would always resist, but which Joseph, when he was more advanced in life, would hear and receive with his whole heart.¹⁵

As a result of this dream, Lucy received the needed comfort and hope regarding her ^[149] husband’s salvation. The dream’s significance was powerful enough to allay feelings regarding their religious differences for a time.

Even though feelings were pacified, the religious differences remained largely unresolved. At different times in their marriage, the issue would resurface. Richard Bushman highlights this ongoing struggle as turbulence.

Although Lucy and Joseph, Sr., both stood along the edges of church life, their attitudes differed somewhat. . . . Lucy always hoped she could find a minister to suit her; Joseph, Sr., thought the churches were corrupt. When Lucy made her covenant with God in 1803, she talked with ministers

and church people in hopes that one would speak the right words to her. She attended church again in 1810 and 1811 when her father was converted. . . . Joseph, Sr., would have none of it. . . . He was deeply skeptical of the authenticity of clergy and doctrine.¹⁶

These differences reemerged and came to a head in Palmyra. Sometime in the early 1820s, Lucy renewed her efforts to join a church.¹⁷ A preacher tried to unify some of the different churches in the Palmyra vicinity, which was very appealing to Lucy. Lucy recalled that “this seemed about right to me, and I felt much inclined to join in with them.” It was not long before Lucy had convinced the majority of the rest of her family “to unite ^[150] with their numbers” as well.¹⁸ She once again attempted to cross the chasm with her husband and “persuade [him] . . . to join with them.”¹⁹ In characteristic pattern, Joseph Sr. attended several meetings with Lucy. His attitude towards organized religion remained unchanged, however. As Lucy indicated, “To gratify me, my husband attended some two or three meetings, but peremptorily refused going any more, either for my gratification, or any other person’s.”²⁰ Joseph Sr. continued to seek for something that would coincide more perfectly with his beliefs.

In the meantime, though, Lucy indicated that her husband “did not object to myself and . . . the children going or becoming church members if we wished.”²¹ This represented a change of attitude for Father Smith. The fact that he was not under the direct supervision of his father or brother may have contributed. Or it may have been that Father Smith had matured to the point where he made his own decisions regardless of how his father or brother might react.²² He allowed his wife and children to pursue their desires, whereas before he insisted that Lucy not attend. The children’s influence and desires may have also helped him to change his attitude. Whatever the reason, most of the older children joined the Western Presbyterian Church of Palmyra with their mother.²³ Richard Bushman has indicated, “These differences on religion divided the children as ^[151] well as the parents in the family.” He further perceived that the Smith “children . . . were caught in the middle,” particularly Joseph Jr., who was undecided at the time. Joseph Jr. then became a critical change agent to the parents. Bushman continued, “Moreover, he [Joseph Jr.] could not tell how he could

possibly make a decision with conflicting direction from his parents and no clear answer from the scriptures. That was the time he went to pray, carrying this heavy family and doctrinal burden. He wanted to know the truth about the churches in order to find salvation for himself and, on top of that, to resolve a deep family conflict.”²⁴

As the events of the restoration began to unfold, particularly after Moroni’s initial visits, the parents became increasingly involved in their newfound mission. By the time their son was well into the process of translating the plates, Lucy and the other children had withdrawn from the Presbyterian church.²⁵ As has been noted, Father Smith also faithfully lent his support to his son. Thus, for the first time since Lucy made her covenant in 1802–3, Joseph Sr. and Lucy were united in their religious views. This unification was likely the reason that Lucy recounted these family feelings: “We were convinced that God was about to bring to light something that we might stay our minds upon . . . or that ^[152] would give us a more perfect knowledge of the plan of salvation and the redemption of the human family . . . [more] than anything which had been taught us heretofore. . . . This caused us greatly to rejoice, the sweetest union and happiness pervaded our house, and tranquility reigned in our midst.”²⁶ Their son Joseph Jr. had succeeded in bringing a resolution to their differences. Perhaps this explains Joseph Jr.’s exuberance over his father’s baptism at the time the Church was organized. Said one eyewitness,

There was one thing I will mention that evening that old Brother Smith [Joseph Sr.] . . . was baptised. Joseph [Jr.] was fild with the Spirrit to a grate Degree to see his Father [baptized] . . . he bast [burst?] out with greaf and Joy and seamed as tho the world Could not hold him. He went out into the Lot and appeard to want to git out of site of every Body and would sob and Crie and seamed to Be so full that he could not live . . . he was the most wrot upon that I ever saw any man.²⁷

Mother Smith also recalled the younger Joseph’s reaction to his father’s baptism. Said she, “When Mr. Smith [Joseph Sr.] came up out of the water, Joseph stood upon the shore, and taking his father by the hand, he exclaimed with tears of joy, ‘Oh, my God! ^[153] have I lived to see my own father baptized into the true Church of Jesus Christ!’”²⁸ The younger Joseph left his own recollection of that momentous day for the family, stating, “My

own father and mother were baptized to my great joy and consolation.”²⁹

At least part of Joseph Jr.’s joy was due to the fact that he had brought reconciliation to his family. It was through Joseph Jr.’s instrumentation that the yearnings and prayers of his mother for the salvation of Joseph Sr. were fulfilled. As Joseph Jr. put it, “I brought salvation to my father’s house, as an instrument in the hands of God when they were in a miserable situation.”³⁰ Their son Joseph brought more than one type of salvation into the Smith home. Not only did he bring forth the restoration of Christ’s former church that both parents had long sought for, he brought an end to the theological differences that existed in the family. The younger Joseph brought reconciliation to his parents, who were at an impasse.

The couple’s struggle over religious differences highlighted how they handled conflicts. Lucy showed patience in avoiding situations that could potentially have caused additional conflict. She also compromised by submitting to her husband’s request and not attending church. Later, it was Joseph Sr. who compromised by allowing Lucy to attend the church of her choice and affording the children the same privilege. Both Joseph Sr. and Lucy also showed humility in not being so set in their own belief system that they were open to their son’s experiences with the supernatural. They sought for, and eventually found, a common ground that they were both comfortable with and at the same time managed to stay close and committed despite their years of religious ^[154] differences.

Some of the problem-solving skills manifest in the Smith parents’ relationship were also evident in the children’s marriages. Although these recordings are sparse within the historical records, there is an account that highlights how Joseph Jr. and Emma Smith handled conflict, which may be reflective of the family at large.

This particular instance occurred during the translation of the plates. David Whitmer, one of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon, recalled the circumstance:

One morning when he [Joseph] was getting ready to continue the translation, something went wrong about the house and he was put out about it. Something that his wife, had done. Oliver and I went up stairs, and Joseph came up soon after to continue the translation, but he could not do anything. He could not translate a single syllable.

He went down stairs, out into the orchard and made supplication to the Lord; was gone about an hour—came back to the house, asked Emma’s forgiveness and then came up stairs where we were and the translation went on all right.³¹

Although Whitmer’s statement was intended to address the process of translation, he gives us valuable insight into how Joseph and Emma handled conflict. Similar to his parents, Joseph Jr. used prayer as a medium to resolving conflict. We also see Joseph Jr. apologizing, even though it appeared that he disagreed with something that Emma had instigated. Lastly, from Whitmer’s implication, it looked as though this approach to ^[155] problem solving proved effective during this episode. Thus, Joseph Jr. succeeded in applying a problem-solving strategy that was similar to what he had seen in his own parents’ marriage.

The Use of Physical Force

It should first be noted that all of the Smith children were very tall and had very powerful physiques (see biographical summaries in the appendix). Most of the males in the family, at one time or another, used their physical prowess in order to solve problems. However, the male children appear to have used physical force only as a last resort. A neighbor remembered that the Smiths were “big stout men but never [were] quarrelsom[e]. would put up with any thing and every thing rather than have a quarrel.”³² Still, at times the children would engage in physical fights.

Alvin, the oldest son, became involved in a scuffle on one occasion. At first, Alvin was merely a spectator as two Irishmen engaged in a physical contest. However, as one of the men “was about to gouge the other’s eyes,” Alvin intervened. According to his brother, Alvin took the offender “by his collar and breeches, and threw him over the ring, which was composed of men standing around to witness the fight.”³³ For Alvin there were limits in what was proper in a fight.

Although there is no evidence of Samuel engaging in physical fights, there is substantial evidence that other male members of the family participated in such exchanges. Hyrum, at least on one occasion, engaged in such an encounter. The conflict began when a neighbor, Willard Chase, confronted Hyrum and demanded that he give ^[156] Joseph’s seer stone back to him, because

Joseph found the stone while digging a well on Chase's property. Hyrum felt that Chase had no claims to the stone and reportedly told him "the stone was not [his] . . . nor never was." Although the account is sketchy, it appears that Chase then denounced the Book of Mormon as a fraud. Hyrum took offense at Chase's comment and reportedly "shook his fist;" the two then appear to have had a physical altercation.³⁴ A short time later, Chase wrote to the editor of the local paper and referred to their dispute. Said Chase, "Please advise Hyrum Smith . . . not to be quite so impertinent, when decent folks denounce the imposition of the 'GOLD-BIBLE.' . . . Although not feared . . . Apostles should keep cool."³⁵

Joseph Jr. was also active in using physical force as a means of solving problems. From an early age, it appears he would occasionally use his superior physical strength to resolve differences with others. On one occasion, when he was only a boy, he came across a man who had beaten his wife. Joseph Jr. took offense at this and began to fight with the man. Although it was a "hard contest," Joseph was encouraged by the fact that this man had beaten his wife and ultimately "whipped him till he said he had enough."³⁶

At another time, young Joseph and a boy about his same age, David Stafford, got into a fight. According to Joseph, the dispute arose because the Smith family dog bit ^[157] off the ear of one of Stafford's hogs, which had wandered onto the Smith property. Stafford subsequently shot the Smith family dog.³⁷ Joseph took exception to this behavior, and the two collided. Stafford recalled that "while at work . . . a dispute arose . . . and some hard words passed between us. . . . He got the advantage of me in the scuffle, and a gentleman by the name of Ford interfered, when Joseph turned to fighting him."³⁸ Joseph remembered "six other fellows pitched upon him unawares" and that he "whipped the whole of them and escaped unhurt."³⁹

As the male Smith children moved into adulthood, they continued to use physical force on occasion in seeking to resolve an injustice. On one such occasion a Baptist minister visited Joseph's house in Kirtland and, according to Joseph, "abused my family." Joseph indicated that he proceeded to turn the man "out of doors," whereupon the minister "raised his cane to strike me." Joseph, feeling justice was on his side, "whipped him" in

a physical struggle until the man said he'd had enough.⁴⁰ In another instance, a man came to collect a note on the prophet and similarly insulted him. Joseph Jr. "talked kindly to the man and begged him to wait a short time for the money as he could not pay him then but good words would not satisfy him. He abused him [Joseph] shamefully, calling him every name he could think of." Joseph's riding partner recalled that "Joseph did not appear much irritated in his feelings but after hearing him a while he turned his head to [me] and said, 'That's enough, hold the lines.'" After he handed the reins to his riding partner, Joseph "stepped outside the carriage and knocked him down as flat as a beef, not speaking a word" and then continued on with his journey.⁴¹

Even though there are accounts that indicate Joseph Jr. was involved in ^[158] physical altercations on occasion, there were times when he showed considerable restraint. During the publication of the Book of Mormon, a man named Abner Cole, who had access to the press where the book was being published, illegally printed some of its pages in a local newspaper. When Joseph Jr. confronted Cole in his illegal activity, Cole "threw off his coat, rolled up his sleeves, and came towards Joseph, smacking his fists together with vengeance, and roaring out, 'do you want to fight, sir? do you want to fight? I will publish just what I please. Now, if you want to fight, just come on.'"⁴²

Although this was a prime opportunity to show his superior strength, Joseph Jr. declined the offer and instead reminded Cole of his infringement of the Book of Mormon copyright. Cole was still not to be deterred and again taunted, "If you think you are the best man, just pull off your coat and try it." Joseph Jr. showed considerable restraint during this episode, replying at one point, "You had better keep your coat on—it is cold, and I am not going to fight you." Joseph Jr.'s composure proved providential in this case, as Cole "began to cool off a little" and ceased his unlawful activity.⁴³

By the 1840s, Joseph Jr. seemed to be even less inclined to use physical force to resolve differences. He counseled Saints in Nauvoo to "quell all disturbances in the street at the first onset." In one instance, he rebuked bystanders who had witnessed a fight in the streets of Nauvoo but failed to intervene. Joseph Jr. recounted, "I saw two boys fighting in the street, near Mills' Tavern. I ^[159] left

the business of the Court, ran over immediately, caught one of the boys (who had begun the fight with clubs,) and then the other; and, after giving them proper instruction, I gave the bystanders a lecture for not interfering in such cases." After returning to the court, Joseph poked fun at his own propensity to use his physical strength to resolve differences on occasion, when he remarked "that nobody was allowed to fight in Nauvoo but myself."⁴⁴

William frequently used physical force to solve problems. He used violence on several occasions to defend both his father and mother.⁴⁵ Joseph Jr. and William also used physical force on occasion to solve their problems with each other (see section that follows on Joseph and William's conflict). By his own admission, William "got into a great many quarrels and contentions with the young men of the neighborhood" during his younger years. He frequently boasted of his physical strength and the fact that he "invariably came off victorious" in such contests.⁴⁶

Neighbors substantiate his claims. David Stafford recalled an occasion where William became upset because someone was writing down the particulars of a sacred ordinance. Said Stafford, "Seeing a young man writing down what was said on a piece of board," William became "offended and attempted to take it from him." When the man resisted, William "kicked at him" and then began grappling and engaged in "a scuffle."⁴⁷ Both William's language and behavior were frequently hostile. In comparison with the rest of the family, he was most easily provoked to use physical ^[160] force to resolve differences.

Don Carlos also indicated a willingness to use physical force, if necessary, when his older brothers were incarcerated in Liberty Jail.⁴⁸ Likewise, Father Smith appeared willing to confront those who crossed his family.⁴⁹ However, how frequently these two family members used physical force remains unknown.

There is substantial evidence that certain members of the Smith family used physical force to solve problems. However, with the exception of William, it looks as though they were slow to use this method of problem solving. Yet at times, male family members used physical force as a means of managing conflict. It should be understood that this method of problem solving was quite common for the day. As Robert Flanders has

concluded, "For people to take the law into their own hands was to be both democratic and faithful to the traditions of the American revolution. . . . It was a regular and ordinary part of the lifestyle."⁵⁰ Physical confrontation was a common dynamic among people who lived in the early nineteenth century. In examining the Smith children's propensity to solve problems by force, it should be noted that physical fighting, as well as crudeness of speech, was common practice among all ranks of society.⁵¹

Joseph Jr. and William's 1835 Conflict at Kirtland

One of the best accounts of how the whole Smith family handled conflict came in 1835. It directly involved Joseph Jr. and William, yet most of the family became involved in one way or another. The situation began at a high council meeting held in ^[161] Kirtland, Ohio, on October 29, 1835. William had brought charges against David and Mary Elliott of physical abuse of their daughter. At the council meeting, Joseph Jr., who had spoken with the daughter, defended the parents, as he felt that the "girl was at fault and that the neighbors were trying to create a difficulty." Although Mr. Elliott was rebuked for bringing "disgrace upon himself, upon his daughter & upon this Church" for his abusive behavior, no official church action was taken.⁵²

Later that same evening, William persisted in his accusations against Mrs. Elliott. Mother Smith was called in to give her testimony and, not having attended the earlier meeting, began to give evidence that had already been heard. Joseph Jr. objected to the testimony on account of it already being settled. He recalled what transpired next:

The complainant, Br. William Smith, arose and accused me of invalidating or doubting my Mother's testimony, which I had not done, nor did I desire to do. I told him he was out of place and asked him to set down. He refused [so] I repeated my request. He become enraged. I finally ordered him to set down. He said he would not unless I knocked him down. I was agitated in my feeling on the account of his stubbornness and was about to leave the house, but my Father requ[est]ed me not to do so. I complied.⁵³

Joseph Jr. initiated having the charges dropped and the Elliotts restored to fellowship.⁵⁴ William was upset by the council's action and particularly

with Joseph Jr., who had directly countered his opinions ^[162] of the couple.

William was subsequently censured by the council for what they felt was inappropriate conduct at the high council meeting. William stood his ground. He wrote a letter the following day expressing his concern that “he . . . not be censured unjustly, considering that his cause was a just one, and that he had been materially injured.” He also expressed his hope “to have the matter settled to the understanding of all.” Joseph Jr. replied to William’s letter and “invited him to call and talk with me, and that I would . . . [talk with] him in the spirit of meekness and give him all the satisfaction I could.”⁵⁵

The following day, Hyrum visited Joseph Jr. because he felt something was amiss in the family. While they were visiting, William arrived at Joseph Jr.’s home as well. Hyrum, having to do some business, said he would return as soon as his errands were completed. William began to discuss the difficulties that occurred several nights previous, but Joseph Jr. requested him to wait until Hyrum returned. Part of this request may have been because Joseph Jr. knew very well his brother’s volatile temper and believed a mediator was needed to work out their differences. In a short while, Hyrum returned, along with Warren Parrish, and the two were requested to serve as intermediaries.⁵⁶

Joseph Jr. proposed that they allow Hyrum and Warren to rule on the outcome of who had been at fault. William did not immediately agree. He voiced his grievance “that [Joseph Jr.] was always determined to carry [his] points whether right or wrong, and there fore he would not stand an equal chance with [him].” Although Joseph felt that this comment “was an insult,” he reported that he “did not reply to him in a harsh manner, knowing his inflammatory disposition, but tried to reason ^[163] with him and show him the propriety of a compliance” with the request that the disagreement be settled by the other two men.⁵⁷ William finally conceded to Joseph’s solicitation.

Joseph explained that he then proceeded to relate his side of the story:

And wherein I had been wrong, I confessed it, and asked his forgiveness. After I got through he made his statements, jus[t]ifying himself throughout in transgressing the order of the council. . . . After he got through, Br Hyrum began to make some remarks in the Spirit of meekness, he [William]

became enraged. I joined my brother [Hyrum] in trying to calm his stormy feelings, but to no purpose. He insisted that we intended to add abuse to injury, his passion increased. He arose abruptly, declared that he wanted no more to do with us or the Church and said we might take his licence for he would have nothing to do with us. He rushed out of the door. We tried to prevail on him to stop, but all to no purpose. He went away in a passion.⁵⁸

The difficulties between Joseph Jr. and William then spread throughout the entire family. Joseph reported that William went to their brother Samuel and succeeded in biasing his mind against Joseph. In time, other family members were influenced by William, including Sophronia’s husband, Calvin Stoddard.⁵⁹ The ^[164] discord in the family was deeply troubling to Joseph Jr. and caused him much anguish. During this time he frequently prayed for his brother William. A witness to these events, Daniel Tyler recalled Joseph Jr.’s mood at the time. He reported,

At the time William Smith and others rebelled against the Prophet at Kirtland, I attended a meeting “on the flats” where Joseph presided . . . I perceived sadness in his countenance and tears trickling down his cheeks. A few moments later a hymn was sung and he opened the meeting by prayer. Instead of facing the audience, however, he turned his back and bowed upon his knees, facing the wall. This, I suppose, was done to hide his sorrow and tears. I had heard men and women pray—especially the former—from the most learned and eloquent. But never until then had I heard a man address his Maker as though He was present listening as a kind father would listen to a dutiful child. Joseph was at that time unlearned, but that prayer, which was to a considerable extent in behalf of those who had accused him of having gone astray and fallen into sin, was that the Lord would forgive them and open their eyes that they might see aright. . . . It was the crowning of all the prayers I ever heard. When Joseph arose and addressed the congregation, he spoke of his many troubles, and said he often wondered why it was that he should have so much trouble in the house of his friends, and he wept as though ^[165] his heart would break.⁶⁰

On another occasion, Joseph Jr. prayed on behalf of William and “obtained a testimony that my brother William would return to the Church, and repair the wrong which he had done.”⁶¹ Joseph Jr. and William were deeply grieved over the conflict. Joseph Jr. felt it was a scheme orchestrated by the adversary to overthrow his family. A few days after their meeting, the Prophet Joseph received a revelation directed to the Twelve, indicating that

“my servant William shall return and I will make him a polished shaft in my quiver.”⁶² Joseph Jr. still put faith in, and stood faithfully by, his brother in his calling as an Apostle, even though Joseph felt strongly that he had been wronged by William.

Negative feelings between the two continued to linger into the winter months. By December, the brothers were interacting, but the underlying issues remained unresolved. Joseph Jr. attended several meetings of debate held at his parents’ home, where William lived. William was actively involved in these debating meetings and may have been the one who organized such activities. The first debate proceeded without incident. However, at the second debate, held on December 16, 1835, the conflict came to a head. The group that was gathered discussed whether they should terminate the debating school, as some were afraid it might cause some negative feelings between members of the Church. William and Joseph Jr. disagreed about whether the debate school should continue—William being in favor and Joseph opposed. William disputed measures that would have discontinued the debating school and wanted the matter discussed further.^[166] When his motion did not carry, the conflict between the two brothers resurfaced.⁶³

It is likely that Joseph may have also contributed to the negative escalation of their feelings, as he later conceded that he was “hasty” and “harsh” at the debate.⁶⁴ Also, Almon Babbitt testified that there “would not have been any difficulty if J. Smith [Joseph Jr.] had not have got mad.” Further, Babbitt felt that Joseph Jr. “would not have wanted the school broke up, if they had not got defeated” in the debate. Although Babbitt later confessed that he made these accusations out of anger, they may well reflect William’s side of the difficulties. Joseph Jr. may have also escalated the conflict when at the time William became enraged, Joseph Jr. told William that he looked as “ugly as a devil.” Benjamin Johnson reflected a more balanced view when he reported that “J. Smith was riled and Wm. Smith was mad.”⁶⁵

Father Smith was also present at the conflict. As his sons became upset and feelings escalated, he attempted to intervene by commanding silence. Joseph Jr. initially obeyed the command, but William retorted that he “would say what he pleased in his own house.” Father Smith continued to mediate, attempting to allay feelings so that there

could be an atmosphere in which to settle their differences. Joseph Sr. allowed William to speak his mind, but cautioned, “let the rest hold their tongues.” At this point, Joseph did not obey the charge either and responded by stating that he “built the house” and that it was “as much mine as it is yours.” This was too much for William, and he resorted to physical force. Joseph Jr. recalled in a letter to William what transpired next. Said he,^[167] “I saw that your indignation was kindled against me, and you made towards me. I was not then to be moved, and I thought to pull off my loose coat, lest it should tangle me, and you be left to hurt me, but not with the intention of hurting you. But you were too quick for me.”⁶⁶

Once again, William felt undermined by his brother, and Joseph Jr. became his central target. Before Joseph Jr. could remove his overcoat, William violently attacked him and beat him so savagely that for a time he could neither sit nor stand without assistance. Apparently William reinjured Joseph Jr.’s side, which was wounded when he was tarred and feathered in 1832. The next day Joseph reported that he was “at home—quite unwell.”⁶⁷

Perhaps the feelings the two brothers experienced towards each other were larger than the incidents that took place at the high council meeting or at the debate. There is some evidence that William may have resented his older brother and the attention given him by his parents. In later years, William reflected on the fact that during his teenage years he “was quite wild and inconsiderate, paying no attention to religion of any kind.” He further said that as a result of this behavior he “received frequent lectures^[168] from . . . my brother Joseph.” In fact, it wasn’t until after the Church’s organization that William took an interest in his soul’s salvation, and this was only after he “was exhorted continually by my parents and brethren; especially by Joseph.”⁶⁸ For a young man who found the family’s religious habits “eare some or tiresome,” he must have considered his brother’s lectures as equally irritating.⁶⁹ William was bothered by the fact that his brother frequently got his way because of his position as president of the Church. However, Joseph Jr.’s position in the family was also difficult for William. Joseph Jr. felt strongly that it was his prerogative to reprove his younger brother, because of both his ecclesiastical and birth-order positions. In fact, Joseph Jr. felt that it was his “duty” to admonish William when

he did wrong.⁷⁰ This was difficult for William, as it might be for many younger siblings, and he often rebelled when Joseph Jr. reproved him.

It was also hard for William to stay in the background as his older brother was continually the focus of attention, both publicly (in civic and church responsibilities) and privately (within the family). Joseph Jr. was the chosen son, substantiated by prophecy and revelation, who the whole family unequivocally accepted.⁷¹ During the difficulties in 1835, family members once again felt that Joseph Jr. was in the right. Hyrum defended Joseph at their meeting after the high council episode. William reacted with disdain, turning immediately to Samuel for an alliance in his perspective. Father and Mother Smith, along with Hyrum, defended Joseph Jr. after the debate school ^[169] incident.⁷² Time and time again, the cost of holding on to his anger became too great, as it left William feeling ostracized not only from the Church, but also from family members. Because of his strong ties to the family, William could not remain distant for long, and after the altercation he sought reconciliation with his brother.⁷³

Within days of their clash at the debate school, William wrote letters to Hyrum and Joseph Jr. asking for forgiveness and confessing his faults. It is interesting to note that his first sentiments have to do with family relationships. Said William, "I do not know but I have forfeited all right and title to the word brother, in consequence of what I have done, (for I consider, myself, that I am unworthy to be called one)." He then penitently sought Joseph Jr.'s forgiveness. He continued,

After coming to myself, and considering what I have done, I feel as though it was a duty to make humble confession to you for what I have done. . . . Do not think I am your enemy for what I have done. . . . When I reflect upon the injury I have done you, I must confess that I do not know what I ^[170] have been about. I feel sorry for what I have done, and humbly ask your forgiveness. I have not confidence as yet to come and see you, for I feel ashamed of what I have done; and as I feel now, I feel as though all the confessions that I could make, verbally or by writing, would not be sufficient to atone for the transgression. Be this as it may, I am willing to make all the restitution you shall require. . . . Brother Joseph, you are always willing to forgive; but I sometimes think, when I reflect upon the many injuries I have done you, I feel as though confession was hardly sufficient. But have mercy on me this once, and I will try and do so no more.⁷⁴

After reading the letter from his brother, Joseph wrote back that same day. These letters are insightful in indicating how the two brothers worked through their difficulties. They were able to express clearly their feelings for each other, as well as their concerns about the discord they experienced. Both brothers worked toward solutions in their letters. William sought to withdraw from the Twelve as a way of preventing further difficulties with Joseph and easing feelings among the Brethren. Joseph sought to counsel his younger brother on where he went awry and how he could prevent such actions from happening in the future. Their deepest concerns centered on how their behavior might negatively affect family relationships. Referring to their ^[171] conflict, Joseph Jr. stated, "[It] cannot be a source of sweet reflection to you nor to me, neither to an honorable father and mother, brothers and sisters." Joseph Jr.'s letter then took on language characteristic of a prayer. He closed by stating, "And now may God have mercy upon my father's house; may God take away enmity from between me and thee; and may all blessings be restored, and the past be forgotten forever. May humble repentance bring us both to thee, O God . . . to enjoy the society of father, mother, Alvin, Hyrum, Sophronia, Samuel, Catherine, Carlos, Lucy . . . is the prayer of your brother."⁷⁵

By January 1836, Joseph Jr.'s greatest concern, as well as that of the family, was "the division in the family" that resulted from Joseph Jr. and William's clash. Further, Joseph Jr. "was determined that nothing on [his] part shall be lacking to adjust and amicably dispose of and settle all family difficulties."⁷⁶ William was also willing to reconcile, as evidenced in his letter sent to Joseph in December. The time was right for them to meet together to settle their differences once and for all.

The meeting of the two brothers took place on January 1, 1836. Father Smith acted as mediator in helping them resolve their differences. In addition, Hyrum, Mother Smith, Emma, and Uncle John Smith assisted in the resolution of their problems. Father Smith, as was characteristic, organized the particulars of the meeting. The men of the household went to a separate room for privacy, and then Joseph Sr. offered a prayer. ^[172] After the prayer, he spoke to his sons about the broken family relationships. One present at the meeting recalled that Joseph Sr. "expressed his feelings on the occasion in a verry feeling . . . manner,

even with all the sympathy of a father whose feeling[s] were wounded deeply on the account of the difficulty that was existing in the family.” His influential sentiments “melted” the brothers’ hearts. Joseph Jr. and William then confessed their offenses to one another. Joseph Jr. recalled what transpired:

Br. William made an humble confession and asked my forgiveness for the abuse he had offered me and wherein I had been out of the way I asked his forgiveness, and the spirit of confession and forgiveness, was mutual among us all, and we covenanted with each other in the sight of God and the holy angels and the brethren, to strive from hence forward to build each other up in righteousness, in all things and not listen to evil reports concerning each other, but like brethren, indeed go to each other, with our grievances in the spirit of meekness, and be reconciled and thereby promote our own happiness and the happiness of the family.

At the close of their family meeting, Mother Smith was called in, and the brothers repeated their covenants to her as “tears flowed from [their] ey[e]s.”⁷⁷

The resolution appears to have been effective. During the days following ^[173] the meeting, William resolved his differences with the Twelve and began to magnify his ecclesiastical assignments. Joseph Jr. was overjoyed to have his brother back in fellowship once again and reflected that “this day has been a day of rejoicing to me, the cloud that has been hanging over us has burst.”⁷⁸

Summary

The way the family responded over the course of the brothers’ difficulties reveals much about how the family handled conflict. The brothers either used prayer themselves or allowed prayer to be used as a part of managing the conflict. Joseph prayed for his brother on several occasions and felt hopeful that things would work out. An attitude of hopefulness that things would improve, as reflected in Joseph Jr.’s writings, has been identified in modern-day social science literature as a characteristic of healthy change.⁷⁹ This attitude of hopefulness that things would be resolved certainly played a part in facilitating reconciliation. In addition, the brothers were able to express their feelings through the medium of letters and, eventually, face to face. Father Smith, Hyrum, and Joseph Jr. showed great sensitivity during

the problem-solving stage, so as not to provoke greater discord. Joseph Sr. and Hyrum demonstrated effective skills in moderating the brothers’ conflict. The closeness of the family is evident once again, as most of the family was involved in the conflict and in its resolution.

As time passed, the two brothers were not without their differences. Joseph struggled with William’s brashness in Nauvoo as he edited a local paper. Yet their relationship never got to the point of violence again, a testimony to the success with which they worked through their difficulties. ^[174]

Notes

1. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith and his Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853), 37, 56–57.
2. Thomas G. Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 17.
3. Ruth R. Bloch, “American Feminine Ideals in Transition: The Rise of the Moral Mother, 1785–1815,” *Feminist Studies* 4, no. 2 (June 1978): 113, as cited in Lavina Fielding Anderson, *Lucy’s Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith’s Family Memoir* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001), 3.
4. Nancy Grey Osterud, *Bonds of Community: The Lives of Farm Women in Nineteenth-Century New York* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 262.
5. William Smith, *William Smith on Mormonism* (Lamoni, IA: Herald Steam Book and Job Office, 1883), 6–7.
6. Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 291.
7. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 54.
8. Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 291. Richard L. Bushman summarizes this episode as follows: “While the details are somewhat out of character for Asael (Lucy told the story only in her draft manuscript), it is not surprising that Asael should oppose Joseph’s association with an evangelical church. Universalists thought the evangelical belief that grace visited only part of God’s children slandered a loving heavenly father. Grace was sufficiently powerful to save all sinners if it was adequate for even one. That conviction put the Universalists in opposition to the entire revival tradition. . . . Asael was understandably disgusted with Joseph for listening to Methodists, who preached little else than conversion. Asael may have thrown Paine at his son to startle him into reconsideration.” Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 38.
9. Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 292.
10. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 54.
11. Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 292.
12. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 54.
13. Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 292.
14. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 54.
15. *Ibid.*, 55–56.

16. Richard L. Bushman, "Joseph Smith's Family Background," in *The Prophet Joseph: Essays on the Life and Mission of Joseph Smith*, ed. Larry C. Porter and Susan Easton Black (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988), 11.
17. Lucy indicated that she joined the Western Presbyterian Church of Palmyra around the year 1820. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 48–49. However, Presbyterian church records that could confirm the date that Smith family members joined have been lost, leading to some debate among scholars over the timing of these events. Richard L. Bushman, *Beginnings of Mormonism*, 205n32.
18. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 90.
19. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 357.
20. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 90.
21. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 358.
22. There is evidence for this hypothesis. At the time of the restoration, Jesse condemned Joseph Jr.'s visions and adamantly rejected Joseph Sr.'s testimony, yet Joseph Sr. stood firm in defending his beliefs to his father and older brother. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 154–56.
23. Milton V. Backman Jr. and James B. Allen, "Membership of Certain of Joseph Smith's Family in the Western Presbyterian Church of Palmyra," *BYU Studies* 10, no. 4 (Summer 1970): 482–84.
24. Bushman, "Joseph Smith's Family Background," 12. [Since the writing of this dissertation, my views of the Smith parents' conflict over religion have shifted. Although I agree with Richard L. Bushman's assessment that the Smith parents were at an impasse when it came to their differing religious attitudes, I disagree with Bushman's assessment that this time period was "turbulence." Bushman has supposed "these differences on religion divided the children as well as the parents in the family." He further perceived that the Smith children "were caught in the middle" of the conflict. There appears to me to be evidence of patience and tolerance for the differing religious views manifest within the family, and that the family successfully maintained amicable relationships despite those differences.]
25. Backman and Allen, "Membership of Joseph Smith's Family in the Presbyterian Church," 482–84. The Smith family had been "officially" inactive since September 1828, but their involvement likely decreased prior to that time.
26. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 345.
27. Dean C. Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection of Early Mormon History," *BYU Studies* 17, no. 1 (Autumn 1976): 37.
28. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 151.
29. Joseph Smith, *The Papers of Joseph Smith, Vol. 1: Autobiographical and Historical Writings*, ed. Dean C. Jessee (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989), 303.
30. Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1957), 2:343.
31. William H. Kelley to the Editor, 16 January 1882, *Saints' Herald* 29 (1 March 1882): 68–69.
32. Benjamin Saunders, interviewed by William H. Kelley, circa September 1884, "Miscellany," Community of Christ Library-Archives, Independence, Missouri, as cited in Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, Vol. 2 (Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1998), 140.
33. *History of the Church*, 5:247.
34. E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* (Painesville, Ohio: E. D. Howe, 1834), 247.
35. Letter to Mr. Editor, *The Reflector* (Palmyra, New York), 2d ser., 19 April 1830.
36. *History of the Church*, 5:285.
37. Joseph Smith, *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith*, ed. Scott H. Faulring (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), 267.
38. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 249.
39. Joseph Smith, *An American Prophet's Record*, 267.
40. Ibid.
41. David Osborn, Autobiography, cited in Stanley S. Ivins Notebook No. 5, 111, as cited in Irene M. Bates, "Problematic Patriarch," 15.
42. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 149–50.
43. Ibid., 150.
44. *History of the Church*, 5:282–83.
45. For several accounts of William using physical force to defend his father and mother, see Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 162–64, 211. Also see chapter 4, subsection entitled "Parent/Child Relations."
46. *William Smith on Mormonism*, 13.
47. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 250.
48. *History of the Church*, 3:314.
49. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 99, 102–3, 105–6.
50. Robert B. Flanders, "Dream and Nightmare: Nauvoo Revisited," in *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History*, ed. F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul M. Edwards (Lawrence, KS: Coronado Press, 1972), 149, as cited in Irene M. Bates, "William Smith, 1811–1893: Problematic Patriarch," *Dialogue* 16, no. 2 (Summer 1983): 14.
51. Bates, "William Smith, 1811–1893: Problematic Patriarch," 15.
52. Fred C. Collier and William S. Harwell, eds., *Kirtland Council Minute Book* (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing Co., 1996), 147–48.
53. Joseph Smith, *The Papers of Joseph Smith, Vol. 2: Journal, 1832–1842*, ed. Dean C. Jessee (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 59.
54. Collier and Harwell, *Kirtland Council Minute Book*, 147–48.
55. Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:60.
56. Ibid., 2:60–61.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid., 2:61.
59. Ibid.; *History of the Church*, 2:352; *Painesville Telegraph*, 26 June 1835, vol. 1, no. 25, whole no. 719.
60. Daniel Tyler, *The Juvenile Instructor* 27 (1 February 1892): 93–95, as cited in Hyrum L. Andrus and Helen Mae Andrus, *They Knew The Prophet* (Salt Lake City, Bookcraft, 1974), 51–52.
61. *History of the Church*, 2:298.
62. Ibid., 2:300.
63. Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:106–7; Calvin P. Rudd, "William Smith: Brother of the Prophet Joseph Smith" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1973), 44.
64. Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:117.
65. Collier and Harwell, *Kirtland Council Minute Book*, 151–52.

66. *History of the Church*, 2:341. There is a sense of brotherly ego in the statement, "I was then not to be moved." Joseph Jr. would go on to reluctantly concede that "it may be that I cannot boast of being stronger than you." *History of the Church*, 2:342. He continued to downplay the importance of who was stronger, yet there was ample evidence that Joseph prided himself on his physical strength, and it likely humbled him to be "thrashed" by his younger brother. *History of the Church*, 5:302, 465–66. This was not the first time the brothers had fought with one another. Benjamin F. Johnson reported another instance that occurred "one time at a meeting at Kirtland. For Insolence to him He [Joseph] Soundly Thrashed his Brother William who Boasted himself as Invincible [*sic*]." Dean R. Zimmerman, *I Knew the Prophets: An Analysis of the Letter of Benjamin F. Johnson to George F. Gibbs, Reporting Doctrinal Views of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young* (Bountiful, UT: Horizon Publishers, 1976), 20.

67. *History of the Church*, 2:341–42; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:106–7.

68. *William Smith on Mormonism*, 10, 15.

69. William Smith, "Notes Written on 'Chambers' Life of Joseph Smith," circa 1875, 28, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

70. *History of the Church*, 2:341, 343.

71. For evidence of Joseph Jr.'s mission being a matter of prophecy and revelation, see 2 Nephi 3:15 and D&C 1:17; 5:9–10.

72. Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:110–11.

73. Feelings of inferiority remained with William for the rest of his life. After the martyrdom, he sought an authoritative position like Joseph had held. He desired to be patriarch "over the whole church," being accountable to no one. He aspired to leadership positions under Brigham Young, James Strang, Joseph Smith III, and Lyman Wight. On several occasions he unsuccessfully attempted to establish his own church, with himself as president. All of these attempts indicate feelings of inferiority and a sense of entitlement on William's part. He may have felt that if he could achieve a position of prominence in one of these organizations, he would somehow be validated. Rudd, "William Smith," 124–53. [Editor's note: Since the original dissertation was published, the following source has become available: Kyle R. Walker, "William B. Smith," in *United by Faith: The Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith Family*, ed. Kyle R. Walker (American Fork, UT: BYU Studies and Covenant Communications, 2005), 258–61.]

74. William Smith to Brother Joseph, December 18, 1835, as cited in Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:111–13.

75. *History of the Church*, 2:343.

76. *History of the Church*, 2:353.

77. Jesse, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:126. Martin Harris, the only non-family member, was also present.

78. *Ibid.*, 127.

79. Mark A. Hubble, Barry L. Duncan, and Scott D. Miller, *The Heart and Soul of Change* (Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association, 1999), 180–90.

Family Work and Recreation

This section is designed to evaluate what type of work and recreation the Smith family engaged in and what effect this had on family functioning. In addition, this section attempts to determine the work ethic within the family. Lastly, it will explore the balance between work and recreation the Smith family manifested.

Family Work in New England

Little is known about the type of joint work that the family engaged in prior to their move to Palmyra, New York, in 1816. It is known that Father Smith was involved in several entrepreneurial ventures, including opening a store in Randolph and investing in ginseng (see further discussion in chapter 5). Joseph Sr. was also a farmer during the summer months and taught school in the winter.¹ From Lucy's description, it appears that she was also involved in providing for the family. Mother Smith indicated that both she and her "companion were doing all that . . . [their] abilities would admit of for the future welfare and advantage of the family, and were greatly blessed in . . . [their] labors."² She saw her role as joint provider alongside her husband, which gives us our first glimpse of the familial attitude towards, and participation in, family work.

It was common in early-nineteenth-century families for both husband and wife to jointly participate in providing for the family needs. As a historian of the nineteenth century, ^[175] Mary Ryan has noted, "Indeed, men's expectations, women's behavior, and the whole supporting culture concurred in regarding the frontier wife as preeminently a worker in the home economy."³ Lucy helped support the family, particularly when the family relocated to western New York.

When Joseph Sr. moved to western New York in 1816 to prepare a place for the family, Lucy remained behind in Vermont with the children.

While there, Mother Smith was forced to pay several "unjust claims" from creditors who threatened legal action if she did not comply. She indicated that "by making considerable exertion, [she] raised the required sum, which was one hundred and fifty dollars, and liquidated the demand." Furthermore, Lucy raised an additional sixty to eighty dollars for the journey to New York.⁴ How she raised the money so quickly is unknown, but it provides evidence of Lucy's ability to contribute to the support of the family when necessary. It is quite possible that Lucy sold some of the household furnishings, which she later made great efforts to replace once the family was settled in Palmyra.

Family Work in Palmyra, New York

Although there are a few recorded instances of family work prior to their move to New York, the clearest picture of the Smiths' work ethic emerged during the family's stay there. By this time, the older children had matured to the point of being capable contributors, and surviving documents detail how the family provided for their necessities. Thus, during the Palmyra, New York, years (1816–1830), the level of the Smith family work ethic is most evident. ^[176]

Antagonists to the Church have tried to disparage the reputation of the Smiths' work ethic by portraying them as lazy treasure seekers who spent the majority of their time digging for money. Some antagonists declared that "their great object appeared to be, to live without work."⁵ In more recent years, researchers have refuted the claims of early anti-Mormons, and there has emerged solid evidence of the family's industry.

When the family arrived in Palmyra, they were destitute of any financial means and had only a small portion of the home furnishings they had once possessed. Their dire circumstances became a

challenge for the whole family. Lucy remembered that the entire family “all now sat down, and counselled together relative to the course which was best for us to adopt in our destitute circumstances, and we came to the conclusion to unite our strength in endeavoring to obtain a piece of land.”⁶

Father Smith was most concerned with being able to afford a piece of land while prices for goods and food remained high. The rest of the family responded to his concern by committing to do everything in their power to achieve their collective goal.⁷ Mother Smith proposed to contribute by “painting oil-cloth coverings for tables, stands, &c,” a skill which she had previously acquired, and the older sons were to hire out to work for neighbors from time to time.⁸ With this plan in place, the family moved ahead. They concluded that their combined efforts were the only way they could obtain the desired land. ^[177]

The plan proved successful. Lucy experienced much success in painting her oilcloth coverings. After setting up her business, she reported that she “did extremely well.” A resident in the area recounted Lucy’s activity: “Among the other methods which the Smith family employed . . . was that of manufacturing and selling oil cloths. This work was principally performed by Mrs. Smith. She wove the threads and painted the cloths herself, and when a sufficient stock was found to be on hand, it was her custom to start out herself and hawk her wares from door to door.”⁹ By this method of labor, Mother Smith “furnished all the provisions for the family, and, besides this, began to replenish . . . [the] household furniture” within “a very short time.”¹⁰

Father Smith, with his older sons, also contributed to the family’s support. Pomeroy Tucker, a resident of Palmyra who claimed to know the Smith family, remembered how they supported themselves during this time period:

At Palmyra, Mr. Smith, Sr., opened a “cake and beer shop,” as described by his signboard, doing business on a small scale, by the profits of which, added to the earnings of an occasional day’s work on hire by himself and his elder sons, for the village and farming people, he was understood to secure a scanty but honest living for himself and family. These hired days’ works were divided among ^[178] various common labor jobs that offered from time to time, such as gardening, harvesting, well-digging, etc.

Mr. Smith’s shop merchandise, consisting of gingerbread, pies, boiled eggs, root-beer, and other

like notions of traffic, soon became popular with the juvenile people of the town and country, commanding brisk sales, especially on Fourth of July anniversaries and on military training days, as these prevailed at that period. Peddling was done in the streets on those occasions by the facility of a rude handcart of the proprietor’s own construction.¹¹

Others substantiate this account and remember Father Smith vending “gingerbread and buttermints.”¹² Other family members were also involved in this business, and it is likely that the female portion of the household helped to produce items that were sold. Father Smith also utilized this venture to instruct his children in economics, as one villager indicated that Joseph Jr. received his “first lessons in commercial and monetary science” as he labored alongside his father in this endeavor.¹³

As evidence of the family’s success, the Smiths acquired one hundred acres of land approximately two miles south of downtown Palmyra within two years of their arrival.¹⁴ William Smith recalled that their farm “had been artickled for, to be paid in yearly installments of \$100 each.”¹⁵ One expert on the Palmyra area estimated this was a significant amount of money to be paid on a yearly basis.¹⁶ Still, the family used their collective efforts to improve the farm and succeeded in making the one-hundred-dollar yearly payment until 1825.¹⁷

During their years on this farm, the Smith family engaged in many forms of work. Father Smith worked on and off as a cooper throughout his life. He learned the barrel-making trade ^[179] from his father, Asael, who had also worked as a cooper.¹⁸ Similarly, Joseph Sr. instructed his own sons in the trade, as both Hyrum and Joseph Jr. labored as coopers.¹⁹ Thus, three generations of Smiths worked at this profession. On the hundred-acre farm, the Smiths built a cooper’s shop, with “wood floor and loft.” Researcher Donald Enders has observed, “Coopering was an exacting trade, particularly if the barrel was designed to hold liquid. Dye tubs, barrels, and water and sap buckets were products of the Smiths’ cooper shop. They also repaired leaky barrels for neighbors at cidering time.”²⁰

During their stay in Palmyra, the family’s work efforts mostly centered on the farm. Pomeroy Tucker described the Smith property at the time of their move in 1818 as “a nearly wild or unimproved piece of land, mostly covered with

standing timber.”²¹ Experts on horticulture in the vicinity estimate that there were roughly one hundred trees per acre and that many of these trees were over one hundred feet in height and four to six feet in diameter.²² Lucy remembered that “something like thirty acres of land were got ready for cultivation the first year.”²³ This meant that the family managed to clear approximately three thousand trees during their first year on the farm, which would have required an intensive amount of family labor. Richard Bushman notes that clearing thirty acres in one year was “a herculean achievement even with the aid of Alvin, Hyrum, and Joseph, Jr.”²⁴ In addition to clearing land, the family also managed to ^[180] build a log house on the property.²⁵ The log home was said to have “contained two rooms on the ground floor, with two divisions in the garret. Later an addition was put up that was made of slabs and used for a sleeping room.”²⁶

As the farm prospered under the family’s combined efforts, the remaining amount of the one-hundred-dollar payment came due. Knowing that the farm required his father’s full attention, Alvin “proposed to his Father that he [Joseph Sr.] should take the buisness at home in his entire charge,” while he would go abroad to ensure that the remainder of the first payment was made. Furthermore, Alvin indicated that he would attempt to make enough money to meet the following year’s payment as well. How long Alvin was gone from home is unknown. However, he eventually returned with the necessary funds, “after much labor Suffering and fatigue” and by “persevering industry.”²⁷ Alvin contributed substantially to the family’s survival during their early years in Palmyra and willingly sacrificed for the larger goal of obtaining the family farm.

Alvin often set the example for his younger siblings in work performance. He frequently provided motivation for his siblings by encouraging them to “not slacken [their] hands,” so as to ensure that they completed the day’s tasks. If siblings wanted time for recreational activities, Alvin instructed them to “go to bed ^[181] [early], and rise early in the morning, in order to finish our day’s work at an hour before sunset.” In this way, they would have their work completed and have time for more leisurely activities. Alvin also took charge of building the frame house on the family farm. The idea of finishing this house gave him much

satisfaction, as he longed for the family to live more comfortably, particularly his parents.²⁸ This was likely the reason that a neighbor observed that Alvin “was the stay of the family.”²⁹ Even his siblings observed that their oldest brother “minded his father and mother in toiling all day.”³⁰

The rest of the siblings were also active in the family work. The male portion of the household frequently hired out to neighbors to assist in supporting the family. Joseph Jr. worked for Martin Harris doing various odd jobs, including hoeing corn for fifty cents per day. Martin remembered that Joseph was “a good hand to work.”³¹ The younger Joseph occasionally found “an odd job to do about the store of Seymour Scovell,” a Palmyra merchant.³² Samuel also hired out on occasion and was remembered by neighbors as “a good, industrious boy.”³³ In fact, most of the men in the Smith household, from Joseph Sr. to William, hired out to neighbors on occasion. Orlando Saunders claimed to know “all of the Smith family well.” He recalled, “They have all worked for me many a day; they were very good people; Young Joe (as we called him then), has worked for me, and he was a good worker; they all were.”³⁴ Even some of the Smith neighbors who attacked their character conceded they were good workers. For example, Able Chase described the Smiths as “poorly educated ignorant and selfish—super sticious Shif[t] less ^[182] but do a good days work.”³⁵ These accounts corroborate with William’s claim that “whenever the neighbors wanted a good day’s work they knew where they could get a good hand.”³⁶ Even grandchildren corroborate these accounts of the family’s ability to work. Samuel’s daughter, Mary Bailey, remembered her father as “an industrious, hard-working man, who never shirked any task. While working on the farm, he worked every day and part of every moonlit night.”³⁷

The types of work the Smith men performed included hoeing corn, digging and rocking wells, engaging in carpentry work, constructing stone walls and fireplaces, hauling stone, and digging for coal, salt, and silver. Donald Enders has identified over two dozen different kinds of work that the Smiths performed during this time period.³⁸ In addition, recently discovered research reveals that male members of the family built fences, dressed meat, picked fruit, shoed horses, and frequently mowed and drew hay just in their first year on the hundred-acre farm.³⁹ This work was in addition

to the thirty acres the family had got ready for cultivation and reflects a vigorous work ethic.

It was typical for the men in early-nineteenth-century families to be responsible for “plowing and planting the fields, cultivating and harvesting the field crops, and preparing the hay and grain for use as animal and human food.”⁴⁰ Historical accounts indicate that Father Smith, along with his boys, carried out these tasks on the farm. Lucy described a typical fall day when Joseph Sr., Alvin, and Joseph ^[183] “were reaping together in the field.” She further stated, “All our sons were actively employed in assisting their Father to cut down the grain and stor[e] it away.”⁴¹

In addition to taking care of the fields, it was also common for men to take charge of “the construction and maintenance of the house, barn, and outbuildings.”⁴² Once again, the men in the Smith family carried out these traditionally male forms of labor. During their stay in Palmyra, the family constructed a log home, a frame house, a cooper’s shop, a barn, and several additional outbuildings.⁴³ William recalled participating in the construction of “a good fence . . . besides building a good frame house, out-buildings, etc.”⁴⁴ Since Father Smith, Hyrum, and Joseph all worked as coopers, it would make sense that they designed and participated in the construction of the cooper’s shop as well.

The men of the family also participated in sugarmaking. Enders indicated that “sugaring was another labor-intensive work. . . . Many people could make maple syrup, but it required considerable skill to make sugar and particularly good skill, dexterity, and commitment to make high quality sugar.”⁴⁵ Neighbors remembered their efforts in the sugar production. Lorenzo Saunders recalled visiting the Smith farm when the family was in the midst of making sugar. He reported,

It was in the Spring I went there to eat sugar. Samuel Lawrence went with me; There was 4 or 5 men making sugar; Their camp was right on the farm; they made several thousands pounds of sugar; You see there was a bounty in the state of New York & ^[184] they was making a great deal of sugar & they had several boiling places & emploied some men. . . . This was in the time of making sugar along in march about the 10th or 15th, & they was in full blast & they used to invite us over to eat sugar. They made sugar every year.⁴⁶

Saunders provided further insights into the Smiths’ productivity in sugarmaking. He recalled,

“The Smiths were great sugar makers. . . . They made seven thousand lbs. one year and took the bounty in the County—of \$50.00.”⁴⁷ If this statement is true, it represents an incredible amount of work. Lucy indicated that the family typically made one thousand pounds per year.⁴⁸ Producing a thousand pounds a year required considerable effort. The family’s success at sugar production supplemented the family income.

The women in the Smith household also contributed to both the upkeep of the home and the support of the family. It was typical for women of the time period to be “responsible for tending the vegetable garden, processing and preserving the year’s supply of vegetables and fruits, and preparing meals.” In addition, “women were responsible for cleaning the house, tending the fires, and sewing, laundering, and mending the family’s clothing and household textiles.”⁴⁹ The Smith women engaged in many of these forms of work. Mother Smith’s contribution in painting and selling oil-cloth coverings has previously been noted. Sophronia, although only twelve years old at the time, donated her precious earrings so the family would have enough means to subsist. Lucy also contributed to the support of the ^[185] family by selling “bits of cloth, clothing, &c” that she had very likely made with her own hands.⁵⁰

However, the majority of the work contributions made by the Smith women were the day-to-day household tasks they performed. The traditionally female tasks of sewing and mending clothes were performed by Mother Smith and her daughters. During the height of the Kirtland Temple construction, Sophronia and Katharine formed weaving clubs, evidence of their sewing abilities. Katharine, twenty years old at the time, would have gained the necessary skills as a seamstress from her mother. Her skills included setting up looms, then spinning, knitting, and carding wool. The Smith daughters also produced and mended clothes for the male temple workers, something they had learned in their youth.⁵¹

Later, when the Smiths lived in Kirtland, their home became a center of missionary activity, as well as a stopping place for many new arrivals to the area. This activity put a heavy load on family members. Katharine reflected, “When we lived in Kirtland . . . my mother and myself spent our whole time in waiting upon the comers and

goers in cooking and washing.” These ^[186] activities required an intensive amount of labor. Katharine indicated that both she and her mother felt like “our tired limbs were about to fail us.”⁵² The work ethic instilled in the daughters was evident to descendants. Katharine was said to have been able to perform the work of most men, including the daily feeding and milking of a cow, up into her late eighties.⁵³

Mother Smith, with her daughters, also prepared the family’s meals. Lucy instructed her daughters in managing the fireplace and cooking, which in later years they were said to handle “with masterly skill.” Additionally, Mother Smith instructed her girls in baking bread and churning butter.⁵⁴ It was Sophronia and Katharine’s task to gather fruit or berries in preparation for the evening meal. Visitors to the Smith household attested to the fine job that Lucy and her daughters performed in meal preparation. Stephen Harding, a well-to-do lawyer, unexpectedly visited the Smith home in Palmyra in the summer of 1829. He revealed what a typical evening at the Smith home was like:

[I] saw two stout, bare-footed girls, each with a tin bucket of red raspberries. Soon after, the old man [Joseph Sr.] announced that supper was ready. We went into the other part of the house, where supper was waiting, consisting of brown bread, milk, and abundance of fine raspberries. . . . There was no lack of these, and if any left the table without a really good supper, it was not the fault of the hostess. She, good soul—full sister to all her sex—began to make excuses, saying: “If I had only known what a nice visitor I was ^[187] goin’ to have, I would have put on the table flour bread, and not tyn’ Injun.” I remarked that it needed no excuses; that the supper was good enough for a king, and that the berries on the table were better than could be bought in any city in America.⁵⁵

This incident reflected the way Lucy and her daughters performed some of their domestic tasks. Harding’s statement of “full sister to all her sex” also indicated that Lucy effectively enacted the traditional role of women that was commonplace for the day. Furthermore, the incident reflected Mother Smith’s guest manner and demonstrated her ability as an effective hostess. Other neighbors recalled Mother Smith’s domestic skills at making bread and being “a good cook” and “fair house keeper.”⁵⁶ The Smith women’s domestic skills helped the household operate efficiently, while contributing to the subsistence of the family.

The family’s labors on the Palmyra farm continued into the 1820s, as the family “continued felling timber and clearing land.”⁵⁷ William said that the family eventually “cleared up sixty acres of it and got it under a good fence and cultivation.”⁵⁸ Enders has summarized the Smiths’ productivity during their Palmyra years:

In 1820, when the Smiths purchased their hundred acres of heavily forested “undeveloped” land it was valued at \$700. . . . The 1830 tax records assess its value at \$1,300. The \$600 increase represents considerable development by standards of that time. The Smiths’ 60 acres of cleared land, divided into ^[188] 30 to 35 acres of cultivated fields, 10 to 15 acres of meadow, an orchard of 200 apple trees, and the woodlot and fencing, represented about \$250 to \$275 of the \$600 increase. The Smith barn, which historical sources suggest was of common design, would have been valued at \$150 to \$175; the cooper’s shop . . . at \$50, animal enclosures at \$25, and the “unfinished” but inhabited frame home at \$75 to \$125.⁵⁹

The six-hundred-dollar increase in property value stands as a testament to the Smiths’ productivity and work ethic during this ten-year period.

Summary of Family Work

It is significant that this ten-year period of industry coincided with the Smith children’s formative years. All family members contributed to the support and maintenance of the family. Joseph Jr. indicated that because of the family’s “indigent circumstances,” they were all “obliged to labour hard for the support of a large Family[,] having nine children.” He further described that “it required the exertions of all that were able to render any assistance for the support of the Family.”⁶⁰ William concurred with his brother’s statement, noting that because of the “want of money and the scarcity of provisions . . . [of] necessity made an imperative demand upon evrey energy, nerve or member of the family for boath economy and labour which deman[d] had to be met with the strictest kind of endustrey.”⁶¹ Thus, we can safely conclude that all of the Smith children, with the possible exception of Lucy (born in 1821), actively participated in improving upon, and paying for, the hundred- ^[189] acre farm. They were not only taught a strong work ethic, but were also called upon to utilize it.

Family Recreation

Recreation has been a part of Mormonism since its earliest days. This is due, in large part, to the attitude towards recreation that Joseph Jr. formulated in his youth. The Smiths were active in what might be termed recreational activities. However, recreation among early-nineteenth-century families was somewhat different from recreation of today. In the early 1800s, recreation could take the form of church attendance, family gatherings, work bees, involvement with community groups, visiting friends, going to town, or letter writing, as well as many other activities.⁶²

The great physical strength that ran through the Smith line certainly influenced the family's love for sport and competition. Members of the Smith family enjoyed testing their strength against others. One form this took was wrestling, which became a generational activity for the Smiths. Father Smith was active in wrestling throughout his life. It was said of him that "in his younger days he was famed as a wrestler, and, Jacob like, he never wrestled with but one man whom he could not throw."⁶³

He also engaged in wrestling with his children. On one occasion, a neighbor witnessed Father Smith wrestling with his son Joseph in a hay field. Said the neighbor, "Joe [Jr.] and his father wrestled, and Joe threw the old man down, and he cried." When asked why Joseph Sr. was so distraught, the neighbor recounted that it was "because Joe ^[190] [Jr.] was the best man."⁶⁴ It could be that this was the first time Father Smith lost to a son, and it humbled the aging father. This account is revealing of both Father Smith's relationship with his children and of the type of father-son recreation they participated in. Father Smith certainly engaged in wrestling with his other sons as well, and this very likely became a bonding activity for the men in the household. This account also indicates the competitive nature of the family members when it came to a show of strength.

Engaging in wrestling contests carried to succeeding generations as well. Joseph Jr. participated in numerous wrestling competitions as a means of recreation. In 1840 an incident took place with Howard Coray, a clerk for the Prophet, that is illustrative of Joseph's playful, competitive spirit. Coray remembered,

The Prophet . . . put his arm over my shoulder . . . and remarked "brother Coray, I wish you was a little larger, I would like to have some fun with you." I replied, perhaps you can as it is,—not realizing what I was saying. . . . As soon as I made this reply, He began to trip me; he took some kind of a lock on my right leg, from which I was unable to extricate it; and throwing me around, broke it some 3 inches above the ankle joint. He immediately carried me into the house . . . got some splinters and bandaged it. A number of times that day did he come in to see me, endeavoring to console me as much as possible.⁶⁵ ^[191]

As he moved into his adult years, Joseph Jr. frequently looked for opportunities to engage in physical activities such as wrestling as a break from his sedentary lifestyle in administering Church affairs. It has been documented that he wrestled with friends, enemies, the "strongest" men in the areas in which he lived, and those who served with him in ecclesiastical positions. He also engaged in other physical competitions, including stick-pulling, the standing long jump, ball games, and woodchopping contests.⁶⁶

Joseph Jr. manifested disdain for the strict piousness exhibited and taught in the leading Christian denominations of the day. He frequently challenged local ministers and new converts' beliefs regarding the appropriate use of wholesome recreation.⁶⁷ These attitudes were formulated in his youth. Joseph Sr. was counseled by his father to avoid the "outward formalities" common among New England churchmen of his day, including a "melancholy disposition."⁶⁸ This attitude was picked up by Joseph Sr. and passed along to his children.

Joseph Jr. frequently articulated his belief that there must be a balance between work and recreation. He used the metaphor of a bow hunter to teach the Saints this principle, counseling them that if the hunter "kept his bow strung up all the time . . . it would lose its elasticity" and thus be good for nothing. He then concluded, saying, "It was just so with his mind, he did not want it strung up all the time."⁶⁹ Joseph recognized the importance of taking time for more leisurely activities to ^[192] allow body and mind to recuperate. One early Latter-day Saint recalled that after "he had done a day's work" the Prophet had the ability to dismiss "it from his mind. It was thus that the next day he was ready for other things."⁷⁰

Recreation played an important role in the Prophet's family life as well. He was active in

recreational activities with his children. He frequently romped and played with his children on the floor of their home.⁷¹ In addition, he enjoyed activities outside the home, such as “sliding on the ice” with his children.⁷² The friends of Joseph Jr.’s children recalled that when the Prophet “got tired of studying he would go and play with the children in their games about the house, to give himself exercise. Then he would go back to his studies as before.”⁷³ The Prophet’s fondness of athletic games was picked up by his children, who engaged in activities “such as running, jumping, wrestling, throwing weights, or in other ways attesting strength and agility.” Like their father, Joseph III and Frederick especially loved wrestling.⁷⁴

Joseph Jr. was not alone in this behavior of romping with his children for recreational purposes. A daughter of Samuel’s described a typical evening of fun with her father. Said she,

We [Samuel’s children] would make the circuit of the room in a wild chase to see which could clamber first to his [Samuel’s] knee and get the first kiss, often all on his knee at once, then clamber down again and renew the chase; then when my little brother Samuel who ^[193] was the youngest would become tired, we would have to give way to him, and my father would take him on his knee and sing him to sleep.⁷⁵

In addition to wrestling, males in the Smith household enjoyed both hunting and shooting for sport. Once again, this was an activity passed down through the generations. Joseph Sr. went turkey hunting on occasion with the older men of the Mack family when he was courting Lucy Mack.⁷⁶ During his stay in Palmyra, Father Smith continued to participate in turkey shoots. Lorenzo Saunders, a neighbor of the Smiths, remembered the competitive nature of Joseph Sr. He reported that in order to gain an advantage over the other hunters, Father Smith “pretend[ed] to enchant their guns so that they could not kill the Turkey.” Saunders further described how Joseph Sr. would “blow in the gun and feel around the lock then tell them it was charmed and [thus] they could not kill the turkey.”⁷⁷

Children in the Smith family picked up on their father’s love of guns and hunted various animals. A peer of the younger children remembered hunting raccoons with William and Don Carlos.⁷⁸ Joseph Jr. took his own children duck hunting while living in Nauvoo.⁷⁹ Hyrum and Joseph also enjoyed shooting guns together.

Wilford Woodruff described his first meeting of the Prophet in 1834 as “quite singular.” Woodruff said that Hyrum and Joseph were “shooting at a mark,” and that Joseph “had a pistol in his hand. Said he [Joseph] ‘Brother Woodruff, I’ve been out shooting at a mark. I wanted to see if I could hit anything.’ . . . He [Joseph] remarked . . . that this was the first hour he had spent in ^[194] recreation for a long time.” Joseph then proceeded to take Woodruff into his house and requested that he help him tan a wolfskin hide, which they proceeded to do.⁸⁰

The Smith children’s use of weaponry didn’t always take the form of firearms when it came to hunting. On one occasion, when Samuel was clearing his farm, “he found a full-grown deer in the corral, that had by some chance wandered into the enclosure. He gave chase, and luckily it ran into a corner. He was an athlete, so he threw it, and killed it with his pocket-knife. And we had much-needed supply of meat for awhile.”⁸¹

The family’s love of guns and weaponry may have also been a multigenerational activity. Both grandfathers of the Smith children fought in the Revolutionary War, as did their great grandfather Samuel Smith. Their Grandfather Mack also fought in the French and Indian War.⁸² Joseph Jr. claimed that his father participated in one of the country’s early wars, but there is some questions as to whether it was the Revolutionary War that he recollected.⁸³ The love of pageantry and military strategy was passed on to the Smith children. On one occasion, Joseph Jr. defended the gold plates by borrowing a military strategy that his Grandfather Mack had previously used (see chapter 4, subsection entitled “Retrieving and Protecting the Plates”). Later, the Prophet organized the Zion’s Camp expedition that marched to Missouri in an attempt to retain lands that had been taken from the Saints in Jackson County. Hyrum, Joseph, and William participated in the trek, with Joseph named “the commander-in- ^[195] chief of the armies of Israel.”⁸⁴ During their journey, the camp participated in mock battles as a form of recreation. Edward Stevenson recalled that the troops were discouraged because of the cold weather, and so the “Prophet seeing our forlorn condition called on us to form into two parties in Battle array. Lyman Wight at the head of one line and he [Joseph] heading the other line[,] and have a sham battle [and] the weapons to be

used were snowballs. And we set to with a will full of glee and fun.”⁸⁵

This use of military action served a dual purpose for the Saints, as it created a sense of security to the frequently driven group and provided an escape from the usual drudgery of day-to-day living. It was during the Nauvoo years that military pageantry was at its height. Joseph led the Nauvoo Legion as “commander-in-chief,” as well as “lieutenant-general.”⁸⁶ At the instigation of the Prophet, the legion frequently paraded in Nauvoo and participated in mock battles. The day of pageantry included a feast for the military leaders and their wives. Besides Joseph and Emma, and Hyrum and Mary, Don Carlos and Agnes were likely participants in both the feast and festivities. Don Carlos was one of two commissioned brigadier generals in the legion, and Hyrum was donned brevet major general. Samuel acted as guard in the militia, and William served as major and as an assistant chaplain.⁸⁷ Thus all five brothers participated in the Nauvoo Legion. It attests to the family’s fondness for the ceremonies associated with the ^[196] military.

When the legion paraded, it was a festive occasion for all of the Saints. Many of the officers’ families remembered the ceremonies. John, Hyrum’s oldest son, remembered “how Hyrum and Joseph had often ridden together on parade in full uniform at the head of the Nauvoo Legion, and how his Uncle Joseph rode old Joe Duncan, a chestnut sorrel pacing horse and Aunt Emma rode old Charley, a jet black trotting horse.”⁸⁸

Katharine also remembered watching the legion during their galas and stated that “Joseph was commissioned lieutenant-general. My brother, Don C. Smith, was also a high officer in the Legion, and looked very handsome in his blue uniform. It was inspiring to see the Legion in parade with my brothers and the other officers on their charges in command, accompanied by ladies in silks and satins, also mounted.”⁸⁹

Others remembered Joseph and Don Carlos’s participation with the legion and their resplendence when outfitted in their military attire. Emma recalled that Don Carlos “was the handsomest man she ever saw—That when in uniform and on horse back that he was magnificent.”⁹⁰ Joseph’s presence was also commanding when in uniform. He was described as wearing a “blue coat, gold-colored epaulets, high black boots, and a sweeping hat topped with ostrich feathers.” In addition,

“he carried an ^[197] impressive sword.”⁹¹ Released from the usual stress that he labored under, the Prophet remarked that his “soul was never better satisfied than on this occasion.”⁹² The Smith family’s love of military pageantry was something that they enjoyed throughout their lives, and it became a form of recreation to all those involved.

Another form of social recreation was the family’s involvement in Freemasonry. Hyrum had joined with this organization in Palmyra by 1827 or 1828.⁹³ This fraternity likely provided Hyrum with social connections during early adulthood. However, it wasn’t until the family migrated to Illinois that the rest of the brothers joined the Masonic society. Joseph Jr. became a Master Mason on March 16, 1842.⁹⁴ Hyrum reportedly had “received the first three degrees of masonry in Ontario County, New York,” and served as “Worshipful Master” in Nauvoo. Less than a month after Joseph obtained the degree of Master Mason, both Samuel and William were “duly raised to the sublime degree of Master Mason.”⁹⁵

Masonry had its forms of festivities and pageantry. Those involved frequently paraded in processions through the city in their robes. As was the case with the Nauvoo Legion, these parades were a form of recreation for the entire Nauvoo community. One onlooker recounted her experience of attending one such parade. Said she,

I went to the temple, where the solemn services were held, and there we waited for nearly two hours before the procession with a fine band of music made its appearance. First were the invited ^[198] guests, most of whom were “female women folks,” wives and sisters of the Masons, then the Masons in full regalia. . . . Then followed the inauguration ceremony . . . a hymn was sung . . . and . . . here the Masons parted right and left forming two long rows, and the ladies marched between. . . . All went off in fine style, as the Mormons say, and . . . the feast was sumptuous,—a whole hog barbecued in a trench.⁹⁶

Rituals associated with Masonry also provided a nice diversion for the Saints. On another day of ceremony, Joseph Jr. recalled that

the corner stone for a Masonic Temple was laid by the Worshipful Master, Hyrum Smith. Two masonic hymns were sung, after which they proceeded to the Grove near the Temple, where an oration was delivered by Brother John Taylor. From thence they proceeded to Mr. Warner’s, where about two hundred sat down to an excellent dinner. The company broke up early in the afternoon, highly delighted with the day’s proceedings.⁹⁷

It is important to note that the Smith sisters and the wives of Smith brothers were likely involved with the festivities of the Nauvoo Legion and, more particularly, with the Freemasons. Although these two organizations were exclusively male, when it came to the pageantry and processions, the women also participated.^[199]

Women during this time period enjoyed their own forms of recreational activities. Referring specifically to the Nauvoo period, George Givens notes, "Even when leisure was available for the sisters in Nauvoo, their priorities did not include many sports or games. The sisters did include in their list of recreational activities more organized events, such as parties, balls, and picnics. There were 'pie-suppers' and church celebrations, quilting parties and husking bees to attend."⁹⁸

We know the Smith sisters participated in weaving clubs in Kirtland, which provided a form of social recreation.⁹⁹ It is very likely that they participated in the quilting parties held in Nauvoo as well. Both men and women were involved in such parties. The women quilted in one room, with eight to ten sisters surrounding a large quilting frame, while the men conversed in another. This took place for approximately three hours, until a quilt was finished. This was followed by a marvelous feast, which both sexes participated in. After dinner, there was singing, dancing, and games.¹⁰⁰

Similarly, Mother Smith enjoyed getting together with the women in the neighborhood to socialize. Although we don't know how frequently she engaged in these activities, Lucy appears to have enjoyed the socialization. While in Palmyra, she described one such occasion where

a friend of mine having invited several of her associates to take tea with her one afternoon sent an urgent request for me^[200] also to call on her with the rest[.] the lady's invited were some wealthy merchants wives and the minister's lady[.] we spent time quite pleasantly[.] each seeming to enjoy those reciprocal feelings which renders the society of our friends delightful to us—when tea was served up we were passing some good natured remarks upon each other.¹⁰¹

This neighborhood socializing provided a much-needed break for the women of the time period. They also had time to catch up on the neighborhood news and express their values to one another.

Another form of relaxation was "riding out" in a carriage or wagon, or a sleigh in the

wintertime.¹⁰² It is very probable that Joseph Sr. and Lucy engaged in sleigh riding during their courtship, as Father Smith enjoyed this activity with other members of the Mack family.¹⁰³ The children also enjoyed this form of leisure during their adult years. Joseph Jr. frequently rode out with family members. His journal entry for April 24, 1843, is typical. Said he, "In the morning I took my children [for] a pleasure ride in the carriage."¹⁰⁴ In addition, he frequently rode out with Emma to talk and enjoy nature.¹⁰⁵

In Nauvoo, going for rides included trips down the Mississippi River on the steamboat *Maid of Iowa* with family and friends. Joseph Jr. recalled one such occasion:

In company with my wife, mother, and my adult family . . .^[201] went aboard the *Maid of Iowa*, started at ten minutes before eight a.m. from the Nauvoo dock, under a salute of cannon, having on board a fine band of music.

We had an excellent address from our esteemed friend, Parley P. Pratt. The band performed its part well. Much good humor and hilarity prevailed. The captain and officers on board did all they could to make us comfortable, we had a very agreeable and pleasant trip.¹⁰⁶

It appears the entire Smith family jointly enjoyed these excursions. Family members engaged in similar forms of relaxation throughout their lives. Katharine enjoyed going for carriage rides in her later years, visiting family members who were scattered throughout Hancock County, Illinois.¹⁰⁷ Mother Smith found comfort in this activity throughout her life. On at least one occasion, Joseph Jr. took his mother for a ride in their carriage to try and improve her health. After the martyrdom of Hyrum and Joseph, Lucy requested that some of the leading Brethren, including members of the Twelve, take her for carriage rides around the Nauvoo vicinity. She enjoyed going for these rides so much that she eventually solicited the brethren to deed her the very carriage in which they rode, "a horse and a double carriage harness," a request fulfilled by Brigham Young.¹⁰⁸

However, the most consistent and well-documented form of recreation that the Smith family engaged in centered around religion. Their religious involvement provided^[202] a rest from the typical routine of hard labor, as well as much-needed social interaction. Indeed, as historian Whitney Cross has noted, "The church at a central trail or road crossing was the focus for

neighborhood sociability throughout much of the nineteenth century.”¹⁰⁹ One of the motivating factors in Lucy’s constant quest to unite herself with a church was, at least in part, a desire for social interaction. Nancy Osterud indicated that “religious institutions, like central places, fostered the development of social relationships. . . . The churches brought people from different neighborhoods together along denominational lines for religious services. . . . Interdenominational cooperation was also common. Some large camp meetings, cosponsored by all the evangelical churches, featured visiting preachers and drew people from throughout the valley.”¹¹⁰

The Smith family frequently participated in religious social gatherings. As has been noted, Mother Smith, along with Hyrum, Sophronia, and Samuel, joined the Western Presbyterian Church of Palmyra.¹¹¹ William recalls that Katharine joined this church along with the others.¹¹² Father Smith also went with the family to church meetings ^[203] on occasion.¹¹³ Certain members of the family sometimes attended Methodist meetings, as well as the camp meetings that were commonplace in the Palmyra vicinity during this time period. Orasmus Turner remembered that Joseph Jr. caught “a spark of Methodism in the camp meeting, away down in the woods, on the Vienna road, he was a very passable exhorter in evening meetings.”¹¹⁴

The future prophet, perhaps with some of his siblings, also participated in a local debating club. Here young Joseph was described as somewhat talented in helping resolve “some portentous questions of moral or political ethics.”¹¹⁵ The Smith family participated in formal Church attendance, camp meetings, Freemasonry, and debating clubs—all of which were religious in nature while at the same time providing much-needed socialization.

Religious socialization was not limited to formal organized meetings. During the years from 1816 to 1830, much of the family’s informal socialization inside and outside the home centered on religious themes. Even prior to Joseph Jr.’s emergence as a prophet, this was a family characteristic.¹¹⁶ During their stay in New York, the family’s friendships frequently were solidified as a result of religious dialogues. Friendships with Martin Harris, the Rockwells, and Oliver Cowdery are examples of relationships that ^[204] were strengthened through social discussions on

religion.¹¹⁷ In the late 1820s, after the younger Joseph’s visions became known throughout the region, much of their social interaction included exchanges about religion.

Another closely related form of recreation was family devotionals. This activity was a consistent part of everyday life for the family. It became a family ritual that was part of not only Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith’s family, but of their children’s families as well. Early on, these devotionals were limited to the immediate family; however, as time passed the family broadened their circle to include friends and neighbors. These then took the form of social devotionals. William recalled that these evening devotionals included both prayers and hymn singing. He further recounted,

We always had family prayer since I can remember. I well remember father used to carry his spectacles in his vest pocke[t], (Feeling in his lower right hand pocket to show us how and where) And when us boys saw him feel for his specks, we knew that was A signal to get ready for prayer, and if we did not notice it mother would say, “William,” or whoever was the negligent one, “get ready for prayer.” After prayer we had a song we would sing.¹¹⁸

Lucy also used this time to teach her children to read from the family Bible.¹¹⁹ There were also discussions concerning the events of the day or ^[205] happenings in the lives of individual family members, as was the case when Joseph Jr. related details of his visits with Moroni in 1823 and when the family was driven from Missouri in 1839.¹²⁰ Of this latter episode, Lucy recalled that the family “spent the evening relating our adventures in escaping from the hands of our enemies.”¹²¹ At times, the family would hold their evening devotional meeting outside, very likely in the same grove of trees where Joseph had his First Vision.¹²² In the home, the family often gathered after the evening meal. Here they would read from the Bible or Book of Mormon and discuss related issues.¹²³ When the family moved to Waterloo, New York, in 1830, they continued their tradition of engaging in evening devotionals. Only by this time, they had opened their doors to neighbors who wished to participate. Lucy described her house as “a place of evening resort, for some dozen or twenty persons.” Even children in the area desired to participate in these devotionals. Lucy recounted one such evening:

Soon after we commenced singing, a couple of little boys came in, and one of the them, stepping

softly up to Samuel, whispered, “Mr. Smith, won’t you pray pretty soon? Our mother said, we must be home by eight o’clock, and we would like to hear you pray before we go.”

Samuel told them that prayer should be attended to ^[206] immediately. Accordingly, when we had finished the hymn, which we were then singing, we closed the evening services with prayer, in order that the little boys might be gratified. After this, they were never absent during our evening devotions, while we remained in the neighborhood.¹²⁴

The Smiths continued their evening meetings, which included the usual hymn singing and prayers, when the family moved to Kirtland, Ohio. It was here that “prayer meetings” were frequently held in the barn of Joseph Sr.¹²⁵ Father Smith frequently “encouraged gospel conversation and inquiry among those that came to his home.”¹²⁶ As was customary, the doors of the home were open to outsiders who wished to participate in evening family worship services.¹²⁷

These devotional meetings were passed along to the succeeding generation as well. Joseph Jr.’s daily routine included prayers three times a day. Eliza R. Snow remembered that “three times a day he had family worship; and these precious seasons of sacred household service truly seemed a foretaste of celestial happiness.” Like his family of origin, Joseph Jr. also included singing in his family devotionals. One neighbor in Nauvoo recalled visiting the Mansion House and hearing Joseph and Emma’s family singing during one such devotional. The neighbor reported, “I had never heard such sweet, heavenly music, and I was ^[207] equally impressed with the prayer offered by the Prophet.”¹²⁸

Other Smith siblings also continued these traditions. Samuel felt very strongly about family prayer and chided those who did not exercise this pattern in their homes.¹²⁹ Katharine fondly recalled this family ritual, where they would join together at prayer meetings with “some of our neighbors.” Katharine continued to conduct devotionals in her home up into her final years. A descendant of Katharine recalled that she held these “cottage meetings” at her home and that Katharine’s sister Lucy frequently attended with her family.¹³⁰ When she was visited by missionaries or other leaders, Katharine continued the tradition by frequently discussing religious topics and petitioning her guests to pray.¹³¹

Balance between Family Work and Recreation

Work came first in the Smith family, as was common for the day. Lucy poignantly defended the family’s work ethic and priorities in her narrative, interjecting at one point, “Let not my reader suppose that because I shall pursue another topic for a season that we stopt our labor and went tryin to win the faculty of Abrac drawing Magic circles or sooth saying to the neglect of all kinds of business we never during our lives suffered one important interest to swallow up every other obligation but whilst we worked with our hands.”¹³² ^[208] Work was typically forced to the forefront for nineteenth-century families, especially the Smiths, who struggled to make ends meet most of their lives. Yet even with their low socioeconomic status, the family still managed to relax by engaging in recreation.

During the difficult years of financial struggle in Palmyra, the family still found ways to harmonize work with relaxation. One example of how the family struck a balance between the two came when Joseph had his visitations from the Angel Moroni. Lucy recalled, “We will have a fine long evening, and we will all sit down for the purpose of listening to you while you tell us the great things which God has revealed to you.”¹³³ The family was motivated to get their work done in a timely manner so as to enjoy the leisurely activity of listening to young Joseph recite his experiences with the angel.

The children were imbued with this balance as they moved into adulthood, most evidenced in the life of Joseph Jr. In teaching many early converts of the Church, he alluded to the need for balance, a trait he had learned in his own family. To Robert Thompson he counseled, “Robert, you have been so faithful and relentless in this work, you need to relax.” When Thompson indicated that he couldn’t, Joseph said, “You must do it, if you don’t do it, you will die.”¹³⁴ Joseph Jr. also followed his own counsel. During one particularly taxing time he “tarried at home with [his] family . . . to refresh [him]self after . . . many late fatigues and arduous duties which [he] had been called upon to perform.”¹³⁵ In later life, Katharine also continued to keep up a heavy workload. However, every so ^[209] often Katharine turned her workload over to her grandchildren and took several weeks

off from her rigorous routine to visit her children's families.¹³⁶ However, besides Joseph Jr., it is difficult to ascertain if the rest of the family achieved a "healthy" balance between work and recreation. Due to the fact that the family frequently engaged in recreational activities, it is assumed that there was at least some balance between the two variables.

Summary

Among most nineteenth-century families, recreation remained secondary to the ever important task of work. In fact, in the minds of most New Englanders, too much play was considered a sin. The order of the day indicated that "recreation is vice—all those who administer to the amusements of others are corrupt and profligate."¹³⁷ Forms of recreation we might consider normal, such as dancing or listening to music, were considered evil by many societies of the day. Many early converts to Mormonism were imbued with this early New England mind set. Brigham Young reflected this attitude in his own upbringing:

When I was young, I was kept within very strict bounds, and was not allowed to walk more than half-an-hour on Sunday for exercise. The proper and necessary gambols of youth [were] denied me. . . . I had not a chance to dance when I was young, and never heard the enchanting tones of the violin, until I was eleven years of age; and then I thought I was on the high way to hell, if I suffered myself to linger and listen to it. . . . The Christian^[210] world of my youth considered it very wicked to listen to music and dance.¹³⁸

When the Smith family is examined in context—a religious family with New England heritage—they are, in a sense, unique. Although the recreational activities they engaged in were common for their time, not all families engaged in such activities. Further, the fact that the family engaged in many forms of recreation while maintaining their professed strict moral character was unfamiliar to most New Englanders. This may have been why some of their Palmyra neighbors remembered the family as immoral and wondered "how they got their living."¹³⁹ Certainly the family's love of recreation left more pious individuals wondering how to reconcile the two extremes. Although work remained the foremost priority, the family found time for recreational activities that helped renew their strength and assist their

bodies in coping with the unending rigors of frontier life.^[211]

Notes

1. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853), 45, 56.

2. *Ibid.*, 60.

3. Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 27, 156.

4. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 67–68; Lavina Fielding Anderson, *Lucy's Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith's Family Memoir* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001), 313.

5. E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* (Painesville, OH: E. D. Howe), 1834, 260, as cited in Richard L. Anderson, *Investigating the Book of Mormon Witnesses* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1981), 143.

6. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 70.

7. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 318.

8. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 70.

9. Charles W. Brown, "Manchester in the Early Days," *Shortsville Enterprise*, Article 34, part 2, March 18, 1904, Shortsville Free Press file, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

10. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 70.

11. Pomeroy Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1967), 12.

12. Leonard J. Arrington, "James Gordon Benner's 1831 Report on 'The Mormonites,'" *BYU Studies* 10, no. 3 (Spring 1970): 355.

13. Tucker, *Origin of Mormonism*, 14.

14. *Ibid.*, 12.

15. William Smith, *William Smith on Mormonism* (Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Steam Book and Job Office, 1883), 12.

16. Donald L. Enders, Oral Presentation at the Smith Farm, Palmyra, New York, July 10, 1999, typescript in possession of the author. Enders indicated that "with land acquisition, unless it is specifically spelled out, you had to bring together the cash [amount] . . . and \$100 . . . [and \$100 was] no small amount. I've looked at hundreds of land transaction records and most of them are down around \$50 to \$60, \$70 perhaps."

17. Larry C. Porter, *A Study of the Origins of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the States of New York and Pennsylvania* (Provo, UT: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History and BYU Studies, 2000), 36.

18. Richard L. Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage*, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and BYU Press, 2003), 120.

19. William H. Kelley, "The Hill Cumorah, and the Book of Mormon," *Saints' Herald* 28 (June 1, 1881), 163; "C. M. Stafford's Statement," in *Naked Truths about Mormonism* (Published by Arthur B. Deming, Oakland, California) 1, no. 2 (April 1888): 1.

20. Donald L. Enders, "The Joseph Smith, Sr., Family: Farmers of the Genesee," *Joseph Smith, the Prophet, the Man*,

- ed. Susan Easton Black and Charles D. Tate Jr. (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1993), 219, 222.
21. Tucker, *Origin of Mormonism*, 13.
 22. Dan Marion, Horticulturist and Tree Pathologist, State College of New York, interview, Canandaigua, NY, August 10, 1985, and January 24, 1992, as cited in Enders, "Farmers of the Genesee," 219.
 23. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 70.
 24. Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 48.
 25. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 70.
 26. Thomas L. Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity*, 219, as cited in Larry C. Porter, *Origins of the Church*, 17. Porter states that Thomas Cook "came to Palmyra from New Hampshire in November 1844, at the age of six. He knew people who were contemporary with the Smith family and it is also probable that the original Smith cabin was still standing during a portion of his life" (38).
 27. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 320–21.
 28. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 81, 83, 87.
 29. "C. M. Stafford's Statement," 1.
 30. Joseph Smith, *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1957), 5:127.
 31. Edward Stevenson, *Reminiscences of Joseph, the Prophet and the Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Edward Stevenson, 1893), 30.
 32. O[rsamus]. Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase* (Rochester, NY: William Alling, 1851), 213–14.
 33. "C. M. Stafford's Statement," 1. Other neighbors corroborate Stafford's description of Samuel, as they similarly indicated that "[Samuel] Harrison was a good worker for a day or a month." William H. Kelley Notebook, March 1881, 12, Community of Christ Library-Archives, Independence, MO.
 34. Kelley, "The Hill Cumorah," 165.
 35. *Ibid.*, italics added.
 36. "Statement of William Smith," 11.
 37. Ruby K. Smith, *Mary Bailey* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954), 83.
 38. Enders, "Farmers of the Genesee," 222.
 39. Manuscript, Court of Common Pleas, Bail Affidavits, Box 145, folder "Court [of] Common Pleas, 1818 January-May, Affidavits," Ontario County Records, Archives and Information Management Services, Canandaigua, NY. Special thanks to Scott Faulring for alerting me to this source.
 40. Nancy Grey Osterud, *Bonds of Community: The Lives of Farm Women in Nineteenth-Century New York* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 247.
 41. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 81; Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 335.
 42. Osterud, *Bonds of Community*, 147.
 43. "Cradle of the Restoration," *Ensign* 31, no. 1 (January 2001): 44–51; *William Smith on Mormonism*, 12–13.
 44. *William Smith on Mormonism*, 13.
 45. Enders, "Farmers of the Genesee," 223.
 46. Lorenzo Saunders, interviewed by E. L. Kelley, November 12, 1884, 6–7, E. L. Kelley Papers, "Miscellany," Community of Christ Library-Archives, Independence, MO, as cited in Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998), 151.
 47. Lorenzo Saunders, interviewed by William H. Kelley, September 20, 1884, 4, "Miscellany," Community of Christ Library-Archives, Independence, MO, as cited in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 2:143–44.
 48. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 322.
 49. Osterud, *Bonds of Community*, 149–50.
 50. Joseph Smith, *The Papers of Joseph Smith, Vol. 1*, ed. Dean C. Jessee (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book) 1989, 269.
 51. Mary Salisbury Hancock, "The Three Sisters of the Prophet Joseph Smith," *Saints' Herald* 101, no. 2 (January 11, 1954): 58. Katharine knew how to operate a spinning wheel and make cloth, skills likely gained through the instruction of her mother. The cloth items they manufactured were highly prized by their descendants. Warren L. Van Dine, "Catherine Smith Salisbury," 1972, 34, unpublished manuscript, typescript copy located in the Community of Christ Library-Archives, Independence, MO.
 52. Katherine Salisbury to Sister Frances, December 24, 1886, *Saints' Herald* 34, no. 6 (February 5, 1887): 84.
 53. Van Dine, "Catherine Salisbury," 36.
 54. *Ibid.*, 34.
 55. Thomas Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra* (New York: John B. Alden, 1890), 41–42.
 56. Benjamin Saunders, interviewed by William H. Kelley, circa September 1884, 24, "Miscellany," Community of Christ Library-Archives, Independence, MO, as cited in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 2:138.
 57. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 322. The quoted sentence is crossed out in the original manuscript.
 58. *William Smith on Mormonism*, 12–13.
 59. Enders, "Farmers of the Genesee," 219.
 60. Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:5.
 61. William Smith, "Notes Written on Chambers' Life of Joseph Smith," 28.
 62. Osterud, *Bonds of Community*, 13, 28, 234–37; Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*, 147–48.
 63. *History of the Church*, 4:191.
 64. Kelley, "The Hill Cumorah," 166.
 65. Dean Jessee, "Howard Coray's Recollections of Joseph Smith," *BYU Studies* 17, no. 3 (Spring 1977): 345.
 66. *History of the Church*, 5:282–83, 302, 465–66; Alexander L. Baugh, "Joseph Smith's Athletic Nature," in *Joseph Smith: The Prophet, the Man*, ed. Susan Easton Black and Charles D. Tate Jr. (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1993), 142–43; Edwin F. Parry, comp., *Stories about Joseph Smith the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1934), 17–18.
 67. *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854–86), 2:214, 3:66–67; Parry, *Stories about Joseph Smith*, 17–18.
 68. Asael Smith, Address to His Family, April 10, 1799, as cited in Richard L. Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage*, 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and BYU Press, 2003), 161–62, copy of holograph on 168, 170.
 69. "Recollections of the Prophet Joseph Smith," *Juvenile Instructor* (August 1, 1892): 472, as cited in Baugh, "Joseph Smith's Athletic Nature," 144.

70. Earl T. Pardoe, *Lorin Farr, Pioneer* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1953), 292, as cited in Truman G. Madsen, *Joseph Smith the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1989), 144n58.
71. *Journal of Discourses*, 2:214.
72. *History of the Church*, 5:265.
73. "Recollections of the Prophet Joseph Smith," 301, as cited in Baugh, "Joseph Smith's Athletic Nature," 144.
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95. Freemasons in Nauvoo Meeting Minutes, 1842, photocopy of original, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT; Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1945), 11.
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105. *Ibid.*, 5:139, 307, 360, 525; 6:170, 274, 326.
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109. Whitney Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1950), 78.
110. Osterud, *Bonds of Community*, 28.
111. Milton V. Backman Jr. and James B. Allen, "Membership of Certain of Joseph Smith's Family in the Western Presbyterian Church of Palmyra," *BYU Studies* 10, no. 4 (Summer 1970): 482–83.
112. "Statement of William Smith, concerning Joseph, the Prophet," *Deseret Evening News*, January 20, 1894, 11. Joseph Jr. clearly indicated that there were four members of his family that officially joined the Presbyterian Church, "namely—my mother Lucy; my brothers Hyrum and Samuel Harrison; and my sister Sophronia." *History of the Church*, 1:3. However, this does not necessarily preclude the other siblings from having been involved with the Presbyterian Church.
113. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 90.
114. Orasmus Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase* (Rochester, NY: William Alling, 1851), 214. For evidence of the plethora of camp meetings held in the Palmyra vicinity during the early 1820s, see Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 74; Cross, *Burned-Over District*, 8–11; Porter, *A Study of the Origins*, 18.
115. Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase*, 214. In Kirtland, both Joseph Jr. and William participated in debating clubs. *History of the Church*, 330, 334–35.

116. For example, see Lucy's recollection of her interaction with the women of the neighborhood, where the conversation turns to a religious theme. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 321–22.

117. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 128–29; Willard Bean, *A. B. C. History of Palmyra and the Beginning of "Mormonism,"* (Palmyra, NY: Palmyra Courier Co., 1938), 35; Harold Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder*, rev. 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 3–4; William G. Hartley, *Stand by My Servant Joseph: The Story of the Joseph Knight Family and the Restoration* (Salt Lake City: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for LDS History and Deseret Book, 2003), 9–11, 28.

118. "Statement of William Smith," 11.

119. John Stafford, interview, as cited in Kelley, "The Hill Cumorah," 167.

120. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 83–84.

121. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 691.

122. Lucy indicated that the Eight Witnesses saw the gold plates in the "place where the family were in the habit of offering up their secret devotions to God." Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 140.

123. Thomas Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra* (New York: John B. Alden, 1890), 42.

124. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 168.

125. Leonard J. Arrington, *Charles C. Rich: Mormon General and Western Frontiersman* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1974), 21; Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 194.

126. Mark L. McConkie, *Father of the Prophet: Stories and Insights from the Life of Joseph Smith, Sr.* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1993), 68.

127. For example, see the Prophet's account of a visit to his parents' home in Kirtland in 1835. Joseph Smith, *The*

Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith, Scott H. Faulring, ed. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), 65–66.

128. Edward W. Tullidge, *The Women of Mormondom* (New York: ,1877), 66; Rodney W. Walker and Noel C. Stevenson, comps., *Ancestry and Descendants of John Walker* (Kaysville, UT: The John Walker Family Organization, 1953), 15; both cited in Madsen, *Joseph Smith, the Prophet*, 143n56.

129. Samuel H. Smith, Journal, 1832–1833, 22–23.

130. Katherine Salisbury to Dear Sister Walker, December 29, 1888, *Saints' Herald* 36, no. 4 (January 26, 1889): 53; Hancock, "The Three Sisters," 34; *The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Vol. 3, 1844–1872* (Independence, MO: Herald House, 1896), 720.

131. Victor Emanuel Bean, Journals, 1884–1889, volume 2, 118, microfilm copy of original, LDS Church Archives; Letter of George F. A. Spiller, St. Louis, MO, December 8, 1856, Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2.

132. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 323.

133. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 83–84.

134. *Diary of Oliver B. Huntington* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1942), 166, as cited in Madsen, *Joseph Smith the Prophet*, 144n61.

135. *History of the Church*, 3:55.

136. Van Dine, "Catharine Smith Salisbury," 36.

137. "Repose," by "T.D.," *The Nation* 2 (February 8, 1866): 178, as cited in Rex A. Skidmore, "Joseph Smith: A Leader and Lover of Recreation," *Improvement Era* 43, no. 12 (December 1940): 716.

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Findings, Implications, Conclusions

Findings

Cohesion

The findings from this study help determine what type of family the Smiths were. The family that emerges from the research is a particularly close family, one whose members remained loyal to each other through many difficult circumstances. At times, the family appears strongly connected, as shown in the father and son relationship of the two Josephs. At the same time, this strong bond was not excessive to the point that family members lost their individual identities. Both parents and children appear to have a strong sense of self, and as the children moved into adulthood, their several personalities were manifest.

According to the social science research highlighted in chapter 2, the family showed high levels of cohesion for a number of reasons. First, family members spent considerable time together. Besides the time Alvin left the family for temporary work and the time period when Joseph Jr. lived in Harmony, Pennsylvania, the entire Smith family lived within close proximity to one another their entire lives. Even after the children were raised, the Smith parents chiefly lived with one or another of their children for their entire married life. Time together in the Smith family included family devotionals, church attendance, various forms of work, as well as an assortment of recreational activities. Modern research indicates that spending time together is a characteristic of strong families.^{1 [212]}

Second, the family relationships were close because of the emotional ties to one another. It was not only that family members spent considerable time together, it was the nature of that time that strengthened familial connections. Both parents engaged in emotional exchanges with each other and with their children. The affinity expressed from parents to their children and from children to their parents is evidence of the

emotional closeness in the family. In addition, the Smith parents continually supported their children, as in their approval of their children's mates, for example. Parental approval of in-laws is one factor identified in contemporary literature as a significant indicator of the success of a child's marriage.² Such approval is evident and attests to the intergenerational bond between parents and children in the Smith family. The Smith parents and children were temporally and emotionally supportive of each other, and the same held true in the sibling relationships.

Finally, members of the family exhibited a strong sense of family identification, a factor identified in the literature as being characteristic of cohesive families. The Smiths stood by one another. Joseph Jr. and William's 1835 conflict and Joseph Sr. and Lucy's differences over religion illustrate how family members remained loyal and supportive even in the midst of their conflicts. Furthermore, the Smiths often felt they were of the "royal blood," and as such were entitled to special privileges. Although most evident after the martyrdom, it underscores the Smiths' sense of family identity.

Resiliency and Religiosity

This familial bond also helped the family deal with many trials. In fact, this bond was one of the factors that fostered a high level of resiliency. The constant support of ^[213] family members enabled each individual to cope with an extraordinary number of life challenges, including persecution, death, ridicule, imprisonment, and financial devastation.

The family's ability to see such hardships as purposeful was a contributing factor in helping them endure. Most family members found strength in comparing their trials to the faithful Saints of the past. As they made such comparisons, they sought to increase their discipleship as well.

In the midst of struggles, family members found the necessary compensation by turning to religion, both formally and informally. Before 1830, the family demonstrated an increase in church attendance and were more pious in their religious habits in the face of major disruptive events. The family expressed a high level of hopefulness that things would improve—if not in this life, then in the next, a characteristic found in emotionally healthy people.³ This attitude of hopefulness and their faith in the Divine helped them endure setbacks.

The Smiths were a highly religious family. Given their religious paradigm and their exceptional number of hardships, it is no wonder family members increased in religious dedication. Their spirituality was largely intrinsic, in that they practiced more private forms of religiosity: personal and family prayer, Bible reading, and family devotionals. Later, family members manifested extrinsic kinds of religious behavior (such as baptism and church membership), but they never decreased in their private forms of religious worship. Those who have high levels of private religiosity, like the Smiths, have been found to be more affectionate and have more meaningful relationships with their children.⁴ These intrinsic ^[214] forms of religiosity contributed to family solidarity.

Once the Church was organized, all the family labored diligently as missionaries and in callings for the cause they espoused. This dedication resulted at least partially from the Smith parents' diligence in instilling spiritual values into their children. Like her own mother, Lucy Mack Smith continuously instructed and encouraged her children to seek their salvation. Father Smith was unfailing in leading the family in prayers, both morning and night. The parents' chief concern was ensuring that "their children [would] dignify their [Heavenly] fathers name by an upright and honorable course of conduct."⁵ Father and Mother Smith encouraged religious behavior and gave spiritual instruction to achieve this goal. Religiosity has been found to be a variable that strengthens commitment to the family.⁶ Further, modern research indicates that both marital stability and satisfaction are higher among religious couples.⁷ Thus, the Smiths' familial bond was likely strengthened by their religious practices.

Conflict Management

The Smiths were not without their conflicts. Joseph Sr. and Lucy struggled in their marriage over religious differences. Joseph Jr. and William disagreed over certain matters—to the point of a physical altercation. Yet in the midst of these struggles, family members managed to stay loyal and support one another. Although the differences between Joseph Sr. and Lucy were not immediately solvable, the couple remained emotionally close, affectionate, and united in their family goals. The family frequently ^[215] used prayer as a medium to resolve differences. Joseph Jr. and William wrote letters that facilitated problem resolution. Eventually, family members were able to work through their differences, evidence of their effective use of problem-solving strategies. All parties were active in trying to resolve their differences and were supportive and committed to one another when they could not.

The problem-solving strategies used by the Smiths were effective in dealing with their conflicts. Although instances of family conflicts are sparse in the surviving sources, accounts indicate that family members effectively resolved their conflicts. Families who successfully work through their conflicts increase in their emotional closeness.⁸ Additionally, the Smiths maintained their support and solidarity in the midst of conflict, a quality indicative of strong families and healthy marriages.⁹

Work and Recreation

Recent research demonstrates that the Smith family unquestionably had a strong work ethic. The amount of work they performed during the Palmyra years was substantial. Evidence indicates that the family made considerable improvements on the hundred-acre farm in Palmyra. The family undertook many different kinds of work to help ensure their survival. In the end, the family lost the farm, but it was not for lack of effort on their part. The reason was more likely because the Smiths struggled in managing their money. Father Smith was likely too trusting in some of his entrepreneurial ventures. Further, the family might have been able to stay on the farm had they made their one-hundred-dollar payment instead of using their limited funds in finishing the frame home. Nonetheless, ^[216] their strong work ethic is abundantly evident.

Moreover, the ability to work persisted as the children matured. The family rallied around the common goal of obtaining land and ensuring that the Smith parents would be provided for in their declining years. The unity of the family is apparent; all capable family members lent support to this common cause. Modern-day literature indicates that if children are taught to do family work rather than self-care tasks, they will experience greater connection to the family.¹⁰ When families work together toward a common goal, they develop caring for those with whom they labor. The result is a deeper emotional bond.¹¹ The Smiths' common goal of obtaining and improving their Palmyra farm strengthened their ties to the family and their sense of family identification.

Although the struggle for survival remained the foremost priority for the Smith family, they still were able to take time out for recreation and relaxation. The family enjoyed evening devotionals, initially with just their immediate family, but in time with neighbors as they broadened their social group. These devotionals typically included singing, religious discussions, and family prayer. As the children moved into adulthood and established their own families, they also practiced this mode of relaxation. The family also enjoyed wrestling, hunting, shooting at targets, military and Masonic pageantry, debating, and carriage rides. In addition, the women in the family enjoyed preparing banquets and participating in quilting bees and weaving clubs and the accompanying socialization these activities provided.

Joseph Jr.'s attitude toward recreation as a nineteenth-century religious leader^[217] was unique. He frequently expressed the need for balance between work and recreation, a belief that had likely formulated in his family of origin. Although it is documented that the entire family participated in recreational activities, it is difficult to determine if they achieved a "healthy" balance.

Implications

Implications for Latter-day Saints

From an LDS perspective, the family picture that emerges is significant. For a Church that emphasizes the importance of witnesses, what greater witness could be given than the complete and united acceptance of an entire family of the restoration of

the gospel of Christ?¹² After all, these were the individuals who participated in and were most familiar with the events of the Restoration. Their continued acceptance of their son and brother as a legitimate prophet, seer, and revelator—knowing firsthand his weaknesses—is a remarkable component of Church history and unique in the annals of the past. As Truman Madsen has summarized, "There is no greater example of total familial endurance in history than that of the Smith family. It is true that they had their ups and downs and that William Smith was almost as insecure and unsteady as Hyrum was loyal and unyielding. But from an overall perspective, one of the strengths of the history of the Church is that the first family^[218] held true to each other."¹³

What begins to materialize is a powerful, combined witness, one that may be termed a Smith family testimony. Initially, all family members were allowed to heft and feel the plates while they were covered in a tow frock.¹⁴ Furthermore, it appears that along with Mother Smith, other family members were familiar enough with the breastplate and the Urim and Thummim that they either saw or handled these items.¹⁵ In June of 1829, three males of the household became formal witnesses, having the opportunity to both see and handle the plates while uncovered.¹⁶ Katharine and Sophronia hid the plates during the height of persecution in Palmyra.¹⁷ The Prophet Joseph and brothers Hyrum and Samuel made up half of the original six members of the Church.¹⁸ This family felt, saw, and experienced the early events of the Restoration. The Smiths were firsthand witnesses of the Restoration and unitedly testified of its truthfulness and bore the resulting persecution.

In addition, Latter-day Saints may take comfort in the fact that the Smiths were a successful family. The Smith family was the one constant in an ever-evolving Church. It was the solidarity established during the children's formative years that bound this family together and made it possible for them to stay close and committed to one another through many trying experiences.

Implications for Professionals and Twenty-First-Century Families

Marriage and family therapists and contemporary families can benefit from the^[219] findings in this study. The Smiths were a strong family. The variables provide a context for identifying

the characteristics that made this family successful. Therefore, the qualities of this historical family can be used by professionals who teach and counsel contemporary families. The attributes exhibited in the Smith family that assisted them in resolving conflicts and in achieving a cohesive, resilient, religious, and hard-working family can be used by practitioners in helping families today.

Some examples include the Smiths' attitude of hopefulness and of seeing their trials as purposeful. These attitudes may be strengthened through prayer, which assisted the Smiths in enduring hardships. Family members are benefitted when they look beyond their present problems at the bigger picture. In this way, problems are seen in context—as temporary setbacks—followed by eventual peace. Further, these setbacks can be viewed as providing the necessary experiences that will purify us and, if endured faithfully, link us with deity both in this life and in the life to come. This posture helps families endure present difficulties by providing hope and understanding to present suffering. Professionals can promote these traits as qualities that promote familial coping. This approach will be particularly effective if the family has a religious background.

Another factor derived from the study deals with family work. If families can create a work environment that includes laboring for a common cause, the children in the family will more likely perceive that work as meaningful, and the familial bond will be strengthened. This not only has the potential to unite family members, but may also increase the children's work ethic. Professionals may assist families in identifying ^[220] methods of implementing such common work goals.

From the area of conflict management several findings emerge. First, families may benefit from using prayer as a means to resolve their differences. Prayer was found in the study to be effective in eliminating negative feelings toward the other party in conflict, especially when the conflict is not immediately resolvable. Second, letter writing proves to be an effective means of communication when feelings are charged. Writing allows for an appropriate expression of feelings, which then bridges the gap for meeting face to face. Last, allowing a third party to act as moderator proves to be an effective mode of calming feelings so that there is an environment to negotiate

problem solving. Families may benefit by utilizing problem-solving strategies such as praying for the party in conflict, using letter writing when feelings are too escalated to communicate vocally, and allowing a moderator to help work through the problem.

Other implications include ways to increase family cohesion. Cohesiveness can be enhanced by engaging in meaningful activities. The Smith family benefitted by engaging in daily family devotionals. The Smith parents frequently prayed for their children and dictated moral values during these gatherings. This appears to have had the desired effect, as these values were passed on to succeeding generations, while at the same time linking the family more closely. Family life can be enhanced by engaging in rituals similar to the Smiths' family devotional.

Parental support of the children in their life pursuits also served to bind the family. The Smith parents established close relationships with their sons- and daughters-in-law. As a result, three generations of the Smith family were closely linked to one ^[221] another. Thus, parental support of children correlates with generational cohesiveness. These findings, though not new, are substantiated by this study. Furthermore, findings indicate that certain familial qualities are indicative of strong families regardless of when the families lived.

Implications for Researchers

The study of historical figures from modern sociological perspectives is not unique. Many researchers have gleaned insights into historical personalities through use of this approach. Notwithstanding, to my knowledge no studies have used modern family process research in examining a historical family. Using the most well-researched models for evaluating families makes sense when attempting to understand historical family relationships. This study has shown that this approach to historical research can be an effective design in illuminating family dynamics. Certain aspects of family functioning can be successfully evaluated simply through the use of written records. It is hoped that future researchers will use this method to examine family relationships, and by so doing increase our understanding of historical families and extract strengths that may be beneficial to contemporary families. ^[222]

Notes

1. Nick Stinnett and John DeFrain, *Secrets of Strong Families* (Boston, MA: Berkley Books, 1985), 81–99.
2. Robert F. Stahmann and William J. Hiebert, *Pre-marital and Remarital Counseling: The Professional's Handbook* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1997), 14–15.
3. Mark A. Hubble, Barry L. Duncan, and Scott D. Miller, *The Heart and Soul of Change* (Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association, 1999), 180–90.
4. John P. Bartowski and Xiaohe Xu, “Distant Patriarchs or Expressive Dads: The Discourse and Practice of Fathering in Conservative Protestant Families,” *Sociological Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (Summer 2000), 465–86.
5. Lavina Fielding Anderson, *Lucy's Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith's Family Memoir* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001), 321–22.
6. Elizabeth Vandenberghe, “The Enduring, Happy Marriage: Findings and Implications from Research,” in *Strengthening Our Families*, ed. David C. Dollahite (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 2000), 23–24.
7. Vaughn R. A. Call and Timothy B. Heaton, “Religious Influence on Marital Stability,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 36, no. 3 (1997): 382–93; Linda C. Robinson, “Religious Orientation in Enduring Marriage: An Exploratory Study,” *Review of Religious Research* 35, no. 3 (March 1994): 207–18.
8. John Gottman, *Why Marriages Succeed or Fail* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), 28.
9. John Gottman, *The Seven Principles for Making Marriage Work* (New York: Crown Publisher's, 1999), 20–21; Michael E. McCullough, et al., “Interpersonal Forgiving in Close Relationships: II. Theoretical Elaboration and Measurement,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 75, no. 6, 1586–603; Vandenberghe, “The Enduring, Happy Marriage,” 24–25; Stinnett and DeFrain, *Secrets of Strong Families*, 68–71.
10. Kathleen Slaugh Bahr, et al., “The Meaning and Blessings of Family Work,” in Dollahite, *Strengthening Our Families*, 183–85; Cheryl Robinson Wilcox, “The Relationship of Family Work, Self-care work, and Parent-Child Relationship Quality to Developmental Outcomes for Children” (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1995).
11. Bahr, et al., “Family Work,” 183–85; Catherine White Berheide, “Women's Work in the Home: Seems Like Old Times,” *Marriage and Family Review* 7 (1984): 37–55; Bahr, et al., “Family Work,” 183–85.
12. See the introduction of the Book of Mormon, where the testimonies of the Three and Eight witnesses are contained. See also the introduction to the Doctrine and Covenants, where the testimony of the original Twelve Apostles is given.
13. Truman G. Madsen, *Joseph Smith the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1989), 10.
14. “The Old Soldier's Testimony. Sermon preached by Bro. William B. Smith, Detroit, Iowa, June 8th, 1884. Reported by C. E. Butterworth,” *Saints' Herald* 31 (October 4, 1884): 643–44; William Smith, *William Smith on Mormonism* (Lamoni, IA: Herald Steam Book and Job Office, 1883), 11; Katharine Smith Salisbury to Dear Sisters, *Saints' Herald* 33 (March 10, 1886): 260.
15. Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853), 101; “Statement of J. W. Peterson Concerning William Smith,” May 1, 1921, Miscellaneous Letters and Papers, Community of Christ Library-Archives, Independence, MO, as cited in Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 1 (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), 507–8.
16. These family members were Joseph Sr., Hyrum, and Samuel Smith.
17. Mary Salisbury Hancock, “The Three Sisters of the Prophet Joseph Smith,” *Saints' Herald* 101, no. 2 (January 11, 1954): 36.
18. Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1957), 1:76.

Appendix

The Joseph Sr. & Lucy Mack Smith Family

[Editor's Note: No page numbers from the appendix in the original dissertation appear in this reprint of the appendix. Scholars on the Joseph Smith Papers Project are investigating all these dates for Joseph Smith family members. Researchers should consult their work since it is more current than what was available at the time this dissertation was published. For more information on Smith family members, see Kyle R. Walker, United by Faith: The Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith Family (American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 2005).]

Joseph Smith



Artist's conception of Joseph Smith Sr., by William Whitaker, based on photographs of Joseph's brother John Smith and other known characteristics of the Smith family. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

Biographical Sketch. Joseph Smith Sr. was born in Topsfield, Essex County, Massachusetts, on July 12, 1771. He was the third child and second son of Asael and Mary Duty Smith. Joseph Sr. married Lucy Mack on January 24, 1796, at Tunbridge, Vermont. He worked as a farmer, cooper, schoolteacher, and storekeeper and engaged in several business ventures early on in their marriage. He experienced several major financial reversals, which eventually led him to move the family to Palmyra, New York.

Father Smith was actively involved in the early events of the Restoration. According to his son, Joseph Sr. "was the first person who received my testimony after I had seen the angel." He was one of the Eight Witnesses who saw and handled the plates in 1829. He was baptized on the day the Church was organized, April 6, 1830. The elderly father subsequently served missions in 1830 and 1836. Although sixty-four years old on this latter mission, he traveled over two thousand miles round-trip. He served as Patriarch to the Church, Assistant Counselor to the First Presidency, member of the Kirtland High Council, and overseer on part of the construction of the Kirtland Temple.

He followed the Saints to Waterloo, Kirtland, Far West, and finally to Nauvoo. His health failed

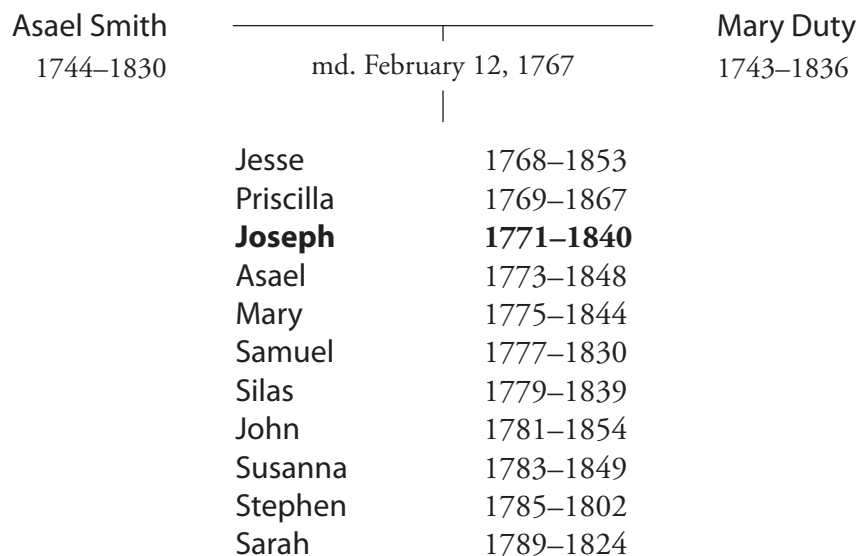


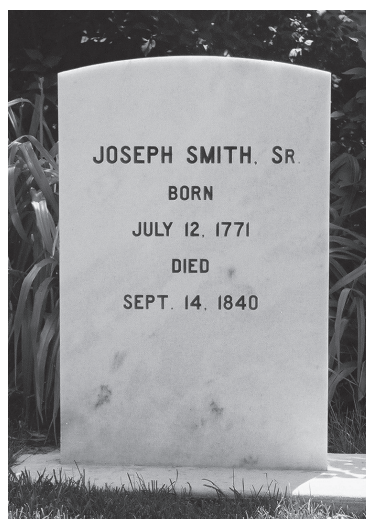
Fig. 6. Asael and Mary Duty Smith family.

shortly after moving to Nauvoo, where he was confined to his bed. He reportedly had a blood vessel rupture and then vomited a quart of blood just prior to his death. After blessing individual family members who had gathered at his bedside, Father Smith died on September 14, 1840, at the age of sixty-nine.¹

Joseph has been described as “one of the most benevolent of men; opening his house to all who were destitute. While at Quincy, Illinois, he fed hundreds of the poor Saints who were flying from the Missouri persecutions, although he had arrived there penniless himself.”² Edward Stevenson remembered that “Father Smith was not a man of many words, but, sober-minded, firm, mild and impressive.”³ Dale Morgan has summarized that “the senior Smith brought much to the making of a prophet; his stalwart body, his hatred for the farm, his skeptical view of denominational religion, his love for the strange and marvelous, his inventive fancy, his will to rise above the circumstances of his life.”⁴ In addition, Father Smith had a strong sense of family and was closely connected with his wife and children.

Physical Description. Joseph Sr. was described as standing “six feet, two inches high, was very straight, and remarkably well proportioned. His ordinary weight was about two hundred pounds,

and he was very strong and active. In his younger days he was famed as a wrestler, and, Jacob like, he never wrestled with but one man whom he could not throw.”⁵ One of his grandsons recollected that “in stature he had no superior in the family. Not one of his sons excelled him in physical appearance—not one to my memory.”⁶ Another stated that Joseph Sr. “was very tall; his nose was very prominent. . . . Joseph [Jr.] looked very much like him.”⁷



Joseph Smith Sr. gravestone, Smith family cemetery, Nauvoo, Illinois. Photograph by the author.

Lucy Smith



Lucy Mack Smith. Engraving by Frederick Piercy. Photograph courtesy Community of Christ Library–Archives.

Biographical Sketch. Lucy Mack Smith was born July 8, 1775, in Gilsum, Cheshire County, New Hampshire. She was the youngest of eight children born to Solomon Mack and Lydia Gates. She married Joseph Smith Sr. on January 24, 1796, at Tunbridge, Vermont. Mother Smith, as she was called by the Saints, bore eleven children, nine of which survived to adulthood. This included six sons and three daughters. She was preceded in death by her husband (1840) and five of her adult sons.

When the Church moved en masse to Ohio, Lucy demonstrated her ability as a leader. She successfully led the Fayette Branch of the Church approximately three hundred miles over land and water to Kirtland. In Kirtland the majority of her time was spent in feeding, housing, and clothing missionaries, converts, and temple laborers. One historian described her as “shrewd, strong-willed,

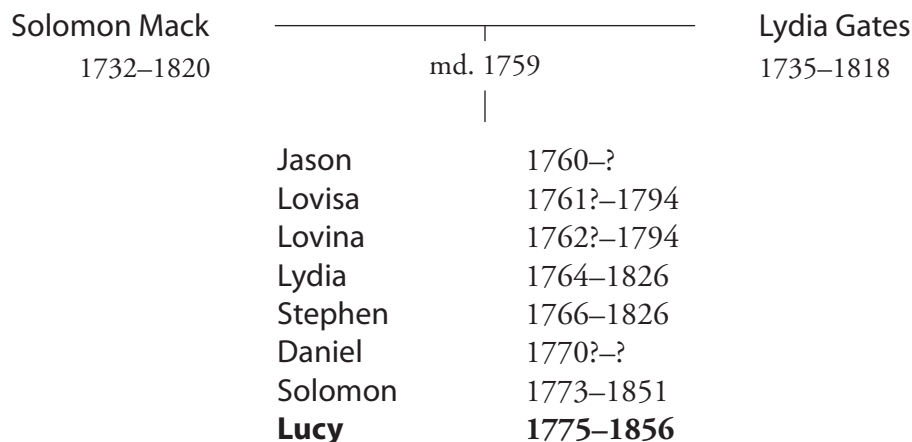
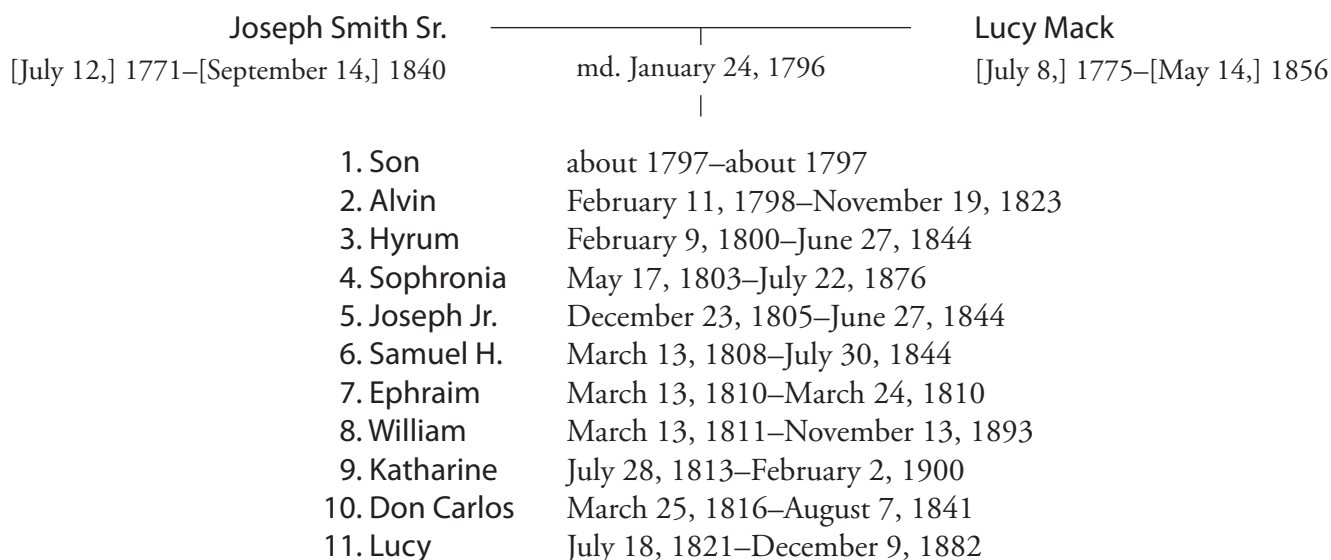


Lucy Mack Smith. Courtesy Community of Christ Library–Archives.



Lucy Mack Smith gravestone, Smith family cemetery, Nauvoo, Illinois. Photograph by the author.

warm-hearted, garrulous, passionately devoted to her family, credulous and even superstitious, on the homeliest terms with God, who manifested his will to her in dreams and ‘providences.’”⁸ Indeed, Lucy was a woman of faith and prayer,

**Fig. 7.** Solomon and Lydia Gates Mack family.**Fig. 8.** Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith family.

demonstrating her religious devotion throughout her life. It was, in fact, this religious devotion that provided the strength to endure the many difficulties with which her life was plagued. She was kind in caring for those in illness, both within and outside the family. She made considerable sacrifices in her life for the greater cause which she espoused. She followed her son Joseph Jr. wholeheartedly.

After the martyrdom, she remained in Illinois. She does not appear antagonistic towards Church leaders or those who followed Brigham Young. Lucy possessed a tribal sense of family that was heightened due to the persecution she frequently experienced. She did feel that as the first family of the Restoration, her family was entitled to certain

Church privileges. When conflict between her son William and the Twelve surfaced, she struggled in her loyalty. Ultimately she decided to stay in Illinois for her final years, where she could be with her immediate family. Even so, she remained friendly with those who visited her from Utah. Her family memoir was dictated in 1845 and subsequently published in 1853. She spent her final years being cared for by her daughters and later by her daughter-in-law Emma in Nauvoo. Lucy died on May 14, 1856.⁹

Physical Description. In the early 1840s Lucy was described as “a trim looking old lady” who wore a “black silk gown and white cap and kerchief.”¹⁰ [252]

Alvin Smith



Alvin Smith. Sketch by William Whitaker.
Courtesy Buddy Youngreen.



Alvin Smith gravestone located in Palmyra, New York, at the General John Swift Memorial Cemetery. The original stone has been adhered to a strong granite backing to preserve it. Photograph by the author.

Biographical Sketch. Alvin was born while the family was living in Tunbridge, Orange County, Vermont, on February 11, 1798. Alvin was a hard worker according to both family and neighbors, and during the family's stay in Palmyra, he assisted in making the yearly payment on the hundred-acre farm they had contracted for. He also led out in the construction of the frame home on the property, motivated by a desire to provide a comfortable home for his aging parents.

Upon learning of Joseph's experiences with the angel Moroni and the forthcoming gold plates, Alvin immediately believed. Mother Smith remembered Alvin's zealousness in wanting to learn of the particulars from Joseph concerning the

ancient record. Although all of the family rallied around Joseph Jr., Lucy remembered Alvin as the individual who was most interested in the unfolding events of the Restoration. Alvin frequently encouraged his siblings to finish their work early, so that they could all sit down and listen to Joseph Jr.'s experiences. However, Alvin's life was cut short. He died on November 19, 1823, shortly after a lethal dose of calomel was administered by a local doctor. At the time of his death, he had been engaged to be married.¹¹

Physical Description. Alvin was described by his brother as "a very handsome man, surpassed by none but Adam and Seth, and of great strength."¹²

Hyrum Smith



Hyrum Smith. Engraving courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

Biographical Sketch. Hyrum was born on February 9, 1800, at Tunbridge, Orange County, Vermont. Hyrum was perhaps better educated than his siblings, having attended Moor's Charity School located on Dartmouth Campus in Hanover, New Hampshire. Hyrum was remembered by his mother as being quite tender in his care for various family members. During his brother Joseph's leg operation, Hyrum spent weeks looking after his brother in attempting to reduce his pain. In later years, he often looked out for Joseph and his parents after he assumed the role of oldest child upon Alvin's death in 1823.

Hyrum was entrusted with the printer's copy of the Book of Mormon manuscript, which he looked after with special care. Later he became one of the Eight Witnesses of the Book of Mormon and was among the six original members of the Church. He served as a missionary for the Church, laboring in many midwestern states. He served on the Kirtland Temple Building Committee and on the Kirtland High Council. He was appointed as Assistant Counselor in the First Presidency, Second Counselor in the First Presidency, and Assistant President of the Church. Following his father's death, Hyrum was sustained as



Jerusha Barden Smith, wife of Hyrum Smith. Painting courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

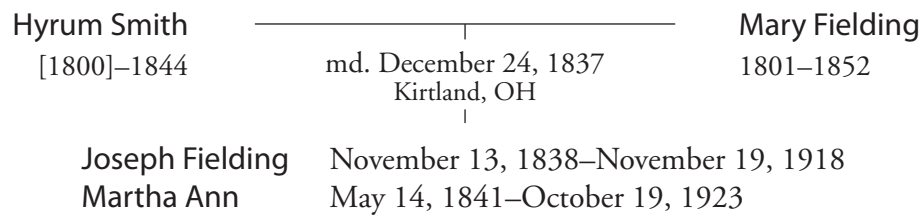
Hyrum Smith		Jerusha Barden
1800–1844	md. November 2, 1826 Manchester, NY	1805–1837
Lovina	September 16, 1827–October 8, 1876	
Mary	June 27, 1829–November 29, 1832	
John	September 22, 1832–November 6, 1911	
Hyrum	April 27, 1770?–?	
Jerusha	1773–1851	
Sarah	1775–1856	

Jerusha Barden was born February 15, 1805, in Norfolk, Litchfield Co., Connecticut; and died October 13, 1837, at Kirtland, [Geauga] Co., Ohio. [*Editor's Note: Lake Co. was not created until 1840 when it was divided from Geauga Co.*]

Fig. 9. Hyrum and Jerusha Barden Smith family.



Mary Fielding Smith, second wife of Hyrum Smith. Painting courtesy LDS Church Archives.



Mary Fielding was born July 21, 1801, in Honidon, Bedfordshire, England, and died September 21, 1852, at Salt Lake City, Utah.

Fig. 10. Hyrum and Mary Fielding Smith family.

Patriarch to the Church. In addition to his ecclesiastical responsibilities, Hyrum was involved in Freemasonry in New York and Illinois, as well as serving as Brevet Major General in the Nauvoo Legion.

Hyrum married Jerusha Barden on November 2, 1826, in Manchester, New York. Although skilled as a cooper, he largely earned his living as a farmer and laborer. He and Jerusha eventually had six children, with two dying very young. While Hyrum was performing Church business in Missouri, Jerusha became increasingly ill and died on October 13, 1837. Several months later he married Mary Fielding. Two children were born to this union.

Hyrum and Joseph Jr. enjoyed an especially close bond. Joseph respected Hyrum's counsel

and followed it when he recommended they turn themselves in to the authorities in June 1844. Although Joseph encouraged him to save himself, Hyrum would not leave his brother's side. They were murdered together in Carthage Jail on June 27, 1844.¹³

Physical Description. Observers reported that Hyrum was a tall man, some six feet two inches. He reportedly had a thin face with lowered sideburns, whose most notable feature was a rather prominent nose. Eldred G. Smith, who owns the clothes Hyrum was martyred in, had several men try the clothes on and estimated that he stood six feet three inches to six feet four inches tall.¹⁴



Modern-day grave markers of Emma Hale Smith (*left*), Joseph Jr. (*middle*), and Hyrum (*right*), Nauvoo, Illinois, Smith family cemetery.

Sophronia McCleary



Sophronia Smith Stoddard McCleary. Sketch by William Whitaker. Courtesy Buddy Youngreen.

Biographical Sketch. Sophronia was the first daughter of Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith, born May 17, 1803, at Tunbridge, Orange County, Vermont. When Sophronia was about ten years old she experienced a severe bout of typhoid fever that lasted nearly three months. Both parents feared for her life during this episode. According to Lucy, Sophronia was miraculously healed through the parental petitioning of the Lord through prayer. While in Palmyra Sophronia joined the Western Presbyterian Church with her mother.

On December 2, 1827, she married a neighbor named Calvin Stoddard. Her husband vacillated in his loyalty to the Church and was excommunicated on at least two separate occasions. Calvin also appears to have sided with William Smith during William and Joseph's 1835 conflict. Two daughters were born to this union before Calvin's death on November 19, 1836.

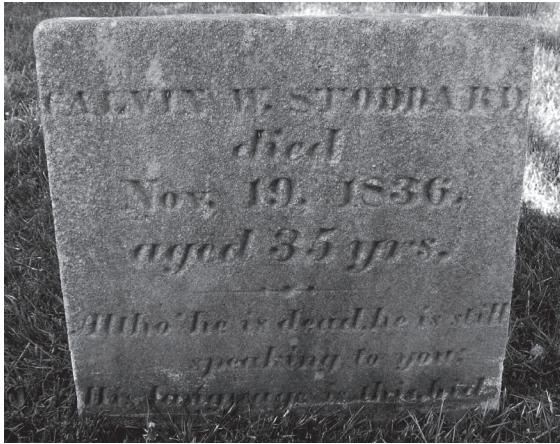
Sophronia remarried on February 11, 1838, in Kirtland to William McCleary. William participated in making wagons for the exodus from



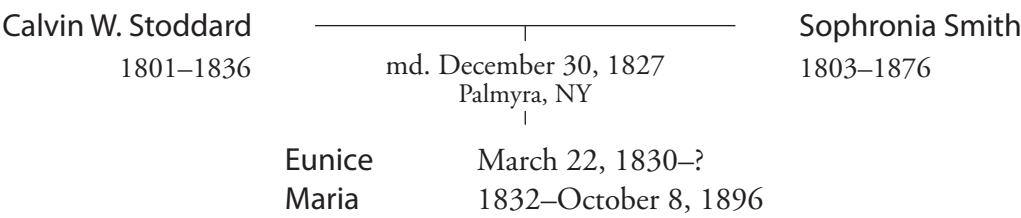
Sophronia Smith Stoddard McCleary headstone, Mount Auburn cemetery, Colchester, Illinois. Photograph by the author. *[Editor's note: This tombstone, erected years after Sophronia's death, misspells her name and lists an inaccurate death date.]*

Nauvoo and died shortly thereafter. Sophronia lived with her mother and sisters for a time following the exodus. Later when her daughter Maria married, Sophronia lived with her in and around Colchester, Illinois. Sophronia stayed close to her sisters throughout the remainder of her life. In 1873 she was received into the Reorganized Church on her original baptism. She died on July 22, 1876, at Fountain Green, Illinois.¹⁵

Physical Description. Sophronia was described as a tall woman who wore a "black alpaca hoop skirt" that reached to the floor. She also wore a lace neckerchief over her shoulder that was clasped at the throat with a great cameo brooch. She was said to have "severely chiseled Smith features."¹⁶

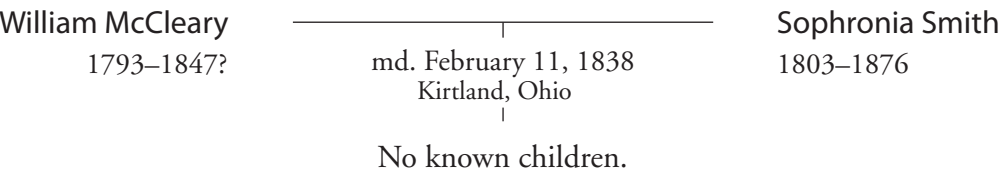


Calvin Stoddard gravestone, Palmyra, New York.
 Courtesy Bruce K. Satterfield.



Calvin Stoddard was born September 7, 1801, in Palmyra, Ontario Co., New York, and died November 19, 1836, in Macedon, Wayne Co., New York.

Fig. 11. Calvin and Sophronia Smith Stoddard family.



William McCleary was born October 9, 1793, at Rupert, Bennington Co., Vermont, and is presumed to have died in the summer of 1847 at Nauvoo, Illinois, shortly following the exodus of the Saints from that state.

Fig. 12. William and Sophronia Smith McCleary.

Joseph Smith



Joseph Smith Jr. Courtesy Community of Christ Library-Archives.

Biographical Sketch. Joseph Smith Jr. the Prophet, was born December 23, 1805, at Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont. At the age of seven he contracted typhoid fever, which left him with osteomyelitis in his leg. Doctors called in from nearby Dartmouth College successfully removed the infected bone through an uncommon form of surgery. Joseph spent his youth laboring in farm work and later hiring out to neighbors in the Palmyra area to earn much-needed cash to help support the family.

As a young man, Joseph sought diligently to know how to secure the salvation of his soul. In the spring of 1820, after seeking among the various denominations, Joseph had a vision in which he saw God and Jesus Christ. Joseph learned that the fulness of the gospel would at some future time be restored. Several years later, an ancient-American prophet named Moroni appeared and informed Joseph of his role in translating a record that had been buried in a nearby hill. Joseph was eventually allowed to translate the record and published

it as the Book of Mormon in 1830. Following its publication, he formally organized the Church of Christ on April 6, 1830.

Joseph continued to labor diligently in establishing the doctrines and structure of the newly organized church. He received numerous revelations, which were published first as the Book of Commandments and later as the Doctrine and Covenants. From 1830 to 1833, he worked tirelessly to make a new translation of the Bible. He served as president and prophet of the Church and oversaw the calling of numerous individuals to serve in the Church leadership and in missionary assignments. He led the Saints to Kirtland, Ohio, and later to various places in Missouri. In the early 1840s, he led out in establishing Nauvoo, Illinois, on the banks of the Mississippi River. Here he founded a city that rivaled Chicago in its population.

Joseph endured severe persecution from the time he made known his First Vision. Joseph was tarred and feathered and severely beaten in 1832. He was driven from Palmyra, Harmony, Kirtland, and Far West and ultimately murdered by an angry mob on June 27, 1844, while imprisoned in Carthage, Illinois.

Joseph married Emma Hale of Harmony, Pennsylvania, on January 18, 1827. Out of the nine children she bore, only four lived to adulthood. Joseph enjoyed spending time with his wife and children.¹⁷

Physical Description. There are numerous written descriptions of the Prophet. Examining the various statements made about him reveals that he was about six feet to six feet one inch in height and weighed approximately two hundred pounds. Many remember him as being muscular in stature, round-shouldered, and somewhat corpulent in his later years. He was clean-shaven and had blue eyes and a prominent nose. Most recollections state that he was a handsome man and had a dignified appearance.¹⁸

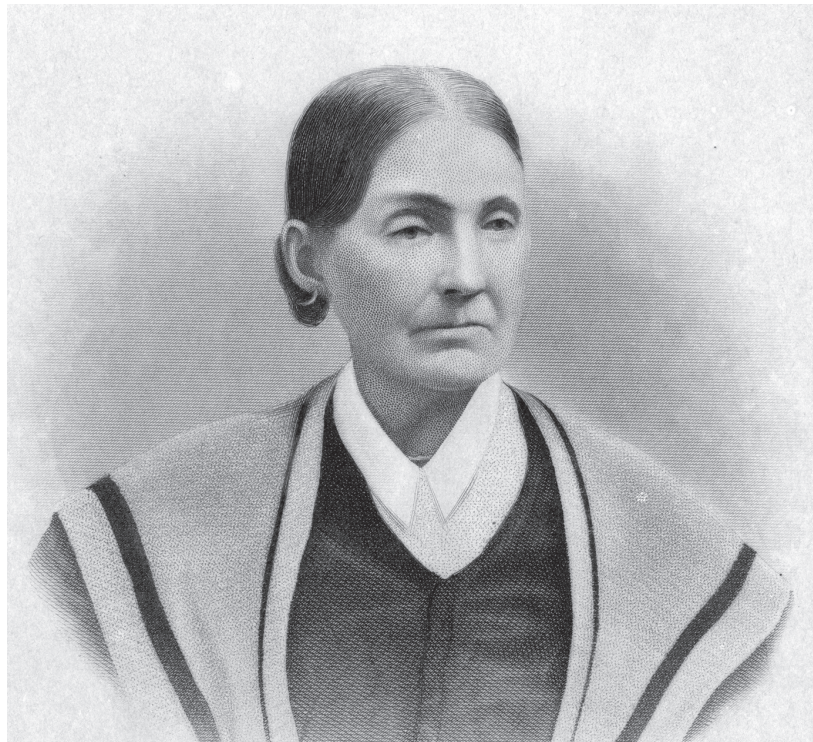
Joseph Smith Jr. 1805–1844	md. January 18, 1827 So. Bainbridge, NY	Emma Hale 1804–1879
Alvin	June 15, 1828–June 15, 1828	
Thaddeus*	April 30, 1831–April 30, 1831	
Louisa*	April 30, 1831–April 30, 1831	
Julia M.**	April 30, 1831–September 12, 1880	
Joseph M.**	April 30, 1831–March 29, 1832	
Joseph III	November 6, 1832–December 10, 1914	
Frederick G.	June 20, 1836–April 13, 1862	
Alexander H.	June 2, 1838–August 12, 1909	
Don Carlos	June 13, 1840–August 15, 1841	
Infant Son	1842–February 6, 1842	
David Hyrum	November 17, 1844–August 29, 1904	

*Twin

**Adopted Murdock Twins

Emma Hale Smith was born July 10, 1804, at Harmony, Susquehanna Co., Pennsylvania, and died April 30, 1879, at Nauvoo, Hancock Co., Illinois.

Fig. 13. Joseph Jr. and Emma Hale Smith family.



Emma Hale Smith. Courtesy Community of Christ Library–Archives.

Samuel H. Smith



Samuel Harrison Smith. Sketch by William Whitaker.
Courtesy Buddy Youngreen.

Samuel H. Smith 1808–1844	— md. August 13, 1834 Kirtland, OH —	Mary Bailey 1808–1841
Susanna Bailey	October 27, 1835–December 14, 1905	
Mary Bailey	March 27, 1837–October 13, 1916	
Samuel H. B.	August 1, 1838–June 12, 1914	
Lucy Bailey	January 6, 1841–February 1841	

Mary Bailey was born December 20, 1808, at Bedford, Hillsboro Co., New Hampshire, and died January 25, 1841, at Nauvoo, Hancock Co., Illinois.

Fig. 14. Samuel Harrison and Mary Bailey Smith family.

Biographical Sketch. Samuel Harrison Smith, the fourth son of Joseph and Lucy Mack Smith, was born March 13, 1808, at Tunbridge, Orange County, Vermont. He joined the Western Presbyterian Church of Palmyra at the same time as his mother. He assisted for a time as scribe in the translation of the Book of Mormon and was the third person baptized, after his brother Joseph Jr. and Oliver Cowdery. Samuel later was permitted to be one of the Eight Witnesses who saw and handled the plates and was among the six charter members of the Church.

Samuel was one of the first missionaries and served many missions over the course of his life. During the first few years following the organization of the Church, Samuel traveled over four thousand miles from Maine to Missouri preaching the gospel. He was described by one of his missionary companions as a man of faith and integrity. Samuel attended the School of Prophets in Kirtland. He also assisted in building the Kirtland Temple and served as president of the Kirtland High Council. He participated in the Battle of Crooked River in Missouri. In Nauvoo he served as a bishop and in the Presiding

Bishopric of the Church. He was a member of the Nauvoo Legion and was initiated into Masonry in 1842.

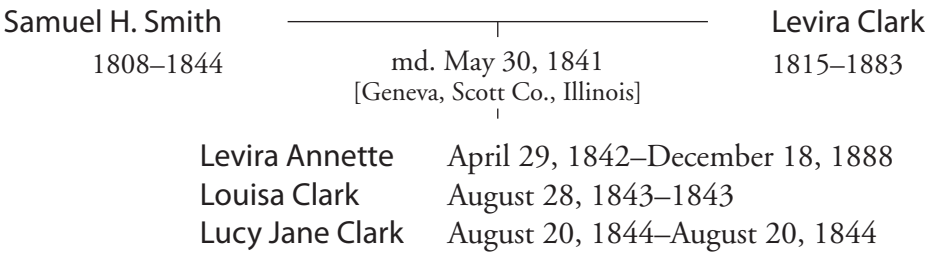
Samuel married Mary Bailey on August 13, 1834, in Kirtland, Ohio. He had met Mary previously when he was preaching in the Boston vicinity. Four children were born to Samuel and Mary before Mary died in 1841. After Mary's death, Samuel married Levira Clark on May 30, 1841.

Samuel reportedly died from overexertion in trying to come to the aid of his brothers at the time of their martyrdom. He died July 30, 1844, at Nauvoo, Illinois.¹⁹

Physical Description. Samuel is described "as being six feet in height, and athletic in nature. He is said to have possessed great strength which far exceeded that of ordinary men and enabled him 'to do an unusual amount of work.'"²⁰



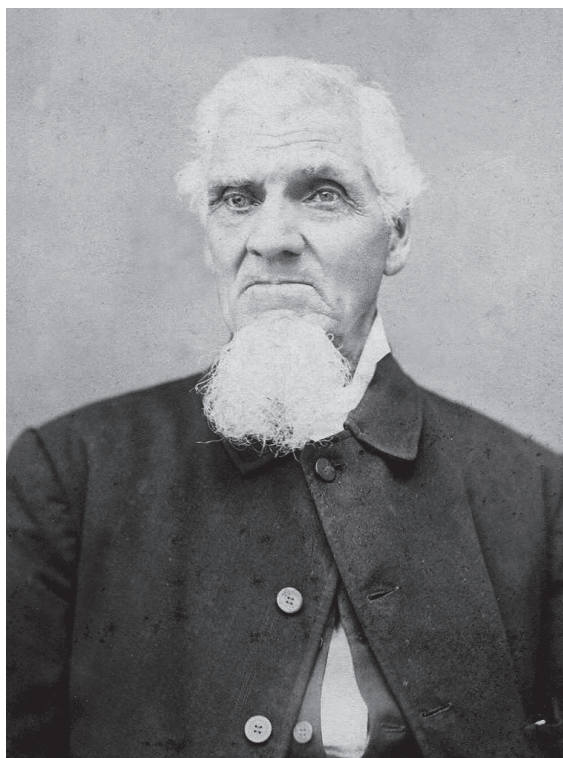
Smith family cemetery marker, Nauvoo, Illinois. Both Samuel Smith and Mary Bailey Smith are buried in this location. Photograph by the author.



Levira Clark was born July 30, 1815, at Livonia,
Livingston Co., New York, and died January 1, 1883, at
Salt Lake City, Utah.

Fig. 15. Samuel Harrison and Levira Clark Smith family.

William B. Smith



William B. Smith. Photograph courtesy Community of Christ Library-Archives.

Biographical Sketch. William B. Smith, the fifth surviving son and eighth child of Joseph and Lucy Mack Smith, was born at Royalton, Windsor County, Vermont, on March 13, 1811. He reported being less inclined to religion than other members of the family during his youth; however, through the petitions of his mother and Joseph Jr., William eventually took an interest along with the rest of the family. He was baptized in Seneca Lake by David Whitmer on June 9, 1830.

William had a quick temper, and on several occasions he defended his father and mother through violence. In 1835, he had an ongoing conflict with his brother Joseph, which eventually was settled through the intercession of various family members. Following his call to the Quorum of the Twelve on February 15, 1835, William served a mission to the eastern states with

his fellow Apostles. He vacillated in his fellowship with other members of the quorum and was often returned to fellowship through the intercession of his brothers Joseph and Hyrum.

William served in Zion's camp in 1834 and attended Hebrew School in Kirtland in 1835 and 1836. In 1839 he failed to serve a mission with other members of the Quorum of the Twelve. On being driven from Missouri, he settled in Plymouth, Illinois. In 1841, he was commissioned to collect funds for the building of the Nauvoo Temple, but ended up using the funds for his personal use. He was a member of the Nauvoo Legion and was initiated into Masonry April 9, 1842. In that same year, he was elected to the Nauvoo City Council and as a member of the Illinois State House of Representatives. William also edited *The Wasp*, a Nauvoo newspaper, from April through December 1842.

When his brothers were killed in Carthage, Illinois, in 1844, William was tending his ill wife, Caroline, and did not return to Nauvoo until May 1845. At that time, he was sustained as Patriarch to the Church. Conflicts soon arose between William and the rest of the Twelve, as he felt that his ordination as Patriarch entitled him to be president of the Church, unaccountable to any other leader. He was subsequently excommunicated for apostasy on October 12, 1845. From that time on, he fought against Brigham Young and the Twelve. William associated with leaders of several factions of the Church including James J. Strang, Lyman Wight, and later Joseph Smith III. He frequently sought high callings with these groups and, for a time, tried to reorganize the true church of Christ with himself as president. In 1860 he was rebaptized a member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, but his involvement was short-lived, and he withdrew. He eventually joined the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and remained a member until his death. William frequently wrote letters and participated in interviews in his later life, always vehemently defending Joseph's legitimacy as the Prophet of the Restoration.

William married Caroline Grant February 14, 1833, and they had two children before

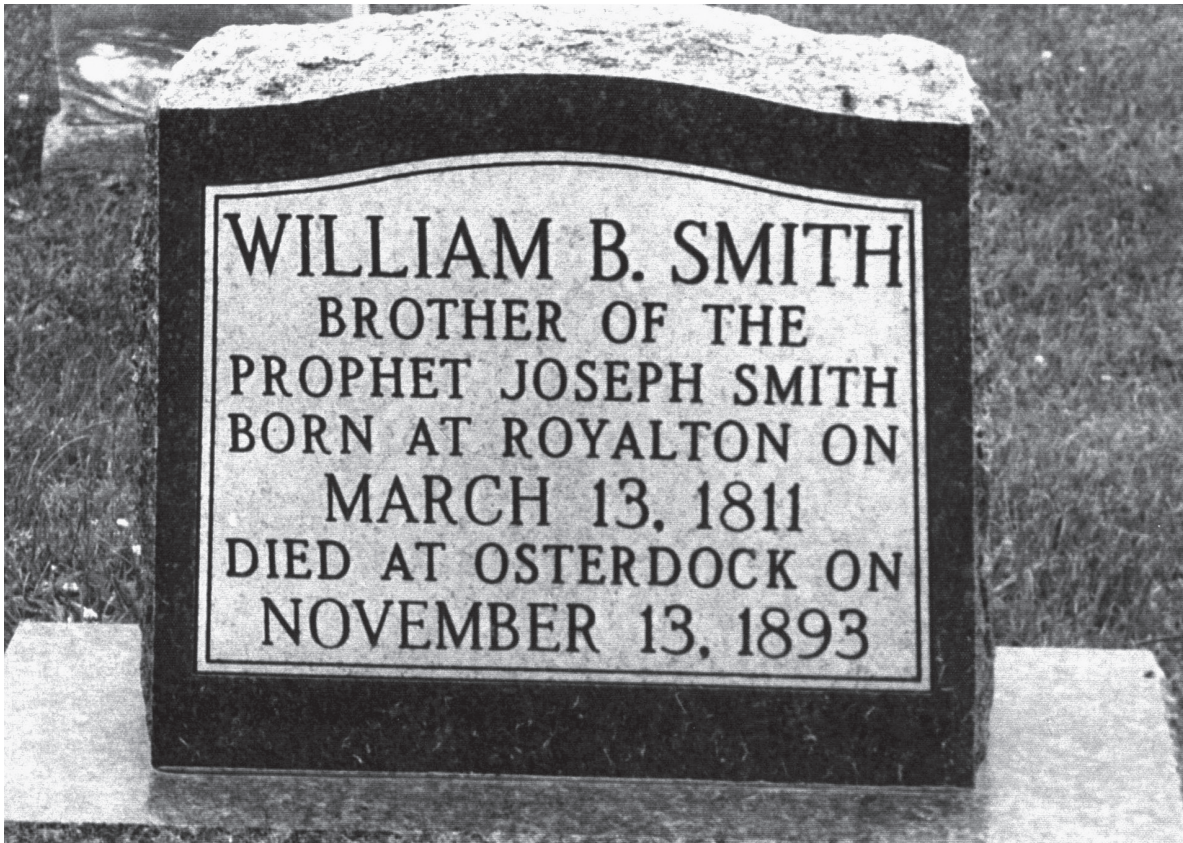


William B. and Caroline Grant Smith home, Kirtland, Ohio, ca. 1907 by George Edward Anderson. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

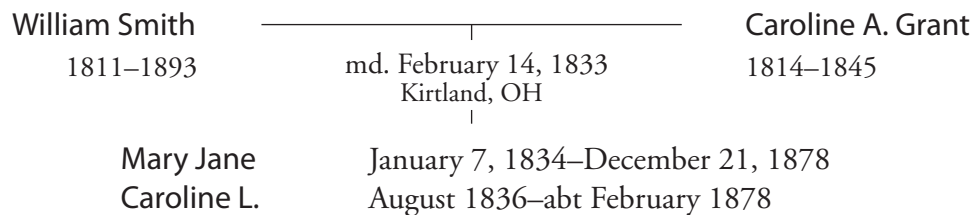
her death in May 1845. Between the time of her death and his excommunication in October of that same year, William was married or sealed to six women. None of these marriages appear to have lasted after his excommunication. In May 1847, William married Caroline's sister, Roxie Ann Grant, and they had two children. However, by 1853, Roxie Ann filed for and was granted a divorce from William on grounds of abandonment. In 1857, he married Eliza Elsie Sanborn, and the couple had three children. In 1864 he enlisted in the Civil War, and it was then that he adopted the middle initial "B." to distinguish him from numerous others with his same name. After Eliza's death in 1889, William married a French

woman named Rosanna Surprise. William spent the last thirty years of his life in Iowa and died at age eighty-two on November 13, 1893.²¹

Physical Description. A niece described William as being "as fine a specimen of mankind as is seldom seen. He was tall and elegant in appearance with a clear light olive complexion, wavy brown hair, blue eyes, handsome features. His mouth was hard to describe, even white teeth and his smile was the embodiment of all that a smile should be."²² [*"His son, Edson Don Carlos, remembered that his father was 'well built and of powerful physique' standing six foot three inches in his stocking feet."* "Episodes in Genealogical Research: New Light on William Smith," *Deseret News*, July 27, 1935, 8.]

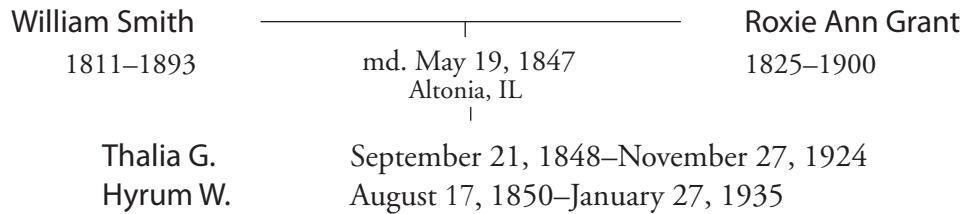


William B. Smith headstone, located in Bethel Cemetery, two miles south of Osterdock, Iowa. Photograph courtesy William Shepard.



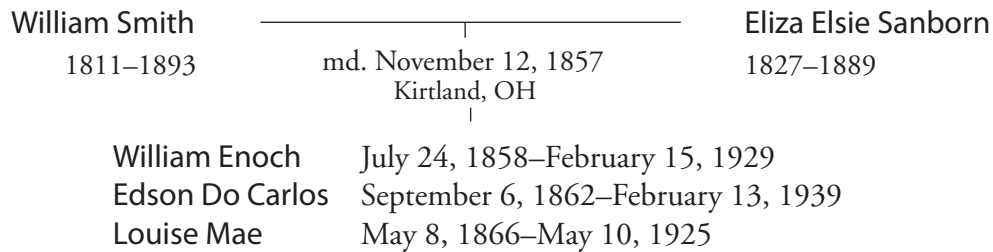
Caroline A. Grant was born January 22, 1814, at Windsor, Broome Co., New York, and died May 22, 1845, at Nauvoo, Hancock Co., Illinois.

Fig. 16. William and Caroline Grant Smith family.



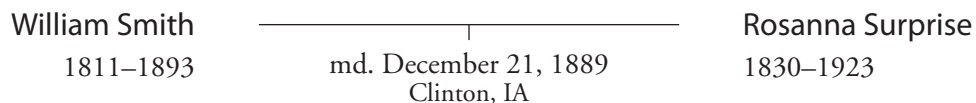
Roxie Ann Grant was born March 16, 1825, at Naples, Ontario Co., New York, and died March 30, 1900, at Lathrop, Clinton Co., Missouri.

Fig. 17. William and Roxie Ann Grant Smith family.



Eliza Elsie Sanborn was born April 16, 1827, at Cattaraugus, Cattaraugus Co., New York, and died May 7, 1889, at Elkader, Clayton Co., Iowa.

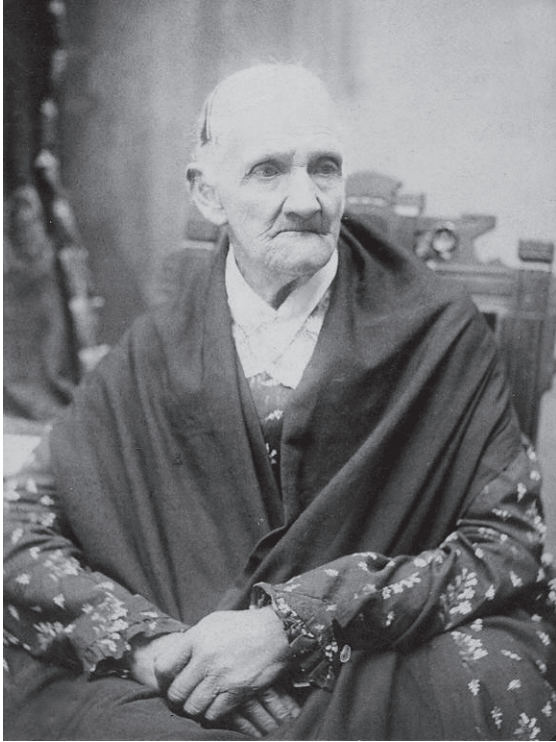
Fig. 18. William and Eliza Sanborn Smith family.



Rosanna Surprise was born May 16, 1830, at Montreal, Quebec, Canada, and died April 6, 1923, at Clinton, Clinton Co., Iowa.

Fig. 19. William and Rosanna Surprise Smith.

*Katharine
Salisbury*



Katharine Smith Salisbury, ca. 1880. Courtesy Community of Christ Library–Archives.

Biographical Sketch. Katharine, the second daughter and seventh surviving child of Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith, was born on July 28, 1813, in Lebanon, Grafton County, New Hampshire. Katharine was actively involved with the early events of the Restoration. When her older brother Joseph first brought home the plates in 1827, Katharine helped nurse Joseph's injured hand. On another occasion, Katharine assisted Joseph by hiding the plates from a mob.

Katharine married Wilkins Jenkins Salisbury June 8, 1831, in Kirtland, Ohio, at the home of her sister Sophronia. Although Katharine's husband was trained as an attorney, he followed the trade of blacksmithing for the better part of their married life. In Kirtland, Katharine organized



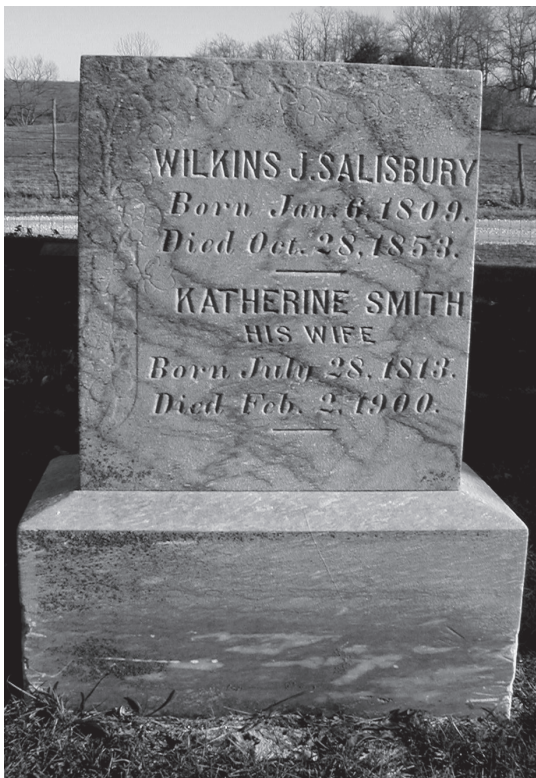
Katharine Smith Salisbury. Courtesy Community of Christ Library–Archives.

and participated in weaving clubs. She also lent her seamstress skills to work on the interior of the temple. During the migration of the Saints from Kirtland to Far West, Katharine gave birth to a son in an abandoned hut in the pouring rain. Later, she followed the Saints to Illinois, where she settled in Plymouth, about thirty-five miles from Nauvoo.

When Joseph Sr. died in 1840, Katharine was the only child not present, arriving shortly after his decease. During the early 1840s, Katharine frequently visited Nauvoo and typically stayed with Joseph and Emma on such visits. Following the martyrdom of her brothers, Katharine lived in Nauvoo for a time with her surviving siblings and her mother. Later she settled in the Fountain



Wilkins Jenkins Salisbury, ca. 1850. Courtesy Mary Dennis.

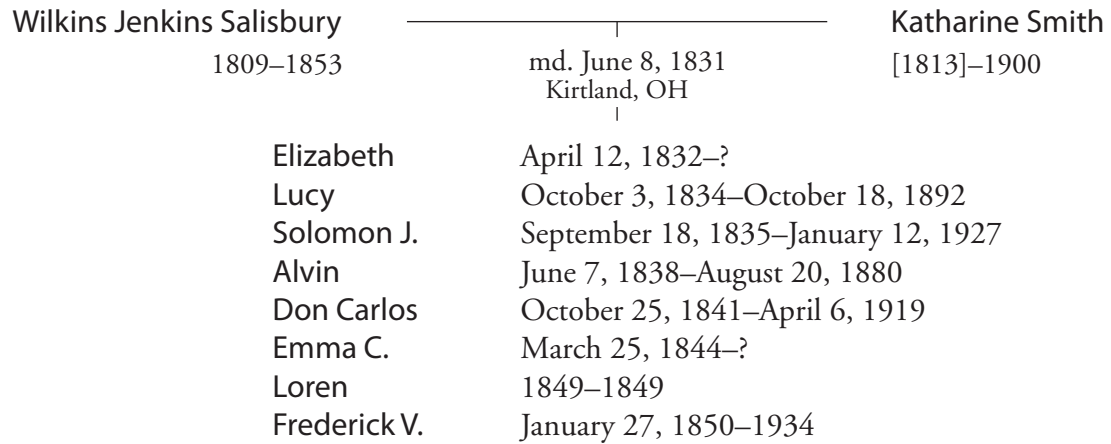


Wilkins Jenkins and Katharine Smith Salisbury gravestone, Webster cemetery, Webster, Illinois. Photograph by Alexander L. Baugh.

Green, Illinois, area. In 1873 she was proselyted by the Reorganized Church and was received into that church on her original baptism. She affiliated with the Reorganized Church heavily in the 1880s and 1890s, often attending their general conferences, sitting on the stand with members of the church's leadership.

Katharine and her husband, Jenkins, had five children who survived to adulthood. Jenkins died November 27, 1853, in Plymouth, Illinois, leaving Katharine a widow. On May 3, 1857, Katharine married Joseph Younger. Little is known about this union; by 1860, Katharine was using Salisbury as her last name once again. During her final years, Katharine lived off and on with her adult children, but she largely cared for herself. She also continued her close associations with her two sisters, who settled nearby in Colchester, Illinois. She died just following the turn of the century on February 2, 1900, the last surviving member of the Smith family.²³

Physical Description. Katharine was described as being very tall, like her siblings. One descendant described her as “a large big boned ungainly looking woman,” a “strong woman physically. . . . Mrs. Salisbury as has been stated was big . . . [and] had unusually big ears . . . which she had to keep covered with her hair if she could. She [had] very high cheek bones also.”^{24 [274]}



Wilkins Jenkins Salisbury was born January 6, 1809, in Rushville, Yates Co., New York, and died October 28, 1853, in Plymouth, Hancock Co., Illinois.

Fig. 20. Wilkins Jenkins and Katharine Smith Salisbury family.

Don C. Smith



Sketch of Don Carlos Smith by William Whitaker.
Courtesy Buddy Youngreen.

Biographical Sketch. Don Carlos Smith, the youngest son in the Smith family, was born at Norwich, Vermont, on March 25, 1816, just before the family's departure for Palmyra, New York. He was baptized in June 1830 and soon after served a mission with his father to central New York.

In Kirtland he learned the trade of a printer and assisted in the publication of the first hymnal and the *Doctrine and Covenants* in 1835. He later became the printer of the *Elder's Journal* and the *Times and Seasons* in Nauvoo, Illinois. He edited thirty-one numbers of the latter and also published another edition of the Book of Mormon in 1840.

When the Saints were driven from Missouri, Don Carlos was absent on his mission. His wife, Agnes, and their two children were driven from their home, she carrying her children through three miles of snow and then wading the Grand River, which was waist deep.

At age nineteen, Don Carlos was unanimously sustained as president of the High Priests Quorum in Kirtland and served in the same capacity once the Saints were established in Nauvoo. He participated in the construction of both the Kirtland and Nauvoo temples. Don Carlos also served on the Nauvoo city council. He was elected brigadier-general in the Nauvoo Legion and a major in the Hancock County militia.

On July 30, 1835, Don Carlos married Agnes Moulton Coolbrith, who had been converted through the efforts of Don Carlos's brother Samuel. The couple had three children, the youngest of which concealed her Mormon heritage and became California's first poet laureate. Don Carlos died on August 7, 1841, of pneumonialike symptoms.²⁵

Physical Description. Don Carlos was described as standing "six feet four inches high, was very straight and well made, had light hair, and was very strong and active. His usual weight when in health was 200 pounds."²⁶

Don Carlos Smith
1816–1841

md. July 30, [1835]
Kirtland, OH

Agnes Moulton Coolbrith
1811–1876

Agnes Charlotte August 1, 1836–January 31, 1873
Sophronia C. May 24, 1838–October 3, 1843
Josephine Donna March 10, 1841–February 29, 1928

Agnes Moulton Coolbrith was born July 11, 1811, at
Scarborough, Cumberland Co., Maine, and died
December 26, 1876, at Oakland, California.

Fig. 21. Don Carlos and Agnes Coolbrith Smith family.



Smith family cemetery, Nauvoo, Illinois. Don Carlos Smith is buried in this cemetery, which overlooks the Mississippi River. Photograph by the author.

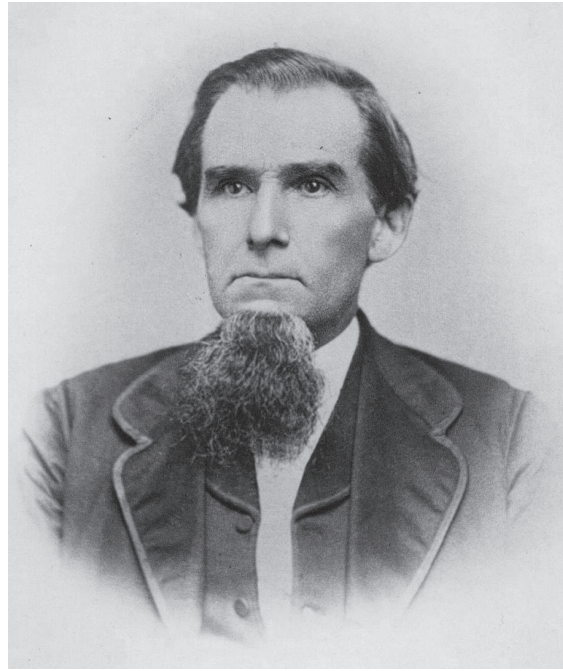
Lucy Smith Millikin



Lucy Smith Millikin. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

Biographical Sketch. Lucy Smith was the youngest child born to Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith, at Palmyra, Wayne County, New York, on July 18, 1821. She lived with her parents during the migration of the Church from New York to Illinois.

Lucy was married to Arthur Millikin by her brother Joseph in 1840. Arthur had joined the Church in 1836 and participated in the Battle of Crooked River, where he was shot through both legs above the knee. After their marriage, the couple visited Arthur's homeland of Maine, where their first child was born. In 1840, Lucy was baptized by proxy for her deceased aunt Lovina Mack. Following the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum, Lucy and Arthur spent several years caring for Lucy Mack Smith. Mother Smith appreciated the couple's kindness during these years.



Arthur Millikin, husband of Lucy Smith. Photograph courtesy LDS Church Archives.

By the early 1850s, the Millikins settled in Colchester, Illinois, where Lucy could be near her sisters, Sophronia and Katharine. In the spring of 1873, both Arthur and Lucy Millikin were received into the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints on their original baptisms, and the entire family eventually affiliated with the Church. The family spent the remainder of their lives living in Colchester, where Arthur worked in the railroad office and in the mining business. Lucy died on December 9, 1882, just eight months after her husband's decease.²⁷

Physical Description. The only physical description related to Lucy that exists is a description of her daughters, indicating they were "fair-haired" and "blue-eyed."²⁸



Arthur and Lucy Millikin gravestones, Widow Moore cemetery, Colchester, Illinois. Photograph by the author.

Arthur Millikin		Lucy Smith
1817–1882	md. June 4, 1840 Nauvoo, IL	1821–1882
Don Carlos S.	October 13, 1843–November 26, 1932	
Sarah M.	September 13, 1845–November 23, 1934	
George W. D.	March 4, 1848–January 6, 1913	
Florence Arabella	May 23, 1850–October 21, 1927	
Julia Amelia	June 16, 1853–June 7, 1888	
Frances M.	October 26, 1856–March 14, 1858	
Charles Arthur	August 31, 1858–May 12, 1884	
Clara Irene	August 23, 1861–March 26, 1948	
Clarence Hiram	March 26, 1865–April 5, 1922	

Arthur Millikin was born May 9, 1817, in Saco, York Co., Maine, and died April 23, 1882, in Colchester, McDonough Co., Illinois.

Fig. 22. Arthur and Lucy Smith Millikin family.

Notes

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2. *History of the Church*, 4:191.
3. as cited in Richard L. Anderson, *Investigating the Book of Mormon Witnesses* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1981), 142.
4. John Phillip Walker, ed., *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism: Correspondence and a New History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 221.
5. *History of the Church*, 4:191.
6. *Journal of History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, (Lamoni, IA: Board of Publication of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1908), 1:41.
7. W. Wyl, *Joseph Smith, the Prophet, His Family and His Friends: A Study Based on Facts and Documents*, (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing, 1886), as cited in Ephraim Hatch, *Joseph Smith Portraits: A Search for the Prophet's Likeness* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1998), 11.
8. Walker, *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism*, 221.
9. Lavina Fielding Anderson, ed., *Lucy's Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith's Family Memoir* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001), 779–97; Dean C. Jessee, *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, Vol. 2: *Journal, 1832–1842* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 594; Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool: F. W. Richards, 1853), 36–37; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:213; Buddy Younggreen, “The Death Date of Lucy Mack Smith: 8 July 1775–14 May 1856,” *BYU Studies* 12, no. 3 (1972): 318.
10. John E. Hallwas and Roger D. Launius, eds., *Cultures in Conflict: A Documentary History of the Mormon War in Illinois* (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1995), 31.
11. Richard L. Anderson, “The Alvin Smith Story: Fact and Fiction,” *Ensign* 17, no. 8 (August 1987), 58–72; Black, *Who's Who in the Doctrine and Covenants*, 265–68; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:591–92; Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 87–90.
12. *History of the Church*, 5:247.
13. Black, *Who's Who in the Doctrine and Covenants*, 280–83; Pearson H. Corbett, *Hyrum Smith, Patriarch* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1963), 86; Ronald K. Espin, “Hyrum Smith: The Mildness of a Lamb, the Integrity of Job,” *Ensign* 30, no. 2 (February 2000), 30–36; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:593; Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 214–15; *History of the Church*, 6:546, 550, 592; John Sweeney, “A History of the Nauvoo Legion in Illinois” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1974), 205–6; Whitney, 1964.
14. Corbett, *Hyrum Smith*, 86; Hatch, *Joseph Smith Portraits*, 5.
15. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 842–43; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:595; “Records of Early Church Families,” *Utah Genealogical Magazine* 26 (1935): 151; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:58n16.
16. Hancock, 1954, 10.
17. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 869–70; Black, *Who's Who in the Doctrine and Covenants*, 287–88; Dean C. Jessee, *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, Vol. 1: *Autobiographical and Historical Writings* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989), 514–15; “Records,” 100; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:5–6. See generally, Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith, Prophet's Wife, “Elect Lady,” Polygamy's Foe* (New York: Doubleday, 1984).
18. Hatch, *Joseph Smith Portraits*, 9.
19. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 872–73; Black, *Who's Who in the Doctrine and Covenants*, 295–97; Cook, *Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 34; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:594–95; Ruby K. Smith, *Mary Bailey* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954), 90–91; *History of the Church*, 7:216–22. See generally, Dean Jarman, “The Life and Contributions of Samuel Harrison Smith” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1961).
20. Jarman, “Samuel Harrison Smith,” 98–99.
21. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 874–75; Black, *Who's Who in the Doctrine and Covenants*, 300–303; Cook, *Revelations*, 276–77; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:595; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:475–76. See generally, Calvin R. Rudd, “William Smith: Brother of the Prophet Joseph Smith” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1973).
22. M. B. S. Norman to Ina Coolbrith, March 1908, Community of Christ Library-Archives, Independence, MO.
23. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 861–62; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:594; Emma M. Phillips, *Dedicated to Serve: Biographies of 31 Women of the Restoration* (Independence, MO: Hereld House, 1970), 11–18; Solomon J. Salisbury, “Old Nauvoo Days Recalled,” *Autumn Leaves* 37, no. 6 (June 1924): 151–58, 216–20, 245–48; W. Van Dine, “Biographical Sketch of Catherine Smith Salisbury,” unpublished typescript in author’s possession; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:517–18.
24. Van Dine, “Biographical Sketch,” 32.
25. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 865–66; Black, *Who's Who in the Doctrine and Covenants*, 269–71; Cook, *Revelations*, 274–75; Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:592; Roger D. Launius, “Don Carlos Smith: Brother of the Prophet,” *Restoration Witness* 18 (1980): 11–17; “Records of Early Church Families,” 105–6; Josephine DeWitt Rhodehamel and Raymund Francis Wood, *Ina Coolbrith: Librarian and Laureate of California* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1973), 11–22.
26. *History of the Church*, 4:393–99.
27. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 845–46; Mary Salisbury Hancock, “The Three Sisters of the Prophet Joseph Smith,” *The Saints' Herald* 101, no. 2 (11 January 1954): 34; “Record of Early Church Families,” 152–53.
28. Hancock, “The Three Sisters,” 10.

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Abstract

The Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith Family: A Family Process Analysis of a Nineteenth-Century Household

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This study evaluates the Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith family—the first family of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or Mormon Church. The researcher uses contemporary family process concepts from the field of social science to evaluate a historical family. The family process constructs selected for the study include cohesion, resiliency, religiosity, conflict management, family work, and recreation.

Results of the study found the Smith family to show high levels of cohesiveness and resiliency. The Smith family demonstrated both intrinsic and extrinsic forms of religiosity. Family members also exhibited effective problem-solving strategies including prayer, letter writing, and allowing a moderator to^[iii] help resolve conflicts. The study also provided empirical support that the family had a strong work ethic. The varying types of work and recreation that the family engaged in is documented.

Mormonism's founder, Joseph Smith Jr., was found to have struck a balance between family work and family recreation. Although the Smith family engaged in many forms of recreation, the researcher was unable to determine if the family achieved a healthy balance between the variables of work and recreation. Implications for researchers—both those in the historical and social science fields—are discussed. Also, the implications for members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and for marriage and family counselors are addressed. ^[iv]

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