

Issue 37

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Rumors of Magic and Mormons: Joseph Smith, the Prophet Puzzle, and Witchcraft Allegations

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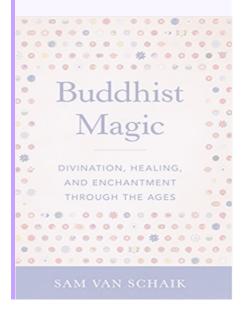
Over the last two centuries, the history of Mormonism has been bifurcated by two primary depictions of the religion's founder, Joseph Smith Jr. According to the hagiographic depiction, Joseph Smith, a young man who was once involved in the questionable practice of treasure seeking, experienced a divine vision in the early 1820s, followed by a second visionary experience in 1824 when he was visited by an angel. The angel declared itself to be a former Hebrew prophet who had lived among the remnants of a lost civilization founded by people fleeing the destruction of Jerusalem. This civilization had experienced several rounds of righteousness and wickedness, and their prophets recorded their history for future generations of mankind. The angel, who was called Moroni, abridged these records on metal plates and left them buried in upstate New York for a young Joseph Smith to discover. According to the angel, Smith had been divinely called to restore the Church of Jesus Christ, millennia after the Great Apostasy destroyed true Christianity. Joseph Smith Jr. eventually claimed to have found the plates, translated the record, and published it as The Book of Mormon: Another Testimony of Jesus Christ. Subsequently he claimed to have restored the true Church of Christ. In the hagiographic tradition, Smith's prophetic calling resulted in a diabolical conspiracy against the young prophet, taking the form of personal and legal persecution that hounded him mercilessly both through the court system and in the form of extrajudicial mob violence. This persecution began in New York State and Pennsylvania but it followed Smith to Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, where he was martyred by a mob of fanatical bigots who stormed Carthage Jail in 1843 and killed Smith in cold blood.¹

The historical counternarrative is just as dramatic, though far less flattering. Smith, a notorious necromancer and fraud, had spent his youth swindling his neighbors out of their money through the satanic practice of treasure-hunting, which was sometimes described as a sham and other times described as involving demonic spirits. Similarly, this counternarrative focuses on Smith's use of a seer stone for finding lost and stolen goods, and then later for producing the *Book of Mormon* through visions seen in his seer stones.² In this account, Smith's family members are described as criminals whose feigned practice of treasure seeking barely kept them from poverty until Smith finally turned from pretended treasure-seeking to pretended religion as a means of swindling a living out of his followers. According to this narrative, Smith's persecutors were fairly justified in their claims that Smith had used pretended magic to defraud others. Smith's legal troubles began when he was tried for fraud—pretending to find lost treasure with the use of a seer stone—in 1826. The trial's outcome is uncertain, but these troubles renewed again in 1830 when his opposition righteously associated his new religious claims with his con-artistry of several years earlier. In this narrative, Smith's claims of persecution were exaggerated; his stories were all bluster, designed to shield his failed economic experiments; his practice of polygamy; his acts of violence and intimidation directed against enemies and lackluster followers; and his ultimate aspirations to commit treason against the United States. It is true that Smith was murdered in 1844 but, considering his character, many felt that it was understandable for his enemies to turn to extralegal

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Book Review

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Sam Van Schaik's *Buddhist Magic: Divination, Healing, and Enchantment Through the Ages* (Boulder: Shambhala, 2020)

Sam Van Schaik's *Buddhist Magic* is a relatively short but informative read on the history and practice of magic in Buddhism. Magic is an area which, as Schaik notes, is often overlooked in relation to Buddhism, partly due to the Western idealized picture of Buddhism as a rational religion that leaves no room for belief in magical or superstitious practice. To Schaik, Buddhist magical practices do not stand in opposition to Buddhism as a rational religion but have a "specific role in the wider context of Buddhist practice" (8).

The book comprises five chapters, with an introduction and afterword. In the opening chapter, "Magic across cultures," Schaik offers an overview of a number of practices found worldwide that tend to be considered magical. In relation to these he defines Buddhist magic as that which has a "family resemblance" (17) to other types of practice classified as magical. He sidesteps defining a singular type of Buddhist magic as doing so would be impossible. Instead he suggests that magical practices in Buddhism share basic features: "they are focused on worldly ends, including healing, protection, divination, manipulation of emotions, and sometimes killing" (38). What separates these practices from other Buddhist rituals is the clear relationship between the ritual and results. In magic this relation is swift, direct, and clear. Further, Buddhist magic is not connected to the by-products of the path to enlightenment or the accruing of merit. So, magic in Buddhism, as Schaik treats it, comes down to the practical and everyday manifestations of the religion. His presentation is a "ground up" (12) approach as it gives insight into the everyday and lived experiences of Buddhist communities.

Chapter 2, "Magic, Medicine and the Spread of Buddhism," looks at how magical practices are deeply tied to the geographical spread of the religion and the cultures it influenced and was in turn influenced by. Buddhist magic is in a unique place, comprising regional collections of practices sitting at the crossroads of cultural and religious beliefs. Schaik shows how medicine is an important context for the development of magic, since empirical medical procedures and magical rituals were used in tandem for healing members of the community, which in turn created a context where Buddhism amulets and spell books. itself might flourish. Schaik makes a point of emphasizing how magic plays a role in all schools of Buddhism. Tantric and Vajrayana Buddhism are the branches most often associated with magically adjacent practices, Tibetan Book of Spells as well but he points to manuscript evidence suggesting that these practices are found in and flourish Buddhist wizards to monks, in Theravada and Mahayana schools as well.

Chapter 3, "Sources of Magic in Buddhist Scripture," examines

Joseph Smith, cont'd methods for dealing with a charlatan/necromancer.³

These dual historical narratives are largely irreconcilable, a problem that led historian of Mormonism Jan Shipps to conclude that the largest problem in Mormon history was the fact that there were two Joseph Smiths in the historiography of Mormonism. Two opposed camps of record keepers each forged a history sidelining the other camp's opposing evidence. Shipps dubbed this the "prophet puzzle," and argued that until it was resolved, the historiography of Mormonism could not meaningfully move forward.⁴ Numerous attempts have been made to resolve the prophet puzzle both shortly before and

the relation between "official" Buddhism and the experienced based magical practices. It does so through surveying a selection of Buddhist sutras from the Mahayana school and Vajrayana Tantras, explaining how they would be practically applied in the context of objects like

Chapter 4 looks at "Magic Users and Materia Magica." This chapter delves into the specific individuals who would have used the practices written in the as the materials commonly used in the book's rituals. From there was a diverse community of individuals who accessed the magical rituals from these historic manuscripts. Further, the materials and medicinal

long after Shipps defined it as such.⁵ Thus far, however, the historians of Mormonism have not deeply engaged the history of witchcraft and magic in the picture, though John Brooke called upon historians of witchcraft to investigate the second great awakening as early as 1992.6

For the last several years I have been researching Smith's life and incorporating relevant material from a subdiscipline of history that should have been involved in this conversation decades ago. By looking at Joseph Smith's life through the cultural conversation of 19th century America's particular forms of skepticism and belief in witchcraft it is possible to resolve many of the more significant problems in the

ingredients used in these practices connect to the "empirico-rational" (109) tradition mentioned in chapter 2, as ingredients were tested for effectiveness alongside the belief in their magical power.

All chapters are well supported with translations of passages from texts in manuscript, but Chapter 5 offers a complete translation of a Tibetan Book of Spells, which is the heart of Schaik's work. The manuscript book was found in a cave in Dunhuang containing thousands of manuscripts and paintings. Schaik formerly worked on the International Dunhuang Project, carrying out cataloguing and research. He explains that the cave was walled up at the

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prophet puzzle. In this brief article I want to present some important implications of my discoveries for historians of witchcraft and magic, recently published in journals of Mormon history.

Drawing upon Johannes Dillinger's work, I have shown how New York and Pennsylvania were a location of cultural collision in early Jeffersonian and Jacksonian America.⁷ Among the Germanic population of these areas, depictions of treasure seeking are in accord with Johannes Dillinger's observation that for treasure seekers, the treasure quest was viewed as a Christian practice for the deliverance of ghosts. By contrast, among the Puritan immigrants of the New English

and conflated with diabolical witchcraft. Thus, New English accounts depicted treasure-seekers as necromancers and frauds engaged in villainous Teutonic traditions; while accounts by Pennsylvania German writers depict treasure-seekers as Godly Christians.

diaspora, treasure-seeking was

seen as a form of black magic

Building on Alan Taylor's research, my article shows that unorthodox New Englanders adopted Teutonic-American folkreligion and practiced treasure seeking as an extension of the New English diaspora's nascent evangelical Christianity. Those who condemned it imagined it as witchcraft. Thus, it is possible to navigate hostile narratives about treasure seeking written by those who were not present during treasure-seeking events. In Smith's religious environment, it is likely that treasure seeking was his earliest interaction with proxy-Christian rituals for the benefit of the dead, seen as being in an intermediary state between heaven

and hell; important aspects of the religious cosmology and practices Joseph Smith would teach as a religious leader. Smith's accusers, however, to many of whom the practice was alien, used common tropes about the witches' sabbath in their allegations against Smith. Taking into account both views helps researchers understand Smith's practice of treasure seeking in its full Christian context.

One of the tap roots of the prophet puzzle consists of Joseph Smith's disorderly person charges in 1826, 1829, and 1830. Traditionally these events have been treated as legal charges of fraud tied to Joseph Smith's allegedly deceptive practice of treasure-seeking.8 However, when we view these events within their larger context the story changes dramatically. As I noted in my article "Cunning and **Disorderly: Nineteenth Century** Witch Trials of Joseph Smith,"9 New York's 1813 disorderly person statute used language that came from the King George Witchcraft act of 1735. Like similar legislation aimed at

treasure seeking, the New York statute assumed that all treasureseekers were engaged in pretended practices regardless of their actual belief or religious understanding of the practice.

While this legislation was rarely invoked against treasure-seekers in Joseph Smith's immediate environment, it was used against other people accused of pretended witchcraft in early America, and other places that inherited language from the 1735 Witchcraft Act,¹⁰ including traditional religious practices among Afro-Caribbean, African, Aboriginal Australians and Polynesians.¹¹ Thus, charges of pretended powers used to tarnish these practices tell us little about the genuine beliefs of those involved in the practices these laws were designed to eliminate.

"Cunning and Disorderly," goes on to analyze the two primary narrative accounts of the 1826 disorderly person trial in the broader context of Joseph Smith's

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for comprehensive understanding of magical practice, the book may present a skewed picture for readers new to the study of Buddhism-good for those looking for an outline of the magic within Buddhism, but not for those who are complete novices to Buddhism as whole. That said, the book will have an interest for scholars of religion, especially those interested in comparison of practices across cultures.

Buddhist Magic, cont'd

beginning of the 11th century and rediscovered in the 20th, its contents subsequently dispersed to museums and libraries. The spellbook contains a wide array of different types of spells, all vividly evoking the lifeworld of the time it was written, including spells for aims like curing, rainmaking, conception, protection, and invisibility, and describing ritual implements and substances in detail (things as specific as the head of a crow filled with seeds, the milk of a

dun cow, and also common elements such as flowers, fruits, threads, knots, and mandalas).

Buddhist Magic: Divination, Healing, and Enchantment *Through the Ages* is an informative read for those looking to find information on magical practices outside of the Western sphere. If there is a critique that may be made of the book, it is that it supplies little exposition on Buddhism as a religion. Insofar as a baseline knowledge of the religion and its beliefs are a necessary context

Joseph Smith, cont'd

life, demonstrating that those who brought Smith to court were motivated by their real belief that he was a necromancer with diabolical power, a role they equated with witchcraft. They used the "pretended witchcraft" legislation as the most readily available tool for prosecuting a witch at a time when the legal system did not recognize diabolical magic as a reality, much less a crime. My article argues that a later account of the 1826 hearing was a fabrication concocted by someone working with the original trial notes which redacted credulous sounding allegations of diabolical witchcraft and fabricated more disenchanted allegations of pretended powers. The author of the account, a Methodist missionary to the Mormons named Emily Pearsall, was thus able to increase the hearing's value as a weapon against Smith and his followers long after most Americans had adopted skepticism about witchcraft as the status quo of intellectual respectability.

"Cunning and Disorderly" confirms Smith's claims that he was persecuted in the early stages of his career and demonstrates that Smith's persecutors were not primarily concerned with fraud or for that matter pretended witchcraft, magic, and religion. Instead, they were clearly motivated by their belief that Smith was a diabolical necromancer. They utilized the only available legislation against witchcraft to penalize Smith for his claims of prophecy. Overall, this suggests that 19th century victims of witchcraft allegations



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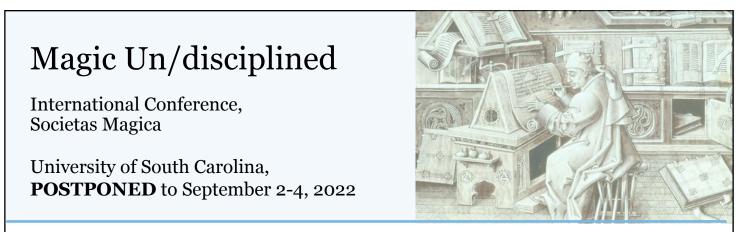
have been hiding in plain sight, as Thomas Waters, Stephen A. Mitchel, Owen Davies, and Mike Slater have suggested.¹²

Disenchanting allegations of witchcraft would continue to follow Smith throughout his life. This is explored in my third article, "Cunning Distortions."13 This article updates Mormon studies on the advancements in the historiography of witchcraft. Several decades of research have confirmed that witchcraft belief and persecution continued in 19th century Europe and America. The article evaluates a broad spectrum of allegations made against Joseph Smith in both magical crime and corresponding disenchanted crimes. While Smith's accusers often used language of pretended witchcraft to protect the credibility of their claims, in their less guarded moments they display a stunning array of early

modern diabolical witchcraft beliefs alongside disenchanted charges associated with witchcraft. Collectively, Smith's enemies accuse Joseph Smith of over 30 categories of magical and disenchanted misdeeds associated with witchcraft.

"Cunning Distortions" ends by acknowledging that Smith's enemies preferred the terms money-digger and necromancer over the less frequently used word "witch." However, when we look at what they were accusing him of doing, it becomes clear that allegations of demonic necromancy were used evasively in order to avoid the highly stigmatized terminology of the diabolical witch. This pattern of evasion also includes an emphasis on pretended witchcraft and magic. By actively disenchanting their allegations, Smith's enemies were able to extend the reach of

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In hopes of a higher rate of involvement by all members, we are planning a fully hybrid conference September 2-4.

The deadline for paper proposals is **EXTENDED TO JUNE 30th**, **2022**. See below for description of themes.

Showcasing recent cross-cultural and interdisciplinary advances in the history and anthropology of "magic," this international conference will provide a forum for wide-ranging conversations on this often embattled but perennially vital category and its myriad deployments over time, space and genre. What is it, how does it work, how does it look, how does it feel, what does it mean, and to whom?

"Magic Un/disciplined" pays special attention to communities and generic forms that are typically underrepresented in scholarship, with emphasis on new alternatives to still-endemic colonialist approaches underlying both the study of particular traditions and of the history of religion, magic and science as distinct disciplines. Its format reflects these commitments: in lieu of a keynote, the conference will open with a roundtable discussion on the state of the discipline(s), past and present; it will close with one on the future of the study of magic.

More generally, roundtables and panels will highlight the work of emerging and under-represented scholars in the field, very broadly construed, considering where we have been and imagining where we ought to go from here. To foster such constructive conversations, there will be no parallel sessions, and the program will be as culturally, historically, and disciplinarily inclusive as possible. All participants, in short, are invited to meditate on the current shape of magic studies—then imagine, or re-imagine, its futures.

To that end, we invite proposals on the following and related topics:

Roundtable I: Past Magics

Roundtable II: Future Magics

Materializing Magic	Magical networks and communities	Magic in Politics
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Gender and Magic	Islamic Occultism	Ufology and magic

Logistics: The conference will be held in person at Gambrell Hall, University of South Carolina. A block of rooms, for a special group rate, will be reserved at the Sheraton in downtown Columbia, which features a rooftop bar. Many restaurants and some hiking and kayaking options are in easy walking distance from the hotel and conference venue. The Columbia airport (CAE) is only 15 minutes away (cheap direct flights are available from LaGuardia), and shuttles are also available from the Charlotte international airport (CLT) for those traveling from further afield.

Unaffiliated or untenured presenters who are members of Societas Magica are eligible to apply for a travel bursary to help with expenses; for more information look for the travel bursary at https://societasmagica.org

Please send abstracts or proposals for full sessions simultaneously to Matt Melvin-Koushki at mmelvink@sc.edu and Marla Segol at marla.segol@gmail.com by June 30, 2022

MAGIC, RITUAL, AND WITCHCRAFT

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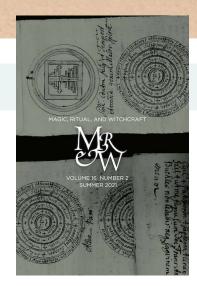
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With Jan Machielsen, William Pooley, Kristof Smeyers, Helen Cornish, Michelle Pfeffer, Claire Fanger





Joseph Smith, cont'd

their persecution by drawing in people and state forces who were not supposed to act upon a discredited belief in witchcraft. I conclude that most of the charges against Smith are actually charges of witchcraft that eventually resurface as disenchanted charges of nonmagical crime.

Call for Papers: Ceræ Volume 9

Ritual: Practice, Performance, Perception



While this might seem anticlimactic to historians of witchcraft, these arguments are an absolute necessity for historians of Mormonism and early American religion. In Mormon Studies it is still common to treat many of these allegations as if they were trustworthy accounts of Smith's activities.¹⁴ What historians of witchcraft will gain from these studies is a road map of the allegations of witchcraft used against Joseph Smith and how they fit into his life. Because so many of Smith's 19th and 20th century critics and historians took these allegations at face value, Smith is perhaps the most well documented victim of witchcraft allegations in the 19th century

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Ceræ: An Australasian Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies invites submissions for Volume 9, on the theme of Ritual: Practice, Performance, Perception.

Rituals pervade human life. From small or mundane rituals like brushing our teeth or making one's daily coffee, to grand ceremonies that mark important life stages, rituals are everywhere. This has prompted reflection on what rituals are, on what can be considered as ritual. *Ceræ* invites essays that analyze rituals of all kinds: public and private, communal and solitary, secular and religious, rapidly changing and long-lasting. It also welcomes theoretically- or methodologically-focused contributions.

Authors may address, but are not limited to:

- Royal rituals: coronations, births, or marriage consummations etc.
- How rituals can be used as an element of identity and alterity
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- Sacred landscapes and rituals focused on/in the natural world
- Ritual as a medium for memory and memorialisation
- Sacrifices, magic, religious rites and their intercultural reception
- Medieval and early modern political rituals such as guild processions
- Ritual represented in medievalism, including film, fantasy, literature, and art

We invite submissions encompassing all aspects of the late classical, medieval, and early modern world. There are no geographical restrictions. As an interdisciplinary journal, *Ceræ* encourages submissions from archaeology, art history, historical ecology, literature, linguistics, intellectual history, musicology, politics, social studies, and beyond.

Full length articles should be 5000-8000 words, excluding references. *Ceræ* also accepts short notices of up to 3000 words. Themed submissions must be submitted by **30 May 2022**. For submission instructions, please visit our page on <u>submission guidelines</u>. We also accept non-themed submissions throughout the year. *Ceræ* particularly encourages submissions from postgraduate and early career researchers, and offers a \$200 (AUD) annual prize for the best postgraduate/ECR essay. Further information on our annual essay prize can be found <u>here</u>.

Joseph Smith, cont'd

anglophone world. His life, as well as the lives of his closest followers and most vocal enemies have been studied meticulously. For the historiography of witchcraft, Joseph Smith poses a unique opportunity to study how witchcraft allegations were woven into charges of fraud and disenchanted crimes associated with witchcraft. His life allows us to see in minute detail the way enchanted and disenchanted allegations sparked the violence that impacted 19th century victims of witchcraft allegations and their associates.

Endnotes

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² For good measure we are informed that Smith probably stole these items himself.

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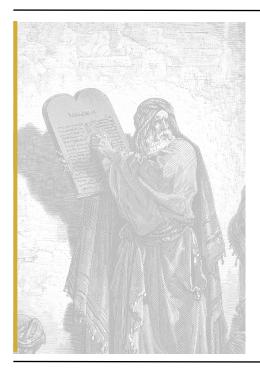
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⁶ John L.Brooke, "Sectarian Religion and the Persistence of the Occult." In *Wonders*

of the Invisible World: 1600-1900, ed. Peter Benes (Boston: Boston University Press [1992] 1995), 12.

⁷ Johannes Dillinger, *Magical Treasure* Hunting in Europe and North America: A History (Houndmills, Basingstoke:: Palgrave, 2012); Idem, "The Good Magicians: Treasure Hunting in Early Modern Germany," in Everyday Magic in Early Modern Europe, ed. Kathryn A. Edwards (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015). Manuel W. Padro, "Redemption: The Treasure Quest and the Wandering Soul," John Whitmer Historical Association Journal, Vol. 40, no. 02 (2020) 40-80. I would note that after this article was published, Dr. Ann Taves informed me that my research interests aligned with those of her former student Dr. Stephen Fleming. I had not read Fleming's work at the time but Fleming came to similar conclusions about Smith's treasure seeking in his doctoral thesis. Fleming traced Smith's involvement with treasure seeking through Christian Platonists and followers of Jane Lead while I argued for Germanic-American origins of his activities. See Fleming, "The Fullness of the Gospel: Christian Platonism and the Origins of Mormonism," PhD dissertation (University of California, Santa Barbara, 2014).

⁸ See Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 16–33; Wesley P. Walters, "Joseph Smith's Bainbridge, N.Y. Court Trials," *The Westminster Theological Journal*, Vol. 36, No. 2, (Winter 1974) 123-155;



Call for essays for future newsletters

We invite proposals for essays to run in future issues of the newsletter. We are looking for short essays (1500-2500 words) announcing new developments deriving from research in the study and teaching of magic and its related topics. We are interested in relevant articles dealing with all regions and time periods.

We are also looking for smaller pieces, such as interviews or announcements for our notes and queries column. News about dissertations in progress or completed, manuscript discoveries, or other such items are welcomed.

Send your proposals to the editors at newsletters@societasmagica.org

Endnotes, cont'd

Wesley P. Walters, "From Occult to Cult with Joseph Smith, Jr.", *The Journal of Pastoral Practice* 1, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 133-137; Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 48–52; Shipps, "The Prophet Puzzle," 53–74; Gordon A. Madsen, "Being Acquitted of a 'Disorderly Person' Charge in 1826," in *Sustaining the Law: Joseph Smith's Legal Encounters*, ed. Gordon A. Madsen, Jeffrey N. Walker, and John Welch, (Provo: BYU Studies, 2014), 71–92.

⁹ Manuel W. Padro, "Cunning and Disorderly: Nineteenth Century Witch Trials of Joseph Smith," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Vol. 54, no. 04 (2021), 35-70.

¹⁰ Owen Davies, "The Law," *America Bewitched: Witchcraft After Salem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 45-66.

¹¹ Jerome S. Handler and Kenneth M. Bilby, *Enacting Power: The Criminalization of Obeah in the Anglophone Caribbean, 1760–2011* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2013); Government of Canada, "Criminal Code: Version of Section 365 from 2003-01-01 to 2018-12-12," Justice Laws Website, accessed Mar. 19, 2020, https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/ acts/C-46/section-365-20030101.html; Cortenay Ilbert, "Legislation of the Empire, 1895," *Journal of the Society of Comparative Religion* 1 (1896–1897): 90–98;The Department of Justice and Constitutional Development of South Africa, "Witchcraft Suppression Act 3 of 1957," accessed Nov. 13, 2020, https:// www.justice.gov.za/legislation/acts/1957-003.pdf; Malcom Voyce, "Maori Healers in New Zealand: The Tohunga Suppression Act of 1907," *Oceania* 60, no. 2 (Dec.1989), 102–10; Lynn Hume, "Witchcraft and the Law in Australia," *Journal of Church and State*, Vol. 37 (1995), 135-150.

¹² Thomas Waters, "They Seem to Have All Died Out': Witches and Witchcraft in Lark Rise to Candleford and the English Countryside, c. 1830–1930," Historical Research, 87 no. 235 (Feb. 2014), 136-37; Stephen A. Mitchell, "Witchcraft Persecutions in the Post-Craze Era: The Case of Ann Izzard of Great Paxton, 1808, Western Folklore 59, no. 3/4 (2000): 308, 314; Davies, America Bewitched; Mike Slater, The Old Woman and the Conjurors: A Journey from Witch Scratching to the Conjurors, and the Southcottian Millenarian Movement of the Early 19th Century (Woodbury, Minn.: Llewellyn, 2020)

 ¹³ Manuel W. Padro, "Cunning Distortions: Folk-Christianity and Witchcraft Allegations in Early Mormon History", *The Journal of Mormon History*, In Press.

¹⁴ For example see allegations of pretended and diabolical magic as well as anti-social and criminal behavior in Quinn, *Early Mormonism*, 30-177; Rodger I. Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation* Reexamined (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990); H. Michael Marquadt & Wesley P. Walters, Inventing Mormonism: Tradition and the Historical Record (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994); 63-152; Robert D. Anderson, Inside the Mind of Joseph Smith: Psychobiography and the Book of Mormon (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999); Vogel, Joseph Smith, 55-96, Joscelyn Godwin, "Mormon Roots," Upstate Cauldron: Eccentric Spiritual Movements in Early New York State (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2015), 57-70; Van Wagoner, Natural Born Seer, 121-284.

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