

the same person. **marrying Joseph posthumously:** Cordelia Morley Cox, Autobiography, Lee Library. **Augusta and Amanda:** Marriage record, Augusta Cobb and Joseph Smith, Apr. 14, 1848, Brigham Young collection, MS 1234, box 44, fd 6, CA; Amanda Barnes Smith, see Amanda's memoirs, Lee Library, and in Hulda Cordelia Thurston Smith, "To My Children and Grandchildren," edited by Lyman Platt, *The Nauvoo Journal* 4 (Fall 1992): 3-7. **Mary Ann Frost:** Family Record of Parley P. Pratt, in Belinda Marden Pratt's journal, Mar. 11, 1850, CA; USHS. Mary A.S. Winters, "Mothers in Israel," *Relief Society Magazine* 3 (1916): 580-81, 643. However, Mary Ann Frost's marriage history in Nauvoo has its complexities, see WWj, Jan. 21, 1844 (2:340). **thirty-three:** Other scholars, and family descendants, may have evidence that will move possible or posthumous wives into the category of certain wives. The author will welcome any information relating to the women on this list, especially documents of any sort by the women or their close relatives. **early polygamy:** For general introductions and full-length studies of early Mormon polygamy, see Danel Bachman's Purdue University Master's thesis, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage before the Death of Joseph Smith"; Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*; Van Wagoner's *Mormon Polygamy*. B. Carmon Hardy's *Solemn Covenant* is also indispensable for its evocation of the importance of polygamy to Mormons before our difficult passage to monogamy. For an introduction to Joseph Smith and his first wife, Emma Hale (Smith Bidamon), see Donna Hill's *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* and Newell and Avery, *Mormon Enigma, Emma Hale Smith*.

**turned Joseph down: SARAH MELISSA GRANGER (KIMBALL):** HR 6:232, see below. Compare Jill Mulvey Derr, "Sarah Melissa Granger Kimball: the Liberal Shall Be Blessed," in Vicky Burgess-Olson, ed., *Sister Saints* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 21-40. **RACHEL IVINS (GRANT):** A plural wife of Jedediah Grant, and the mother of Heber J. Grant, she was later sealed to Joseph Smith, not Grant, for eternity. Ronald Walker, "Rachel R. Grant: the Continuing Legacy of the Feminine Ideal," in *Supporting Saints*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon and David Whittaker (Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1985), 17-42, 23-24. **LYDIA MOON:** WCj, Sept. 15-17, 1843 (IC 120). **CORDELIA C. MORLEY (COX):** See her Autobiography, Lee Library. **ESTHER JOHNSON:** See Benjamin Johnson MLR 96.

**Wives of Joseph Smith in anti-Mormon sources: MARY ANN ANGELL (YOUNG):** John D. Lee, MU 147. See Hawley in the following section on Jane Law. **JANE SILVERTHORNE (LAW):** See Bathsheba W. Smith, Deposition, 8th Circuit Court, 1892 Temple Lot Case, as cited in Lyndon W. Cook, "William Law, Nauvoo Dissenter," BYUSt 22 (Winter 1982): 47-72, 65. John Hawley, Autobiography (Jan. 1885), 97, RLDS Archives. This source also lists, as wives of Joseph, **MRS. FRANCIS HIGBY; MRS. LYMAN WIGHT; and MRS. ROBERT D. FOSTER.** Hawley reports that Wilford Woodruff told him in the Endowment House in Salt Lake that "When Brigham Young got the records of the Church in his hands, after the death of Joseph Smith, he found by examination that his first wife [Mary Ann Angell, apparently, his first living wife] had been sealed to Joseph and that Laws wife and Higbys wife and L Wights wife and Fosters wife had all been Sealed to Joseph, as their Husbands could not Save them." (I am grateful to Will Bagley for sharing his transcript of this passage with me.) This source is problematic. Did Joseph marry these women without their knowledge, by proxy, while they were living? It is difficult to believe that they would marry Joseph while they were distancing themselves from Mormonism and polygamy. Furthermore, Jane Law elsewhere asserted strongly that Joseph proposed to her and she refused. Compare Cook, *William Law*. If Joseph had married them earlier, however, the marriages might have been factors in turning their husbands against Smith. **MRS. EDWARD (BLOSSOM):** Wyl, MP 65-66. Mr. Blossom was an apostle under Brigham Young according to Wyl's source, an example of the occasional pronounced unreliability of unsympathetic sources, as there has been no apostle named Blossom. This does not prevent Brodie from listing Mrs. Blossom as her wife number 37. **MRS. (WHITE):** Wyl, MP 55, 60. **MRS. (FORD):** Wyl, MP 56. **MRS. (FULLER) (WARREN):** Melissa Schindle affidavit, in Bennett, HS 253. Bennett affirms that Joseph and she were

were connected in "the fall of 1841." **MRS. (name unknown)**, a gardener: Wyl, MP 55. **MRS. (MILLER)**, a widow: Bennett, HS 255. **MISS MORRIS**: "Celebrated Career Closed. Exterminator of Mormons Dies at Louisiana, Mo.," newspaper obituary, approximately Feb. 15, 1895, of David Conkling, in Henry Stebbins papers, P24; f22, RLDS Archives.

**Spurned proposals in anti-Mormon sources**: Some of the following are fairly well documented; others are sensationalist and badly documented: **JANE SILVERTHORNE (LAW)**, wife of William Law: William Law diary, May 13, 1844, "[Joseph] ha[s] lately endeavored to seduce my wife, and ha[s] found her a virtuous woman," as quoted in Cook, *William Law* 65; Lee, MU 147; Joseph Jackson, *Narrative* 21; Edward Bonney, *The Banditti of the Prairies: A Tale of the Mississippi Valley* (Chicago: Belford, Clarke & Co., 1881), 18; repr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 16-17. Compare Cook, *William Law* 64-65. As was typical in cases where women accused Joseph of proposing to them, loyalist Mormon sources accused the woman of adultery with another man (see the Sarah Pratt case below, and the Nancy Rigdon case): Alexander Neibaur journal, May 24, 1844, CA. **SARAH BATES (PRATT)**: "Workings of Mormonism related by Mrs. Orson Pratt, Salt Lake City, 1884," CA, as quoted in Gary James Bergera, "Seniority in the Twelve: The 1875 Realignment of Orson Pratt," JMH 18 (1992): 19-58, 26. Bergera notes that this late source should be used with caution and has errors. Bennett, HS 228-31; Breck England, *The Life and Thought of Orson Pratt* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985), 77-81; Richard Van Wagoner, "Sarah M. Pratt: the Shaping of an Apostate," *Dialogue* 19 (Summer 1986): 69-99, 71-72. **LEONORA CANNON (TAYLOR)**: John M. Whitaker journal, Nov. 1, 1890, vol. 7, p. 11, Marriott Library; Wyl, MP 70-72. **ELIZA WINTERS**: Hiel Lewis, "The Mormon History," *Amboy Journal* (Aug. 6, 1879), as cited in Ivins 1:337. Eber D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* (Painesville, OH: E.D. Howe, 1834), 268. **MELISSA (SCHINDLE)**: See her affidavit in Bennett, HS 253. *Sangamo Journal*, July 15, 1842. Shook, *True Origins* 71. **EMELINE (WHITE)**: Bennett, HS 234-35; 247; 249. **MRS. ROBERT (FOSTER)**: Affidavit of M.G. Eaton, Mar. 27, 1844 in *Nauvoo Neighbor* (May 15, 1844). Compare previous note and Foster, RS 312. **PAMELA MICHAEL**: Bennett, see Smith, *Saintly Scoundrel* 101. **MRS. [CAROLINE GRANT] (SMITH)**: Wife of Joseph's brother William. Joseph Jackson, *Narrative* 29. Jackson is perhaps the worst of the sensationalists. **MRS. LUCY SMITH (MILLIGAN [or MILIKEN])**: Joseph Jackson, *Narrative* 29. **LAVINIA SMITH**: daughter of Joseph Smith's brother, Hyrum. Joseph Jackson, *Narrative* 29-32. **MISS MARKS**: daughter of William Marks, see Ann Eliza Young, WN19 70. **ATHALIA RIGDON**: Clark Braden and E.L. Kelley, *Public Discussion of the Issues between the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and the Church of Christ, Disciples* (St. Louis: Braden, 1884), 391. **NANCY RIGDON**: J. Wickliffe Rigdon affidavit, reprinted in Smith BAOPM 97-101; compare Bennett, HS 241-50; F. Mark McKiernan, *Sidney Rigdon* (Lawrence, KS: Coronado Press, 1971), 115-19; Van Wagoner, SR 290-310; and the Marinda Johnson chapter, below.

### The Timing of Joseph Smith's Marriages

**Are early relationships marriages?** Some scholars have argued that these early relationships were not marriages, but affairs; see the Fanny Alger chapter below for my opposing view. **Bennett**, *History of the Saints*, 1842. **William Marks**: "Epistle," *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 3 (July 1853): 52-54. (This was published in St. Louis, by C.B. Thompson.) Compare Richard Howard, "The Changing RLDS Response to Mormon Polygamy: A Preliminary Analysis," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 3 (1983): 14-28. See also Joseph F. Smith journal, Aug. 28, 1870, CA, in which Emma is reported by Joseph W. Coolidge to have said to him in 1846, "Joseph had abandoned plurality of wives before his death." Coolidge strongly disagreed with her. William McLellin wrote, in a July 1872 letter to Joseph Smith III, RLDS Archives, that Emma told him "one night after she and Joseph had retired for the night, he told her that the doctrine and practice of Polygamy was going to ruin the church. He wished her to get up and burn