

Appendix A

THE WIVES OF JOSEPH SMITH

In Sacred Loneliness has chapter-length biographies of each of Joseph Smith's wives, with notes.¹ Many of these women, but not all, have chapters in this book.

Joseph Smith Jr. (1805–44) was the founder and first president and prophet of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (nicknamed the Mormon Church). He produced the Book of Mormon, set up the organizational structure of the LDS Church, and sent missionaries through America, England, and Europe. Then, as now, he was viewed by his followers as a great prophetic leader, and by many non-Mormons as either an insincere fraud or a sincere but misguided leader. Thus he was a polarizing figure, and wherever he lived, in Kirtland (Ohio), Far West (Missouri), and Nauvoo (Illinois), he and his followers came into conflict with local non-Mormons. A biblical restorationist, he restored polygamy. He died at the hands of a mob while being held in a jail in Carthage, Illinois.²

Emma Hale (Smith Bidamon) (1804–79) was Joseph Smith's first wife, and his only civil/public wife. At times she seems to have reluctantly accepted Joseph's practice of polygamy, but she generally strongly disliked it. After Joseph's death, she stayed in the Midwest, married a non-Mormon, Lewis Bidamon, in 1847, and became a leading figure in the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (now Community of Christ). Her son Joseph Smith III became the first president of the RLDS Church. Emma and Joseph III generally denied that Joseph Smith Jr. had practiced polygamy, which became the standard teaching of the RLDS Church in the nineteenth century.³

In what follows, the italicized date is the date of a marriage to Joseph Smith.

Early 1833 — **Fanny Alger (Smith Custer)** (1816–89) was born on September 30, 1817, in Rehoboth, Bristol, Massachusetts, to Samuel Alger and Clarissa Hancock. According to her uncle and cousin, she married Joseph Smith in 1833. She separated shortly afterwards and married non-Mormon Solomon Custer, with whom she had a large family, in 1836. She died on November 29, 1889, in Dublin, Wayne County, Indiana.⁴

1838 — **Lucinda Pendleton (Morgan Harris Smith)** (1801–[56]) was born on September 27, 1801, in Washington County, Virginia, to Joseph Pendleton and Betsey Riley. She married William Morgan, later known as the Masonic Martyr, in 1819 (two children). After his death in 1826, she married George Washington Harris in 1830. He later served as a member of the high council in Missouri and Nauvoo. She married Joseph Smith (polyandrously); the date is not known, but a plural wife of Brigham Young said that she married Joseph Smith in Missouri. After Joseph's death, she had a proxy marriage to Joseph Smith/George Harris in the Nauvoo Temple on January 22, 1846. She had separated from Harris by 1850, and her life after this is not well documented.⁵

Apr. 5, 1841 — **Louisa Beaman (Smith Young)** (1815–50), the first Nauvoo plural wife of Joseph Smith, was born on February 7, 1815, in Livonia, Livingston County, New York, to Alvah Beaman and Sarah Burtt. She married Joseph Smith on April 5, 1841, and Brigham Young on September 19, 1844 (five children, none of whom survived).⁶

Oct. 27, 1841 — **Zina Diantha Huntington (Jacobs Smith Young)** (1821–1901) was born on January 31, 1821, in Watertown, Jefferson County, New York, to William Huntington and Zina Baker. She married Henry Jacobs on March 7, 1841, and they had two sons. She married Joseph Smith polyandrously on October 27, 1841. She married Joseph Smith and Brigham Young in a proxy marriage on January 3, 1846, in the Nauvoo Temple, with Henry Jacobs standing as a witness, and continued living with Jacobs. She separated from him when he was sent on a mission to England on about May 22 of the same year. She became a connubial wife of Brigham Young in October, 1846. Their one child, Zina Presendia Young (Williams Card), was born on April 3, 1850. After serving as counselor to Eliza Snow in

the general Relief Society, Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Association, and Primary Associations, Zina served as third general Relief Society president from 1888 until her death on August 29, 1901.⁷

Dec. 11, 1841 — **Presendia Lathrop Huntington (Buell Smith Kimball)** (1810–92) was born on September 7, 1810, in Watertown, Jefferson, New York, to William Huntington and Zina Baker. She married Norman Buell in 1827 (two children who grew to maturity), Joseph Smith (polyandrously) in 1841, and Heber C. Kimball (polyandrously) on January 12, 1846 (two children), in a proxy marriage in the Nauvoo Temple. She separated from Buell in May 1846.⁸

Jan. 6, 1842 — **Agnes Moulton Coolbrith (Smith Smith Smith Pickett)** (1808–76) was born in Scarborough, Cumberland County, Maine, on July 9, 1808, to Joseph Coolbrith and Mary Hasty Foss. She married Don Carlos Smith, Joseph Smith's brother, in 1835, and after his death in 1841, Joseph Smith in 1842. After Joseph's death in 1844, she married George Albert Smith (on January 28, 1846), and later non-Mormon William Pickett in spring 1847, with whom she relocated in California. She and Don Carlos Smith were the parents of Josephine Smith (Carsely), whose pen name was Ina Coolbrith; Ina became a famous writer and librarian in California.⁹

Feb. 8, 1842 — **Sylvia Porter Sessions (Lyon Smith Kimball Clark)** (1818–82), daughter of Patty Bartlett (Sessions Smith Parry) (see below) and David Sessions, was born on July 31, 1818, in Andover Surplus, Oxford County, Maine. She married Windsor Lyon in 1838 in Missouri (one surviving child). In Nauvoo, Windsor became a leading merchant. Sylvia was sealed to Joseph Smith on February 8, 1842. After Smith's death in June 1844, she married Heber C. Kimball in September. Both plural sealings were polyandrous. When the Mormons left Illinois, Sylvia and Windsor moved to Iowa, where Windsor died in 1849. To the dismay of her family and friends in Utah, Sylvia did not come to Utah, though her brother Perrigrine traveled east to help her move. Instead, she married non-Mormon banker Ezekiel Clark on January 1, 1850, and they had three children. She left Clark in 1854 and brought her four living children to Bountiful, Utah, where she died on April 13, 1882.¹⁰

Late Feb. 1842 — **Mary Elizabeth Rollins (Lightner Smith**

Young) (1818–1913) was born on April 9, 1818, in Lima, Livingston County, New York, to John Porter Rollins and Keziah Keturah Van Benthuyzen. Mary Elizabeth married non-Mormon Adam Lightner in 1835, and they had a large family. She married Joseph Smith (polyandrously) in 1842, and Brigham Young (polyandrously) in 1845. She continued living with Lightner until his death in 1885.¹¹

Mar. 9, 1842 — **Patty Bartlett (Sessions Smith Parry)** (1795–1892) was born on February 4, 1795, in Bethel, Oxford County, Maine, to Enoch Bartlett and Anna Hall. On June 28, 1812, she married David Sessions, and they had eight children, of whom three, Perrigrine, David, and Sylvia, grew to maturity. Patty and her husband were baptized in 1834. The family moved to Missouri in 1837 and to Nauvoo in 1839, where Patty played a part in the elite circles of Mormon women. She married Joseph Smith polyandrously on March 9, 1842. She was an important woman leader in Winter Quarters in 1846, and moved on to Utah in 1847. On August 11, 1850, David Sessions died. She married Welsh convert John Parry on December 14, 1851, who was known for directing choirs; he died on January 13, 1868. She moved to Bountiful in 1872 and died there on December 14, 1892. She was widely known as a midwife and was well-to-do in her later years.¹²

Apr. 1842 — **Marinda Nancy Johnson (Hyde Smith)** (1815–86) was born on June 28, 1815, in Pomfret, Windsor County, Vermont, to John Johnson and Alice (Elsa) Jacobs. She married Orson Hyde in 1834 and Joseph Smith (polyandrously) in 1842. She continued to live with Hyde after Joseph Smith's death, but later divorced the apostle in Utah, in 1870. She died on March 24, 1886, in Salt Lake City.¹³

< June 1842 — **Elizabeth Davis (Goldsmith Brackenbury Durfee Smith Lott)** (1791–1876) was born in Riverhead, Suffolk County, New York (east Long Island), on March 11, 1791, to Gilbert Davis and Abigail Reeves. She married Gilbert Goldsmith in 1811. After his death at sea, she married Joseph Blanchette Brackenbury in about 1819. He died while on an LDS mission in 1832. Two years later, she married Jabez Durfee in Clay County, Missouri. She married Joseph Smith (polyandrously) in about 1842. After Smith's death, she married Cornelius Lott in 1846. The later separated, and Elizabeth ended up living with her Brackenbury sons in California

and Independence, Missouri, so went back to using the name Brackenbury. Like her sons, she joined the RLDS Church. After a railroad accident, she died in White Cloud, Kansas, on December 16, 1876.

< *June 29, 1842* — **Sarah Kingsley (Howe Cleveland Smith Smith)** (1788–1856) was a prominent woman leader in Nauvoo, serving as a counselor to Emma Smith in the first Relief Society. Born on October 20, 1788, in Becket, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, to Ebenezer Kingsley and Sarah Chaplin, she married John Howe in 1807 and John Cleveland in 1826. She married Joseph Smith in about 1842 (polyandrously). After Smith's death, she married John Smith (polyandrously) in 1846. She continued to live with non-Mormon John Cleveland until her death on April 21, 1856, in Plymouth, Illinois.¹⁴

< *July 1842* — **Delcena Diadamia Johnson (Sherman Smith Babbitt)** (1806–54) was born on November 19, 1806, in Westford, Chittenden County, Vermont, to Ezekiel Johnson and Julia Hills. She married Lyman Sherman in 1829. After he died on about February 15, 1839, she married Joseph Smith in about July 1842. After his death, she married Almon Babbitt on January 24, 1846.¹⁵ She died on October 21, 1854, in the home of Almon Babbitt in Salt Lake City.¹⁶

June 29, 1842 — **Eliza Roxcy Snow (Smith Young)** (1804–87) was born on January 21, 1804, in Becket, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, to Oliver Snow and Rosetta Leonora Pettibone. She was a poetess and a prominent, charismatic leader, the sister of apostle and fifth LDS Church president Lorenzo Snow. A plural wife of Joseph Smith in Nauvoo, she became Brigham's eighth polygamous spouse on October 3, 1844, in a proxy marriage. Known as Brigham Young's informal counselor, she served as de facto general president of the general Relief Society, then as formal president from 1866 to 1887.¹⁷

July 27, 1842 — **Sarah Ann Whitney (Smith [Kingsbury] Kimball)** (1825–73) was born to Newel Kimball Whitney and the charismatic Elizabeth Ann Smith (Whitney) in Kirtland, Ohio, on March 22, 1825. She married Joseph Smith on July 27, 1842, then married Joseph Kingsbury in a civil marriage on April 29, 1843. However, the marriage to Kingsbury was a "pretend" marriage only, which Joseph Smith requested so as to hide his plural marriage to Sarah Ann. After Joseph's death, Sarah married Heber C. Kimball/

Joseph Smith in a proxy marriage on March 17, 1845. She died on September 4, 1873 in Salt Lake City.¹⁸

Aug. 1842 — **Martha McBride (Knight Smith Kimball)** (1805–1901) was born on March 17, 1805, in Chester township, Washington County (now Warren County), New York, to Daniel McBride and Abigail Mead. She married Vinson Knight in 1826. After his death on July 31, 1842, she married Joseph Smith in August 1842. After his death, she married Heber C. Kimball/Joseph Smith in a proxy marriage on October 12, 1844.¹⁹

Spring 1843 — **Flora Ann Woodworth (Smith Gove)** (1826–[50]) was born on November 14, 1826, in Oneida County, New York, to Lucien Woodworth and Phebe Watrous. Flora married Joseph Smith in spring 1843 and non-Mormon Carlos Gove on August 23, 1843. She died in Kanessville in about 1850.²⁰

Mar. 4, 1843 — **Emily Dow Partridge (Smith Young)** (1824–99) was born on February 28, 1824, in Painesville, Geauga County, Ohio, to Edward Partridge and Lydia Clisbee. The family was baptized in late 1830 and moved to Jackson County, Missouri, in late 1831. Edward, one of the church's earliest bishops, was tarred and feathered in 1833 and jailed in 1838. The family moved to Nauvoo in 1839, where Edward died on May 27, 1840. Emily and her older sister Eliza worked in the Joseph Smith home. Both became his plural wives, Emily marrying him on March 4, 1843. She married Brigham Young in a proxy marriage in September or November 1844 as his approximate fifth plural wife and bore seven children. She crossed the plains in 1848. She lived in the Lion House until 1869 and at the Forest Farm until 1873. She suffered ill health in her later life and died in Salt Lake City on December 13, 1899. Her diary portrays Young as a somewhat distant, non-supportive figure but as a revered religious leader.²¹

Mar. 8, 1843 — **Eliza Maria Partridge (Smith Lyman)** (1820–86) was born on April 20, 1820, in Painesville, Geauga County, Ohio, to Edward Partridge and Lydia Clisbee. She married Joseph Smith on March 8, 1843. After Smith's death, she married Apostle Amasa Lyman on September 28, 1844, joining her younger sister Caroline in the Lyman family.²²

May 1, 1843 — **Lucy Walker (Smith Kimball)** (1826–1910) was born on April 30, 1826, to John Walker and Lydia Holmes in

Peacham, Caledonia County, Vermont. She married Joseph Smith in May 1, 1843. After Smith's death, she married Heber C. Kimball on February 8, 1845. He died in 1868. She died in Salt Lake City on October 1, 1910.²³

May 1843 — **Sarah Lawrence (Smith Kimball Mount)** (1826–72) was born to Edward and Margaret Lawrence in Pickering township, Ontario County, Canada (outside Toronto), on May 13, 1826. She married Joseph Smith in May 1843. After Smith's death, she married Heber C. Kimball in 1844, but they divorced in 1851. Two years later, she married non-Mormon Joseph Mount, and they moved to California. She died in San Francisco on November 28, 1872.

May 1843 — **Maria Lawrence (Smith [Young] Babbitt)** (1823–47) was born to Edward and Margaret Lawrence in Pickering township, Ontario County, Canada (outside Toronto), on December 18, 1823. She married Joseph Smith in May 1843. After Smith's death, she married Almon Babbitt on January 24, 1846. Some sources list her as a Brigham Young wife, but others deny this. She died in Nauvoo.

May 1843 — **Helen Mar Kimball (Smith Whitney)** (1828–96) was born to Heber Chase Kimball and Vilate Murray in Mendon, Monroe County, New York on August 22, 1828. She married Joseph Smith in May 1843. After Smith's death, she married Horace Whitney, brother of her good friend Sarah Ann Whitney (Smith Kingsbury Kimball) on February 3, 1846.²⁴

May 26, 1843, to Feb. 1844 — **Ruth Vose (Sayers Smith)** (1808–84) was born on February 26, 1808, in Watertown, Norfolk County, Massachusetts, to Mark and Sally Vose. She married non-Mormon Edward Sayers in 1841. In an 1869 affidavit, she gave her date of marriage to Joseph Smith as February 1843, and said that it was performed by Hyrum Smith. However, Hyrum was not converted to polygamy until May 26, 1843. If we accept Hyrum as the person who officiated (and it seems more likely that Ruth would mistake the date rather than the person who officiated), the marriage took place between May 26, 1843, and Joseph's death. Quinn believes the likely date is February 1844, in which case Ruth would be Joseph Smith's last well-documented plural wife. Ruth continued to live with Edward Sayers in Nauvoo and Utah.²⁵

< *mid-1843* — **Hannah Ells (Smith)** (1813–[45]) was born on March 4, 1808, in New Castle, Northumberland, England, to Thomas and Hannah Ells. She married only Joseph Smith.²⁶

Spring, after May 26, 1843 — **Almera Woodard Johnson (Smith Barton)** (1812–96) was born on October 12, 1812, in Westford, Chittenden County, Vermont, to Ezekiel Johnson and Julia Hills. She married Joseph Smith in the spring of 1843. After Smith's death, she married Reuben Barton in 1845, but they separated in 1851. She moved to Parowan, Iron County, Utah, in the early 1860s. She died there on March 4, 1896.²⁷

June 1, 1843 — **Elvira Annie Cowles (Holmes Smith)** (1813–71) was born on November 23, 1813, in Unadilla, Otsego County, New York, to Austin Cowles, and Phoebe Wilbur. She married Jonathan Holmes on December 1, 1842, and Joseph Smith, polyandrously, on June 1, 1843. Jonathan served in the Mormon Battalion, then he and Elvira reunited in Utah and settled in Farmington, Davis County, Utah.

June 12, 1843 — **Rhoda Richards (Smith Young)** (1784–1879) was born on August 8, 1784, at Framingham, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, ten miles west of Boston, to Joseph Richards and Rhoda Howe. A sister of apostle Willard Richards, she married Joseph Smith on June 12, 1843, and her cousin Brigham Young in a proxy marriage on January 31, 1846.²⁸

July 1843 — **Desdemona Catlin Wadsworth Fullmer (Smith Benson McLane)** (1809–86) was born to Peter Fullmer and Susannah Zerfass in Huntington, Luzerne County, eastern Pennsylvania, on October 6, 1809. She married Joseph Smith in July 1843, and after his death, Ezra Taft Benson (later an apostle) on January 26, 1846. They were divorced on September 21, 1852, and Desdemona married Harrison Parker McLane in September 1853. They separated in about 1860.²⁹

Summer 1843 — **Olive G. Frost (Smith Young)** (1816–45) was born to Aaron Frost and Susannah Grey in Bethel, Oxford County, Maine, on July 24, 1816. She married Joseph Smith in summer 1843, and after his death, Brigham Young on November 7, 1844.

Sep. 20, 1843 — **Melissa Lott (Smith Bernhisel Willes)** (1824–98) was born to Cornelius Peter Lott and Permelia Darrow in Tunkhannock, Wyoming County, Pennsylvania, on January 9, 1824.

She married Joseph Smith on September 20, 1843, and after his death, John Milton Bernhisel on February 8, 1846, in a proxy marriage. They apparently separated soon after, and Melissa married Ira Willes on May 13, 1849. Joseph Smith III interviewed her regarding Nauvoo polygamy during one of his Utah trips, and she testified in the Temple Lot Trial.³⁰

1842–43? — **Nancy Maria Winchester (Smith Kimball Arnold)** (1828–76) was born in Black Rock, Erie County, Pennsylvania, to Stephen Winchester and Nancy Case on August 10, 1828. She married Joseph Smith probably in 1842 or 1843. After his death, she married Heber C. Kimball in a proxy marriage on February 3, 1846, and Amos George Arnold on October 12, 1865.

Nov. 2, 1843 — **Fanny Young (Carr Murray Smith)** (1787–1859) was born on November 8, 1787, to John Young and Abigail (“Nabby”) Howe in Hopkinton, Middlesex County, Massachusetts. She was Joseph Smith’s last known wife. This was probably a dynastic marriage, as Fanny was the sister of Apostle Brigham Young. She married Robert Carr in 1806, but they had apparently separated by 1815. She married Roswell Murray, Vilate Murray Kimball’s father, in 1832. He died five years later. In Utah, she lived in the Lion House until her death on June 11, 1859.³¹

June 27, 1844 — Joseph Smith died.

Possible Marriages

There is evidence for some of these women as plural wives of Joseph Smith. However, often there is only one attestation. I prefer supporting evidence before including them in my list of thirty-three well-documented wives.³²

Hannah Ann Dubois (Smith Dibble [Smith]) (1808–93) married John Smith in about October/November 1832 (two children). John either died or he and Hannah separated. She married Philo Dibble on February 11, 1841. Benjamin Johnson included a Sister Dibble when he gave a list of Joseph Smith’s wives whom he knew about in Nauvoo. All of the other wives he mentions have been confirmed.³³

Sarah Scott (Mulholland Mullinder [Smith] Kimball) (1817–78). Orson Whitney lists Sarah as a wife of Joseph Smith. She

married Joseph Smith/Heber C. Kimball in a proxy marriage on February 3, 1846.³⁴

Mary Houston ([Smith] Kimball) (1818–96). Orson Whitney lists Sarah as a wife of Joseph Smith. She married Joseph Smith/Heber C. Kimball in a proxy marriage on February 3, 1846.³⁵

Vienna Jacques (Shearer [Smith]) (1787–1884) married Daniel Shearer in 1838. Apparently they separated by early 1846. Some people in Utah believed Vienna had been a wife of Joseph Smith. There is an unsigned, incomplete affidavit for her in Book 4 of the Smith Affidavit Books; its counterpart was apparently torn out of Book 1.³⁶

Mary Heron (Snider [Smith]) (1804–52) married John Snider (1800–75) on February 28, 1822. Joseph Ellis Johnson, a brother of Delcena, Almera, and Benjamin Johnson, married John and Mary's daughter, Harriet Eloise Snider (Johnson) (1823–1905) in 1840. Joseph Ellis testified in a church trial that Joseph Smith had sexual relations with Mary in Nauvoo.³⁷

Esther Dutcher (Smith [Smith]) (1811–56) was born on February 25, 1811, in Cherry Valley, Otsego County, New York. She married Albert Smith in 1826, and they had a large family. After Esther's death in 1856, Daniel H. Wells, counselor in the First Presidency for many years, said that Albert Smith told him that he was very much "afflicted" at her death. "It seems she was sealed to Joseph the Prophet in the days of Nauvoo, though she still remained his [Albert's] wife, and afterwards nearly broke his heart by telling him of it, and expressing her intention of adhering to that relationship. He however got to feeling better over it, and acting for Joseph, had her sealed to him [Joseph], and to himself [Albert] for time." This proxy marriage to Joseph Smith/Albert Smith took place on October 10, 1851.³⁸

Mrs. Taylor. Joseph Jackson links this woman with Patty Sessions and Elizabeth Durfee. As Patty Sessions and Elizabeth Durfee have been substantiated as wives of Joseph (in my view), there is no good reason to suspect Mrs. Taylor. Which Mrs. Taylor/Taylor is another problem—there are a number of older women named Taylor in Nauvoo.³⁹

Mrs. G***.** As listed by John Bennett. Not yet identified. The

other women mentioned in Bennett's list have been verified as wives of Joseph Smith.⁴⁰

Miss B*****. As listed by John Bennett. Not yet identified. The other women mentioned in Bennett's list have been verified as wives of Joseph Smith.⁴¹

Early Posthumous Marriages to Joseph Smith

One common pattern for Joseph Smith's wives was for them to marry Joseph Smith, then after his death marry Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, or other Mormon leader in 1845, then to have a proxy marriage to Joseph Smith/the living leader in the Nauvoo Temple in early 1846. So an early proxy marriage to Joseph Smith is a good indication that a woman may have married him before his death. However, in a few cases, we know from autobiographies and other evidence that the woman did *not* marry Joseph while he lived, as in the case of Cordelia Morley Cox. So an early posthumous marriage to Smith cannot be taken as absolute proof that the woman married him while he was living, but nonetheless is good evidence of a possible marriage.

Olive Andrews ([Smith] Young) (1818–unknown) was born on September 24, 1818, in Livermore, Oxford County, Maine. She married Joseph Smith/Brigham Young in a proxy marriage on January 15, 1846.⁴²

Jane Tibbetts ([Smith] Luddington) (1804–after 1846) was born on August 27, 1804, in Gorham, Cumberland County, Maine. She married Joseph Smith/Elam Luddington (1806–93) in a proxy marriage on January 17, 1846. Little is known of Jane outside of this ceremony. Elam Luddington later joined the Mormon Battalion and served a mission to Thailand.⁴³

Phebe Watrous (Woodworth [Smith]) (1805–after 1870) was born on October 1, 1805, in Sharon, Otsego County, New York. She married Lucien Woodworth (1799–after 1860) in 1825. Their daughter, Flora Woodworth, became one of Joseph Smith's plural wives, see above. Phebe married Joseph Smith/Lucien Woodworth in a proxy marriage on January 17, 1846. She was in San Bernardino, California, in 1860 and Lehi, Utah, Utah, in 1870. In the 1870s,

Phebe and Samuel H. B. Smith stood proxy for Joseph Smith and numerous dead women.⁴⁴

Aphia⁴⁵ Woodman Sanborn (Dow Yale) (1795–1861) was born in Sanbornton, Belknap County, New Hampshire, on August 28, 1795. She married David Dow in 1813 (two children) and Gad Yale in Nauvoo in 1840. She married Joseph Smith/Gad Yale in a proxy marriage in the Nauvoo Temple on January 27, 1846.⁴⁶

Cordelia Calista Morley (Cox) (1823–1915) received a proposal from Joseph Smith and turned him down. After his death, she regretted that she had not married him, and so had a proxy marriage to him. She is the primary example of an early proxy marriage to Smith that did not follow an actual marriage during his lifetime.⁴⁷

Mary Ann Frost (Stearns Pratt) (1808–91) was the sister of Olive Frost, one of the wives of Joseph Smith. Mary Ann married Parley P. Pratt on May 14, 1837, and they had a large family. In Nauvoo, Mary Ann was sealed to Parley for time and eternity on July 24, 1843. However, there was tension between Mary Ann and Parley because of his practice of polygamy. On February 8, 1846, Mary married Joseph Smith/Parley P. Pratt in a proxy marriage on the advice of Brigham Young, who said that “If Joseph [Smith] had lived he would have had Mary Ann sealed to him.” However, tensions still remained, and she and Parley separated. On March 5, 1853, Mary Ann divorced him formally.⁴⁸

Sarah (Sally) Ann Fuller ([Smith] Gully Fuller MacArthur) (1815–97) had a proxy marriage to Joseph Smith/Samuel Gully on January 29, 1847, at Winter Quarters. Gully had married Sally’s sister Ovenda earlier. Samuel died of cholera on July 4, 1849, while crossing the plains. On September 8, 1850, Sarah married Elijah Knapp Fuller for time only. They separated, and on July 5, 1857, Sally married Daniel Duncan MacArthur, a bishop in St. George, southern Utah. They later divorced. Sally died on March 15, 1897.⁴⁹

Lydia Kenyon (Carter [Smith] Kimball Goff) (1799–1866) was born on December 11, 1799 (sometimes given as 1800 or 1801), in Benson, Rutland County, Vermont. She has a complex marriage history. She married Simeon Dagett Carter in 1818, and they converted to Mormonism in 1831. According to an Endowment House record, Lydia was sealed to Heber C. Kimball in 1844, possibly in

a proxy marriage to Kimball/Joseph Smith. Apparently she continued to live with Simeon Carter. She took out her endowments with him on December 15, 1845, but she was not sealed to him in the Nauvoo Temple. (He married two other wives on January 19 and 20, 1846.) Lydia and Simeon crossed the plains together in 1849, along with a third plural wife of Simeon. Simeon became a pioneer in the Box Elder area of Utah. In the 1850 census, Lydia is listed as living by herself in Salt Lake City. On June 8, 1851, she was sealed to James Goff in the Salt Lake City Endowment House in a proxy marriage to Goff/Joseph Smith. In this record she is referred to as "Lydia Smith" and an explanatory note says "wi of Prophet." Written beneath is, "Sealed by R. Cahoon to Heber C. Kimball in 1844 in R. Cahoon's house in presence of Sister Johnson who was sealed to R. Cahoon." Lydia was living in the Goff household in 1856. However, they seem to be separated by the time of the 1860 census. In her death record, she is listed as Lydia Carter.⁵⁰

Notes

1. Additional information on these women may be found in Newell and Avery, *Mormon Enigma*; Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*; George Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy: "But We Called It Celestial Marriage"*; Hales, *Joseph Smith's Polygamy*; Derr et al., *Women of Covenant, First Fifty Years*. Further scholarly progress has sometimes allowed other possible dates for the marriages to Joseph Smith, see Quinn, MHOP, 587–88; Hales, above; and Bergera, "Memory as Evidence."

2. Recent biographies are Vogel, *Joseph Smith: The Making of a Prophet*; Remini, *Joseph Smith*; Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*; Bradley-Evans, *Glorious in Persecution: Joseph Smith, American Prophet, 1839–1844*; Van Wagoner, *Natural Born Seer: Joseph Smith, American Prophet, 1805–1830*. See also Newell and Avery, *Mormon Enigma*; Waterman, ed., *The Prophet Puzzle: Interpretive Essays on Joseph Smith*; Neilson and Givens, *Joseph Smith Jr.: Reappraisals after Two Centuries*; and *The Joseph Smith Papers*, a superbly edited collection of documents relating to Joseph Smith, in print and online.

3. See Newell and Avery, *Mormon Enigma*. Derr et al., *Women of Covenant, First Fifty Years*, Docs. 1.1 to 1.13; Launius, *Joseph Smith III*; Avery, *From Mission to Madness*; the first two volumes of Scherer, *The Journey of a People*; Hedges and Smith, "The Lady and the Governor"; Hales, "He Had No Other Wife but Me': Emma Hale Smith"; Mueller, "Changing Portraits of the Elect Lady"; Barrus, "Religious Authority, Sexuality, and Gender Roles."

4. *Find a Grave*, 35372970.

5. "Harriet Cook Young [one of the earliest wives of Brigham Young] is positive that sh[e] [Lucinda] was married to Joseph in Missouri. She was on[e] of th[e] first ones sealed to th[e] Prophet." Andrew Jenson, notes on plural marriage, MS 17956, CHL. See also *Book of Proxey*, #64.

6. See her chapter in this book. For a possible alternate date for this marriage, as well

as the marriages of Zina and Presendia Huntington, see Bergera, “Memory as Evidence.” In an 1866 journal of Wilford Woodruff, he lists these marriages and gives the date 1840.

7. See her chapter in this book. For a possible alternate date for this marriage, 1840, as well as the marriages of Louisa Beaman and Presendia Huntington, see Bergera, “Memory as Evidence.”

8. See her chapter in this book. For a possible alternate date for this marriage, 1840, as well as the marriages of Louisa Beaman and Zina Huntington, see Bergera, “Memory as Evidence.”

9. See her chapter in this book.

10. Perrigrine Sessions, Journal, Jan. 1, 1850, CHL; Brigham Young, Journal, Sep. 19, 1844, MS 1234 1, CHL; unsigned affidavit, Smith Affidavit Books, 1:60, 4:62. As Brian Hales points out, the latter record, volume four (4:62, mentioned above) of the Smith Affidavit Books, has an alternate date, 1843. *Joseph Smith's Polygamy* 1:155. I believe the best evidence supports the 1842 date in volume one of the Affidavit Books.

11. See her chapter in this book.

12. Smart, *Mormon Midwife*, 276–77; Rugh, “Patty Bartlett Sessions” in Burgess-Olson, *Sister Saints*, 303–24. See her chapter in this book.

13. See her chapter in this book.

14. See her chapter in this book.

15. See her chapter in this book.

16. See her chapter in this book. *Find a Grave*, 9323646. *First Fifty Years*.

17. Beecher, *The Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow*, including Eliza's Autobiographical Sketch; her Nauvoo diary; and her overland diaries; Beecher, *Eliza and Her Sisters*; Derr et al., *Women of Covenant*; Holzapfel and Holzapfel, *A Woman's View*, 86–87. See her chapter in this book.

18. For Kingsbury's marriage to Sarah Ann, see Introduction. *Find a Grave*, 28665210.

19. See her chapter in this book.

20. The exact date of Flora's marriage to Gove has been discovered since the publication of *In Sacred Loneliness*. For Carlos Gove (1817–1900), a gunsmith, see *Find a Grave*, 18049988.

21. See her chapter in this book.

22. For Amasa Lyman, see App. D. For Eliza, see her chapter in this book.

23. See her chapter in this book.

24. See her chapter in this book.

25. See her chapter in this book. Quinn, “Sexual Side,” 50. Bergera, “Identifying the Earliest Mormon Polygamists,” 32–33.

26. See her chapter in this book.

27. See her chapter in this book. In an affidavit, Almera gave “spring of the year 1843” as the marriage date. Affidavits of Celestial Marriage, MS 3423, fd. 1. Hyrum Smith is associated with the marriage; he did not convert to polygamy until May 26. Andrew Jenson gives an alternate date of August 1843. Jenson, “Plural Marriage,” 234, 236. Sometimes Hyrum was said to officiate in the marriage, sometimes William Clayton.

28. See her chapter in this book.

29. See her chapter in this book.

30. See her chapter in this book.

31. See her chapter in this book.

32. Hales, *Joseph Smith's Polygamy*, looks at the evidence for these women as wives of Joseph Smith.

33. Benjamin Johnson, *My Life's Review*, 96. An early hostile source also mentions

a Mrs. Dibble as a wife of Joseph Smith, John Hyde, *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs* (New York: W.P. Fetridge, 1857), 84. *Find a Grave*, 62402.

34. Whitney, *Heber C. Kimball*, 431. For the marriage to Kimball, Book of Proxey, #160. See App. C.

35. Whitney, *Heber C. Kimball*, 431. For the marriage date to Kimball, Book of Proxey, #159. See App. C.

36. Smith Affidavit Books, 4:56. Clair Noall to Fawn Brodie, Sep. 16, 1943, Clair Noall Papers, box 2, fd. 11, MS 188, Marriott Library. Bachman, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage," 112n26.

37. Council meeting and trial of Joseph E. Johnson, Sep. 2, 1850, Miscellaneous Minutes, Brigham Young Papers, MS 1234, CHL. Quinn, "Evidence," 21–22. *Find a Grave*, 28611749.

38. Daniel H. Wells to Joseph F. Smith, June 25, 1888, in Hales, *Joseph Smith's Polygamy*, 1:424. *Find a Grave*, 10963712.

39. Jackson, *Narrative*, 14.

40. Bennett, *History of the Saints*, 256.

41. Bennett, *History of the Saints*, 256.

42. Book of Proxey, #13.

43. Book of Proxey, #31. *Find a Grave*, 25525350.

44. Book of Proxey, #34. *Nauvoo Community Project*. For Lucien Woodworth, see JSP.

45. Different spellings, including Sophia.

46. Book of Proxey, #97.

47. Cordelia Morley Cox, Autobiography, in Collection of Biographies, ca. 1880, MSS 1152, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Lee Library, BYU. See also Cordelia M. Cox journal entry, Sep. 12, 1890, MS 21091, CHL. Book of Proxey, #98. Patricia H. Stoker, " 'The Lord Has Been My Guide': Cordelia Calista Morley Cox (1823–1915)," in Turley and Chapman, *Women of Faith* 2:45–60. *Find a Grave*, 16862702.

48. SAd Bk A, 513–14; "Family Record of Parley Parker Pratt," USHS. Wilford Woodruff journal, Jan. 21, 1844 (Kenney 2:340). Mary Ann Stearns Winters, "Mothers in Israel," *Relief Society Magazine* 3 (Oct. 1916), 580–81. Givens and Grow, *Parley P. Pratt*, 246.

49. "Sally Ann Fuller Smith," in "Obituary" section, *Deseret News*, Mar. 29, 1897, 2. Gully marriage: SAd Bk A, 721. Elijah Knapp Fuller marriage, SAd Bk A, 719.

50. Endowment House Sealing Record for 1851–1853, #65. S. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball*, 315. 1850 Utah census, 155. *Find a Grave*, 101732498.