

APPENDIX B

Evidence of Plural Marriages for Each of Joseph Smith's Plural Wives

Note: For full citations, see bibliography.

1. **FANNY ALGER:** (Marriage date unknown, ca. 1833–35.)

- Eliza R. Snow, “First list of wives,” Document #1, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Mosiah Hancock, Narrative appended to Levi Hancock Autobiography, 63.
- Oliver Cowdery, Letter to Warren Cowdery, January 21, 1838, Oliver Cowdery Letterbook.
- Far West High Council members, in Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Far West Record: Minutes of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1844*, 167–68, April 12, 1838.
- April 4, 1899 proxy sealing to Joseph Smith under the direction of President Lorenzo Snow, Salt Lake Temple Sealing Records, Book D, 243, GS film, 184,590, LDS Family History Library; Tinney, *The Royal Family of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 41, 63.
- Benjamin F. Johnson, Letter to George F. Gibbs, 1903, 38–39. Dean R. Zimmerman, ed., *I Knew the Prophets: An Analysis of the Letter of Benjamin F. Johnson to George F. Gibbs, Reporting Doctrinal Views of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young*, 38–39.
- William McLellin, Letter to Joseph Smith III, July 1872.
- William McLellin, quoted in J. H. Beadle, “Jackson County,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 6, 1875, 4.
- “Historicus” [pseud.], “Sketches from the History of Polygamy: Joseph Smith’s Especial Revelations,” 1.
- Eliza Jane Churchill Webb, Letters to Mary Bond, April 24, and May 4, 1876.
- Ann Eliza Webb Young, *Wife No. 19*, 1875, 66–67.
- Chauncy Webb, quoted in Wyl [pseud. of Wilhelm Ritter Von Wymetal], *Mormon Portraits or Joseph Smith the Prophet, His Family and His Friends: A Study Based on Facts and Documents* (1886), 57.
- John Hawley, Autobiography, January 1885.

- Jenson, "Fanny Alger biographical sheet," Document #10, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 233; Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage*, 75.

2. LOUISA BEAMAN: (Sealing date: April 5, 1841.)

- Joseph B. Noble, Affidavit, June 26, 1869, Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 1:3, 4:1.
- George A. Smith, Letter to Joseph Smith III, October 9, 1869.
- Franklin D. Richards, Journal, January 22, 1869.
- Joseph B. Noble, quoted in Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 6:452, February 22, 1869.¹
- William Clayton, Affidavit, February 16, 1874.
- Almera Johnson, Affidavit, August 1, 1883.
- Joseph B. Noble, quoted in Karl A. Larson and Katherine Miles Larson, eds., *Diary of Charles Lowell Walker*, 2:515.
- Joseph Bates Noble, Testimony at the Temple Lot Case, Part 3, pp. 432, 436, questions 793, 799, 861; sentence order reversed.
- Joseph B. Noble, Affidavit, quoted in B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church*, 2:102.
- Joseph B. Noble, quoted in Franklin D. Richards, Journal, January 22, 1869 (loose sheet, numbered 145).
- Joseph Noble, Address, June 11, 1883, at Centerville, Utah, stake conference, in Journal History.
- Eliza R. Snow, "First list of wives," Document #1, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Erastus Snow, Affidavit, in Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 232.
- Erastus Snow, St. George Utah Stake [Conference], General Minutes, Sunday, June 17, 1883, 2 p.m., LR 7836 11, Reel 1.
- Bennett, *The History of the Saints*, 256: "Miss L***** B*****."
- Orson Pratt, quoted in "Report of Elders Orson Pratt and Joseph F. Smith," 788. Date of sealing given but Louisa's name not provided.
- Ann Eliza Webb Young, *Wife No. 19*, 72.
- Benjamin Winchester, Testimony to Joseph Smith III, Council Bluffs, Iowa, November 27, 1900, Community of Christ Archives.
- Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 239; biography of Joseph B. Noble.
- Nauvoo Temple Proxy Marriage to Joseph Smith, January 14, 1846. Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 281.

1. Noble seems to have struggled to remember the exact date. On Sunday, December 19, 1880, he "made a few remarks on the celestial order of marriage, He being the man who sealed Louisa Beeman to the Prophet Joseph Smith in 1840 under his instructions." Larson and Larson, *Diary of Charles Lowell Walker*, 2:515.

- Joseph Smith III, Letter to E. C. Brand, n.d. [likely early 1880s] Letter Press Book #4, pp. 63–67.
- Johnson, *My Life's Review*, 96.
- [Oliver Olney?], uncatalogued and untitled manuscript, Western Americana MSS, Beinecke Library, Yale University, folder labeled "Nauvoo Female Society." Some of the writing on the document is dated October 18, 1843.²

3. ZINA DIANTHA HUNTINGTON: (Sealing date: October 27, 1841.)

- Zina D. Huntington Affidavit, May 1, 1869, Joseph F. Smith Affidavit Books, 1:5, 4:5,
- Malissa Lott, "First list of wives," Document #1, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 233.
- Oliver Huntington, Journal, February 18, 1883, October 27, 1887.
- John Wight, interviewer, "Evidence from Zina D. Huntington Young, October 1, 1898," *Saints Herald* 52 (January 11, 1905): 28–30.
- Emmeline B. Wells, "A Distinguished Woman: Zina D. H. Young," 99.
- William Hall, *The Abominations of Mormonism Exposed*, 43–44.
- John D. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled*, edited by W. W. Bishop, 132.
- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, February 2, 1846, in Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 284.
- Joseph Smith III, Letter to Bro. E. C. Brand, n.d., [likely early 1880s] Letter Press Book 4, 63–67.
- Jane Wilkie Hooper Blood, *Autobiography and Abridged Diary*, edited by Ivy Hooper Blood Hill, 241, July 22, 1892.

4. PRESENDIA LATHROP HUNTINGTON: (Sealing date: December 11, 1841)

- Presendia L. Huntington, Affidavit, May 1, 1869, Joseph F. Smith Affidavit Books, 1:7, 4:7.
- Presendia L. Huntington, Letter to her eldest granddaughter living in 1880, April 1, 1881.

2. The document contains writing on two sides of one sheet in pencil and ink with different handwriting apparently written on different dates. The first part on one side is an application for Susan McGee Calbertson to join the "friendly famel society" dated "21 [indecipherable] 1843." The remaining handwriting and style appears to be that of Oliver Olney, but how he would have come into possession of this paper is unknown. It lists eight of Joseph Smith's plural wives: Louisa Beaman, Agnes Smith, Eliza R. Snow, Emily Partridge, Eliza Partridge, Mrs. Sylvia Lyons, Mrs. P. Sessions, and Mrs. Granger. A transcription of this document by Michael Quinn is found in D. Michael Quinn Papers, Addition, Uncat WA MS 244, accession:19990209-c), Box 1, Card file, Topic: Polygamy, Joseph Smith's, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

- Malissa Lott dictation to Jenson, "First list of wives," Document #1, Andrew Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 233.
- Zina Huntington Young, Journal, December 11, 1848.
- Bennett, *The History of the Saints*, 256, lists as one of Joseph's wives "Mrs. B****." Presendia married Norman Buell.
- Oliver Huntington, Journal, February 18, 1883.
- Wells, "A Venerable Woman: Presendia Lathrop Kimball," 163.
- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, February 4, 1846. Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 285.
- Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 418–19.

5. AGNES MOULTON COOLBRITH: (Sealing date: January 6, 1842.)

- Brigham Young, Journal, January 6, 1842.
- Bennett, *The History of the Saints*, 256, lists a "Mrs. A**** S****." Agnes was Don Carlos Smith's widow.
- Mary Ann West, Deposition, Temple Lot Transcript, Respondent's Testimony, Part 3, pp. 521–22, questions 679, 687.
- Argus [Charles Wesley Wandell], "History of Mormonism . . . Open Letter to Brigham Young," *Daily Corrine Reporter*, August 2, 1871, 2.
- Lucy Walker Kimball to Joseph F. Smith ("My very dear Nephew"), Santa Rosa, February 24, 1884.
- See also Nauvoo Female Relief Society Minutes, September 28, 1842, 89, in Richard E. Turley Jr., *Selected Collections from the Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Vol. 1, DVD #19.
- [Oliver Olney?], uncatalogued manuscript, Western Americana, Beinecke Library, Yale University, folder labeled "Nauvoo Female Society."³

6. MARY ELIZABETH ROLLINS LIGHTNER: (Sealing date: February 1842.)

- Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, Affidavit, March 23, 1877.
- Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, "Autobiography," 18–20.
- Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, Letter to Emmeline B. Wells, Summer 1905.
- Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, Address given at BYU, April 14, 1905, 2.
- Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, Statement, February 8, 1902.
- Emmeline B. Wells, Letters to Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, February 10, March 12, June 22, 1887.
- Mary Lightner, James H. Rollins, and John D. T. McAllister, Letter to John Taylor, May 22, 1882.
- Mary Lightner, Letter to President Woodruff, October 7, 1887; Mary Lightner, Letter to Wilford Woodruff, October 9, 1887.

3. See note 2.

- Eliza R. Snow, "First list of wives," Document #1, Andrew Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, January 17, 1846. Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 282.
- Andrew Jenson, "Mary Lightner biographical sheet," Document #3, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 234.
- L. John Nuttall, Diary, April 18, 1884; Jedediah S. Rogers, ed., *In the President's Office: The Diaries of L. John Nuttall, 1879–1892*, 123.

7. **PATTY BARTLETT SESSIONS:** (Sealing date: March 9, 1842.)

- Patty Bartlett, Journal, page after June 16, 1860. In Donna Toland Smart, ed., *Mormon Midwife: The 1846–1888 Diaries of Patty Bartlett Sessions*, 276–77.
- Patty Bartlett Sessions, Affidavit, n.d., received June 1867.
- Eliza R. Snow, "First list of wives," Document #1, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Joseph H. Jackson, *A Narrative of the Adventures and Experiences of Joseph H. Jackson in Nauvoo, Exposing the Depths of Mormon Villainy*, 13.
- Bennett, *The History of the Saints*, 256, lists a "Mrs. S*****." Patty married David Sessions.
- [Oliver Olney?], uncatalogued manuscript, n.d., folder labeled "Nauvoo Female Society." Some of the writing on the document is dated October 18, 1843.⁴

8. **MARINDA NANCY JOHNSON HYDE:** (Two sealing dates: April 1842 and May 1843.)

- Joseph Smith, Journal, a list of marriages in the handwriting of Thomas Bullock, entered after July 14, 1843: "Apr 42 Marinda Johnson to Joseph Smith." Turley, *Selected Collections*, Vol. 1, DVD #20, MS155_1_6_320.jpg; it is written in the hand of a different scribe from previous entries on an undated page after the final entry in that journal dated July 14, 1843. Transcribed in Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith*, 396.
- Marinda Nancy Johnson Hyde, Affidavit, May 1, 1869, Joseph F. Smith Affidavit Books, 1:15, 4:15.
- Emmeline Wells, Letter to Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, March 12, 1887.
- Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 147.

9. **ELIZABETH DAVIS:** (Sealing date unknown.)

- Eliza R. Snow, "First list of wives," Document #1,, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.

4. See note 2.

- Bennett, *The History of the Saints*, 256, lists a “Mrs. D*****.” Elizabeth married Jabez Durfee.
- Sarah Pratt, quoted in Wyl, *Mormon Portraits*, 54–55.
- Jackson, *A Narrative of the Adventures and Experiences of Joseph H. Jackson*, 13.
- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, January 22, 1846. Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 282.
- Jenson, “Plural Marriage,” 234.
- Accompanied Eliza R. Snow, Sarah Ann Whitney, and Elvira A. Cowles to visit Malissa Lot on June 29, 1843. Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, ed., *The Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow*, 78.

10. SARAH KINGSLEY CLEVELAND: (Sealing date unknown.)

- Eliza R. Snow, “First list of wives,” Document #1, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, “Sarah Cleveland biographical information sheet,” Document #8, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, “Plural Marriage,” 234.
- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, January 15, 1846. Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 282.
- John L. Smith, Letter to the First Presidency, dated March 8, 1895.⁵
- Proxy sealing to Joseph Smith, April 4, 1899, under direction of President Lorenzo Snow, Salt Lake Temple Sealing Records, Book D, 243, GS film, 184,590, LDS Family History Library; Tinney, *The Royal Family of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 41, 63.

11. LUCINDA PENDLETON HARRIS: (Sealing date unknown.)

- Harriet Cook Young, “Lucinda Harris biographical information sheet,” Document #2, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, “Plural Marriage,” 233.
- Sarah Pratt, in Wyl, *Mormon Portraits*, 60.
- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, January 22, 1846. Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 282.
- Proxy sealing to Joseph Smith, April 4, 1899, under the direction of President Lorenzo Snow, Salt Lake Temple Sealing Records, Book D, 243, GS film, 184,590, LDS Family History Library. Tinney, *The Royal Family of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 41, 63.
- Willard Richards recorded January 17, 1842: “dined at Sister Agness. with Joseph & Sister Harris.” Willard Richards, Journal, 1847.

5. Quoted in D. Michael Quinn Papers, Card file, Topic: Polygamy, Joseph Smith's, Beinecke Library, Yale University. I have been unable to find the original of this letter. See also letter from John Lyman Smith to D. H. Cannon, [n.d.] 1895, LDS Church History Library, which substantiates that Joseph advised that Sarah be sealed to him but live with her legal husband.

12. DELCENA JOHNSON: (Sealing date: prior to July 1842.)

- Johnson, Letter to George F. Gibbs, 1903, 45; see also 40, 43; Zimmerman, *I Knew the Prophets* (Bountiful, Utah: Horizon, 1976), 38–39.
- Benjamin F. Johnson, *My Life's Review*, 95–97.
- Benjamin F. Johnson to Anthon H. Lund, May 12, 1903.

13. ELIZA R. SNOW: (Sealing date: June 29, 1842.)

- Eliza R. Snow, Affidavit, June 7, 1869, Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 1:25, 4:25.
- George A. Smith, Letter to Joseph Smith III, October 9, 1869.
- Malissa Lott and Eliza R. Snow, "First list of wives," Document #1, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Eliza R. Snow, "Sketch of My Life," holograph, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, In Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, ed., *The Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2000), 16–17.
- Eliza R. Snow, qtd. in J. J. J., "Two Prophets' Widows: A Visit to the Relicts of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, August 18, 1887, 6.
- William Clayton, Affidavit, February 16, 1874, MS 3412. In Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 225.
- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, February 3, 1846. Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 284.
- Jenson, "Eliza R. Snow Smith biographical information sheet," Document #18, in Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 233.
- Joseph Smith III, Letter to Bro. E. C. Brand, n.d., [likely early 1880s] Letter Press Book #4, pp. 63–67, P6, Community of Christ Archives.
- Benjamin F. Johnson, *My Life's Review*, 96.
- [Oliver Olney?], uncatalogued manuscript, Western Americana, Beinecke Library, Yale University, Folder labeled "Nauvoo Female Society." Some of the writing on the document is dated October 18, 1843.⁶

14. SARAH ANN WHITNEY: (Sealing date: July 27, 1842.)

- Sarah A. Kimball, Affidavit, July 27, 1869, Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 1:36; 4:36. Printed in Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage*, 73.
- Revelation to Joseph Smith, July 27, 1842, holograph in LDS Church History Library, published in H. Michael Marquardt, *The Joseph Smith Revelations: Text and Commentary* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999), 315–16; see also Revelations in Addition to Those Found in the LDS Edition of the D&C, *New Mormon Studies: A Comprehensive Resource Library*, CD-ROM (Salt Lake City: Smith Research Associates, 1998).

6. See note 2.

- Eliza R. Snow, "First list of wives," Document #1, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Elizabeth Ann Whitney, Affidavit, Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 1:72; 4:74, printed in Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage*, 74.
- William Clayton, Affidavit, February 16, 1874, MS 3412, LDS Church History Library, in Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 225.
- Joseph Kingsbury, Affidavit, May 22, 1886, MS 3412, LDS Church History Library, printed in Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 226.
- Elizabeth Ann Whitney, in Edward Tullidge, *The Women of Mormondom* (New York City: N.pub., 1877), 368–69. See also Elizabeth Ann Whitney, "A Leaf from an Autobiography," *Woman's Exponent* 7, no. 14 (December 15, 1878): 105; see also Carol Cornwall Madsen, ed., *In Their Own Words: Women and the Story of Nauvoo* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994), 202.
- Orson F. Whitney, "Life of Heber C. Kimball," *The Contributor* 6, no. 4 (January 1885): 131.
- Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, "Scenes in Nauvoo after the Martyrdom of the Prophet and Patriarch," *Woman's Exponent* 11, no. 19 (March 1, 1883): 146.
- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, January 12, 1846. Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 281.
- Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1945), 418.
- Jenson, "Sarah Ann Whitney biographical information sheet," Document #17, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 233.

15. MARTHA McBRIDE: (Sealing date: August 1842.)

- Martha McBride, Affidavit, July 8, 1869, MS 3423, LDS Church History Library; copied in Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 2:36; 3:36. See also Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage*, 72; p. 86 in 1905 ed.
- Jenson, "Second, revised list of wives," Document #9, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, January 26, 1846; Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 283.
- Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1945), 419.

16. SYLVIA SESSIONS: (Sealing date: between November 19, 1842, and approximately May 18, 1843.)

- Josephine Rosetta Lyon Fisher Affidavit, February 24, 1915, LDS Church History Library; MS 3423_1_48.
- Eliza R. Snow, "First list of wives," Document #1, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.

- Unsigned, undated, and unnotarized documents in Joseph F. Smith Affidavit Books 1:60, 4:62.
- Angus Munn Cannon, "Statement of an Interview with Joseph Smith, III, 1905, Regarding Conversation on October 12, 1905," MS 3166.
- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, January 26, 1846; Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 283.
- Proxy sealing to Joseph Smith, April 4, 1899, under the direction of President Lorenzo Snow, Salt Lake Temple Sealing Records, Book D, 243, GS film, 184,590, LDS Family History Library; Tinney, *The Royal Family of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 41, 63.
- Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1945), 419.
- Jenson, "Sylvia Sessions biographical information sheet," Document #12, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 234.
- Joseph Smith III, Letter to Bro. E. C. Brand, n.d. [likely early 1880s] Letter Press Book #4, 63–67, P6, Community of Christ Archives.
- Benjamin F. Johnson, *My Life's Review*, 96.
- [Oliver Olney?], uncatalogued manuscript, Western Americana, Beinecke Library, Yale University, Folder labeled "Nauvoo Female Society." Some of the writing on the document is dated October 18, 1843.⁷

17. RUTH VOSE: (Sealing date: February 1843.)

- Ruth Vose, Affidavit, May 1, 1869, Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 1:9, 4:9.
- Eliza R. Snow, "First list of wives," Document #1, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, Documents #5 and #16, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Proxy sealing to Joseph Smith, April 4, 1899, under the direction of President Lorenzo Snow, Salt Lake Temple Sealing Records, Book D, 243, GS film, 184,590, LDS Family History Library. Tinney, *The Royal Family of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 41, 63.
- Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 234.

18. FLORA ANN WOODWORTH: (Sealing date: spring 1843.)

- Malissa Lott via Jenson in Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16, "First list of wives," Document #1.
- Jenson, "Flora Ann Woodworth biographical information sheet," Document #13, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Malissa Lott, "Letter of Malissa Willis to Jenson, June 27, 1887, regarding Flora Ann Woodworth," Document #14, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.

7. See note 2.

- William Clayton, Affidavit, February 16, 1874, MS 3412. Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 225.
- Helen Mar Whitney, "Travels beyond the Mississippi," *Woman's Exponent* 13 (November 1, 1884): 87.
- Proxy sealing to Joseph Smith, April 4, 1899, under the direction of President Lorenzo Snow, Salt Lake Temple Sealing Records, Book D, 243, GS film, 184,590, LDS Family History Library. Tinney, *The Royal Family of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 41, 63.
- Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 234.
- Joseph Smith III, Letter to Bro. E. C. Brand, n.d. [likely early 1880s] Letter Press Book #4, 63–67, P6, Community of Christ Archives.

19. EMILY PARTRIDGE: (Sealing dates: March 4 and May 11, 1843.)

- Emily D. Partridge, Affidavits, May 1, 1869, Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books 1:11, 13; 4:11, 13. Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 223.
- Eliza Partridge, Affidavits, July 1, 1869, MS 3423, LDS Church History Library; also in Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 2:34, 3:34.
- George A. Smith, Letter to Joseph Smith III, October 9, 1869.
- Emily D. Partridge, Temple Lot Transcript, Part 3, pp. 371, 384, questions 480–84, 747, 751–62.
- Emily D. P. Young, "Autobiography," *Woman's Exponent* 14, no. 5 (August 1, 1885): 38.
- Malissa Lott, dictation in "First list of wives," Document #1, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- William Clayton, Affidavit, February 16, 1874, MS 3412, LDS Church History Library; in Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 221.
- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, January 14, 1846. Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 281.
- Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 234.
- Joseph Smith III, Letter to Bro. E. C. Brand, n.d. [likely early 1880s] Letter Press Book #4, 63–67, P6, Community of Christ Archives.
- Benjamin F. Johnson, *My Life's Review*, 96.
- [Oliver Olney?], uncatalogued manuscript, Western Americana, Beinecke Library, Yale University, folder labeled "Nauvoo Female Society." Some of the writing on the document is dated October 18, 1843.⁸

20. ELIZA PARTRIDGE: (Sealing dates: March 4 and May 11, 1843.)

- Eliza Partridge, Affidavits, July 1, 1869, MS 3423, LDS Church History Library; copied into Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 2:32, 33; 3:33; in Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 223.
- George A. Smith, Letter to Joseph Smith III, October 9, 1869

8. See note 2.

- Emily D. P. Young, "Autobiography," *Woman's Exponent* 14, no. 5 (August 1, 1885): 38, in Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 240.
- Malissa Lott, "First list of wives," Document #1, dictated to Jenson, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- William Clayton, Affidavit, February 16, 1874, MS 3412, LDS Church History Library, in Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 224.
- Benjamin F. Johnson to Anthon H. Lund, May 12, 1903.
- Benjamin F. Johnson, "More Testimony," Letter to the editor, March 9, 1904, *Deseret Evening News*, April 12, 1904, 4.
- Benjamin F. Johnson, *My Life's Review*, 96.
- Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 234, 236–37.
- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, January 13, 1846. Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 281.
- Joseph Smith III, Letter to Bro. E. C. Brand, n.d. [likely early 1880s] Letter Press Book #4, 63–67, P6, Community of Christ Archives.
- [Oliver Olney?], uncatalogued manuscript, Western Americana, Beinecke Library, Yale University, Folder labeled "Nauvoo Female Society." Some of the writing on the document is dated October 18, 1843.⁹

21. ALMERA WOODARD JOHNSON: (Sealing date: April 1843.)

- Almera W. Johnson, Affidavit, August 1, 1883, MS 3423, LDS Church History Library, published in Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage*, 70–71.
- Benjamin F. Johnson, Letter to George F. Gibbs, 1903, 41, printed in Dean R. Zimmerman, ed., *I Knew the Prophets*, 38–39.
- Johnson, Letter to Anthon H. Lund, May 12, 1903.
- Johnson, *My Life's Review*, 94–97.
- Benjamin F. Johnson, "More Testimony," 4.
- Eliza R. Snow, "First list of wives," Document #1, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Johnson, Affidavit, March 4, 1870, Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 2:3–9, 3:3–9, in Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 225.
- Proxy sealing to Joseph Smith, April 4, 1899, under the direction of President Lorenzo Snow, Salt Lake Temple Sealing Records, Book D, 243, GS film, 184,590, LDS Family History Library, in Tinney, *The Royal Family of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 41, 63.
- Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 234.
- Joseph Smith III, Letter to Bro. E. C. Brand, n.d. [likely early 1880s].

22. LUCY WALKER: (Sealing date: May 1, 1843.)

- Lucy Walker, Affidavit, August 9, 1869, Joseph Smith, Affidavit Books, 1:66, 4:68.

9. See note 2.

- George A. Smith, Letter to Joseph Smith III, October 9, 1869.
- Lucy Walker, Affidavit, December 17, 1902; Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage*, 68–69. This affidavit contains the exact same wording as a second affidavit dated October 24, 1902: “Oath of Lucy Walker Smith: Wife of Joseph Smith, Jr.,” photocopy in my possession.
- Lucy Walker in Lyman Omer Littlefield, *Reminiscences of Latter-day Saints*, 46–48.
- Lucy Walker, Deposition, Temple Lot Transcript, Part 3, p. 451, question 30.
- Lucy Walker, “Talks of Polygamy,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 24, 1899, 4.
- Jenson, “Plural Marriage,” 229–30, 234, 236.
- William Clayton, Journal, May 1, 1843, in George D. Smith, ed. *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton*, 100.
- William Clayton, Affidavit, February 16, 1874, in Jenson, “Plural Marriage,” 225.
- Eliza Partridge, Affidavit, July 1, 1869, MS 3423, copied in Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 2:30, 3:30.
- Malissa Lott, dictation, “First list of wives,” Document #1, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Theodocia Frances Walker Davis (niece of Lucy Walker), Joseph Smith III, Journal, November 12 [or November 18?], 1876.
- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, January 15, 1846, in Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 282.
- Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 418.

23. MARIA LAWRENCE: (Sealing date: May 1843.)

- Malissa Lott, “First list of wives,” Document #1, dictated to Jenson in Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, “Plural Marriage,” 223, 234.
- Lucy Walker Smith Kimball, Deposition, Temple Lot Transcript, Part 3, p. 461, question 282.
- Helen [Mar] Kimball [Smith] Whitney, “Scenes and Incidents at Winter Quarters,” *Woman's Exponent* 14, no. 14 (February 15, 1886): 138.
- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, January 24, 1846, in Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 283.
- Joseph Smith III, Letter to Bro. E. C. Brand, n.d. [likely early 1880s].
- Johnson, “More Testimony,” 4.
- Johnson, *My Life's Review*, 96.

24. SARAH LAWRENCE: (Sealing date: May 1843.)

- Malissa Lott, dictated in “First list of wives,” Document #1, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, “Plural Marriage,” 223, 234.

- Lucy Walker Smith Kimball, Deposition, Temple Lot Transcript, Part 3, p. 461, question 282.
- Helen Kimball Whitney, "Scenes and Incidents at Winter Quarters," *Woman's Exponent* 14 (February 15 1886): 138.
- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, January 26, 1846, in Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 283.
- Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1945), 419.
- Joseph Smith III, Letter to Bro. E. C. Brand, n.d. [likely early 1880s] Letter Press Book #4, 63–67, P6, Community of Christ Archives.
- Johnson, "More Testimony," 4.
- Johnson, *My Life's Review*, 96.

25. HELEN MAR KIMBALL: (Sealing date: May 1843.)

- Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, "Autobiography, March 30, 1881."
- Eliza R. Snow, "First list of wives," Document #1, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- William Clayton, Affidavit, February 16, 1874, in Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 225.
- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, February 4, 1846, in Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 285.

26. HANNAH ELLS: (Sealing date: prior to the summer 1843.)

- Malissa Lott, "First list of wives," Document #1, dictated to Jenson, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, "Hannah Ells biographical information sheet," Document #11, in Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- John Benbow, Affidavit, August 28, 1869, Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 1:74, 4:76; Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 222–23, 234.
- Proxy sealing to Joseph Smith, April 4, 1899, under the direction of President Lorenzo Snow, Salt Lake Temple Sealing Records, Book D, 243, GS film, 184,590, LDS Family History Library, in Tinney, *The Royal Family of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 41, 63.
- Eliza R. Snow, Letter to President John Taylor, December 27, 1886; also in the First Presidency Office Journal, December 28, 1886, *Minutes of the Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1835–1893*, 368.
- Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 234.

27. ELVIRA ANNIE COWLES: (Sealing date: June 1, 1843.)

- Elvira A. C. Holmes, Affidavit, August 28, 1869, Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 1:78, 4:80.
- Malissa Lott, "First list of wives," Document #1, dictated to Jenson, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.

- Marietta Welling, "Letter of Marietta Welling to Jenson regarding Elvira Cowles Holmes, June 30, 1887," Document #6, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, "Elvira Cowles biographical information sheet," Document #7, in Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 234.
- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, February 3, 1846, in Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 284.
- Accompanied Eliza R. Snow, Sarah Ann Whitney, and Elizabeth Davis to visit Malissa Lot on June 29, 1843, in Beecher, *The Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow*, 78.

28. RHODA RICHARDS: (Sealing date: June 12, 1843.)

- Rhoda Richards, Affidavit, May 1, 1869, Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 1:17, 4:17, published in Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage*, 75.
- Joseph Smith, Journal, June 12, 1843, in Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith*, 387.
- George A. Smith, Letter to Joseph Smith III, October 9, 1869.
- Jenson, "First list of wives," Document #1, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, "Rhoda Richards biographical information sheet," Document #15, in Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 234.
- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, January 31, 1846, in Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 284.

29. DESDEMONA FULLMER: (Sealing date: July 1843.)

- Desdemona Fullmer, Affidavit, June 17, 1869, Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 1:32, 4:32.
- George A. Smith, Letter to Joseph Smith III, October 9, 1869.
- Malissa Lott, "First list of wives," Document #1, dictated to Jenson in Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 234–35.
- William Clayton, Affidavit, February 16, 1874, in Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 234.
- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, January 26, 1846, in Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 283.

30. OLIVE G. FROST: (Sealing date: summer 1843.)

- Eliza R. Snow, "First list of wives," Document #1, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 235, 234.
- Joseph E. Robinson, Diary, October 26, 1902.

- James Whitehead, Interviewed by Joseph Smith III, April 20, 1885.
- Proxy sealing to Joseph Smith, April 4, 1899, under the direction of President Lorenzo Snow, Salt Lake Temple Sealing Records, Book D, 243, GS film, 184,590, LDS Family History Library, in Tinney, *The Royal Family of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 41, 63.

31. MALISSA LOTT: (Sealing date: September 20 or 27, 1843.)

- Malissa Lott, Affidavit, May 20, 1869, Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 1:23, 4:23. Affidavit specifies September 20, 1843, and erroneously lists the sealing year as 1842. Affidavit printed in Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage*, 72, 55.
- George A. Smith, Letter to Joseph Smith III, October 9, 1869.
- Malissa Lott Willes, Statement, August 4, 1893, to Joseph Smith III, quoted in Raymond T. Bailey, "Emma Hale: Wife of the Prophet Joseph Smith," 99.
- Malissa Lott, Temple Lot Transcript, Part 3, pp. 97, 105–6, questions 87–93, 224–60; specifies September 27, 1843.
- Lott Family Bible, MS 3373, specifies September 20, 1843.
- Eliza R. Snow, "First list of wives," Document #1, in Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 234; "Miscellaneous," 5 (December 1886): 119.
- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, February 8, 1846, in Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 285.
- Joseph Smith III, Letter to Bro. E. C. Brand, n.d. [likely early 1880s]; Johnson, *My Life's Review*, 96.

32. NANCY MARIA WINCHESTER: (Sealing date: unknown.)

- Eliza R. Snow, "First list of wives," Document #1, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 234.
- Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 419.
- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, February 3, 1846, in Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 284.

33. FANNY YOUNG: (Sealing date: November 2, 1843.)

- Brigham Young, August 31, 1873, *Journal of Discourses* 16:166–67.
- Jenson, "First list of wives," Document #1, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, "Fanny Murray biographical information sheet," Document #4, Andrew Jenson Papers, MS 17956, Box 49, fd. 16.
- Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 234.
- Augusta Adams Young, Affidavit, July 12, 1869, Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 1:52, 4:52.

- Harriet Cook Young, Affidavit, March 4, 1870, Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 2:14, 3:14.
- George A. Smith, Letter to Joseph Smith III, October 9, 1869.
- Eliza Jane Churchill Webb, Letter to Mary Bond, April 24, 1876.
- Proxy sealing to Joseph Smith, April 4, 1899, under the direction of President Lorenzo Snow, Salt Lake Temple Sealing Records, Book D, 243, GS film, 184,590, LDS Family History Library, in Tinney, *The Royal Family of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 41, 63.
- Joseph Smith III, Letter to Bro. E. C. Brand, n.d. [likely early 1880s].

34. ESTHER DUTCHER: (Sealing date: unknown.)

- Daniel H. Wells to Joseph F. Smith, June 25, 1888.

35. MARY HERON: (Sealing date: unknown.)

- Joseph Ellis Johnson alleged in 1850 that he was aware of sexual relations between Joseph Smith and Mary Heron, his mother-in-law.¹⁰

GEORGE D. SMITH's Five Additional Plural Wives:

(George D. Smith's total of thirty-eight excludes Fanny Alger but includes Emma Smith. He also adds the five additional names below.)

1. SARAH BAPSON:

- Bennett, *The History of the Saints*, 256: "Miss B*****."
- Proxy sealing to Joseph Smith, April 4, 1899, "Sarah Rapson," under the direction of President Lorenzo Snow, Salt Lake Temple Sealing Records, Book D, 243, GS film, 184,590, LDS Family History Library, in Tinney, *The Royal Family of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 41, 63. She is also identified as "Sarah Poulterer," "Sarah Poulter," "Sarah Davis," and "Sarah Royson." No person by the name of "Sarah Bapson" has been identified as living in Nauvoo at any time. No manuscript documentation has been found identifying Bennett's "Miss B*****" as Sarah Rapson.

2. MARY ANN FROST:

- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, February 6, 1846, in Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 285.

10. Misc Minutes, B.Y. Collection, September 2, 1850, D. Michael Quinn Papers, Box 1. This document is available on Richard E. Turley Jr., *Selected Collections from the Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 2002), Vol. 1, DVD #18, but that entry is blacked out, restricted because it deals with Church disciplinary proceedings.

- Lyndon Cook reports she was sealed “for time and eternity to Joseph Smith” on July 24, 1843, but provides no documentation. Lyndon W. Cook, *Nauvoo Marriages Proxy Sealings 1843–1846*, 17 note 3.

3. SARAH SCOTT:

- Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 419.
- A Nauvoo Temple record identifies her as “Sarah Smith.” Cook, *Nauvoo Marriages Proxy Sealings 1843–1846*, entry 214, pp. 190–91; see also p. 15.

4. PHEBE WOODWORTH:

- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, January 17, 1846, in Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 282.
- On October 29, 1843, Phebe was invited to join those men and women who had received their endowment. Brigham Young, *Diary*, October 29, 1843; Devery S. Anderson and Gary James Bergera, eds., *Joseph Smith’s Quorum of the Anointed 1842–1845: A Documentary History*, 31.
- Joseph Smith III, Letter to Bro. E. C. Brand, n.d. [likely early 1880s].

5. MARY HOUSTON:

- Nauvoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, February 3, 1846, in Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 284.
- Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 419.
- A Nauvoo Temple record reportedly identifies her as “Mary Smith.” Cook, *Nauvoo Marriages Proxy Sealings 1843–1846*, entry 213, p. 190. This is contradicted by the “summary” of the Book of Proxy Sealings: Devery S. Anderson and Gary James Bergera, eds., *The Nauvoo Endowment Companies: 1845–1846: A Documentary History*, 581.

Todd Compton’s List of Eight Possible Wives

1. VIENNA JACQUES:

- Unsigned document in Joseph F. Smith, Affidavit Books, 4:56.
- Mrs. Nancy Alexander, 1886 statement
- Claire Noall, Letter to Fawn Brodie, September 16, 1943.¹¹
- Proxy sealing to Joseph Smith in 1858 in the Endowment House. Jerrie W. Hurd, *Our Sisters in the Latter-day Scriptures*, 69; see also Tinney, *The Royal*

11. Claire Noall, Letter to Fawn Brodie, September 16, 1943, Salt Lake City, Vesta P. Crawford Papers, Marriott Library, Ms 125, Box 1, fd. 11: “Information from Louie Richards, daughter of Edward and Mary Joy Snelgrove, and daughter-in-law of Willard Richards: “Aunt Vienna’ lived just below them in Salt Lake City. ‘Yes,’ said Aunt Louie, with no uncertainty when I asked her about Vienna’s being sealed to the Prophet, ‘she was sealed to him.’”

Family of the Prophet Joseph Smith, Jr., 14, not dated but recorded between sealings of 1857 and 1867.

2. HANNAH ANN DUBOIS:

- Johnson, *My Life's Review*, 96.
- John Hyde, *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs*, 84.
- Joseph Smith III, Letter to Bro. E. C. Brand, n.d. [likely early 1880s].
- "Testimony of Benjamin Winchester," W. L. Crowe scribe, December 13, 1900.

3. SARAH BAPSON:

- Bennett, *The History of the Saints*, 256: "Miss B*****."
- Proxy sealing to Joseph Smith, April 4, 1899, "Sarah Rapson," under the direction of President Lorenzo Snow, Salt Lake Temple Sealing Records, Book D, 243, GS film, 184,590, LDS Family History Library. She is also identified as "Sarah Poulterer," "Sarah Poulter," "Sarah Davis," and "Sarah Royson." Tinney, *The Royal Family of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 41, 63. No person by the name of "Sarah Bapson" has been identified as living in Nauvoo at any time. No manuscript documentation has been found identifying Bennett's "Miss B*****" as Sarah Rapson.

4. MRS. G*****:

- Bennett, *The History of the Saints*, 256.¹²
- "Mrs Granger" in [Oliver Olney?], uncatalogued manuscript, folder labeled "Nauvoo Female Society." Some of the writing on the document is dated October 18, 1843.¹³ The number of asterisks is incorrect.

5. SARAH SCOTT:

- Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 419.
- A Nauvoo Temple record identifies her as "Sarah Smith." Cook, *Nauvoo Marriages, Proxy Sealings, 1843-1846*, entry 214, pp. 190-91; also p. 15; cor-

12. Fawn Brodie asserts that Mrs. G***** was Sally Ann Fuller Gulley. Sally Ann Fuller did not marry Samuel Gully (not "Gulley") until January 29, 1847, in Winter Quarters. Thomas Milton Tinney, *The Royal Family of the Prophet Joseph Smith, Jr.* (Salt Lake City: Tinney-Greene Family Organization, 1973), 114. Gully died in 1849 and Sally Ann went on to marry Elijah Knapp Fuller on September 8, 1850. Hence, Bennett would not have known Sally Ann Fuller as Mrs. G***** during his stay in Nauvoo. Fawn Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*, 469. Brodie writes that "the Nauvoo Temple Record states that on January 29, 1846 [Sally Ann Fuller] was sealed to Joseph Smith Jr., "for eternity" and to [Samuel] Gully [not Gully] "for time." In fact, the Nauvoo Temple record contains no such entry. See Brown, *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 120, 379.

13. See note 2.

roborated by the “summary” of the Book of Proxy Sealings in Anderson and Bergera, *The Nauwoo Endowment Companies*, 581.

6. MARY HOUSTON:

- Nauwoo Temple proxy marriage to Joseph Smith, February 3, 1846, in Brown, *Nauwoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings*, 284.
- Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1945), 419.
- A Nauwoo Temple record reportedly identifies her as “Mary Smith.” Lyndon W. Cook, *Nauwoo Marriages, Proxy Sealings, 1843–1846* (Provo, Utah: Grandin Book, 2004), entry 214, pp. 190–91; also p. 15; corroborated by the “summary” of the Book of Proxy Sealings provided by Devery S. Anderson and Gary James Bergera, eds., *The Nauwoo Endowment Companies: 1845–1846: A Documentary History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2005), 581.

7. MRS. TAILOR:

- Jackson, *A Narrative of the Adventures and Experiences of Joseph H. Jackson*, 13.

8. MARY HERON:

- Joseph Ellis Johnson alleged in 1850 that he was aware of sexual relations between Joseph Smith and Mary Heron, his mother-in-law.¹⁴

14. See note 10.