

Nauvoo Roots of Mormon Polygamy, 1841-46: A Preliminary Demographic Report

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POLYGAMY, MARRIAGE TO MORE THAN ONE SPOUSE at a time, cannot be seen in the fossil record of our primitive ancestor, *Homo erectus*, and no one knows if Lucy of the African Rift, reputed to be the mother of us all, was a plural mate. A recent study of the evolution of human sexuality concludes, however, that while modern man is often culturally obliged to be monogamous, he may be biologically predisposed to polygamy.¹ Therefore it should not surprise us that polygamy has been practiced in many parts of the world. Plural marriage has been found in India, Nepal, China, the Middle East, Africa, Indonesia, Australia, in early Germanic tribes, among certain native Indian societies of the Americas and Eskimos of the Arctic, and, notably, the Mormons of North America.²

There were multiple wives and concubines in ancient Mesopotamia and among Old Testament leaders of the early Hebrew peoples. Abraham, David, and Solomon had many wives, but Jewish law required monogamy by the eleventh century C.E. Polygamy was also found in pre-Islamic Arabic cultures of the Middle East, Asia, and North Africa. Later, the Koran

1. Lynn Margulis and Dorion Sagan, *Mystery Dance: On the Evolution of Human Sexuality* (New York: Summit Books, 1991). An informative study of primate evolution is Kathy D. Schick and Nicholas Toth, *Making Silent Stones Speak: Human Evolution and the Dawn of Technology* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993).

2. Polygamy has been practiced to some extent in about 80 percent of the 853 cultures on record (Delta Willis, *The Hominid Gang* [New York: Viking, 1989], 259; G. P. Murdock and D. R. White, *Ethnology* 8 [1969]: 329-69).

limited Moslem husbands to a maximum of four wives. Ancient Roman law, which recognized marriage by solemn ceremony, by purchase, and by mutual consent or extended cohabitation, eventually excluded polygamy. The marriage law of most western nations is the product of Roman Catholic canon law, which recognizes marriage as a lifelong monogamous union between a woman and a man by consent and consummation.³ Polygamy was prohibited by the Justinian Code in the sixth century C.E., is generally forbidden in Europe and the Americas, and was strictly against Illinois law when the Mormons secretly introduced the practice in 1841.⁴

POLYGAMY BEFORE JOSEPH SMITH

Mormons were not the first in America to think of plural marriage. In fact, for three centuries before Joseph Smith introduced Mormon "celestial marriage," polygamy was a popular subject of public debate in Europe and America. In 1531 Martin Luther advised England's Henry VIII to "take another queen in accordance with the examples of the patriarchs of old who had two wives at the same time"; eight years later Luther, arguing that polygamy was sanctioned by Mosaic Law and was not banned by the New Testament, gave Prince Philip of Hesse a dispensation to take a second wife.⁵ Since the Protestant Reformation had replaced the authority of the Pope with a "literally inspired" Bible, Old Testament polygamy became a persuasive argument for marital innovation in the sixteenth century.

In 1534 John Bockelson of Leyden, Holland, led the Anabaptists in Münster, Germany, in eleven months of polygamy as they awaited the end of the world. This town of 15,000 had been "purified" of all infidels—Catholics and Lutherans—and was expected to become the New Jerusalem. Revered as prophet of the Lord, Bockelson issued twelve articles revealed to him by God, including sanction for a man to take as many women to wife as he wanted. Bockelson was proclaimed king and took sixteen wives who were considered "queens." Domestic arrangements

3. See James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 52, 128, 225, 256, 299, 304, 478-79, 577, 615; Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage, *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1982), 118-28.

4. Through the Nauvoo period polygamy was a criminal act under the Illinois 1833 antibigamy laws, which remained unchanged during statute revision in 1845. Polygamy, thus defined, was punishable by fines of \$1,000 and two years imprisonment (previously married persons) or \$500 and one-year imprisonment (previously single persons) (*Revised Laws of Illinois 1833* and *Revised Statutes of the State of Illinois 1845*, secs. 121, 122, University of Chicago Law Library).

5. John Cairncross, *After Polygamy was Made a Sin: The Social History of Christian Polygamy* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), 36-51.

were decided by a stick placed at the dinner table in front of the queen who had been chosen to spend the night with the king. All unmarried females who had reached the marriage age of twelve were pressured to take a husband of at least fourteen years of age, but most women strongly supported the prophet⁶:

Some of the women and girls stayed on after he had preached, danced about and cried in a loud voice, Father, Father, Father, give! give! give! then they leapt up, raised their hands to the sky and clapped. Their hair undone, hung round their neck or down their back. They stared at [the] sun and imagined that God the Father was sitting up there in his glory. Then they danced like maenads in pairs through the streets and gazed at the sun till they were exhausted, white and deadly pale.

Anabaptist wives found other wives for their husbands, as Sarah had done for Abraham, and men often married their wives' sisters. The man with the most wives was considered the best Christian.

Theologians justified polygamy by appealing to its practice among Hebrew patriarchs, such as Abraham, Isaac, and David, noting that it was not forbidden in the New Testament nor by church fathers Augustine and Jerome. Social rationale linked the desirability of children to provide a worshipful population and a large labor force, the needs of men, expected displacement of prostitution, and fulfillment of man's natural patriarchal domination of women. Münster theologians also asserted that semen was precious and should not be wasted, as it would be if it did not provide offspring, for example, if a woman was menstruating, pregnant, or infertile. Assuming that "men cannot contain themselves," in order to avoid wasting semen, "hence they can marry several women."⁷

Anabaptist polygamy met with difficulty. Forced cohabitation gave rise to "constant dissension," and there was "fierce resentment" where two or three women shared a husband. Church authorities put "refractory wives" in prison and executed some who protested their husbands' taking other wives. One woman was summoned to a tribunal and sentenced to death after she completed her pregnancy. Another was pardoned when she begged her husband's forgiveness. In 1535 the town was attacked and John of Leyden was interrogated and killed; Münster has remained Catholic ever since.⁸

Writers such as Milton, Boswell, Newton, Rousseau, Spinoza, Napoleon, and the Lutheran scholar John Leyser all advocated polygamy.

6. K. Löffler, *Die Wiedertäufer zu Münster, 1534-35* (Jena, 1923), 75, in Cairncross, 10.

7. Löffler, 107, in Cairncross, 7-8.

8. Cairncross, 2-30.

Schopenhauer, who considered woman to be “Nature’s knockout blow,” endorsed Mormon plural marriage since Nature’s aim was to increase the species.⁹

In 1780 in England, Rev. Martin Madan, the disciple of John Wesley who co-wrote “Hark! The Herald Angels Sing,” advocated the restoration of biblical polygamy, which would “return discipline to the sexual informality of the age, correct a declining population, eliminate abortion, save innumerable women from ruin, and restore men to their rightful, patriarchal role.”¹⁰ During the years following 1817 American utopian Jacob Cochran taught a “spiritual matrimony” to communities in Maine and New Hampshire; it was “sanctioned by a ceremony of his own, within which any man or woman, already married or unmarried, might enter into choosing at pleasure a spiritual wife or spiritual husband.” Cochran reportedly had a “regular harem, consisting of several unmarried females.”¹¹ Starting in the 1830s, John Humphrey Noyes and his Perfectionists practiced another form of group marriage. Settling in Oneida, New York, in 1847, more than 500 men and women shared land, clothes, sex partners, and children. The communal spirit waned when Noyes ruled that he had first claim on the women, and in 1879 the men revolted, accusing Noyes of taking young women against their will. By 1881 the Oneida community was disbanded.

In 1837, when Mormon headquarters was located in Kirtland, Ohio, a Cleveland newspaper fifteen miles away printed a letter which argued for polygamy as a remedy for the “distress” of “so many old maids.” If a man first obtained “the consent of his wife, or wives,” the writer asked, “what evil would arise” from allowing him “as many more wives as he may judge proper?” It would be “more desirable to be the second or even third wife of a generous man, than to remain an old maid, neglected and laughed at . . . and it would eminently lessen prostitution in one sex and ranging in the other.” Furthermore, it would “not be more expensive for a man to have two wives, than to have one wife, and hire a seamstress.”¹²

That year the Mormon church responded to the idea of plural marriage with a resolution denying fellowship to any member guilty of polygamy, and it even disciplined one Solomon Freeman for “living with another

9. Cairncross, 84-93, 112-40, 153.

10. Martin Madan, *Thelyphthora; or, a Treatise on Female Ruin . . .*, 3 vols. (London: J. Dodsley, 1780-81), cited in B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: the Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 2, and Cairncross, 157-64.

11. “The Cochran Fantasy in York County [Maine],” Anonymous, Aug. 3, 1867, in *Maine Historical Quarterly* 20 (Summer 1980): 30.

12. Letter signed “Enquirer” to the *Cleveland Liberalist* 1 (Feb. 4, 1837): 164, Oberlin College Library.

woman.”¹³ Latter-day Saints publicly denied rumors of polygamy until 1852, a decade after the first plural marriages were officially recorded in Nauvoo, Illinois.

IMPORTANCE OF NAUVOO POLYGAMY

Utah polygamy has received considerable attention, but any definitive study of Mormon plural marriage must begin with its Nauvoo roots. This essay explores the extent and character of Nauvoo polygamy, from the first documented plural marriage on April 5, 1841, to the ceremonies concluded in 1846, the year of westward migration.¹⁴

Although Joseph Smith met his death at the hands of outsiders, it was internal dissent, precipitated by polygamy, which brought him to the Carthage jail in June 1844. Rumors about Smith’s extramarital relationships with women had circulated for a decade before his 1841 plural marriage and the revelation sanctioning polygamy, recorded in 1843. The story repeated most often involved Fanny Alger, a young woman whom Smith employed in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1835 to help his wife Emma with housework. Several Mormon leaders claim that Fanny Alger was Smith’s first plural wife.¹⁵ Some suggest that Smith advocated polygamy as early as

13. Resolution in *LDS Messenger and Advocate*, May 1837, 511; action against Freeman in “Elders Quorum Record,” Nov. 23, 1837, archives, The Auditorium, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS), Independence, Missouri, in Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith*, 2d. ed., (New York: Knopf, 1971), 185.

14. The data on plural marriages cited throughout this essay were derived from various sources: official sealing (marriage) and temple endowment lists (the first men to receive their temple endowments were more likely to have plural families); the list of Mormon pioneers leaving Nauvoo; William Clayton’s so-called “temple journals”; census data; family history group sheets; and a variety of letters, diaries, early newspapers, and oral histories. Research was conducted in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, the Marriott Library at the University of Utah, the Utah State Historical Society, Brigham Young University’s Harold B. Lee Library, and archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Specifically, among the scholarly research that facilitated this study were Susan Ward Easton Black, *Membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1848*, vols. 1-50, (Provo, UT: Research Study Center, Brigham Young University, 1984-88); Davis Bitton, *Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1977); Dale Morgan, *The Bancroft Research Guide*; Brodie, Appendix C; Andrew Jenson, “Plural Marriage,” *The Historical Record* 6 (May 1887): 219-40, hereafter, *HR*; and especially D. Michael Quinn, personal correspondence, Dec. 6, 1991. Further research will undoubtedly generate more accurate data for a few families, but these small differences will not change the following overall demographic portrait of the number and scope of plural marriages in Nauvoo.

15. According to Mormon apostle William McLellin, Emma witnessed her husband and Fanny in a “transaction” identified as the “first well authenticated case of polygamy”

1831, when he presented a revelation directing several married elders to take native American women as wives “that their posterity may become white, delightsome and just.”¹⁶ Nevertheless, evidence from Smith and his secretary, William Clayton, suggests that the prophet claimed to receive a separate injunction to practice polygamy in 1843.¹⁷ Although Mormon plural marriage was intended to remain a closely guarded secret, word that Joseph Smith and possibly other Mormons were practicing polygamy began to spread across towns and villages of western Illinois in the early 1840s.

(McLellin to Joseph Smith III, July 8, 1872, RLDS archives; *Salt Lake Tribune*, Oct. 6, 1875; Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* [Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986], 5-12). The prophet’s scribe, Warren Parrish, said that “he himself and Oliver Cowdery did know that Joseph had Fannie Alger as wife, for they were spied upon together.” After Book of Mormon scribe Oliver Cowdery wrote a letter characterizing Joseph’s relations with Fanny as a “dirty, nasty, filthy affair,” he was excommunicated on charges that included “seeking to destroy the character of President Joseph Smith jr by falsly insinuating that he was guilty of adultery &c.” Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Far West Record: Minutes of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1844* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 162-63 (Apr. 12, 1844); Joseph Smith et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed., B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1963), 3:16, hereafter HC. In 1899 Alger was married by proxy to the deceased prophet, and assistant church historian Andrew Jenson described her as “one of the first plural wives sealed to the Prophet” (HC, 223; Thomas M. Tinney, *The Royal Family of the Prophet Joseph Smith, Jr.* [Salt Lake City: Green Family Organization, 1973], 41); Heber C. Kimball also referred to Fanny Alger as Smith’s first plural wife (recounted by church patriarch Benjamin F. Johnson in a letter to George F. Gibbs, 1903, 10, LDS archives).

16. The Book of Mormon prophecies, “the scales of darkness shall begin to fall from their eyes; and many generations shall not pass away among them, save they shall be a white [pure] and delightsome people” (2 Ne. 30:6). A July 17, 1831, revelation (uncanonized) on plural marriage was asserted in W. W. Phelps’s August 12, 1861, letter to Brigham Young. LDS church president Joseph F. Smith also concluded that the principle of plural marriage must have been revealed to Joseph Smith in 1831 (*Deseret News*, May 20, 1886). In the December 8, 1831, *Ohio Star*, Ezra Booth wrote of a Mormon revelation to form a “matrimonial alliance with the natives” (Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1981], 299n28).

17. Joseph Smith’s own journal contains a contemporary account of a July 12, 1843, plural marriage revelation: “Received a Revelation in the office in presence of Hyrum and W[illia]m Clayton” (Scott H. Faulring, ed. *An American Prophet’s Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* [Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1987], 396). The entry for that date in the official church history confirms 1843 in the first person: “I received the following revelation in the presence of my brother Hyrum and Elder William Clayton,” and entitles the text, “Revelation on the Eternity of the Marriage Covenant, including the Plurality of Wives; Given through Joseph, the Seer, in Nauvoo, Hancock County, Illinois, July 12th, 1843” (HC 5:500-501). Clayton also confirms that the revelation occurred in 1843: “I testify again that the revelation on polygamy was given through the prophet Joseph Smith on the 12th of July 1843” (Clayton to Madison M. Scott, Nov. 11, 1871, LDS archives).

The secret became a scandal in May 1844 when William Law, a counselor to Joseph Smith who equated polygamy in the restored church with concubinage, filed suit against Smith in the circuit court of Hancock County, Illinois. Law charged that Smith was living “in an open state of adultery” with Maria Lawrence, a teenaged orphan who was living in the Smith household. In fact, Smith had secretly married both Maria and her sister Sarah by the fall of 1843 and was serving as executor of their \$8,000 estate. Law apparently hoped that disclosing Smith’s relationship with the young girls might lead him to abandon polygamy, but Smith immediately excommunicated Law, had himself appointed the girls’ legal guardian, and rejected the charge in front of a church congregation, denying that he had more than one wife:

Another indictment has been got up against me. . . I had not been married scarcely five minutes, and made one proclamation of the Gospel, before it was reported that I had seven wives . . . This new holy prophet [William Law] has gone to Carthage [county courthouse] and swore that I had told him that I was guilty of adultery . . . What a thing it is for a man to be accused of committing adultery, and having seven wives, when I can only find one.¹⁸

The following month Law and other Mormon dissidents published the inaugural issue of the *Nauvoo Expositor* to reveal Smith’s “mormon seraglio, or Nauvoo harem; and his unparalleled and unheard of attempts at seduction.”¹⁹ Declaring the *Expositor* a public nuisance, the Nauvoo City Council, led by Mayor Joseph Smith, ordered all copies of the paper to be burned and its printing press destroyed. These actions created an uproar throughout the state, where Smith’s growing political power—as well as his alleged immorality—were both feared and resented. When Governor Thomas Ford ordered Smith arrested, Joseph and his brother Hyrum were jailed at Carthage. On June 27, a large mob overpowered the guards and shot the brothers to death.

INCEPTION OF PLURAL MARRIAGE

How did the Mormon community in Nauvoo arrive at this state of affairs? On July 12, 1843, Joseph Smith dictated a ten-page revelation to his private clerk, William Clayton, which indicated that he meant to “restore” the ceremonies and cultural patterns of ancient Israel. The revelation on

18. HC 6:403, 405, 410-11; Van Wagoner, 64; Lyndon Cook, “William Law, Nauvoo Dissenter,” *Brigham Young University Studies* (Winter 1982): 47-72.

19. Frances Higbee to Mr. Gregg, May 1844, Nauvoo, Chicago Historical Society.

plural marriage, or “celestial marriage” as it was called, claimed to restore the practice of “Moses, Abraham, David and Solomon having many wives and concubines . . . a new and everlasting covenant” in which “if any man espouse a virgin . . . [or] ten virgins . . . he cannot commit adultery, for they belong to him” (D&C 132:4, 61, 62).

A few months earlier, Clayton recalled, Smith “also informed me that he had other wives living besides his first wife Emma, and in particular gave me to understand that Eliza R. Snow, Louisa Be[a]man, Desdemona W. Fullmer and others were his lawful wives in the sight of heaven.”²⁰ In fact, by the time of the 1843 revelation Smith had married at least twelve women besides his legal wife Emma, and a dozen of his most trusted followers had also taken plural wives.

About forty years later, assistant church historian Andrew Jenson collected statements from Smith’s former wives, who willingly confirmed that they had “consented to become the Prophet’s wife” and that he “associated with them as wives within the meaning of all that word implies.”²¹ On behalf of Jenson, and working with plural wife Eliza R. Snow, journalist Emmeline B. Wells wrote in 1886 to ask Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner,

to prepare a careful sketch of your life for publication in the Historical Record along with others of the wives of Joseph Smith, the prophet. Begin with your name and birthplace also date, the names of your parents and their origin whether American born etc. and from the North or the South then your conversion to the true Gospel etc. But positively your marriage ceremony to Joseph on what day and by whom performed, and who were the witnesses if any. This is the principal point such other matter in brief as may seem to you suitable. Perhaps you had better direct it to me, though it will all be submitted to someone in authority before being published.

Aunt Eliza asked me to write you and ask you to prepare this and sent her love to you. Helen who sends love, she has the same to do, also Lucy Walker Kimball. Do you know the particulars about Sister Marinda Hyde’s being sealed to Joseph & on what day or in what year, or who officiated in the ceremony?²²

Jenson published these statements in 1887, primarily in an attempt to convince Smith’s family, who remained in the Midwest after his death, that their progenitor had in fact practiced polygamy.²³

20. “William Clayton’s Testimony,” Feb. 16, 1874, Jenson, 224-26.

21. Lucy Walker affidavit in *HR*, 230.

22. Emmeline B. Wells to Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, Salt Lake City, Mar. 12, 1889, LDS archives.

23. Jenson listed Fannie Alger, Louisa Beaman, Lucinda Harris, Zina Huntington,

Just when Mormon polygamy began is conjectural, but it had clearly commenced by April 5, 1841, with Smith's first officially acknowledged plural marriage. In a ceremony beside the Mississippi River, he married twenty-six-year-old Louisa Beaman disguised in a man's hat and coat. The ceremony was performed by her brother-in-law, using words dictated by the prophet.²⁴ At that time Smith was thirty-five and had been married fourteen years to thirty-six-year-old Emma Hale Smith. They had five living children.

During the two-and-one-half years from his first official plural marriage in April 1841 to his last known marriage in November 1843, Smith took as many as forty-two wives, one or two at a time.²⁵ On average, this pace produced 1.5 new wives each month. By the end of 1843, Emma Smith's biographers observed, most close friends of Smith's legal wife had either married her husband or had given their daughters to him.²⁶ Reportedly, some of the younger women were discreetly instructed in polygamy by older women who had been inducted previously into the secret order.²⁷

Smith courted these plural wives with an offer of eternal marriage too wonderful to refuse. According to the doctrine of celestial marriage, a woman who was "sealed" (married) to a man in a special religious ceremony was united to him and their children, not only for "time"—until death—but for eternity where they eventually could become gods. Implicit in the revelation was the requirement that a man and woman must accept the "principle" of taking plural wives—known as the law of Abraham—in order to gain the highest afterlife, the celestial kingdom. Just as Abraham, David, Solomon and other Old Testament patriarchs took "many wives and concubines," the patriarchs and elders of the restored church could attain "crowns of eternal lives in the eternal worlds" and have descendants as "innumerable as the stars." A woman's salvation thus depended on entering into a polygamous relationship with a man of high status in the church, because such men were thought to have made the greatest progress towards godhood on earth.

Prescinda Huntington, Eliza Roxcy Snow, Sarah Ann Whitney, Desdemona Fullmer, Helen Mar Whitney, Eliza Partridge, Emily Partridge, and Lucy Walker as Smith's plural marriages prior to the 1843 revelation (*HR*, 233-34).

24. Joseph B. Noble performed the marriage. See Linda K. Newell and Valeen T. Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* (New York: Doubleday, 1984), 95-96. Noble married his first plural wife exactly two years later, on April 5, 1843.

25. Andrew Jenson identified twenty-seven of Smith's wives (*HR*, 233-34), Fawn Brodie identified forty-nine (Brodie, 335-36, 457-88).

26. Newell and Avery, 147.

27. Elizabeth Durfee had the "duty to instruct the younger women in the mysteries of polygamy" (Joseph H. Jackson, *A Narrative of the Adventures and Experiences of Joseph H. Jackson* [Warsaw, IL, 1844], 14, in Brodie, 305).

A charismatic, handsome man, Joseph Smith apparently had little trouble persuading young women that he was their way to eternal realms of glory. Sixteen-year-old Lucy Walker, for example, had been adopted by the Smiths and worked as a maid in the Smith home. The prophet told Walker that God had commanded him to take her as a wife. She was angry and insulted, but she feared Smith's warning that if she rejected the "principle" of plural marriage, "the gate will be closed forever against you." On May 1, 1843, while Emma was shopping for supplies in St. Louis, Lucy married Joseph Smith.²⁸

For young women living in the Smith home, the prophet's advances were hard to resist. After the death of their father, Emily and Eliza Partridge came to live with Joseph and Emma Smith to care for their son, Don Carlos. Each of the sisters married the prophet, at first without Emma's knowledge, and later in another ceremony to which Emma consented. Emily wrote in her diary, "From that very hour Emma was our bitter enemy."²⁹

MARRIAGE TO SPOUSES OF LIVING HUSBANDS

Beginning in 1841, Joseph Smith took as plural wives several married women, as if exercising a variant of the feudal *droit du seigneur*: a king's right to the brides in his domain. This option was presented to the married woman as a favor to her. A woman who wanted higher status in the celestial kingdom could choose to leave a husband with lower status in the church, even if she had been sealed to him, and become sealed to a man higher in authority.

On October 27, 1841, Smith was married for eternity to Zina D. Huntington, Henry B. Jacobs's wife; Jacobs, a devout church member, consented to this "celestial marriage" even though Zina was six months pregnant with Jacobs's child. On December 11, 1841, the prophet married Zina's sister, Prescindia Huntington, who had been married to Norman Buell for fourteen years and remained married to Buell until 1846.³⁰ Prescindia then left Buell and married Heber C. Kimball "for time," that is, until the end of her life. In the afterlife, "for eternity," she would revert to Joseph Smith.

Smith married Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner in February 1842, when she was already married and eight months pregnant. "As for Sister [Elizabeth] Whitney," she wrote, "it was at her house that the Prophet Joseph first told me about his great vision concerning me." Mary was "sealed to

28. George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1991), 100; Newell and Avery, 139.

29. Autobiography of Emily Partridge, cited in *HR* 6:240; Newell and Avery, 138-39.

30. Van Wagoner, 41-43.

Joseph Smith the Prophet by Brigham Young in a room over the old red brick store in Nauvoo."³¹ Apparently, Smith had planned to marry her long before her marriage to Adam Lightner; Mary was just thirteen years old when she first met the prophet in 1831 in Kirtland, Ohio. As she recalled, "the Savior appeared and commanded him to seal me up to everlasting life, gave me to Joseph to be with him in his kingdom . . . Joseph said I was his before I came here and he said all the Devils in Hell should never get me from him."³² After her celestial marriage to Joseph, Mary lived with Adam Lightner until his death in Utah and had eight children by him. In April 1842, two months after the Lightner ceremony, Nancy Marinda Johnson married Joseph Smith while her husband, Orson Hyde, was on a mission to Jerusalem. After Hyde returned, his wife went back to live with him.³³

The question of how many children came from Smith's plural marriages has never been answered decisively. Josephine L. Fisher wrote that her mother, Sylvia Sessions, told her "that [Josephine] was the daughter of the Prophet Joseph Smith."³⁴ Prescinda Huntington Buell once said that "she did not know whether Mr. Buel or the Prophet was the father of her son [Oliver]."³⁵ Researchers have tentatively identified eight children that Joseph Smith may have had by his plural wives.³⁶ Emily Partridge observed: "Spiritual wives, as we were then termed, were not very numerous in those days and a spiritual baby was a rarity indeed."³⁷

31. Mary E. Rollins Lightner to Emmeline B. Wells, summer 1905, LDS archives.

32. Autobiography of Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, quoted in Brodie, 443-444; statement in LDS archives.

33. Brodie, 119; Faulring, 396.

34. Josephine L. Fisher to Andrew Jenson, Feb. 24, 1915. On October 12, 1905, Angus M. Cannon confirmed this account to Joseph Smith III, the prophet's son: "It was said by the girl's grandmother that your father has a daughter born of a plural wife. The girl's grandmother was Mother Sessions, who lived in Nauvoo." He added that Aunt Patty Sessions "asserts that the girl was born within the time after your father was said to have taken the mother." Cited in Van Wagoner, 48n3.

35. Mary Ettie V. Smith, *Fifteen Years Among the Mormons*, 2d. ed. (New York, 1859), 34; see Brodie, 301-302, 437-39, and photograph of Oliver Buell showing his likeness to Joseph Smith, 306ff.

36. Besides Josephine Fisher (b. Feb. 8, 1844) and Oliver Buell, named as possible children of Joseph Smith by his plural wives are John R. Hancock (b. Apr. 19, 1841), George A. Lightner (b. Mar. 12, 1842), Orson W. Hyde (b. Nov. 9, 1843), Frank H. Hyde (b. Jan 23, 1845), Moroni Pratt (b. Dec. 7, 1844), and Zebulon Jacobs (b. Jan 2, 1842). See Brodie, 345; Van Wagoner, 44, 48-49n3.

37. Emily D. P. Young, "Autobiographical Sketch," quoted in Van Wagoner, 230. After Smith died, Emily became the wife of Brigham Young and by him bore a son whom she later carried across the Mississippi on her way to Winter Quarters. She later wrote: "While in Nauvoo I had kept my child secreted and but few knew I had one. But after I started on my journey it became publicly known and some have told me, years after that

AN INVITATION FROM THE PROPHET TO MARRY PLURAL WIVES

Although he insisted that the practice of polygamy remain secret, Joseph Smith introduced his teaching about plural wives to thirty families of his close followers among the 15,000 Mormons living in and around Nauvoo.³⁸ When he denied from the pulpit having plural wives, at least 100 other polygamous adults sitting in the congregation knew about the secret doctrine.

How did Smith convert his followers to the practice of plural marriage? One of the clearest records of how Smith persuaded married men to take additional wives comes from the pen of William Clayton. An ardent believer in Smith and in the heavenly mandate for polygamy, Clayton had been baptized in Victorian England in 1837 during the first foreign Mormon mission; he himself served on a mission to Manchester and migrated to Nauvoo in 1840. He seems to have been unaware of the earliest secret marriages—those dating from 1841 escaped mention in the meticulous diary he began in 1840.

By the time Clayton first mentions plural marriage in early 1843, he had been married to his legal wife Ruth for six years and had three children. Smith called at his home and invited Clayton for a walk, during which he said he had learned of a sister back in England to whom Clayton was “very much attached.” Clayton acknowledged the friendship, but “nothing further than an attachment such as a brother and sister in the Church might rightfully entertain for each other.” The prophet then suggested, “Why don’t you send for her?” Clayton replied, “In the first place, I have no authority to send for her, and if I had, I have not the means to pay expenses.” Smith answered, “I give you authority to send for her, and I will furnish you with means,” which, according to Clayton, he did. Noting that this day in early 1843 was the first time the prophet had talked with him “on the subject of plural marriage,” Clayton recalled the prophet’s further sanction: “It is your privilege to have all the wives you want.”³⁹

Following Smith’s admonition, Clayton fully embraced plural mar-

he was the handsomest child they ever saw. One woman told me she thought he was the smartest spiritual child she had ever seen. I said dont you think they are as smart as other children. She said no she did not think they were. There was a good deal of that spirit at that time and sometimes it was very oppressive” (“Incidents of the Early Life of Emily Dow Partridge,” typescript, Western Americana, Marriott Library).

38. *HR*, 6:219-40; Van Wagoner, 61, 77, 79, 85; Foster, 139-80. George A. Smith estimated that prior to Joseph Smith’s July 12, 1843, revelation on plural marriage only “one or two hundred persons” in Nauvoo knew that LDS leaders privately taught and practiced polygamy (*Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols., [London: Latter-day Saint’s Book Depot, 1854-86], 14:213), hereafter, *JD*.

39. “William Clayton’s Testimony,” *HR*, 224-26.

riage. Later in Utah he wrote: "I support a family of near forty persons on a salary of \$3,600 per annum and we live well, are well clothed and very comfortably situated . . . I have six wives whom I support in comfort and happiness and am not afraid of another one. I have three children born to me during the year, and I don't fear a dozen more."⁴⁰ Clayton eventually married a total of ten women who bore him forty-seven children.

There were other polygamous husbands in Nauvoo besides the prophet and his private clerk. Smith urged that plural marriage was essential for the church, warning that "the church could not go on until that principal [sic] was established."⁴¹ Between April 5, 1841, and January 17, 1842, he took his first four officially recorded plural wives: Louisa Beaman, Zina D. Huntington, Prescindia L. Huntington, and Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner. Theodore Turley, Brigham Young, Jonathan Holmes, Reynolds Cahoon, and Heber C. Kimball each took one plural wife in 1842. Smith married fourteen more women that year, making a total of twenty-three plural wives he and his associates married by the end of 1842. On January 18, 1843, Willard Richards took the twenty-fourth plural wife. Other new polygamous husbands in 1843 included Thomas Bullock, William D. Huntington, Lorenzo Dow Young, Orson Pratt, Joseph Bates Noble, William Clayton, Orson Hyde, James Bird, Parley P. Pratt, James Adams, William Felshaw, Amasa Lyman, Hyrum Smith, Benjamin Mitchell, John Bair, Henry Lyman Cook, Ebenezer Richardson, John Taylor, and Edwin D. Woolley. In addition, Joseph Smith contributed fifteen more women to the total of forty-two new plural wives in 1843. In 1844, up to June 27 when the prophet was killed, Erastus Snow, John D. Lee, Ezra T. Benson, and Dominicus Carter became polygamists, and nineteen more plural wives in that half-year made a grand total of eighty-four plural marriages in the Nauvoo community while Smith was still alive.

SEQUENCE OF NAUVOO PLURAL MARRIAGES
APRIL 5, 1841 - JUNE 2, 1844

<i>Husband</i>	<i>Wife</i>	<i>Date of Marriage</i>
1. Joseph Smith	Louisa Beaman	Apr 5, 1841
2. Joseph Smith	Zina Diantha Huntington (Jacobs)	Oct 27, 1841
3. Joseph Smith	Prescendia L. Huntington (Buell)	Dec 11, 1841
4. Joseph Smith	Mary Elizabeth Rollins (Lightner)	Jan 17, 1842
5. Theodore Turley	Mary Clift	Jan 1842

40. Clayton letterbooks, Nov. 7, 1869, Marriott Library.

41. Joseph Smith to John Taylor in Nauvoo, between Mar. 1842 and Feb. 1846, Mary Isabella Hales Horne, *Autobiography*, 10-11, Utah State Historical Society, hereafter USHS.

6. Joseph Smith	Patty Bartlett (Sessions)	Mar 9, 1842
7. Joseph Smith	Nancy Marinda Johnson (Hyde)	Apr 1842
8. Joseph Smith	Delcena Johnson (Sherman)	Early 1842
9. Brigham Young	Lucy Ann Decker	Jun 14, 1842
10. Joseph Smith	Eliza Roxcy Snow	Jun 29, 1842
11. Joseph Smith	Sarah Ann Whitney	Jul 27, 1842
12. Joseph Smith	Martha McBride (Knight)	Aug [3] 1842
13. Joseph Smith	Sarah Bapson	1842
14. Joseph Smith	Agnes M. Coolbrith (Smith)	1842
15. Joseph Smith	Elizabeth Davis (Brackenbury Durfee)	1842
16. Joseph Smith	Sally A. Fuller	1842
17. Joseph Smith	Desdemona W. Fullmer	1842
18. Joseph Smith	Sarah M. Kingsley (Howe Cleveland)	1842
19. Joseph Smith	Lucinda P. (Morgan Harris)	1842
20. Joseph Smith	Elvira Annie Cowles (Holmes)	Dec 1, 1842
21. Jonathan Holmes	Elvira Annie Cowles	Dec 1, 1842
22. Reynolds Cahoon	Lucina Roberts	1842
23. Heber C. Kimball	Sarah Peak (Noon)	1842
24. Willard Richards	Sarah Longstroth	Jan 18, 1843
25. Thomas Bullock	Lucy C. Clayton	Jan 23, 1843
26. Wm D. Huntington	Harriet Clark	Feb 5, 1843
27. Joseph Smith	Ruth D. Vose (Sayers)	Feb 1843
28. Joseph Smith	Eliza Maria Partridge	Mar 8, 1843
29. Lorenzo Dow Young	Harriet Page Wheeler	Mar 9, 1843
30. Orson Pratt	Charlotte Bishop	Mar 10, 1843
31. Joseph Smith	Almera Woodard Johnson	Apr [3] 1843
32. Joseph Bates Noble	Sarah B. Alley	Apr 5, 1843
33. William Clayton	Margaret Moon	Apr 27, 1843
34. Orson Hyde	Mary Ann Price	April 1843
35. Joseph Smith	Lucy Walker	May 1, 1843
36. James Bird	Sophia A. Fuller	May 5, 1843
37. Joseph Smith	Emily Dow Partridge	May 11, 1843
38. Joseph Smith	Sarah Lawrence	May 11, 1843
39. Joseph Smith	Maria Lawrence	Spring 1843
40. Joseph Smith	Helen Mar Kimball	May 1843
41. Joseph Smith	Rhoda Richards	Jun 12, 1843
42. Parley P. Pratt	Elizabeth Brotherton	Jun 24, 1843
43. Joseph Bates Noble	Mary Ann Washburn	Jun 28, 1843
44. Joseph Smith	Flora Ann Woodworth	Spring 1843
45. James Adams	Roxena Repshire	Jul 11, 1843
46. Orson Hyde	Martha Rebecca Browett	Jul 20, 1843
47. William Felshaw	Charlotte Walters	Jul 28, 1843
48. Amasa M. Lyman	Diontha Walker	July 1843
49. Hyrum Smith	Mercy R. Fielding (Thompson)	Aug 11, 1843
50. Joseph Smith	Melissa Lott	Sep 20, 1843
51. Joseph Smith	Olive Grey Frost	Summer 1843
52. Joseph Smith	Hannah Ells	Summer 1843

53. Joseph Smith	Mary Ann Frost (Pratt)	Summer 1843
54. Benjamin Mitchell	Lovina Buckwater	Oct 10, 1843
55. John Bair	Lucinda T. Owen	Oct 19, 1843
56. Brigham Young	Augusta Adams	Nov 2, 1843
57. Brigham Young	Harriet Cook	Nov 2, 1843
58. Joseph Smith	Fanny Young (Murray)	Nov 2, 1843
59. Henry L. Cook	Lovina Thaves	Nov 5, 1843
60. Ebenezer Richardson	Polly Ann Child	Nov 1843
61. John Taylor	Elizabeth Kaighan	Dec 12, 1843
62. Edwin D. Woolley	Louisa Gordon	1843
63. Edwin D. Woolley	Ellen Wilding	Dec 28, 1843
64. Hyrum Smith	Catherine Phillips	1843
65. Hyrum Smith	Lydia D. Granger	1843
66. John Taylor	Jane Ballantyne	Feb 25, 1844
67. Theodore Turley	Eliza Clift	Mar 6, 1844
68. Erastus Snow	Minerva White	Apr 2, 1844
69. John D. Lee	Rachel A. Woolsey	Apr 19, 1844
70. John D. Lee	Louisa Free	Apr 19, 1844
71. John D. Lee	Abigail Schaeffer (Woolsey)	Apr 19, 1844
72. Theodore Turley	Sarah Ellen Clift	Apr 26, 1844
73. Ezra T. Benson	Adeline B. Andrus	Apr 27, 1844
74. Brigham Young	Clarissa Decker	May 8, 1844
75. Dominicus Carter	Mary Durfee	Jun 2, 1844
76. Joseph Smith	Sylvia Porter Sessions (Lyon)	by 1844
77. Joseph Smith	Mary Houston	by 1844
78. Joseph Smith	Nancy Maria Winchester	by 1844
79. Joseph Smith	Sarah Scott	by 1844
80. Joseph Smith	Olive Andrews	by 1844
81. Joseph Smith	Jane Tippetts	by 1844
82. Joseph Smith	Sophia Sanburn	by 1844
83. Joseph Smith	Phoebe Watrous (Woodworth)	by 1844
84. Joseph Smith	Vienna Jacques	by 1844

The thirty polygamous husbands from 1841 up to Joseph Smith's death on June 27, 1844, had married a total of 114 legal and plural wives, who had borne 131 children. These men averaged thirty-six years of age (range: 24-60) and had been married an average of ten years (1-32 years) before marrying a second wife of a mean twenty-five years of age (14-39 years). At that time, their legal wives averaged thirty-two years of age (22-56 years), four years younger than their husbands and seven years older than the first plural wife at the time of her marriage. At the time of these first polygamous marriages, the nuclear family included an average of four pre-polygamous children (0-9). During the Nauvoo years these families would grow to include an average of eight wives (2-43) and six children (1-17). In the post-Nauvoo years these original thirty families would even-

tually accumulate an average of twelve wives (2-55) and twenty-seven children each (0-65). Without Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and Heber C. Kimball—the three most-married men—these families averaged four wives and six children during the Nauvoo years, and ultimately eight wives and twenty-five children each.

The thirty early Nauvoo polygamists are listed below as of the dates they first took plural wives.

NAUVOO POLYGAMISTS, 1841-44 (6/27)

	<i>Entered Polygamy</i>	<i>Prior Years Pre-Polygamy Married</i>	<i>Children</i>	<i>Eventual Children</i>	<i>Wives</i>
1. Joseph Smith	Apr 5, 1841	14	5	5est.	43
2. Theodore Turley	Jan 1842	20	9	22	5
3. Brigham Young	Jun 14, 1842	8	4	50	55
4. Jonathan Holmes	Dec 1, 1842	5	2	7	3
5. Reynolds Cahoon	1842	32	7	10	3
6. Heber C. Kimball	1842	20	6	65	45
7. Willard Richards	Jan 18, 1843	4	1	26	14
8. Thomas Bullock	Jan 23, 1843	4	3	23	3
9. William D. Huntington	Feb 5, 1843	3	0	7	3
10. Lorenzo Dow Young	Mar 9, 1843	16	7	26	8
11. Orson Pratt	Mar 10, 1843	6	3	45	10
12. Joseph Bates Noble	Apr 5, 1843	8	5	31	11
13. William Clayton	Apr 27, 1843	6	3	47	10
14. Orson Hyde	April 1843	8	3	26	7
15. James Bird	May 5, 1843	11	5	7	3
16. Parley P. Pratt	Jun 24, 1843	6	3	32	11
17. James Adams	Jul 11, 1843	NA	0	0	2
18. William Felshaw	Jul 28, 1843	16	9	17	3
19. Amasa M. Lyman	Jul 1843	8	2	37	9
20. Hyrum Smith	Aug 11, 1843	5	2	2	4
21. Benjamin Mitchell	Oct 10, 1843	NA	0	17	6
22. John Bair	Oct 19, 1843	14	7	32	6
23. Henry L. Cook	Nov 5, 1843	1	0	4	3
24. Ebenezer Richardson	Nov 1843	10	4	35	4
25. John Taylor	Dec 12, 1843	10	4	35	16
26. Edwin D. Woolley	1843	12	5	26	6
27. Erastus Snow	Apr 2, 1844	5	3	37	16
28. John D. Lee	Apr 19, 1844	10	6	52	19
29. Ezra T. Benson	Apr 27, 1844	12	5	34	8
30. Dominicus Carter	Jun 2, 1844	5	1	40	8
Average		10	4	27	12

This brotherhood of Mormon polygamists was expanding at a rate that alarmed William Law, who had once been dedicated to Smith's ideals and remained a believer in Mormonism. Law had always been a sympathetic listener to Emma Smith's complaints about the practice. When he learned that secret plural marriages were being performed among Joseph Smith's inner circle of followers, Law tried to persuade Smith to stop. In a desperate attempt to convince the prophet, he reportedly threw his arms about Smith's neck and begged him to abandon his polygamous relationships.⁴² Smith responded by telling Law that God had commanded him to teach the doctrine of celestial marriage. God, he said, would condemn him if he did not obey.

We know what happened next. On June 7, 1844, the reformers published 1,000 copies of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, which claimed to be "rich with facts, such expositions, as make the guilty tremble and rage."⁴³ The newspaper asserted that Smith had "introduced false and damnable doctrines into the church" such as "the plurality of wives," which "are taught secretly, and denied openly" and amount to "abominations and whoredoms." It detailed how "many females in foreign climes" were attracted by promised "blessings" from Smith regarding "the will of the Lord concerning them," only to "meet brother Joseph, or some of the Twelve, at some insulated point . . . on the bank of the Mississippi" where they were requested to "never indulge what is [then] revealed to them, with a penalty of death attached . . . that she should be his (Joseph's) Spiritual wife."⁴⁴

The *Expositor* was intended to be a weekly reformist newspaper, but the first issue was its last. Following Smith's lead, according to William Clayton's journal, June 10, 1844, "The City Council passed a resolution declaring the Printing press on the hill 'a nuisance' and ordered it destroyed if not moved in 3 hours notice. About sundown the police gathered at the Temple and after organizing proceeded to the office and demolished the press and scattered the Type." So were events set into motion which resulted in charges of riot and treason, Smith's arrest by the governor of Illinois, and the prophet's death two weeks later.

In a letter to Smith's brother-in-law, William Law described Smith's

42. "William Law," 66. Law was aware of the "doctrine . . . of Plurality and Community of wives" at least by January 1, 1844 (William Law Diary, 1844, copy in private possession).

43. William Law Diary, June 7, 1844.

44. The *Nauvoo Expositor* is available at some libraries, such as the New York Public Library, and at LDS archives. Similar penalty oaths were sworn to participants in Mormon temple ceremonies (see Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *Evolution of the Mormon Temple Ceremony: 1842-1990* [Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1990], 16-22).

death as an event in which “the wicked slay the wicked,” and “the hand of a blasphemed God . . . has taken sudden judgment.”⁴⁵ Law recorded in his diary that the deaths of Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum represented “the judgment of an offended god” [that Joseph Smith] “set the laws of god and men at defiance. He was naturally base, brutal and corrupt and cruel. He was one of the false prophets spoken of by Christ who would come in sheep’s clothing but inwardly be a reveling wolf . . . but god stopped him in his career and gave him to his destroyers.”⁴⁶

With such opposition to polygamy in the church itself, how could the Nauvoo community fail to connect the death of their leader with his secret marriages? Half of the 1,000 printed copies of the *Expositor*, expressing the complaints reformist Mormons shared about polygamy, had been mailed prior to the press’s destruction. Yet church members believed the denials from their leaders, that charges of polygamy were untrue. All Mormons loyal to Smith then—and many devout Mormons today—believe that Smith died a martyr, murdered because of hostility from godless outsiders, the “mob.” Brigham Young avoided mention of polygamy when he concluded, “They killed Joseph, and what for? For the Gospels’ sake. It was for no evil for I was well acquainted with him. He testified to the truth and sealed his fate with his blood.”⁴⁷

The account of Smith’s assassination in the official *History of the Church* mentions his indictment on charges of polygamy but says nothing of Smith’s having plural wives. Thomas Ford, Illinois governor in 1844, did list Smith’s marital practices as one of the issues causing internal dissent but did not mention other Nauvoo polygamists.⁴⁸ Although some scholarly writing has linked polygamy in Nauvoo to Smith’s death, studies of polygamy typically overlook Nauvoo and begin counting plural husbands and wives in 1852 when the practice was announced in Utah.⁴⁹ The

45. William Law to Isaac Hale, Nauvoo, Illinois, July 20, 1844, LDS archives.

46. William Law Diary, June 27, 1844. The memory of Law’s estrangement to Smith is preserved today in the restoration of historic Nauvoo where the foundations of Law’s unrestored house remain visible in the grass across the street from Smith’s “Red Brick Store,” in which some of the plural marriage ceremonies took place.

47. *JD* (May 6, 1877), 18:361.

48. Thomas Ford, *History of Illinois*, 2 vols. (Chicago: S. C. Griggs, 1854), 2:166-76. Ford listed the following causes of antagonism toward the Mormons: Mormon violations of freedom of the press, their religious views, polygamy, their military strength, rumors of their intent to destroy the *Warsaw Sentinel*, Mormon alliance with Indians, Joseph Smith being crowned “king,” revival of Danite vigilante bands, Mormon assertions that God had consecrated all their neighbors’ property to the Saints, and their bloc voting (Mormon approval required for election).

49. Several studies rely on Danel Bachman’s “Not Lawful to Utter—An Examination of Historical Evidence for the Mormon Practice of Polygamy Before June 27, 1844,” Aug. 1971, privately circulated. Bachman refers to Fawn Brodie’s landmark research of diaries,

recently published semi-official *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* tells different parts of the story in different sections but does not in any one place draw together Smith, his wives, the spread of the practice to other men during his lifetime, and the internal dissent over the practice which led to his death.⁵⁰

letters, and affidavits which demonstrate the extent of Smith's plural marriages in Appendix C of *No Man Knows My History*. Each of these studies in turn rely on Jenson's "Plural Marriage."

Lawrence Foster's *Religion and Sexuality* is rich in anecdotal description of Smith's polygamy but only mentions that "most Mormon leaders had taken at most two to three additional wives," citing D. Michael Quinn's Yale University Ph.D. dissertation, "The Mormon Hierarchy, 1832-1932: An American Elite," 1976. James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), mention polygamy in the 1830s, Smith's first recorded plural marriage in 1841, his teachings to close associates, and their being "sealed" to additional wives. However, they do not say anyone actually practiced polygamy: It is "not clear whether Joseph Smith lived as husband with any of his plural wives" (171).

Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977), only goes so far as to say that Smith had taken several plural wives by 1842 and that he taught his most loyal friends. The Mormon dissent, which got Smith charged with adultery and polygamy, is described in detail. Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Knopf, 1979), mention polygamy in the 1830s and that Smith "had formed several plural relationships before the 1843 revelation," and recognized that he "may have sired in polygamy several children whose identities were obscured by their being raised under other surnames" (197). Polygamy is described as a "clandestine arrangement, limited to the prophet and two to three dozen of the leading men and the wives," but few are actually mentioned (199). The reformists are seen as a "small group of Mormon dissidents" who published "inflammatory allegations about the sex lives of Mormon leaders" (77-78).

Jessie L. Embry, *Mormon Polygamous Families: Life in the Principle* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), does connect Smith's destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, a dissident, anti-polygamous press, with his arrest and martyrdom. Although "many of the other church leaders eventually married additional wives," (6) no Nauvoo marriages are included in her calculations, which begin in 1852.

Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, relates evidence that many of Joseph Smith's secret plural wives ignited internal opposition to polygamy, which led to the prophet's arrest and death. But the story then moves quickly to the public announcement of polygamy in 1852 and its practice in Utah. Although the author is aware that "church leaders were secretly practicing polygamy long before it was publicly admitted," he does not address the scope of over 150 polygamous husbands and 585 plural wives who were involved in the secret practice in Nauvoo that would later include about 970 wives and nearly 2,800 children as part of these original Nauvoo polygamous families.

50. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1991). The "History of the Church" (#612) and "Social and Cultural History" (#1378) entries omit mention of actual practice of polygamy; "Plural Marriage" (#1091) and "Joseph Smith" (#1337) entries make limited mention of polygamy but refrain from discussing the extent of the practice, especially in Nauvoo.

PERSONAL ACCOUNTS OF NAUVOO POLYGAMY

The Nauvoo temple was the centerpiece of the physical and social arrangements of Nauvoo polygamy. Sarah Rich wrote of the temple work she and her husband, Charles, did during the wave of marriages in January and February 1846: "We were to be there at seven in the morning and remain until the work was done at ten or twelve o'clock at night if necessary. So we got a good girl Mary Philips a wife of my husband to stay and take care of the children and we helped in the house of the Lord."⁵¹

The "pecking order" among plural wives often determined how much control they had over family life. As in a complex mating dance, first wives not only directed households but also frequently chose subsequent wives. George A. Smith's first wife Bathsheba Bigler recalled: "I had since the Prophet's martyrdom, like Sarah of old, given to my husband five wives."⁵² Jane Snyder Richards told western historian Matilda Bancroft of placing a young woman as a housekeeper in a home: "In the course of a few months she married the master of the house; and the two wives had two daughters with but twelve days difference in their ages."⁵³ In a slightly different way Adelia Kimball assumed control of her marital choice: after obtaining Vilate's consent to marry Heber C. Kimball, she "concluded to become his wife."⁵⁴

Although later journals and memoirs kept by members of leading polygamous families in Utah include references to Brigham Young's Beehive House; Heber Kimball's "Big House" with its "Girls' Parlor" and separate rooms for each wife; William Clayton's "Big House"; and the Richardses' spacious two-story dwelling, these more comfortable living arrangements differed from conditions in Nauvoo, where families lived in secrecy and, as they faced intensifying persecution, anticipated leaving town. Emily Partridge Smith wrote: "Times were not then as they are now in 1877." She recalled that at the time of Smith's death she was living at the Coolidge home, and later, though remarried to Amasa Lyman, she lived with her mother before moving in with Lyman and his first wife.⁵⁵ Plural wives sometimes worked as servants in the home of the first wife, often hiding the special relationship they had with the man of the house. They had to disguise their pregnancies from citizens who had not been let in on the secret doctrine and accept their contempt for "loose women" when

51. Rich, *Autobiography*, 66-67, LDS archives.

52. Bathsheba Smith, *Autobiography*, 13, Special Collections, Marriott Library.

53. Jane Snyder Richards, "The Inner Facts of Social Life in Utah," 1880, 15, Bancroft Library.

54. Adelia Kimball, *Memoirs*, 17, USHS.

55. Emily Dow Partridge Young, "Incidents."

babies were born apparently out of wedlock. Plural wives were frowned on by some legal wives who knew about the doctrine and feared that Smith might ask their husbands to practice it.

CONVINCED BY FAITH, AUTHORITY, AND PERCEIVED ADVANTAGES

Plural wives entered polygamy with varying degrees of enthusiasm. Prescindia Huntington, third recorded plural wife of Joseph Smith, wrote late in life that

in 1841 I entered into the New Everlasting Covenant - was sealed to Joseph Smith the Prophet and Seer, and to the best of my ability I have honored plural marriage, never speaking one word against the principle. I have been the mother of nine children - seven sons and two daughters, two by my last husband - Heber Chase Kimball. Never in my life, in this kingdom, which is 44 years, have I doubted the truth of this great work.⁵⁶

However, some women had to struggle to accommodate their sensibilities to the radical new teaching they believed they must obey. Caroline Rogers Daniels, Nauvoo divorcee, married polygamist Abraham Owen Smoot because: "It was necessary for my salvation and exaltation."⁵⁷ Adelia Almira Wilcox Hatton Woods chose church leader Heber C. Kimball because she desired to marry a man who could not only "save himself, but also me."⁵⁸ Bathsheba Smith was convinced by "a revelation from God and having a fixed determination to attain to Celestial Glory, I felt to embrace every principle, and that it was for my husband's exaltation that he should obey the revelation on plural marriage in order to attain to kingdoms, thrones, principalities and powers, firmly believing that I should participate with him in all his blessings, glory and honor."⁵⁹

Plural wife Sarah Studeviant Leavitt of Nauvoo recalled that when "It was whispered in my ear by a friend that the authorities were getting more wives than one," [I] reasoned that "the Anointed of the Lord would not get more wives unless they were commanded to do so . . . I have seen so much wrong connected with this ordinance that had I not had it revealed to me from Him that cannot lie I should sometimes have doubted the truth of it."⁶⁰ Mercy Rachel Fielding Thompson, widow of Joseph Smith's secretary,

56. Prescindia Lathrop Huntington Smith Kimball, *Autobiographical Sketch*, Apr. 1, 1881, LDS archives.

57. Caroline Rogers Daniels, "Autobiography," in Bitton, 328.

58. Adelia Kimball, 17, USHS.

59. Bathsheba Smith, 13.

60. Sarah S. Leavitt, *Autobiography*, 22-23, Special Collections, Marriott Library.

wrote that "On the 11 of August 1843 I was called by direct revelation from Heaven through Brother Joseph Smith the Patriarch" to join her sister and become the plural wife of his brother Hyrum. Persuaded by the authority and character of Joseph Smith, she explained that she was "convinced that it was appointed by him who is too wise to err and too good to be unkind."⁶¹

Eliza Maria Partridge Smith Lyman, who with her sister Emily "went to live in the family of the prophet Joseph Smith . . . about three years," wrote that "this was truly a great trial for me but I had the most implicit confidence in him as a Prophet of the Lord and [could] not but believe his word and as a matter of course accept of the privilege of being sealed to him as a wife."⁶² Sarah Dearmon Pea Rich said,

when my husband and myself had this doctrine explained and taught to us in its true light by those that had a right to teach it we both saw the propriety of the same and believed it to be true and [essential] to our future glory and exaltation hereafter we accepted the same and like old Sarah of old Joseph had in that temple given to my husband four other wives which were sealed to him in that temple by the holy order of god by one having authority to do the same.⁶³

Some plural wives told of advantages they found for themselves in polygamy. Jane Snyder Richards wrote of how faithfully Elizabeth McFate, her husband's new wife, took care of her while she was recovering from a miscarriage.⁶⁴ Though she expressed difficulties when her husband took another wife, Mary Horne found that she could "work out her individual character separate from her husband." She felt "freer" and able to "do herself individually things she could never have attempted before."⁶⁵ Lucy Walker, who was on intimate terms with Smith's other wives, the Partridge and Lawrence sisters, experienced "less room for jealousy when wives live under the same roof." She said, "Instead of a feeling of jealousy [plural marriage] was a source of comfort to us."⁶⁶

DIFFICULTIES FOR PLURAL WIVES

At times women wrote frankly about their difficulties with polygamy. For Mary Horne "Celestial marriage" was "one of the ordinances of the

61. Mercy Rachel Fielding Thompson Smith, *Autobiography*, n.d., LDS archives.

62. Eliza Maria Partridge Lyman, "Life and Journal of Eliza Maria Partridge Lyman," 1877, 13, Marriott Library.

63. Rich, 68.

64. Jane Snyder Richards, "Reminiscences," 1880, 19, Bancroft Library.

65. Horne, 22.

66. Lucy Walker Smith Kimball, *Autobiographical Statement*, 6-7, Bancroft Library.

house of God," but she felt that "no one can ever feel the fullweight of the curse till she enters into polygamy." She accepted this "great trial" because "her religion demanded it."⁶⁷ Lucy Walker Kimball regarded polygamy as "a grand school" to "learn self control, self denial."⁶⁸ Mary Ellen Kimball recorded Heber C. Kimball's analogy that plural marriage should be like a dish of water into which he puts a quart and his wives each put in a pint. She grasped the essence: "so you see our will swallowed up in his will."⁶⁹

The dilution of a woman's will, an image which would offend twentieth-century feminist sensibilities, extended to the subjugation of wives by polygamous husbands. Eventually husband to forty-five wives, Heber C. Kimball wrote that wives should be "in subjection to their husbands." He preached, "I am subject to my God, my wife is in subjection to me and will reverence me in my place and I will make her happy."⁷⁰ Kimball justified this dominance of women with the view that man was primary in a creation which only secondarily came up with a woman for man:

The man was created, and God gave him dominions over the whole earth, but he saw that he never could multiply, and replenish the earth, without a woman. And he made one and gave her to him. He did not make the man for the woman; but the woman for the man, and it is just as unlawful for you to rise up and rebel against your husband, as it would be for man to rebel against God.⁷¹

Other polygamous Nauvoo husbands also affirmed their authority over women. Amasa Lyman, who eventually married nine wives, lectured to the priesthood holders in the Nauvoo temple: "A man becomes responsible for his own conduct, and that of his wife . . . we want the man to remember that he has covenanted to keep the law of God, and the Woman to obey her husband."⁷² George A. Smith, then husband to six wives, agreed that "the woman ought to be in subjection to the man, be careful to guard against loud laughter, against whispering, levity, talebearing."⁷³ And Brigham Young, who married fifty-five women, wrote that "woman will never get back, unless she follows the man back . . . the man must love his God and the woman must love her husband."⁷⁴

67. Horne, 22.

68. Lucy Walker Smith Kimball, 8.

69. Mary Ellen Kimball, *Journal*, n.d., LDS archives.

70. "Nauvoo Temple Record," Dec. 21, 1845, in George D. Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 222.

71. William Clayton diary, Dec. 21, 1845, in Smith, 227.

72. *Ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1845, 225-26.

73. *Ibid.*, 225.

74. *Ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1845, 239.

Martha Spence Heywood expressed the stoic attitude that some Mormon women took toward the difficult role of plural wife: "I tried to recognize the hand of the Lord in all of this for the perfecting of my character."⁷⁵

People of both genders expressed anguish over polygamy. Nauvoo polygymist Joseph Fielding wrote in the 1840s and 1850s of dissent in the Mormon community: "This is my greatest trial, and I think there is more trouble on the Subject of Plurality of Wives than anything else . . . [it] appears in general to have given great Offence to the Wife . . . some of the best of our Sisters are tyrannised [sic] over by some of the meanest." He bemoaned that "My Wives have not spoken to each other for many Months."⁷⁶ Patty Sessions, plural wife to Joseph Smith as well as the first wife of "Mr. Sessions," spoke of her husband's preference for another wife: "I feel very bad . . . he took [Harriet] to the farm with him [and] leaves me here alone."⁷⁷ Victoria Hancock Jackson, a grand-daughter of Levi W. Hancock, resented that "Some men neglected present wives with children and were captivated by a younger face."⁷⁸ Emeline B. Wells spoke of being "tortured" by her husband's inattention: "O if my husband could only love me even a little and not seem to be perfectly indifferent."⁷⁹ Adelia Almera Wilcox Hatton Wood Kimball left her first plural marriage because her husband's first wife considered a plural wife to be "nothing more than a concubine," and Adelia felt that she and her children were "looked upon as intruders."⁸⁰ Jane Richards spoke of feeling "like wringing the neck of any other child than hers that should call her husband papa."⁸¹

REJECTION

There were women who could not easily be persuaded to endorse the doctrine of plural marriage. Emily M. Austin, whose sister married polygamist Newell Knight, escaped to Ohio to avoid this "horrible" practice.⁸² Rachel Ridgway Ivins Grant, mother of future LDS president Heber J. Grant, refused even to meet with Joseph Smith, saying that she would "sooner go to hell as a virtuous woman than to heaven as a whore."⁸³

75. Martha Spence Heywood diary, 74, USHS.

76. Joseph Fielding journal (1832-59), 178, LDS archives; see also Bitton, 106-107.

77. Patty Sessions, Journal, 61, 63, USHS.

78. Victoria Hancock Jackson journal, in Bitton, 172.

79. Judith R. Dushku and Patricia R. Gadsby, "I Have Risen Triumphant': A Personal View of Emmeline B. Wells," ca. 1977, 12, USHS.

80. Adelia Kimball, 15, 17.

81. Jane Snyder Richards, "Inner Facts," 2.

82. Emily M. Austin, Autobiography, in Bitton, 15.

83. Ronald W. Walker, "The Continuing Legacy of the Feminine Ideal," *Dialogue: A*

The prophet faced rejection more than once. In the spring of 1842 Smith told Sarah Pratt, wife of Apostle Orson Pratt, that the Lord wanted him to take her as his “spiritual wife.” Sarah refused Smith’s offer and eventually exposed him to her husband. When he confronted Smith, Orson Pratt was excommunicated, but he was reinstated five months later. After Smith’s death Pratt himself took plural wives, and he became the primary apologist for plural marriage when it was officially announced in Utah in 1852. Sarah ultimately left both Orson and the church; she labeled polygamy the “direst curse” which “completely demoralizes good men, and makes bad men correspondingly worse. As for the women,” she wrote, “well, God help them.”⁸⁴

When Smith proposed in April 1842 to Nancy Rigdon, daughter of his close friend and counselor, Sidney Rigdon, he reportedly took her into a room, “locked the door, and then stated to her that he had had an affection for her for several years, and wished that she should be his.” Nancy refused him, saying she would only marry a single man. The following day Smith explained in a letter to her: “That which is wrong under one circumstance, may be, and often is, right under another.” He added, “Whatever God requires is right, no matter what it is, although we may not see the reason thereof.” She remained unconvinced.⁸⁵

Any discussion of resistance to polygamy is incomplete if it does not mention Emma Smith’s reluctance to accept co-wives. Joseph’s plural marriage revelation went so far as to threaten her with destruction if she did not comply. She responded by reportedly throwing the written revelation into the fire. After Joseph Smith died, she consistently denied that her husband had ever practiced polygamy. According to Lucy Meserve Smith, Emma “bore testimony to me that Mormonism was true as it came forth from the servant of the Lord Joseph Smith but said she the Twelve had made bogus of it. She said they were living with their [plural] wives and raising children and Joseph never taught any such doctrine.”⁸⁶ Even-

Journal of Mormon Thought 15 (Autumn 1982): 109. A decade later in Salt Lake City at age thirty-two, Rachel married the deceased prophet Joseph Smith by proxy and became the seventh wife of Jedediah M. Grant “for time only” (Walker, 111).

84. Van Wagoner, 29-36, 98-100.

85. Ebenezer Robinson, “Items of Personal History of the Editor,” *The Return* (Davis City, IA, 1889-90); *Sangamo Journal*, Aug. 19, 1842; “The Letter of the Prophet, Joseph Smith to Miss Nancy Rigdon,” Joseph Smith Collection, LDS archives; HC 5:134-36.

86. After hearing of this denial of plural marriage, Lucy’s husband, Apostle George A. Smith, said “Emma knows better.” He told of visiting the prophet as he had finished helping Emma deliver the child of one of his plural wives. Finding Joseph “out on the porch with a basin of water washing his hands,” George A. “said to him what is up, said Joseph one of my wives has just been confined and Emma was midwife and I have been assisting her. He said she had granied [delivered] a number of women for him. This is

tually Emma Smith allowed the majority of Mormons under the leadership of Brigham Young to migrate west without her. She later became a member of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, headed by her son, Joseph Smith III.

SECRECY

Considering the explosive nature of what was taking place, Nauvoo polygamy was surprisingly well-concealed. The words of the early polygamists convey Joseph Smith's need for secrecy. Lucy Walker said that Joseph "lived in constant fear of being betrayed."⁸⁷ Jane Richards explained that when Joseph Smith had taken some more wives a few months previous to his death, he received a "revelation in regard to polygamy," which required that he "should do it without publicity this time" because "mob spirit was already quite excited."⁸⁸ Thus polygamy was made known only to "a few trusted ones," according to Mary Horne's account: "At first the brethren and sisters were so averse to it that it could scarcely be mentioned."⁸⁹ Joseph Lee Robinson tells the story of Smith saying in Nauvoo that if "I should reveal the things that God has revealed to me, there are some on this stand that would cut my throat or take my hearts blood."⁹⁰ Nancy Tracy recalled that Smith taught the "Celestial Order of Marriage" only to "a few that could bear it."⁹¹

Evidently one such person was Ebenezer Robinson, who recalled that the "doctrine of spiritual wives" was "talked privately in the church in Nauvoo, in 1841" but that he was invited to participate in 1843. Hyrum Smith "instructed me in Nov or Dec 1843 to make a selection of some young woman and he would seal her to me, and I should take her home," he recalled, "and if she should have an offspring give out word that she had a husband, an Elder, who had gone on a foreign mission." Possibly referring to a secluded birthplace, or conceivably to abortion, Robinson spoke of "a place appointed in Iowa, 12 or 18 miles from Nauvoo to send female vic[t]ims to his polygamous births."⁹²

word as I had it from brother G. A. Smith." Lucy Meserve Smith statement, n.d., LDS archives.

87. *Diary of Lucy Walker Kimball*, 7.

88. Jane Snyder Richards, "Reminiscences," 18.

89. Horne, 10.

90. *Joseph Lee Robinson Autobiography and Journal*, 24, LDS archives.

91. "A Sketch of the Life of Nancy Naomi Tracy," n.d., 20, USHS.

92. Ebenezer Robinson to Jason W. Briggs, Jan. 28, 1880, LDS archives. On December 29, 1873, Ebenezer and Angeline Robinson signed an affidavit saying that Hyrum Smith had come to their house in the fall of 1843 to teach them the doctrine of polygamy and that he had been wrong to oppose it.

The motif of caution recurs in the stories of early polygamy. When the pregnancy of William Clayton's first plural wife threatened to expose them, the prophet advised Clayton to "just keep her at home and brook it and if they raise trouble about it and bring you before me I will give you an awful scourging and probably cut you off from the church and then I will baptize you and set you ahead as good as ever."⁹³

According to church historian Andrew Jenson, Sarah Ann Whitney became the seventh plural wife of Joseph Smith, and the story of his marriage to her illustrates another strategy. She disguised her relationship to the prophet by pretending to marry Joseph Corodon Kingsbury on April 29, 1843. In his autobiography Kingsbury wrote: "I according to Pres. Joseph Smith & Council & others agreed to stand by Sarah Ann Whitney as though I was supposed to be her husband and [participated in] a pretended marriage for the purpose of . . . Bringing about the purposes of God in these last days . . ." Three weeks later, while in hiding, Joseph Smith wrote a revealing letter which he addressed to her parents, Newel and Elizabeth Whitney, inviting them to bring their daughter to visit him "just back of Brother Hyrums farm." He advised Brother Whitney to "come a little a head and nock [sic] at the south East corner of the house at the window." He assured them, especially Sarah Ann, that "it is the will of God that you should comfort me now." He stressed the need for care "to find out when Emma comes," but "when she is not here, there is the most perfect safty [sic]." The prophet warned them to "burn this letter as soon as you read it" and "keep all locked up in your breasts." In closing he admonished, "I think Emma won't come to night if she dont[,] dont fail to come to night."⁹⁴ In 1845-46, after now-widowed Sarah Ann went to live with Heber C. Kimball, "her husband for time," Kingsbury, married his own plural wives.⁹⁵

Most of Smith's plural wives boarded with other families, whom he visited periodically. His secretary, William Clayton, recorded one such visit to young Almera Johnson on May 16, 1843: "Prest. Joseph and I went to B[enjamin]. F. Johnsons to sleep." Johnson himself later noted that on this visit Smith stayed with Almera "as man and wife" and "occupied the same room and bed with my sister, that the previous month he had occupied with the daughter of the late Bishop Partridge as his wife." Almera Johnson also confirmed her secret marriage to Joseph Smith: "I

93. William Clayton journal, Oct. 19, 1843.

94. Joseph Smith to Newel K. Whitney family, Aug. 18, 1842, photocopy, George Albert Smith papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library. Joseph had recently married Sarah Ann Whitney on July 27, 1842.

95. "History of Joseph Kingsbury, Written by His Own Hand, 1846, 1849, 1850," Stanley Snow Ivins Collection, 15:74-76, USHS.

lived with the prophet Joseph as his wife and he visited me at the home of my brother Benjamin F."⁹⁶

After the destruction of the *Expositor* and the death of their leader, most rank-and-file Mormons did not find out about the doctrine of polygamy until the winter of 1845-46. John D. Lee wrote that "in the Winter of 1845 meetings were held all over the city of Nauvoo" to teach "celestial marriage." He tells a fascinating tale of who married whom, of partner exchanges and trades, and stresses that "plural marriages were not made public. They had to be kept still. A young man did not know when he was talking to a single woman."⁹⁷ Making the same point from a woman's perspective, Eliza Maria Partridge Smith Lyman wrote that "a woman living in polygamy dared not let it be known."⁹⁸ Jane Richards speaks of the winter of 1845-46 as the time when polygamy was first presented to the Mormon community at large: "During the winter and previous to the company starting [February 1846], Mr. Richards took his second wife, Elizabeth McFate [January 31, 1846]. Polygamy was now made known to us for the first time, and while the majority of the church were made acquainted with the doctrine, it was only practically entered into by a few."⁹⁹

The memories of Jane Richards reveal a personal culture of privacy among women. Leonora Cannon Taylor, hearing that Jane Richards's life in polygamy was going "not very well," advised her, "you have too much pride and grit to let any of your domestic trials be known to the world." Mrs. Richards passed on this "code of silence" to a younger woman, telling her that "as long as she had lived in polygamy she had never spoken to any one of her troubles or allowed that she had any trials."¹⁰⁰

NAUVOO POLYGAMY AFTER JOSEPH SMITH'S DEATH

While journals and personal writings tell a complex human story, numbers give depth to the picture. After Joseph Smith's death, the number of plural marriages in Nauvoo began to increase rapidly. In the fall of 1844,

96. HR, 222; letter, Johnson to Gibbs; Joseph F. Smith, Jr., *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1905), 70-71.

97. As an example of dispersing plural wives to pretend monogamy, Lee noted that "as far as Brigham Young was concerned, he had no wives at his house, except his first wife, or the one that he said was his first wife. Many a night have I gone with him, arm in arm, and guarded him while he spent an hour or two with his young brides, then guarded him home" (John D. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled, or, The Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop, John D. Lee*, ed. W. W. Bishop [St. Louis: Byron, Brand, 1877], chap. 14).

98. Eliza Maria Partridge Lyman, 13.

99. Jane Snyder Richards, "Reminiscences," 19.

100. Jane Snyder Richards, "Inner Facts," 17-18.

Brigham Young took ten wives, Heber C. Kimball, nine; Parley P. Pratt, three; William Clayton, Isaac Morley, and George A. Smith each took a pair of wives. Of the fifty-eight plural marriages in 1844, thirty-nine (two-thirds) took place after Joseph Smith died, seven to former wives of the prophet. Many of Smith's wives were married "for time" to other men, such as Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, twenty-four during 1844-46 in Nauvoo. (They continued to be sealed "for eternity" to the dead prophet.)

Plural marriages accelerated in winter 1845-46, after the temple opened on December 10 and it became clear that westward migration would actually take place. Brigham Young urged priesthood-holders to take plural wives during their brief use of the newly-opened temple. Heber C. Kimball, Brigham Young, John Taylor, Samuel Bent, Willard Richards, John Smith, John Bernhisel, Alpheus Cutler, Newel K. Whitney, Amasa Lyman, Joseph Coolidge, Winslow Farr, Peter Hawes, Cornelius Lott, and George A. Smith led the way with a total of 118 wives. By this time Smith's "inner circle" of thirty polygamous husbands had broadened to include over 150 men.

Forty of the 153 Nauvoo polygamous husbands married sisters, six before Joseph Smith's death, twenty after his death in Nauvoo, and the rest after the migration to Utah. Ultimately about one-third of Nauvoo's polygamous families included sister-wives. It was probably easier for a woman to share a husband with a sister than with a stranger. Mormons may also have seen a precedent in the Levirate marriages mandated in the Torah, where a brother had special rights and obligations to father a first-born son for his deceased brother's widow.¹⁰¹

In most sister marriages there were two sibling wives. William Clayton's first plural wife (April 27, 1843), like those of many polygamists, was his legal wife's sister, Margaret Moon. When he asked Joseph Smith in 1843 for permission to marry a third Moon sister, Lydia, Smith replied that he had just received a revelation that forbade a man from taking more than two sisters of a family. Smith then asked Clayton to petition Lydia in his favor to become one of his own plural wives.¹⁰² The marriage data indicates, however, that this proscription against more than two sister-wives was not always heeded.

For whatever reason—to provide for women during the difficult journey, to ensure a growing population in the west, or to fulfill Joseph Smith's new marital doctrine—there were fifty-six Nauvoo polygamous marriages in 1845, and 255 in 1846, primarily in January and February, up to the time when the pioneer camp began to cross the Mississippi River. During this winter of celestial marriages Heber C. Kimball took twenty-

101. James R. Baker, *Women's Rights in Old Testament Times* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 51, 142-43, 147, 151-53.

102. William Clayton journal, Sept. 15, 1843.

four wives; Brigham Young, twenty-one; John Taylor and Samuel Bent, eight; Willard Richards and John Smith, seven; John Bernhisel, Alpheus Cutler, and Newel K. Whitney, six; Amasa Lyman, five; Joseph Coolidge, Winslow Farr, Peter Hawes, Cornelius Lott, and George A. Smith, four; Benjamin Covey, Eli Kelsey, John D. Lee, William Miller, John Pack, William Sagers, William Smith, Guy Wilson, Clark Whitney, and Joseph Young, three each (Sager's and Whitney's marriages each included a legal first wife); John Bair, Rufus Beech, William Blackhurst, Benjamin Brown, John Butler, Simeon Carter, Benjamin Clapp, Frederick Cox, Charles Dana, George Dykes, David Fullmer, Alfred Hadden, Edward Hunter, Joel Johnson, Asahel Lathrop, Joseph Markham, Reuben Miller, Isaac Morley, John Parker, W. W. Phelps, Orson Pratt, Parley Pratt, Charles C. Rich, A. P. Rockwood, Samuel Russell, David Sessions, Abraham Smoot, Erastus Snow, Lorenzo Snow, Allen Weeks, and Thomas Woolsey each took two; and some sixty-seven other husbands added one more wife to their families. By the end of the Nauvoo period in 1846, the 153 polygamous husbands had married 587 women and produced 734 children. About 80 percent of Nauvoo plural marriages occurred after Smith's death.

POLYGAMOUS MARRIAGES BY NAUVOO HUSBANDS

<i>Husbands</i>	<i>Total Nauvoo Wives*</i>	<i>Years</i>						
		<i>1841</i>	<i>1842</i>	<i>1843</i>	<i>To June 27, 1844</i>	<i>After June 27, 1844</i>	<i>1845</i>	<i>1846</i>
Smith, Joseph	43	3	15	15	9est.			
Young, Brigham	40	0	1	2	1	10	4	21
Kimball, Heber C.	37	0	1	0	0	9	5	21
Taylor, John	11	0	0	1	1	0	0	8
Bent, Samuel	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Lee, John D.	10	0	0	0	3	1	2	3
Richards, Willard	9	0	0	1	0	0	2	5
Lyman, Amasa	8	0	0	1	0	1	0	5
Smith, George A.	8	0	0	0	0	2	3	2
Smith, John	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Whitney, Newell K.	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	6
Bernhisel, John	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Cutler, Alpheus	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Pratt, Parley P.	7	0	0	1	0	3	2	0
Snow, Lorenzo	6	0	0	0	0	0	3	2
Clayton, William	5	0	0	1	0	2	1	0
Coolidge, Joseph	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Farr, Winslow	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Hawes, Peter	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	4

Lott, Cornelius	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Morley, Isaac	5	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Pratt, Orson	5	0	0	1	0	0	1	2
Rich, Charles C.	5	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Smith, William	5	0	0	0	0	0	4	0
Turley, Theodore	5	0	1	0	2	1	0	0
Bair, John	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Butler, John	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
Covey, Benjamin	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Kelsey, Eli	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Miller, William	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Pack, John	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Smith, Hyrum	4	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
Snow, Erastus	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
Wilson, Guy C.	4	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Young, Joseph	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Beach, Rufus	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Benson, Ezra T.	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Blackhurst, William	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Brown, Benjamin	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Cahoon, Reynolds	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Carter, Dominicus	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Carter, Simeon	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Clapp, Benjamin	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Cox, Frederick	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Dana, Charles	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Dykes, George P.	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Felshaw, William	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Fullmer, David	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Grover, Thomas	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Hadden, Alfred S.	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Hunter, Edward	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Huntington, Wm. D.	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Hyde, Orson	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Johnson, Aaron	3	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Johnson, Benj. F.	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Johnson, Joel	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Kingsbury, Jos. C.	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Lathrop, Asahel	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Markham, Stephen	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Miller, Reuben	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Nickerson, Freeman	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Noble, Joseph B.	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Parker, John D.	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Phelps, William W.	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Rockwood, A. P.	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Russell, Samuel	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3

Sagers, William H.	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Scott, John	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Sessions, David	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Smoot, Abraham	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Stout, Hosea	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Weeks, Allen	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Whiting, Edwin	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Whitney, Clark	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Woolley, Edwin	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Woolsey, Thomas	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Young, Lorenzo	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	1

[76 with 2] 152
 Total Wives 587

*(incl. legal marriages)

Over the six years when polygamy was practiced in Nauvoo, 1841 to 1846, Smith, Kimball, and Young were the most-married men in Nauvoo; they accounted, in fact, for 117 of the 434 Nauvoo polygamous marriages, over one-fourth of the marriages by the community of 153 polygamous husbands. After Nauvoo, Young married fifteen more wives and Kimball married eight. At the funeral of his wife, Vilate, Kimball, pointing to the coffin, said: "There lies a woman who has given me forty-four wives."¹⁰³

INCIDENCE OF NAUVOO PLURAL MARRIAGE
 SHOWING THE IMPACT OF THE MOST-MARRIED MEN

	Year							
			1844					
	1841	1842	1843	(to 6/27)	1844	(after 6/27)	1845	1846
Total Nauvoo	3	20	42	19	39	56	255	434
Smith	3	15	15	9	0	0	0	42
Kimball	0	1	0	0	9	5	21	36
Young	0	1	2	1	11	4	20	39
	3(100%)	17(85%)	17(40%)	10(53%)	20(50%)	9(16%)	41(16%)	117(27%)
Total polygamous marriages, less Smith, Kimball, Young:	0	3	25	9	19	47	214	317

Joseph Smith's marriage arrangements had been distinctive. He mar-

103. Orson F. Whitney, *The Life of Heber C. Kimball, an Apostle: the Father and Founder of the British Mission* (Salt Lake City: Kimball Family, 1888), 436n. Whitney affirms that Kimball was the husband of forty-five wives and father of sixty-five children.

ried approximately forty-three women, but his plural wives usually lived apart in separate households or, in the case of working girls in the Smith home, were soon forced by Emma to leave. Emma's opposition to Joseph's plural wives, and perhaps his regard for them as one-time participants in a brief relationship (albeit followed by eternal marriage), may account for this unusual pattern. His followers, on the other hand, tended to marry fewer wives and formed more coherent families. Twenty-one of the thirty polygamous families during Joseph Smith's time contained just two wives, four men had three, John D. Lee, Hyrum Smith, and Theodore Turley had four, and Brigham Young had five wives. As the number of polygamous families increased from thirty to 153 in the later Nauvoo period following Smith's death, so did the number of wives per typical family, from an average of 2.5 (3.8 if Joseph Smith's forty-three wives are included) in the early period when Smith was alive, to 3.1 for the whole Nauvoo period (3.8 including Smith's forty-three, Brigham Young's forty, and Heber C. Kimball's thirty-seven). Ultimately, there were seventy-six Nauvoo families with two wives, forty-two families had three wives; ten families each had four and five wives; twelve families had six-to-eleven wives; and one family each, the cumulative households of Kimball, Young, and Smith, had thirty-seven, forty, and forty-three wives.¹⁰⁴

FREQUENCY OF POLYGAMOUS HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF MARRIAGES

A. During Joseph Smith's Lifetime

<i>Number of Wives</i>	<i>Polygamous Families</i>	<i>Marriages</i>	<i>Average Wives Per Family</i>
43	1	43	
5	1	5	
4	3	12	
3	4	12	
2	21	42	
Total	30	114	3.8
Excluding Joseph Smith	29	71	2.5

104. An interesting narrative of William Hickman's ten marriages in Nauvoo is contained in Hope A. Hilton, *"Wild Bill" Hickman and the Mormon Frontier* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988).

B. During Entire Nauvoo Period

<i>Number of Wives</i>	<i>Per Poly- gamous Families</i>	<i>Marriages</i>	<i>Average Wives Per Family</i>
43 (Smith)	1	43	
40 (Young)	1	40	
37 (Kimball)	1	37	
11	1	11	
10	2	20	
9	1	9	
8	4	32	
7	3	21	
6	1	6	
5	10	50	
4	10	40	
3	42	126	
2	76	152	
Total	153	587	3.8
Excluding Smith, Young, Kimball:	150	467	3.1

During the years after the westward migration, considering post-Nauvoo children of Nauvoo wives and later wives of these Nauvoo families and their children, the 153 families that began practicing plural marriage in Nauvoo eventually accounted for a total of 971 wives and 2,790 children, a mean incidence of 6.3 wives and 18.2 children per each family. Excluding the large families of Smith, Young, and Kimball, the ultimate size of these Nauvoo families averaged 5.7 wives and 17.8 children per household. After the Nauvoo polygamists reached the Great Salt Lake, the proportion of Nauvoo families that had two wives declined from seventy-six to sixteen; thirty-three families each had three wives; 91 families had from four to ten wives; and one to four families each had eleven to nineteen wives.

NAUVOO POLYGAMOUS FAMILIES

	<i>During Joseph Smith's Life</i>	<i>Total Nauvoo Period</i>	<i>Eventual Nauvoo Families in West</i>
Husbands	30	153	153
Wives	114	587	971
Children	131	734	2,790
Total Persons	275	1,474	3,914

LEGACY OF NAUVOO PLURAL MARRIAGE

These preliminary demographic observations indicate that the practice of plural marriage, which Joseph Smith initiated among thirty families, more than quintupled in total number of participants—husbands, wives, and children—about 10 percent of the Mormon community by the end of the Nauvoo period in 1846. Afterward, these polygamous Nauvoo families nearly tripled in size from the end of the Nauvoo period to the later Salt Lake period. It is clear from these data that Nauvoo provided the model and impetus for the later practice of polygamy in the west. These Nauvoo roots of Mormon polygamy eventually encompassed thousands of people, and the practice expanded in Utah territory to include tens of thousands of men, women, and children, involving over half of the population of some Mormon communities.¹⁰⁵

The discovery and rejection of this relatively unknown doctrine by a vocal minority seems to have been one of the primary factors leading to Joseph Smith's death. One historian concludes: "Joseph Smith's belief in, preaching about and practice of plural marriage must be considered as one of the factors precipitating the martyrdom."¹⁰⁶

Rejection of plural marriage was also one of the elements dividing the church after Smith's death. Until recently the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS) never wholly accepted the idea that Smith practiced polygamy. Early RLDS leaders believed that Smith, in the last weeks before his death, told several people that his plural marriage revelation had been a mistake: "We are a ruined people. This doctrine of polygamy, or spiritual wife system, that has been taught and practiced among us, will prove our destruction and overthrow. I have been deceived

105. By 1880, at the end of Brigham Young's era and before federal raids on polygamous households, about 33 percent of Mormons in the St. George stake and 67 percent in Orderville, Utah, lived in polygamous families (Lowell "Ben" Bennion, "The Incidence of Mormon Polygamy in 1880: 'Dixie' Versus Davis Stake," *Journal of Mormon History* 11 [1984]: 27-42). Stanley S. Ivins found that a sample of 1,651 families in Utah produced an average of fifteen children per family. He also found that of 1,784 polygamists, 66 percent married one extra wife, 21 percent married three wives, nearly 7 percent four wives, and 6 percent five or more wives. Applying these ratios to an 1890 census of 2,451 plural families, we arrive at an estimate of 45,416 persons involved in polygamy.

2,451 families	x 66% x 2 =	3,235 wives	2,451 Husbands
	x 21% x 3 =	1,544	6,200 Wives
	x 7% x 4 =	686	36,765 Children
	x 6% x 5 =	735	45,416 Total
	100%	6,200 wives	

See Ivins's "Notes on Mormon Polygamy," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (Fall 1967): 311, 313-14, 318. Current research into this subject may produce more definitive statistics which are beyond the scope of this essay.

106. Bachman, "Not Lawful to Utter," 45.

... it is wrong; it is a curse to mankind, and we shall have to leave the United States soon, unless it can be put down."¹⁰⁷ After Smith was killed, Brigham Young pushed completion of the Nauvoo temple and accelerated plural marriages, and, indeed, the Mormons were soon compelled to leave the United States for Mexico, which then included the Great Salt Lake Valley. Later, when polygamy was outlawed as a condition for statehood, Mormons who wanted to maintain their polygamous families again had to flee to Mexico (now below the Rio Grande), where remnants of these expatriate colonies still exist. Many polygamists who persisted in their belief in the divine sanction of their practice remained in the United States. Reported to number in the tens of thousands, these "Fundamentalist" Mormons have endured years of government prosecution—and official LDS censure.

What do LDS people today think about polygamy in the early Nauvoo church? Since that period was enshrouded with secrecy and denials, and the practice was not announced until 1852 from a new home in the Great Salt Lake Valley, Nauvoo polygamy has remained a mystery. The prophet's mother concluded that Joseph Smith taught plural marriage but that we have no knowledge that anyone practiced it until the later Salt Lake period under Brigham Young.¹⁰⁸ Not even the relationship between Nauvoo polygamy and the internal Mormon dissent which led to the prophet's arrest and assassination is clearly recognized. Latter-day Saints tend to identify reports of Nauvoo polygamy with anti-Mormon propaganda, which is considered to be based on unfounded rumors of Joseph Smith's illicit marriages. The community of 153 polygamous husbands, 587 plural wives, and 734 children has remained beneath the horizon of perception.

Yet these 153 families, which would themselves grow to include nearly 4,000 people after the westward migration, provided the model for the approximately 50,000 who would eventually be associated with Mormon polygamous families in Utah. Many Latter-day Saints—especially those that have polygamous ancestors—take pride in the faithful men and women who practiced plural marriage long ago. Even though LDS men take just one legal wife today, many devout Mormons still believe in the "principle" and may be sealed to more than one woman for eternity. The Mormon church's present doctrine of celestial marriage—which includes the promise of plural marriage in the afterlife, and the current practice of plural marriage among Fundamentalist Mormons, are the legacies of Joseph Smith's revelation sanctioning Nauvoo polygamy as a "new and everlasting covenant."

107. Recalled by William Marks in a letter to *Zion's Harbinger and Beneemy's Organ*, July 1853. Though the Council of the Twelve rejected it, Marks's account did fit the outcome of plural marriage in Nauvoo.

108. Lucy Mack Smith, preliminary manuscript of biography of Joseph Smith, 1845.

NAUVOO POLYGAMOUS FAMILIES

Husband	Wives	Notes	Dates of Record			Marriage Age		Family Size			Total
			Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	
			Birth	Marriage	Sealing	Husband	Wife	Up to 6-27-1844	Nauvoo after JS 1844-46	After Nauvoo 1846 on	
1 Adams, James	Harriet Adams	*	1 24 1783		5 28 1843			2 0 0	0 0 0	2 0	
	Roxena Rachel Repshire	2	1 31 1787	7 11 1843	2 9 1847	60				0 0	
2 Allen, Joseph Stewart	Lucy Diantha Morley	3	6 25 1806	9 2 1835	2 4 1846	29	19	1 4 1	2 15 4	20 12	
	Nancy Jane Putnam		10 4 1815	2 4 1846	2 4 1846	39	20			0 0	
	Karon Marie Hansen		2 20 1825	1 28 1854	1 28 1854	47	18			8 8	
	Ingebord Kirstine Jespersen		11 5 1835	9 11 1857	9 11 1857	51	55			0 0	
3 Allred, Isaac	Julia Ann Taylor	4	6 28 1813	10 11 1832	1 15 1846	19	17	1 6 1	3 1 9	3 18	
	Mary Polly Henderson		2 9 1815	1 15 1846	1 15 1846	32	22			10 6	
	Emma Dewey		2 18 1823	10 7 1856	10 7 1856	43	30			2 2	
	Elizabeth Warren	5	4 28 1826	11 14 1803	1 14 1846	17	17	1 12 1	0 0 0	2 12	
4 Allred, James	Sarah Ann (Sally) Warren	*	5 6 1786	1 28 1846	1 28 1846	60	59	2 8 2	1 2 23	6 32	
	Lydia Register		11 26 1810	8 20 1829	7 15 1989	18	24			7 7	
	Lucinda Tyler Owen	6	1 10 1812	10 19 1843	1 24 1846	32	31			7 7	
	Jerusha Ann Richardson		4 21 1822	1 27 1846	1 27 1846	35	23			2 2	
5 Bair, John T.	Lucy Ann Cole		5 15 1818	1 27 1846	1 27 1846	35	27			7 7	
	Mary Bigelow		9 15 1830	7 1 1852	7 1 1852	41	21			9 9	
	Elizabeth Haven	7	10 15 1827	4 8 1856	45	28				0 0	
	Elizabeth Barton		9 13 1806	2 23 1840	1 17 1846	33	28	1 2 1	2 2 11	4 15	
6 Barlow, Israel	Lucy Heap		12 28 1811	1 28 1846	1 28 1846	39	42			7 7	
	Cordelia M. Dalrymple		9 10 1803	12 2 1855	12 2 1855	49	19			0 0	
	Mary Street	8	9 24 1836	5 27 1865	5 27 1865	58	42			8 8	
	Spouse #2 (md. by H.C.K.)		10 4 1822	8 12 1829	1 29 1846	21	19	1 9 1	2 0 1	2 12	
7 Bateman, Thomas			7 17 1808		1 29 1846					12 0	
			5 12 1810		1 29 1846					12 0	

Wives

Children

Husband	Wives	Notes	Dates of Record			Marriage Age		Family Size				
			Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Sealing	Nauvoo		After Nauvoo	Total	
			Birth	Marriage	Sealing	Husband	Wife	Up to 6-27-1844	after JS 1844-46	1846 on		
8 Bates, Ormus Ephraim	Phoebe M. Matteson Morilla Spink Matilda Reeves Ellen Mecham Alice Busenbark Sarah Alameda Weir Sarah Hymas	9	3 25 1815 1 31 1817 12 21 1823 4 11 1821 7 4 1836 12 29 1836 12 18 1841 12 6 1841	8 20 1835 12 23 1844 11 15 1847 1 5 1853 6 23 1853 10 10 1862 10 10 1862	11 14 1847 10 15 1859 32 26 1 5 1853 6 23 1853 11 16 1862 11 16 1862	20 29 32 37 38 47 47	18 21 26 16 16 20 20	1 4	1 1	2 2	5 40	7 46
9 Beach, Rufus	Laura Ann Gibbs Mary Catherine Aber Elizabeth J. Fosdick Harriet Cordelia Williams	10	5 8 1795 12 24 1825 4 16 1823 11 10 1829 4 1 1800	1842 est 1846 e.1 21 1846 1846	7 22 1977 1 21 1846 1 21 1846 3 4 1939	46 50 50 50 16		1 0	2 2	0 0	1 2	4 2
10 Benbow, John	Jane Holmes Agnes Taylor Rosetta Wright Elizabeth Holmes Charlotte Spencer Mary Dart	11	1 12 1792 10 2 1821 9 1 1819 2 22 1811	1 26 1846 1846 9 3 1851	1 26 1846 1 26 1846 9 18 1857	45 45 51	54 24 32	0 0	2 2	0 0	4 4	6 4
11 Benson, Ezra Taft	Pamela Andrus Adeline Brooks Andrus Desdemona Fullmer (Smith) Eliza Ann Perry Olive Mary Knight Elizabeth Gollaher Lucinda West Mary Larson	12	10 21 1809 3 18 1813 10 6 1809 3 30 1829 1 24 1830 12 30 1831	12 11 1831 4 27 1844 1 26 1846 3 4 1847 7 12 1851 6 4 1853	1 16 1846 1 16 1846 1 26 1846 4 18 1860 7 12 1851 4 10 1856	20 33 34 36 40 42	22 31 36 17 21 21	2 5	1 1	1 1	5 28	8 34
12 Bent, Samuel	Mary Kilburn Lettice, Hawkins (Palmer) Naomi Harris Phebe Palmer	14	7 19 1778 5 4 1785 6 27 1785 5 5 1796 10 29 1788	5 3 1805 9 1837 est 1845 est 1846	1 14 1846 1 14 1846 1 14 1846 1 14 1846	26 59 66 67	19 52 48 57	1 0	9 0	0 0	0 0	10 4 NA

Husband	Wives	Notes	Dates of Record			Marriage Age		Family Size			Total	
			Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Sealing	Husband	Wife	Up to 6-27-1844	Nauvoo after JS 1844-46		After Nauvoo 1846 on
			Birth	Marriage	Sealing							
19 Brown, Benjamin	Sarah Mumford	27	9 30 1794	9 22 1819	1 19 1846	24	24	1	2	1	0	4
	Mary Ann Barker		4 20 1795	12 23 1845	1 19 1846	51	20					5
	Polly Thompson		2 23 1825	2 6 1846	2 6 1846	51	24					1
	Abba Cadwalder		1 31 1797									0
	Martha Stephens		9 30 1801	3 2 1823	1 10 1846	21	16	1	1	1	8	17
20 Brown, James	Susan Foutz		10 12 1806	11 20 1842	1 10 1846	39	28					9NA
	Esther Jones	28	1 7 1814	1 10 1845	1 10 1846	41	30					NA
	Sarah Steadwell Wood	29	3 31 1814	7 16 1846	3 27 1857	43	30					4
	Mary McRee Black		10 17 1819	10 17 1850		44	26					1
	Phebe Abigail Abbott		5 18 1831	12 26 1854		49	19					5
	Cecilia Henrietta Cornu Robelia		5 17 1825	2 7 1855		53	29					3
	Mary Wollerton			2 17 1856		29						6
	Darhulla Catherine Shupe			9 7 1856		47						0
	Lovina Mitchell		1837	9 7 1856	9 7 1856	54	19					0
	Harriett Wood Yancey		12 21 1834	9 17 1859	9 17 1859	57	24					0
21 Bullock, Thomas	Marie Mitchell		1833	9 22 1861		59	28					0
	Henrietta Rushton	30	12 23 1816	6 25 1838	1 23 1846	21	20	2	3	0	1	19
	Lucy Caroline Clayton		12 23 1817	1 23 1843	1 23 1846	26	22					3
	Betsy Prudence Howard		3 21 1820	12 9 1852	5 30 1856	35	17					6
	Caroline F. Skeen	31	7 22 1835	e.4 10 1830	9 23 1843	22	18					8
	Charity Skeen		4 8 1808	12 23 1844	12 23 1844	36	36					15
22 Butler, John Lowe	Sarah Lancaster		3 15 1808	e.1 29 1846	1 29 1846	38	40					12
	Sarah Briant Lancaster		3 23 1806	e.1 29 1846	2 6 1846	38	75					0
	Lovisa Hamilton		6 28 1771	3 9 1857	3 9 1857	48	19					0
	Ester Ogden (div.)		9 25 1837	3 9 1857	3 9 1857	48	19					1
	Henrietta S. Blyth		6 6 1831	9 8 1857	3 9 1857	48	26					0
	Ann Hughes		2 19 1794	3 9 1857	3 9 1857	48	63					2
23 Byington, Hiram Norton	Ann Hughes		8 19 1800	1 27 1828	2 6 1846	27	20	1	2	1	0	2
	Sarah Holkins	32										3
	Julia Fidelia Ferrin	33	11 2 1825		1 27 1846							0

Husband	Wives		Notes	Dates of Record				Marriage Age		Family Size				Total				
	Mo	Day		Year	Mo	Day	Year	Mo	Day	Year	Up to		After					
	Birth	Mo		Day	Year	Marriage	Sealing	1844	1844-46	1846 on								
31 Carter, Simeon	6	7	1794							1	3	2	0	1	3	4	6	
	12	11	1801		12	2	1818		12	15	1845						3	
	10	9	1786	43	1	19	1846		1	19	1846						0	
					1828	est	1846		1	20	1846							0
		1	27	1820		11	4	1849		1	10	1947						3
	32 Clapp, Benjamin Lynn	8	19	1814														
		4	2	1815	44													
		2	26	1825														
		4	1	1813														
						est	1846											
		9	14	1837		10	12	1856		10	12	1856						
33 Clayton, William	7	17	1814															
	6	13	1817	45														
	1	14	1820															
	4	5	1816															
	5	23	1805															
	10	12	1828															
	11	24	1833															
	11	16	1838															
					1849	10	3	1866		10	3	1866						
	34 Condit, Silas Whitehead	12	28	1853														
6		17	1819															
35 Cook, Henry Lyman	12	18	1824															
	7	7	1803															
36 Coolidge, Joseph Wellington	12	28	1853															
	6	17	1819															

37 Coon, Abraham	Rosilla Milla Carter	2	22	1825	est 1846	2	6	1846	31	20	1	8	1	1	2	7	4	0
	Rebecca Atwood	10	25	1825	est 1846	1	26	1846	31	20								
	Elizabeth Yarbrough	4	3	1810		5	11	1848	18	20								
	Frances Yarbrough	12	23	1808	1829	5	11	1848	35	20								
38 Covey, Benjamin	Mary Elizabeth Wilson	2	19	1827	est 1847	5	11	1848	36	20	1	4	3	0	0	4	4	0
	Sarah Wright Curtis	2	7	1812	2	7	1858	47	46									
	Almira Mack	3	9	1792		10	23	1836	44	31								
	Diana Cole	4	28	1805	1	21	1846	53	26									
39 Cox, Frederick Walter	Phoebe Cowles	7	26	1796	1	21	1846	53	49		1	4	2	2	3	33	6	39
	Elizabeth Skinner	1	1	1805	1	21	1846	53	41									
	Emeline Sally Whiting	1	20	1812		9	16	1835	23	18								
	Cordelia Calista Morley	7	23	1817	1	27	1846	34	22									
40 Cutler, Alpheus	Jemima Losee	11	28	1823	1	27	1846	34	22		1	11	6	0	0	7	11	5
	Lydia Margery Losee	9	30	1823	1	27	1846	34	22									
	Mary Ann D. Richardson	7	24	1837	10	11	1854	10	13	1866								
	Emma Smith Peterson	2	28	1818	10	11	1854	42	36									
41 Dana, Charles Root	Lois Lathrop	7	27	1850	10	11	1869	57	19		1	6	0	0	0	7	11	5
	Luana Beebe	9	24	1788	11	17	1808	24	20									
	Margaret Carr	10	13	1814	1	14	1846	61	31									
	Abigail Carr	10	16	1771	e.2	3	1846	2	3	1846								
41 Dana, Charles Root	Sally Cox	10	4	1780	e.2	3	1846	61	65		1	7	2	0	5	17	8	24
	Disey Caroline McCall	2	26	1794	e.2	3	1846	61	51									
	Henrietta Clarinda Miller	10	26	1802	e.2	3	1846	2	3	1846								
	Margaret Kennedy	11	16	1822	e.2	3	1846	2	3	1846								
41 Dana, Charles Root	Susan Luce Thomas	11	8	1801		1827	1	23	1846	25	1	7	2	0	5	17	8	24
	Emily Waterman	4	1	1807	1	23	1846	44	38									
	Harriet Elizabeth Gibson	12	15	1826	1	23	1846	44	19									
	Jane Dorothy Culley	4	4	1831	12	1	1850	1	20	1852								
41 Dana, Charles Root	Mary Ann Cato	1	2	1831	9	14	1857	9	14	1857	1	7	2	0	5	17	8	24
	Ann Barlow	8	19	1833	9	14	1857	55	26									
	Elizabeth Culley	11	16	1837	9	14	1857	55	24									
	Elizabeth Culley	10	11	1835	9	14	1857	55	21									

Husband	Wives	Notes	Dates of Record			Marriage Age		Family Size											
			Mo	Day	Year	Mo	Day	Year	Nauvoo		Total								
			Birth	Marriage	Sealing	Up to 6-27-1844	after JS 1844-46	After Nauvoo 1846 on											
42 Dayton, Hiram	Pamela Bundy	54	11	1	1798	11	1	1820	1	13	1846	1	11	1	0	5	9	7	20
	Sophia Lance (Thornton)		7	28	1799	1	27	1846	1	27	1846	47	19						11
	Nancy Lance		2	1	1826	2	24	1848	2	24	1848	49	29						7
	Lucy Ann Millard		11	2	1818	5	26	1857	5	26	1857	58							2
	Nancy Allen					7	6	1870	7	6	1870	71							0
43 Dykes, George Parker	Mindwell Bundy					7	6	1870	7	6	1870	71							0
	Louise Jones		12	24	1814	7	6	1870	7	6	1870	71							0
	Dorcas Keeling	55	11	30	1811	1	9	1846	1	9	1846	22	25						6
	Cynthia Sotes		2	6	1800	1	9	1846	1	9	1846	31	45						3
	Alicia Durfee		3	24	1831	1	9	1846	1	9	1846	31	14						0
44 Edwards, William	Louisa Jane Stevenson		1	4	1808	10	25	1853				38	45						3
	Mary Rice																		0
	Cornelia Hill																		0
	Eliza M. Allred	56	5	16	1810	1	1	1844				33	34						4
	Elizabeth Gilbert		10	2	1802	1	31	1846	5	5	1848	35	43						0
45 Egan, Howard	Ruth Lucas		1	7	1835	12	9	1854	12	9	1854	44	19						4
	Tamson Parshley	57	6	15	1815	12	1	1838	1	23	1846	23	14						7
	Nancy A. Redding		10	6	1825	1	23	1846	1	23	1846	30	20						6
	Mary Ann Tuttle		7	27	1824	12	1	1838	12	1	1838	23	14						0
												33							1
46 Farr, Winslow Sr.	Olive Hovey Freeman	58	1	12	1794	12	5	1816	1	22	1846	22	17						6
	Almira Randall		6	23	1799	12	5	1816	1	22	1846	22	17						6
	Adelia M. Clemens		11	28	1814	1	22	1846	1	22	1846	52	31						0
	Amanda Bower Colburn		10	14	1820	1	22	1846	1	22	1846	52	25						0
	Roxana Porter		12	29	1826	2	7	1846	2	7	1846	52	19						0
47 Felshaw, William	Achsach Cole		9	18	1786	2	22	1846	2	22	1846	52	59						0
			12	20	1818	2	3	1856				62	37						0
	Mary Harriet Gilbert	59	2	3	1800	2	3	1856				62	37						0
	Charlotte Walters		6	23	1808	2	1	1827	1	16	1846	26	18						13
	Elizabeth Cheney		11	28	1826	7	28	1843	2	7	1846	43	16						4
			6	7	1814	1	29	1846	1	29	1846	45	31						0

48	Fielding, Joseph	Hannah Greenwood	60	3	27	1797	6	11	1838	1	26	1846	41	29	1	3	1	2	2	5	4	10	
		Mary Ann Peake Greenhalch		9	4	1808	1	23	1846	1	23	1846	48	43									7
		Mary Duff		10	29	1802	1	23	1846	1	23	1846	48	43									3
		Mary Farras		1	16	1782																0	
49	Fleming, Joshua	Nancy Bigler	61	4	25	1808	6	5	1828	1	2	1846	20	17	1	2	1	0	1	0	3	2	
		Nancy Henderson		8	6	1810	est	1846	2	7	1846	37	19									2	
		Mary Bunnell		1	13	1827	est	1857	2	26	1857	48	14									0	
50	Fordham, Elijah	Jane Ann Fisher		6	18	1842																0	
		Bothia Fisher		3	3	1798																8	
		Anna Bibbins Chaffee		4	13	1802	1	16	1846	1	16	1846	32	25									2NA
51	Foutz, Jacob	Elizabeth Hughes	62	4	12	1805	4	12	1830	1	16	1846	40	27	1	10	1	1	1	1	3	12	
		Jane McCausland		3	24	1811	10	3	1838	1	16	1846	40	27									12
		Amelia Brown		8	15	1799	2	3	1846	2	3	1846	47	46									6
		Margaret Mann	63	3	31	1839	3	21	1856	3	21	1856	58	16	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	0	
		Lucinda Loretta Loss		3	12	1828	4	1	1856	4	1	1856	58	28								1	
		Mattie Secrest		1	25	1800	4	6	1854	4	1	1856	56									0	
52	Fullmer, David	Rhoda Ann Marvin	64	12	14	1802	7	22	1822	1	28	1846	22	19	1	10	1	1	1	1	3	12	
		Sarah Oysterbanks		2	17	1823	1	31	1846	1	31	1846	46	22									12
		Margaret Phillips		7	3	1803	10	24	1888														0
53	Fullmer, John Solomon	Mary Ann Price	65	9	16	1815	9	18	1831	1	19	1846	28	18	1	5	2	1	0	14	3	20	
		Olive Armand Smith		9	22	1822	12	7	1845	1	19	1846	42	23									11
		Sarah Ann Stephenson		5	26	1800	1	19	1846	1	19	1846	42	45									9
54	Garner, William	Sarah Workman	66	7	21	1807	5	24	1837	1	15	1846	29	21	1	4	1	1	1	26	3	31	
		Elizabeth Ann Dunn		9	16	1815	1	21	1846	1	21	1846	38	20									8
		Bethzina Burns		9	18	1825	1	21	1846	1	21	1846	38	20									10
55	Gates, Jacob	Mary Minerva Snow	67	7	31	1835	9	3	1856	10	12	1856	49	21	1	4	1	2	1	7	3	13	
		Elizabeth Caroline Hutchings		1	21	1817	9	4	1838	2	3	1846	21	20									12
		Emma Forsberry		9	20	1823	2	3	1846	2	3	1846	29	22									1
		Lydia Wise		11	4	1842	3	16	1857			40	14									0	
		Sarah Meredith		3	11	1811	3	16	1833	1	21	1846	22	19	1	0	1	0	4	13	6	13	
		Mary Ware		7	30	1813	3	16	1833	1	21	1846	22	19								0	
				7	7	1826	1	21	1846	1	21	1846	34	19								0	
				7	27	1830	10	23	1853	9	17	1859	42	23								6	
				7	13	1856	7	13	1856	7	13	1856	45									0	
				11	1	1861	11	1	1861	11	1	1861	50									0	
				10	25	1862	10	25	1862	10	25	1862	51	18								7	

Husband	Wives	Notes	Dates of Record			Marriage Age		Family Size				Total						
			Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Husband	Wife	Up to 6-27-1844	Nauvoo after JS 1844-46	After Nauvoo 1846 on								
			Birth	Marriage	Sealing													
56 Graham, James	Mary Ann Butler Orilla Crandall Sarah Thompson Christiana Gregory Hannah T. Reed	68	10 11 1804	est 1825	2 3 1846	20	20	1	9	1	2	3	2	5	13			
			4 18 1804	2 3 1846	2 3 1846	41	42									0	11	
			7 29 1803	2 3 1848	2 28 1848	43	37										0	0
			9 10 1810	est 1849	9 9 1849	44	53										0	0
			3 19 1795	9 9 1849	9 9 1849	44	28										2	2
			5 10 1821	1828	1 20 1846	20	20										43	5
			7 22 1807	2 21 1841	1 20 1846	33	32										NA	NA
57 Grover, Thomas Jr.	Caroline Whiting Caroline Nickerson Hannah Tupper Laduska Tupper Emma Walker Elizabeth Walker	69	6 28 1808	12 17 1844	1 20 1846	37	21								14	4		
			3 22 1823	1 20 1846	1 20 1846	38	17									7	7	
			5 22 1828	10 29 1856	10 29 1856	49	19										9	9
			3 15 1837	1 24 1857	1 24 1857	49	17										9	9
			10 17 1839	10 10 1831	9 16 1961	18	18										25	3
58 Hadden, Alfred Sidney	Julia Ann Hall Mary Caroline Carter	70 71	8 9 1813	est 1846	3 28 1847	32	18								11	4		
			3 6 1827	1 30 1846	3 28 1847	33	16									10	11	
			6 5 1829	4 29 1819	1 24 1846	23	21									4	4	
59 Harmon, Jesse Pierse	Anna Barnes Margaret Allen Nancy Calkins Lucy Calkins Lovina Hazl Laura Ann Shaw	73	8 11 1795	2 6 1846	2 6 1846	50	48								6	4		
			3 6 1798	10 19 1861		66										0	0	
			1 11 1798		12 26 1870											0	0	
60 Harriman, Henry	Clarrissa Boynton Eliza E. Jones	74	6 9 1804	4 26 1827	1 16 1846	22	19								2	9		
			9 12 1807	1 16 1846	1 16 1846	41	16									0	0	
			1 5 1830	7 22 1802	12 19 1961	21	20									9	9	
61 Harris, Emer	Roxana Peas Deborah Lott Parna Chapel Polly Chamberlain Martha Allen	75	5 29 1781	1 16 1819	8 28 1867	37	19								6NA	5NA		
			12 5 1781	3 29 1826	1 30 1846	44	33									4	4	
			11 17 1799	1 11 1846	1 11 1848	64	33									1	1	
62 Hatch, Isaac Burrus	Mary Jane Garlic	76	2 6 1812	9 10 1850		69	47								0	0		
			3 15 1803	9 10 1845		22										5	3	
			2 14 1823													2	2	

Husband	Wives	Notes	Dates of Record			Marriage Age		Family Size				Total		
			Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Husband	Wife	Up to 6-27-1844	Nauvoo after JS 1844-46	After Nauvoo 1846 on				
			Birth	Marriage	Sealing									
69 Hunter, Edward	Ann Standley	86	6 22 1793	9 30 1830	1 29 1846	37	22	1	2	0	1	11	4	13
	Laura Lorina Kaufman		2 16 1808	12 15 1845	1 29 1846	52	18							2
	Susanna Wann		3 23 1827	1 29 1846	1 29 1846	52	20							5
	Henrietta Spencer		2 18 1825	est 1856	5 20 1856	62								3
				7 5 1806					1	5	1	0	2	2
70 Hunter, Jesse	Keziah Brown	87	12 10 1808	12 1827	2 2 1846	21	18							7
	Lydia A. Edmonds		1 22 1824	2 2 1846	2 2 1846	39	22							0
	William Dresser		2 28 1818	9 24 1839	1 16 1846	21	20	2	0	1	1	0	6	3
71 Huntington, [William]	Caroline Clark	88	9 15 1819	2 5 1843	1 16 1846	24	17							7
	Harriet Clark		8 2 1825	1 29 1846	1 29 1846	27	21							7
	Ann Maginn		6 20 1824	9 4 1834	1 11 1846	29	19	3	4	0	1	4	21	26
72 Hyde, Orson	Nancy Marinda Johnson	89	1 8 1805	7 20 1843	1 11 1846	38	24							10
	Martha Rebecca Browett		6 22 1819	4 1843	1 11 1846	38	26							0
	Mary Ann Price		6 5 1816	3 12 1857	3 12 1857	52	16							0
	Ann Eliza Vickers		1 26 1841	8 29 1863	8 29 1863	58	21							6
	Julia Reinert		7 13 1842	1864		58	21							5
Elizabeth Josephine Gallier	Sophia Margaret Lyon		2 6 1847	10 10 1865	10 10 1865	60	18							0
			6 22 1806	9 13 1827	1 15 1846	21	18	1	4	2	0	9	45	5
	Polly Z. Kelsey		9 14 1808	12 22 1844	1 15 1846	38	20							4
73 Johnson, Aaron	Sariah Maria Johnson	90	5 17 1824	7 12 1845	1 28 1846	39	23							4
	Jane Scott		7 10 1822	5 18 1846	12 28 1847	39	14							6
	Mary Ann Johnson		8 3 1831	4 25 1852	4 25 1852	45	16							9
	Rachel Ford		11 10 1835	12 16 1852	12 16 1852	46	15							4
	Harriet Fidella Johnson		8 27 1837	5 30 1856	5 30 1856	46	17							4
Eunice Lucinda Johnson	Margaret Jane Ford		11 2 1835	3 1 1857	3 1 1857	50	15							0
	Cecilia Elmira Sanford		4 17 1831	7 26 1862	7 26 1862	50	19							6
	Sarah James		8 22 1841	3 1 1857	3 1 1857	50	15							7
Julia Maria Johnson	Jemima Davis		9 13 1837	4 6 1857	4 6 1857	50	14							5
			8 14 1842	3 1 1857	3 1 1857	50	19							0
			11 4 1794	4 6 1857	4 6 1857	50	62							0

79	Lathrop, Asahel Albert	Eliza Mary Partridge	3	3	1842	9 26 1870	9 26 1870	58	28	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	4	
		Cynthia Jackson	12	27	1810	7 29 1841	1 21 1846	30	31										
		Jane Peacock	11	12	1820	est 1846	1 21 1846	35	25										
		Hannah Peacock	104	9	25	1822	est 1846	1 21 1846	35	23	4	6	6	1	9	45	19	52	11
80	Lee, John Doyle	Agatha Ann Woolsey	9	6	1812	7 23 1833	1 14 1846	20	19										
		Rachel Andora Woolsey	1	18	1814	4 19 1844	1 20 1846	31	18										
		Louisa Free	8	5	1825	4 19 1844	1 20 1846	31	19										
		Abigail Schaeffer (Woolsey)	8	9	1824	4 19 1844	1 20 1846	31	19										
		Nancy Bean	9	13	1786	4 19 1844	1 20 1846	31	57										
		Delethea Morris	12	14	1826	11 4 1844	1 14 1846	32	17										
		Sarah Caroline Williams	11	26	1825	1845	2 7 1846	32	19										
		Nancy Ann Vance	11	24	1830	4 30 1845	1 20 1846	32	14										
		Martha E. Perry	9	18	1824	1846	3 20 1847	33	21										
		Polly Ann Workman	11	22	1827	1 29 1846	1 29 1846	33	18										
		Emaline Vaughn Woolsey	5	11	1829	est 1846	1 31 1846	33	16										
		Lavina Young	1	4	1830	12 21 1846	12 12 1846	34	16										
		Mary Vance Young	9	25	1820	2 27 1847	3 20 1857	34	26										
81	Lott, Cornelius Peter	Nancy Gibbons Armstrong	11	10	1817	2 27 1847	3 20 1847	34	29										
		Mary Leah Groves	10	30	1836	2 27 1847	3 20 1857	40	16										
		Mary Ann Williams	1	7	1858	1 7 1858		43											
		Emma Batchelor	10	20	1813	3 18 1859		45											
		Terressa Morse	5	30	1849	6 10 1865	6 10 1865	52	16										
		Ann Gordge	9	27	1798	4 27 1823	1 22 1846	24	17	1	9	4	1	2	2	7	12	11	
		Permelia Darrow	12	15	1805	1 22 1846	1 22 1846	47	15										
		Narcissus Rebecca Faucett	3	12	1830	est 1846	1 22 1846	47	68										
		Charity Dickinson	2	24	1776	2 7 1846	2 7 1846	47	16										
		Jane Roodger	3	5	1829	1 22 1846	1 22 1846	47	54										
82	Loveland, Chester	Elizabeth Davis (Smith)	3	11	1791	3 30 1847	3 30 1847	48	54										
		Eleanor Wayman	5	25	1792	3 30 1847	3 30 1847	48	47	1	3	1	0	4	32	6	35	0	
		Phebe Knight	12	30	1817	2 15 1838	1 31 1846	20	22										
		Fannie Call	5	11	1815	1 15 1846	1 15 1846	28	20										
83	Loveland, Chester	Rosannah Elvira Winters	12	6	1825	7 21 1854	7 21 1854	36	19										
		Celia Leanova Simmons	4	4	1835	12 16 1861	5 28 1866	43	48										
		Elizabeth White	11	5	1813	11 17 1866	1866	48	20										
		Rosetta Adeline Snow	9	7	1846	9 5 1868	9 5 1868	50	20										
		Louisa Faulkner	11	6	1847														

Husband	Wives	Notes	Dates of Record			Marriage Age		Family Size			Total				
			Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Husband	Wife	Up to 6-27-1844	Nauvoo after JS 1844-46	After Nauvoo 1846 on					
			Birth	Marriage	Sealing										
83 Loveless, John	Rachel M. Anderson	111	1 24 1807	1 25 1826	1 28 1846	19	20	1	9	1	0	3	6	5	15
	Sarah Elmer		8 26 1805	2 2 1846	2 2 1846	39	32								12
	Mary P. Lange		9 20 1813	2 2 1846	2 2 1846	58	32								1
	Sally E. Sweat		7 16 1832	2 18 1865											2
	Rhoda Lawrence			11 21 1847											0
				3 30 1813			40								0
				11 28 1818	6 10 1835	1 13 1846	22	16	2	3	6	1	1	33	9
84 Lyman, Amasa Mason	Maria Louisa Tanner	112	3 10 1816	7 1843	1 16 1846	30	27								8
	Dionitia Walker		1 8 1827	9 6 1844	1 26 1846	31	17								0
	Caroline Eliza Partridge		4 20 1820	1 13 1846	1 13 1846	32	25								5
	Eliza M. Partridge (Smith)	113	3 20 1827	1 16 1846	1 16 1846	32	18								5
	Pauline Eliza Phelps		6 1 1829	1 17 1846	1 17 1846	32	16								7
	Priscilla Rebecca Turley		1 5 1825	1 13 1846	1 13 1846	32	21								6
	Cornelia Eliza Leavitt		5 22 1829	1 13 1846	1 13 1846	32	16								2
85 Markham, Stephen	Laura Reed		5 8 1830	2 7 1853	2 7 1853	39	22								0
	Lydia Partridge		2 9 1800					1	0	2	0	6	13	9	13
	Ornan Haughton		1806		10 5 1850										0
	Hannah Hogaboom		4 1 1803	1 30 1846	1 30 1846	45	42								0
	Prudence Fenner		5 26 1799	1 30 1846	1 30 1846	45	46								0
	Mary Curtis	114	11 15 1832	10 5 1850	4 18 1918	50	17								13
	Martha Jane Boice		3 2 1836	10 11 1852	10 11 1852	52	16								0
	Anna Matthews		4 20 1803	10 11 1852	10 11 1852	52	49								0
	Lucy Ann Bellows		10 11 1838	4 22 1856	4 22 1856	56	17								0
	Lydia Maria Macomber		1804	est 1865		65									0
86 McArthur, Duncan	Eliza Jane Adamson		5 22 1796					1	13	1	0	1	5	3	18
	Susan McKeen	115	10 10 1801	12 20 1817	1 17 1846	21	16								14
	Cynthia Nickols		4 2 1800	1 29 1846	1 29 1846	49	45								0
	Eliza Rebecca Scoville		2 14 1841	10 23 1857		61	16								4
			2 1 1806						1	1	1	0	2	19	4
87 Mecham, Joseph	Hanna Ladd Tyler		2 10 1808	2 10 1827	1 22 1846	21	19								2
	Ann Elizabeth Bovee		4 18 1829	1 9 1845	1 22 1846	38	15								11
	Sarah Ann Maria Tuttle		1 25 1825	1 5 1853	9 14 1867	46	27								7

88 Merkle, Christopher	Mary Catherine Green	1837	8 19 1855	8 19 1855	49	18	1	1	1	0	1	9	3	0
	Sarah Davis	12 18 1808	2 18 1828	1 24 1846	19	17								10
	Minerva Stowell	5 19 1810	1845	1 24 1846	36	20								2
	Xarissa Fairbanks	4 23 1824	1 17 1858	1 17 1868	49	19								0
89 Miller, Reuben		10 29 1838					1	3	2	1	2	26	5	8
	Rhoda Ann Letts	9 4 1811	4 17 1836	1 27 1846	24	21								30
	Orice Burnham	11 25 1814	12 15 1845	1 27 1846	34	30								10
	Louisa Sanger	11 20 1815	1 27 1846	1 27 1846	34	30								3
90 Miller, William	Ann Crainer	7 15 1838	12 9 1856	12 9 1856	45	18								0
	Jane Hughes	1 21 1849	10 8 1866	1 11 1869	55	17								6
	Sarah Long			1 11 1869			1	2	3	0	2	1	6	0
	Elizabeth Scott	2 8 1814		1 19 1846										3
91 Mitchell, Benjamin Thomas	Phoebe Scott	1811		1 19 1846	20	17								NA
	Lucretia Marilla Johnson	8 19 1816	5 4 1834	1 19 1846	31	15								2
	Emeline Potter	10 12 1830	12 27 1845	1 19 1846	31	15								1
	Mary Ann Turner	5 18 1827	2 7 1846	2 7 1846	31	18								0
	Annie Lewis	1827	est 1846	1 23 1846	31	19								0
	Jane Lewis		9 8 1859		45									0
92 Morley, Isaac	Sarah Triesback	1 12 1816	10 22 1864		50		2	0	0	2	4	15	6	17
	Caroline Conrad	6 9 1817		1 17 1846										NA
	Lovina Buckwater	9 10 1811	1 7 1843	1 17 1846	26	31								0
	Lois Judd	1 28 1821	10 10 1843	1 17 1846	27	22								8
	Mariah Day	1824	1 9 1848	1 9 1848	31	24								0
	Katrina F. Jensen	6 1 1833	6 30 1851	6 30 1851	35	18								0
93 Murray, William E.	Susanna Houston	1837	12 21 1856	3 6 1857	40	19								9
	Lucy Gunn	3 11 1786	6 6 1857	6 6 1857	41		1	10	4	1	0	2	5	13
	Hannah Blakeslee Finch	1 24 1786	6 20 1812	1 14 1846	26	26								10
	Abigail Leonora Snow	3 19 1811	1844	1 14 1846	57	32								3
93 Murray, William E.	Hannah Knight Libby	8 23 1801	1844	1 14 1846	57	42								0
	Harriet Lucinda Cox	10 9 1786	1 22 1846	1 22 1846	59	59								0
	Ellen Sarvis	1 20 1823	1 22 1846	1 22 1846	59	23								0
	Mary Spring	10 4 1802	by 1825	2 3 1846	22	20	1	4	1	0	0	0	2	4
Eliza Cravath	1811	by 1828	2 3 1846	25	17								1NA	
	122	2 3 1846	2 3 1846	43									0	

Husband	Wives	Notes	Dates of Record			Marriage Age		Family Size			Total				
			Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Husband	Wife	Up to 6-27-1844	Nauvoo after JS 1844-46	After Nauvoo 1846 on					
			Birth	Marriage	Sealing										
94 Nickerson, Freeman	Huldah Chapman	123	2 5 1779	1 19 1800	1 9 1846	20	19	1	9	2	0	0	0	3	9
	Huldah Howes		8 19 1780	8 1845		66	58								9
	Eliza Kent		8 16 1786	1846		66									0
				1 14 1810					3	8	0	0	8	23	31
	Mary Adeline Beman	124	10 19 1810	9 11 1834	1 23 1846	24	23								9
	Sarah B. Alley		10 17 1819	4 5 1843	1 23 1846	33	23								1
	Mary Ann Washburn		11 18 1828	6 28 1843	1 23 1846	33	14								5
	Susan Hammond Ashby		8 28 1808	3 3 1847	3 3 1847	37	38								1
	Millicent London		12 22 1805	6 12 1853	6 12 1853	43	47								0
	Julia Rosetta Thurston		11 21 1841	1 18 1857	1 18 1857	47	15								4
Loretta Sylvia Meacham		1 4 1838	1 18 1857	1 18 1857	47	19								11	
Jane Wallace		ca 1812	6 27 1867		57	55								0	
Hannah Kerr		ca 1812	11 23 1870	11 23 1870	60	58								0	
Catherine Wallace		ca 1812	11 23 1870	11 23 1870	60	58								0	
Sarah Wallace		ca 1812	11 23 1870	11 23 1870	60	58								0	
96 Pack, John			5 20 1809					1	4	3	1	5	40	9	45
	Julia Ives	125	3 8 1817	10 10 1832	1 21 1846	23	15								11
	Nancy Aurelia Boothe		4 11 1826	1 21 1846	1 21 1846	36	19								2
	Eliza Jane Graham		11 6 1825	1 21 1846	1 21 1846	36	20								0
	Ruth Mosher		4 12 1824	1 21 1846	1 21 1846	36	21								9
	Jane Robison		2 17 1828	ca 1848		38	19								2
	Mary Jane Walker		4 3 1835	9 15 1852	2 13 1857	43	17								11
	Jesse Bell Stirling		9 26 1845	1 16 1864	1 16 1864	54	18								7
	Lucy Giles		6 13 1848	5 2 1865	5 2 1868	55	16								3
	Jane Ackerly		est 1803	6 20 1870		61	67		0	0	3	0	0	9	3
97 Parker, John Davis			11 22 1799												9
	Harriet Sherwood				2 3 1846										0
	Almeda Sophia Roudy	126	3 7 1829	2 3 1846	2 3 1846	46	16								9
Samantha Roudy		6 2 1824	2 3 1846	2 3 1846	46	21								0	
98 Peck, Martin Horton			5 27 1806					1	0	1	1	6	21	8	22
	Susan Caroline Clough			6 18 1827	1 13 1846	21									7NA
	Mary Thorn		2 14 1816	3 28 1844	1 13 1846	37	28								5
	Arlytia Long Carter		5 18 1829	1 20 1846	1 20 1846	39	16								4

Husband	Wives	Notes	Dates of Record			Marriage Age		Family Size				Total					
			Mo	Day	Year	Mo	Day	Year	Nauvoo		After						
			Mo	Day	Year	Mo	Day	Year	Up to	after JS	Nauvoo						
Birth	Marriage	Sealing	Husband	Wife	6-27-1844	1844-46	1846 on										
102 Redding, Return Jackson	Laura Louisa Trask		9	26	1817				0	0	2	0	1	10	3	10	
	Martha Marie Hurlbutt	131	3	15	1818		1	24	1846							2NA	
	Jane Fidelia Whiting		8	27	1814		1	24	1846							0	
	Naomi Eliza Murray		2	29	1824		1	24	1846							0	
	Sarah De Armon Pea	132	7	9	1830	2	2	1847	3	24	1975					10	
103 Rich, Charles Coulson	Eliza Ann Graves		8	21	1809						1	3	4	2	2	46	7
	Mary Ann Phelps		9	23	1814	2	11	1838	1	15	1846					9	
	Sarah Jane Peck		6	3	1811	1	6	1845	1	15	1846					3	
	Emeline Grover		8	6	1829	1	6	1845	1	15	1846					10	
	Harriet Sargent		9	15	1825	1	15	1846	36	20						11	
	Suzanne Stock		7	30	1831	2	2	1846	36	14						8	
	Jane Snyder	133	10	23	1832	3	28	1847	3	28	1847					10	
	Elizabeth McFate		4	2	1821	8	27	1865	56							0	
	Sarah Snyder		1	31	1823	12	18	1842	21			1	1	1	0	10	21
	Charlotte Fox		10	28	1829	1	31	1846	24	16						6	
104 Richards, Franklin Dewey	Susan S. Peirson		4	11	1813	10	13	1849	28	36						0	
	Laura Altha Snyder		3	8	1826	10	13	1849	28	23						0	
	Nanny Longstroth (Richards)		12	13	1831	6	26	1853	32	21						3	
	Rhoda Harriet Foss (Richards)		2	14	1836	3	29	1854	32	18						0	
	Mary Thompson (Richards)		4	15	1828	3	6	1857	35	28						3	
	Josephine de la Harpe		4	19	1830	3	6	1857	35	26						4	
	Ann Davis Daily		10	21	1827	3	6	1857	35	29						4	
	Susannah Baylis (Richards)		3	31	1791	3	6	1857	35	65						0	
	Levi		5	31	1812	11	6	1857	36	45						0	
	Sarah Griffith	134	4	14	1799	12	25	1843	44	40			1	0	1	0	2
105 Richards, Levi	Persis Goodall		12	26	1802	1	27	1846	46	39						1	
	Wealthy Dewey	135	3	15	1806	1	27	1846	46	39						0	
	Mary Vail Morse		11	5	1788	2	24	1818	29	31						6	
	Martha Allen		9	6	1786	2	8	1846	57	36						0	
	Margaret Phillips		12	8	1809	11	26	1847	59	44						0	
106 Richards, Phineas Howe			3	15	1803	11	26	1847	59	44						0	
			5	26	1800	2	29	1848	59	47						0	
																0	

107	Richards, Willard	Emily Northrop Ann Emerson Jane McBride	4 24 1822	3 24 1852	3 24 1852	63	2 2 2 7 0 5 24 14 26	0 0 0
		Jennetta Richards 136	8 2 1817	9 24 1838	1 22 1846	34	21	2 2
		Sarah Longstroth	2 19 1826	1 18 1843	1 22 1846	38	16	4
		Amelia Elizabeth Peirson	4 16 1825	12 22 1845	1 22 1846	41	20	1
		Alice Longstroth	1 28 1824	1845		41	21	0
		Nanny Longstroth	4 15 1828	1 25 1846	1 25 1846	41	17	3
		Mary Thompson	10 21 1827	1 27 1846	1 27 1846	41	18	2
		Jane Hall	2 18 1826	1 27 1846	1 27 1846	41	19	0
		Susannah Lee (Walker)	5 19 1809	2 6 1846	2 6 1846	41	36	0
		Ann Reed Braddock	3 5 1794	2 6 1846	2 6 1846	41	51	0
		Susannah Baylis	5 31 1812	12 22 1847	12 22 1847	43	35	1
		Rhoda Harriet Foss	4 19 1830	11 30 1851	11 30 1851	47	21	5
		Emma Irene Walker	7 28 1854	12 24 1872	1 4 1875	68	18	8
		Sarah Edna Hinman	2 28 1828	6 9 1893	6 9 1893	88	65	0
		Ann Elizabeth Fox	2 17 1815					0
108	Richardson, Ebenezer Clawson	Ann Elizabeth Fox	8 7 1815				2 5 0 1 2 29 4 35	0 0 0
		Angeline King	11 25 1813	1833	2 27 1848	17	19	12
		Polly Ann Child	7 20 1821	1843	2 27 1848	28	22	6
		Phebe W. Child	1 17 1832	5 14 1848	5 14 1848	32	16	11
		Elizabeth Gilson	1 24 1843		11 30 1860			6
109	Robinson, Joseph Lee	Maria Wood	2 11 1811				1 4 1 1 5 23 7 28	7 7 3
		Susan McCord	12 14 1808	7 23 1832	1 13 1846	21	26	7
		Laurinda Maria Atwood	5 3 1821	3 21 1847	3 21 1847	36	25	8
		Lydia Foster	1 9 1831	2 16 1853	2 16 1853	42	22	6
		Mary Taylor	11 6 1835	2 2 1867		55	31	4
		Betsy Ann Wood			9 14 1870			0
		Minerva Wood	est. 1778		9 14 1870			0
110	Rockwood, Albert Perry	Nancy Haven	6 9 1805	2 4 1827	1 17 1846	21	21	22
		Angeline Hodgkins	6 13 1805	1 21 1846	1 21 1846	40	25	6
		Alvira Wheeler (Teeple)	11 11 1819	1 21 1846	1 21 1846	40	26	2
		Juliana Sophia Olsen	10 14 1841	4 11 1863	4 11 1863	57	57	8
		Suzanna Cornwall		1 6 1870	1 6 1870	64	28	4

Husband	Wives	Notes	Dates of Record				Marriage Age		Family Size			Total			
			Mo	Day	Year	Mo	Day	Year	Up to	After	Total				
			Birth	Marriage	Sealing	Husband	Wife	1844-46	Nauvoo 1846 on						
111 Russell, Samuel Jr.	Frances Maria Stillman		9	25	1812	1	20	1846	33	15	0	0	1	3	1
	Ester Hill		5	29	1830	1	20	1846	33	29					0
	Mary Abigail Thorn		3	2	1816	est	1846	1	20	1846	33	29			0
	Henry Harrison		4	2	1821	1	20	1846	33	24					1
	Olive Amanda Wheaton		5	3	1814	1	22	1846	31	32	0	0	3	0	4
112 Sagers, William	Sarah L. Bailey		1	26	1813	1	22	1846	31	19					0
	Harriet Emeline Barney		12	3	1826	1	22	1846	31	19					0
	Ruth Adelia Wheaton		10	13	1830	3	1846		31	15					2
	Marion Smith		9	20	1832	1851	6	1851	36	18					4
	Lucy Marillo Wheaton		4	15	1837	6	5	1858	44	21					6
113 Sanders, Ellis Mendenhall	France Camelia Adams				1830										0
	Rachel Broom Roberts		12	5	1808										0
	Esther Ann Pierce (Gheen)		9	14	1807	11	9	1830	21	23					8
	Mary Hawthorne		12	24	1801	2	2	1846	37	44					0
	Elizabeth Menery		5	6	1811	4	15	1836	24	20					0
114 Scott, John	Mary Pugh		9	10	1815	3	2	1845	33	23					12
	Sarah Ann Willis		11	10	1821	3	2	1845	33	23					5
	Esther Yeates		2	4	1825	3	24	1846	34	21					10
	Roxey Angeline Keller		4	4	1843	2	18	1860	48	16					7
	Lura Snow		4	29	1851	4	11	1868	56	16					4
115 Scovil, Lucius Nelson	Alice Hurst		3	18	1806	4	11	1868	56	16					4
	Emma Whaley		3	11	1807	6	18	1828	22	21					28
	Jane Hobbs		2	18	1819	10	16	1844	38	25					9
	Hannah Maria Marsden		4	12	1823	11	8	1847	41	24					9
	Sarah Elizabeth McArthur		10	6	1826	est	1847	10	8	1847	41	21			0
116 Sessions, David	Jane Fales				1826	9	7	1854	48						0
	Hannah Maria Marsden		11	22	1839	6	17	1856	48	16					0
	Patty Bartlett		2	28	1827	10	28	1857	51	30					7
	Harriet Worthing [Wixon]		4	4	1790	1	28	1812	21	16					3
	Rosilla Cowen		8	14	1830	est	1846	1	13	1850	55	15			10

	6	15	1815	9	21	1834	2	6	1846	19	19	0	0	2	0	5	51	7	51
117 Sessions, Peregrine	6	24	1815	9	21	1834	2	6	1846	19	19	0	0	2	0	5	51	7	51
Julia Ann Kilgore	6	24	1815	9	21	1834	2	6	1846	19	19	0	0	2	0	5	51	7	51
Mary Call	2	21	1824	6	28	1845	2	6	1846	30	21	0	0	2	0	5	51	7	51
Lucina Call	9	29	1819	6	28	1845	2	6	1846	30	25	0	0	2	0	4	4	7	51
Fanny E. Loveland	12	13	1838	9	13	1852	9	13	1852	38	13	0	0	2	0	11	11	7	51
Sarah Crossley	1	29	1843	3	2	1861	3	2	1861	45	18	0	0	2	0	10	10	7	51
Elizabeth Betsy Birdenow	3	6	1827	9	29	1865	9	29	1865	50	38	0	0	2	0	0	0	7	51
Sarah Ann Bryson	5	21	1850	9	29	1866	9	29	1866	51	16	0	0	2	0	11	11	7	51
Esther Mabey	7	4	1850	11	22	1868	11	22	1868	53	18	0	0	2	0	10	10	7	51
118 Shumway, Charles	8	1	1806									1	3	1	1	3	31	5	35
Julia Ann Hooker	11	28	1807	3	26	1832	1	21	1846	25	24	0	0	2	0	3	31	5	35
Louisa Minnerly	1	8	1824	8	5	1845	1	21	1846	39	21	0	0	2	0	5	31	5	35
Henrietta Bird	6	7	1833	1	24	1852	1	24	1852	45	18	0	0	2	0	7	31	5	35
Adliza L. Truman	1	6	1815	5	5	1856				49	41	0	0	2	0	0	31	5	35
Elizabeth Jardine	1	25	1847	3	29	1862	3	29	1862	55	15	0	0	2	0	13	31	5	35
119 Smith, George Albert	6	26	1817									1	2	7	3	2	15	10	20
Bathsheba W. Bigler	5	3	1822	7	25	1841	1	20	1844	24	19	0	0	2	0	2	15	10	20
Nancy Clement	10	31	1815	11	29	1844	2	1	1845	27	29	0	0	2	0	3	15	10	20
Lucy Meserve Smith	2	9	1817	11	29	1844	1	26	1846	27	27	0	0	2	0	1	15	10	20
Zilpha Stark	7	3	1818	3	26	1845	1	26	1846	27	26	0	0	2	0	2	15	10	20
Hannah Maria Libby	6	29	1828	11	20	1845	1	26	1846	28	17	0	0	2	0	5	15	10	20
Sarah Ann Libby	5	7	1818	11	20	1845	1	26	1846	28	27	0	0	2	0	1	15	10	20
Agnes M. Coolbrith (Smith)	149	7	11	1811	e.2	7	1846	2	7	1846	28	34	0	0	2	0	0	7	51
Susanna Ogden Bigler	150	10	11	1785						28	34	0	0	2	0	0	0	7	51
Susan Elizabeth West	12	4	1833	10	28	1857	10	28	1857	40	23	0	0	2	0	5	0	7	51
Elizabeth Boardman Wilson	2	9	1800				4	10	1868	0	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	4	2
120 Smith, Hyrum	2	9	1800									4	2	0	0	0	0	4	2
Jerusha Barden	2	15	1805	11	2	1826	1	15	1846	26	21	0	0	2	0	0	0	4	2
Mary Fielding	97	7	21	1801	12	24	1837	1	15	1846	37	36	0	2	0	0	0	4	2
Mercy Fielding (Thompson)	151	7	21	1805	8	11	1843			43	38	0	0	2	0	0	0	4	2
Catherine Phillips				1843						43	38	0	0	2	0	0	0	4	2
Lydia Dibble Granger	152	4	5	1790	1843					43	52	0	0	2	0	0	0	4	2
121 Smith, John	7	16	1781									1	4	7	0	0	0	8	4
Clarissa Lyman	6	27	1790	9	11	1815	2	26	1844	34	25	0	0	2	0	0	0	8	4
Ann Carr	2	28	1790	est	1846					64	55	0	0	2	0	0	0	8	4
Miranda Jones	11	16	1784	est	1846					64	61	0	0	2	0	0	0	8	4
Mary Aiken	8	13	1797	1	15	1846	1	15	1846	64	48	0	0	2	0	0	0	8	4
Sarah M. Kingsley (Howe, Cleveland, Smith)	155	10	20	1788	1	15	1846	1	15	1846	64	57	0	2	0	0	0	8	4

Husband	Wives	Notes	Dates of Record			Marriage Age		Family Size			Total
			Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	Mo Day Year	
			Birth	Marriage	Sealing	Up to 6-27-1844	Nauvoo after JS 1844-46	After Nauvoo 1846 on			
	(Cont)										
	Julia Hills		9 26 1783	est 1846	1 15 1846	64					0
	Asenath Hurlbert		8 2 1780	est 1846	1 15 1846	64					0
	Rebecca Smith		4 29 1788	est 1846	1 15 1846	64					0
122 Smith, Joseph Jr.		*	12 23 1805								5
	Emma Hale		7 10 1804	1 18 1827	5 28 1843	21					5
	Louisa Bejman	156	2 7 1815	4 5 1841	1 14 1846	35					0
	Zina Diantha Huntington (Jacobs)	157	1 31 1821	10 27 1841	2 2 1846	35					0
	Prescinda Lathrop Huntington (Buell)	101	9 7 1810	12 11 1841	2 4 1846	35					0
	Mary Elizabeth Rollins (Lightner)	156	4 9 1818	1 17 1842	1 17 1846	36					0
	Patty Bartlett (Sessions)		2 4 1795	3 9 1842	7 9 1867	36					0
	Nancy Marinda Johnson (Hyde)	89	6 28 1815	4 1842	7 31 1857	36					0
	Eliza Roxcy Snow	156	1 21 1804	6 29 1842	2 3 1846	36					0
	Sarah Ann Whitney	99	3 22 1825	7 27 1842	1 12 1846	36					0
	Martha McBride (Knight)	98	3 17 1805	8 3 1842	1 26 1846	36					0
	Elvira Annie Cowles (Holmes)	84	11 23 1813	12 1 1842	2 3 1846	36					0
	Delcena Johnson (Sherman)	158	11 19 1807	early 1842		36					0
	Desdemona Wadsworth Fuller	13	10 6 1809	1842	1 26 1846	36					0
	Lucinda Pendleton (Morgan, Harris)	107	9 27 1801	1842	1 22 1846	36					0
	Elizabeth Davis (Brackenbury, Durfee)	155	10 20 1788	1842	1 15 1846	36					0
	Sarah M. Kingsley (Howe, Cleveland)	149	3 27 1793	1842	4 4 1899	36					0
	Sarah Bapson		7 11 1811	1842		36					0
	Agnes M. Coolbrith (Smith)	149	10 24 1815	late 1842	1 29 1846	37					0
	Sally Ann Fuller		2 26 1808	2 1843	4 4 1899	37					0
	Ruth D. Vose (Sayers)		4 20 1820	3 8 1843	1 13 1846	37					0
	Eliza Maria Partridge	113	10 21 1813	e.4 3 1843	3 21 1879	37					0
	Almera Woodard Johnson		4 30 1826	5 1 1843	1 15 1846	37					0
	Lucy Walker	98	2 28 1824	5 11 1843	1 14 1846	37					0
	Emily Dow Partridge	156	5 13 1826	5 11 1843	1 26 1846	37					0
	Sarah Lawrence	156	12 18 1823	e.5 1843	1 24 1846	37					0
	Maria Lawrence		8 25 1828	5 1843	2 4 1846	37					0
	Helen Mar Kimball	156	8 8 1784	6 12 1843	1 31 1846	37					0
	Rhoda Richards		11 17 1826	spring 1843	4 4 1899	37					0
	Flora Ann Woodworth	19	1 9 1824	9 20 1843	2 8 1846	37					0
	Melissa Lott										0

Husband	Wives	Notes	Dates of Record		Marriage Age		Family Size			Total					
			Mo	Day	Year	Mo	Day	Year	Up to		After				
			Birth	Marriage	Sealing	Husband	Wife	6-27-1844	Nauvoo after JS 1844-46		Nauvoo 1846 on				
Snow, Erastus	(Cont)														
	Ann McMenemy		1820	10 15	1867	10 15	1867	48	47			0			
	Ann Hansen		ca 1820	5 9	1870	5 9	1870	51	50			0			
	Anna Beckstrom		4 1 1825	after 1870				52	45			0			
	Margaret Earl		ca 1820	3 28	1877	3 28	1877	58	57			0			
	Rebecca Abigail Farley		ca 1820	6 18	1880	8 12	1977	61	60			0			
	Frances "Fanny" Porter		6 17 1814	2 1 1882	2 1 1882	63	67	63	67			0			
	Matilda Wells		ca 1820	11 16	1882	1 20	1979	64	62			0			
	Inger Nielsen		4 29 1827	7 16	1884	7 16	1884	65	57			0			
	Susannah Olmstead		ca 1820	11 14	1890	11 14	1890	72	70			0			
	126 Snow, Lorenzo		4 3 1814					1	0	5	0	4	42	10	42
	Eleanor Houtz		8 14 1831	1845	6 1 1848	31	14								8
	Mary Adeline Goddard		3 8 1812	1845	1 17 1846	31	33								3
Hannah Goddard			1845	1845	31									0	
Sarah Ann Prichard		11 29 1826	4 21 1845	1 17 1846	31	18								5	
Charlotte Squires		11 19 1825	1 17 1846	1 17 1846	31	20								2	
Harriet Amelia Squires		9 13 1819	1 17 1846	1 17 1846	31	26								5	
Caroline Horton		12 25 1824	10 9 1853	10 9 1853	39	28								3	
Phoebe Amelia Woodruff		3 4 1842	4 4 1859	4 4 1859	45	17								5	
Sarah E. Minnie Jensen		10 10 1855	6 12 1871	6 12 1871	57	15								5	
Mary Elizabeth Houtz		5 19 1840		3 5 1857										6	
127 Snow, Willard Trowbridge		11 6 1811					1	4	1	1	1	4	3	9	
Melvina Harvey	162	12 16 1811	5 17 1837	1 12 1846	25	25								9	
Susan Harvey		3 12 1808	5 14 1846	1846	34	38								0	
Mary Bingham (Freeman)	163	4 1 1820	1 16 1849	1 16 1849	37	28								0	
128 Snow, William		12 14 1806					1	1	1	1	3	23	5	25	
Hannah Miles			9 21 1832	1 16 1846	25									3 NA	
Lydia Leavitt	164	7 4 1823	8 2 1842	1 16 1846	35	19								2	
Sally Adams		5 29 1825	1 24 1846	1 24 1846	39	20								8	
Jane Maria Shearer (Wines?)		2 12 1819	10 17 1850	10 17 1850	43	31								5	
Roxanna Leavitt (Huntsman)		12 15 1818	3 12 1853	3 12 1853	46	34								2	
Ann Rogers		12 30 1834	3 13 1853	3 13 1853	46	18								8	
129 Spencer, Orson		3 14 1802					1	7	1	1	4	5	6	13	
Catherine Cannon Curtis	165	3 21 1811	4 13 1830	1 15 1846	28	19								8	
Ann Dibble		8 18 1829	est 1846	1 15 1846	43	16								0	

Husband	Wives	Notes	Dates of Record				Marriage Age		Family Size					
			Mo Day Year		Mo Day Year		Husband	Wife	Nauvoo		After Nauvoo 1846 on	Total		
			Birth	Marriage	Sealing	Up to 6-27-1844			1844-46					
134 Tippitts, John Harvey	Abigail Jane Smith Caroline F. Calkins Nancy Calkins Eleanor Wise *		9 5 1810	10 1834	1 15 1846	24	1	2	1	0	1	7	3	9
			7 24 1808	9 25 1840	1 26 1846	30								2 NA
			12 30 1800	12 26 1863	1 28 1846	53								3
135 Turley, Theodore	Frances Amelia Kimberly Mary Cliff Eliza Cliff	172 173 174	4 10 1801	11 26 1821	1 19 1846	20	4	11	1	6	0	5	5	6
	Sarah Ellen Cliff	175	7 2 1813	3 6 1844	2 3 1846	40								22
	Ruth Jane Giles	176	5 3 1817	4 26 1844	1 19 1846	43								10
			6 29 1812	est 1844	6 18 1850	43								4
136 Webb, Chauncey Griswold	Eliza Jane Churchill Elizabeth Lydia Taft Elizabeth Moyle Louisa Goodley Eliza Price Elizabeth Brown	177	10 24 1811	9 16 1834	1 21 1846	22	1	2	1	1	4	20	6	23
			5 4 1817	1 21 1846	1 21 1846	34								3
			12 6 1827	1 12 1856		44								12
			2 12 1837	2 13 1857		45								0
			11 1838	3 1 1857	12 3 1867	45								0
			1814	4 7 1868		56								8
137 Weeks, Allen	Frances E. Strickland Sarah Jane Bennett Melissa Bennett Mary Bell	178	11 22 1814	5 4 1842	2 7 1846	21	1	2	2	1	0	6	3	9
			12 27 1828	2 7 1846	2 7 1846	17								NA?
			12 9 1786	2 7 1846	2 7 1846	59								7
138 Whiting, Edwin	Elizabeth Partridge Tillotson Almira M. Meacham Mary E. Cox Hannah Haines Brown Mary Ann Washburn	179	9 9 1809	9 21 1833	1 27 1846	24	1	7	2	4	2	23	5	34
			4 15 1814	1 3 1845	1 27 1846	35								11
			5 13 1824	1 27 1846	1 27 1846	36								7
			12 15 1826	10 8 1856	7 18 1868	46								9
			7 21 1834	4 14 1857	4 20 1857	47								5
			11 18 1828	1 30 1846	1 30 1846	37	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	2
139 Whitney, Clark Lyman	Adeline Elizabeth Ballard Rhoda Ann Ballard Nancy Richardson		5 6 1808	1 30 1846	1 30 1846	37	21							0
			3 22 1824	1 30 1846	1 30 1846	37	23							0
			7 10 1822	e.1 30 1846	1 30 1846	37	61							0
			9 27 1784											0

43. DD Dec. 10, 1866.
44. DD 1874.
45. CR 1837-57.
46. CR 1835-56; DD 1913.
47. CR 1830-49.
48. CR 1837-43; DD 1886.
49. CR 1836-63.
50. Marriage for time: to Joseph Smith for eternity.
51. Present at temple ceremonies recorded in Dec. 1845-Jan. 1846 (William Clayton).
52. DD 1850.
53. Marriage for time; Dana proxy for Nathaniel Thomas.
54. DD Jan. 10, 1881.
55. DD Feb. 25, 1888.
56. An Eliz. Allred, 40, and a William Edwards, 40, were present in the 1850 census.
57. CR 1840-61.
58. DD Mar. 10, 1893.
59. CR 1827-51.
60. CR 1837-51.
61. DD Jul. 5, 1886.
62. CR 1839-50.
63. CR 1823-48.
64. CR 1833-61.
65. CR 1838-56.
66. CR 1838-61.
67. DD Feb. 9, 1891.
68. CR 1825-Apr. 1846; DD Sep. 19, 1846.
69. CR 1841-46.
70. DD 1847.
71. CR Feb. 1847-69.
72. CR Mar. 1847-71.
73. DD Jan. 16, 1847.
74. DD Dec. 30, 1885.
75. DD 1857.
76. CR 1847-53.
77. Records indicate a Nauvoo marriage preceded by an endowment on Dec. 29, 1845.
78. Her later remarriage to Douglas David confirms that she was alive at the time of her 1846 sealing to Hatfield.
79. Marriage for time; Hawes proxy for Joshua Smith.
80. CR 1833-47; DD Dec. 27, 1886.
81. CR 1843-51; marriage for time; Higbee proxy for Gideon Carter.
82. Proxy for first wife, Keziah String.
83. DD 1853.
84. CR with Holmes 1845-56; same marriage date with Joseph Smith; sealed to Smith.
85. DD 1889.
86. Listed in the 1850 census.
87. CR 1832-43 plus two later children; died in Los Angeles.
88. Washing and anointing ceremony performed on Dec. 20, 1845; listed in the 1850 census.
89. CR with Hyde 1835-58, during which she married Joseph Smith.
90. CR 1847-63.
91. CR 1842-60; DD 1860.
92. Proxy for first wife, Anna Pixley.
93. CR 1838-60.
94. Received endowments on Jan. 24, 1846.
95. CR 1823-50.
96. CR 1842/3-49/50.
97. Marriage to Heber Kimball for time; proxy for Hyrum Smith.
98. Married Heber Kimball for time; proxy for Joseph Smith.
99. Married Joseph Smith, Joseph Kingsbury, then Heber Kimball for time; proxy for Smith.
100. Marriage for time; Kimball proxy for F. G. Williams.
101. Married Norman Buell, Joseph Smith, and Heber Kimball for time; proxy for Smith.
102. Married Windsor P. Lyon, Joseph Smith, Heber Kimball (for time, proxy for Smith), and later to Ezekiel Clark.
103. Proxy for first wife, Caroline Whitney.
104. Jane and Hannah Peacock received washing and anointing ceremonies respectively on December 19 and 18, 1845.
105. CR 1834-57; DD Jun. 4, 1866.
106. CR 1824-48.
107. Orson Pratt's mother; DD May 20, 1849.
108. Marriage for time; Lott proxy for Joseph Smith.
109. Marriage for time; Lott proxy for Joseph Knight.
110. CR 1838-61.
111. CR 1827-50.
112. CR 1836-57.
113. Marriage for time; Lyman proxy for Joseph Smith.
114. Marriage for time; Markham proxy for Oman Houghton.
115. CR 1818-46.
116. CR 1828-48.
117. CR 1837-56.

118. Marriage for time; Miller proxy for Hyrum Smith.
119. Proxy for first wife, Elizabeth Scott.
120. CR 1844-60.
121. DD Jan. 3, 1848.
122. Marriage for time; Murray proxy for A. Cravath.
123. Received washing and anointing Dec. 15, 1845; DD Mar. 22, 1860.
124. CR 1835-49.
125. CR 1834-60.
126. CR 1847-71.
127. DD Jan. 2, 1874.
128. Estimate of marriage dates based on women's ages; their receipt of endowments on Feb. 2 and Jan. 23, 1846, respectively; and their sealing dates.
129. CR 1837-58.
130. CR 1838-44; DD Aug. 24, 1891. Also married Joseph Smith in 1843 and was sealed to him with Pratt listed as proxy husband on Feb. 6, 1846. LDS archives record Mary Ann Frost's four children in connection to both of her spouses, Pratt and Smith. Fawn Brodie suggests that the fourth child, Moroni Llewellyn Pratt, born Dec. 7, 1844, might have been Smith's son (Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History* [New York: Knopf, 1945], 461).
131. DD Mar. 15, 1848; proxy for first wife, Laura Trask.
132. CR 1839-59.
133. CR 1843-59.
134. DD Jun. 7, 1892.
135. DD Oct. 18, 1853.
136. DD Jul. 9, 1845.
137. CR 1834-56.
138. CR 1833-49.
139. DD Jan. 13, 1876.
140. Marriage for time after husband was killed in a Nauvoo temple construction mishap.
141. CR 1832-65.
142. CR 1837-59.
143. DD Jan. 27, 1846.
144. Proxy marriage for first wife, Lura Snow.
145. DD 1892 in Bountiful, Utah, formerly Sessions's Settlement, named after her husband.
146. Associated with the Sessions family by 1846, as per Patty Bartlett Sessions's journal.
147. CR 1833-46.
148. CR 1842-47.
149. Former wife of Don Carlos Smith, Joseph Smith's deceased brother, married Joseph Smith for time, then George A. Smith, proxy for Don Carlos.
150. Marriage for time; Smith proxy for Mark Bigler.
151. DD Sep. 21, 1852. See n171.
152. With John Taylor as proxy, sealed to Hyrum Smith Jan. 30, 1846.
153. DD Feb. 14, 1854.
154. Marriage for time; John Smith proxy for Silas Smith.
155. Marriage for time; John Smith proxy for Joseph Smith.
156. Married Brigham Young for time, proxy for Joseph Smith.
157. Married her first husband, Henry Bailey Jacobs, earlier that year on Mar. 7, 1841, and was pregnant with her first child when she married Joseph Smith that fall. Zina married Brigham Young on Feb. 2, 1846 when he was pregnant with her second child by Jacobs.
158. On Jan. 24, 1846, Delcena married for time Almon W. Babbit, proxy for Lyman L. Sherman.
159. Rollins left Smith August 1845.
160. DD 1884.
161. CR 1841-63.
162. CR 1838-52.
163. Marriage for time; Snow proxy for Elijah Freeman.
164. CR up to 1846.
165. DD Mar. 12, 1846 on trail toward Winter Quarters.
166. CR 1834-53.
167. CR 1841-52; proxy marriage for first wife, Samantha Peck.
168. Present in 1850 census.
169. Proxy marriages for first wives, Esther and Polly Knight.
170. DD Dec. 9, 1868.
171. Marriage for time; Taylor proxy for Robert Thompson.
172. CR 1822-Sep. 1842.
173. CR Oct. 20, 1842 to 1850.
174. CR 1845-47.
175. CR Jul. 12, 1845 to 1855.
176. CR 1845-55.
177. CR 1836-44; present in 1850 census.
178. CR 1842-54.
179. CR 1834-53.
180. CR 1823-47.
181. Marriage for time; Newell Whitney proxy for Alonzo W. Whitney.

182. CR 1844-66.
183. CR 1840-59.
184. Married a Mr. Sanders in 1848; DD 1886.
185. CR 1825-51.
186. Wilson died Sep. 7, 1846; Granger wives likely during the Nauvoo period. CR 1831-51; DD Jul 19, 1851.
187. CR 1826-47; DD Oct. 7, 1873.
188. DD Jun 4, 1835.
189. CR 1838-53; DD Nov. 10, 1885.
190. See Woodruff journal, May 1, Aug. 2, 1846; DD 1876.
191. Noted in Woodruff journal, Aug. 26, 1846 as "members of my family." Woodruff did not record in his journals his unhappy marriages in 1846 to Mary Ann Jackson, Caroline Barton, and Sarah Elinor Brown. CR 1831-54.
192. CR 1845.
193. CR 1847-58.
194. CR 1831-58.
195. CR 1831-48, plus one child.
196. Marriage for time; Yearsley proxy for William Cauliflesh. CR 1834-44.
197. CR 1827-45.
198. Sealed by Joseph Smith; sealed again Jan. 14, 1846.
199. Marriage for time; Young proxy for Twiss.
200. Mother of Brigham Young's first wife, Miriam Works.
201. Mother of Brigham Young's second wife, Mary Ann Angell.
202. Marriage for time. CR 1834-56.
203. Marriage for time; Young proxy for Isaac Fleming.
204. Marriage for time; Young proxy for James L. Burnham. CR 1827-45.
205. CR 1827-45.
206. CR 1827-45.
207. CR 1827-45.
208. CR 1827-45.