A Quaking In Israel

Joseph Smith, Jr. and Mormon Polygamy

"I PROMISED TO SPEND THE EVENING WITH MY OTHER WIFE"

(From Beadle)

by

Tom Forehand
Preface

In 1854, the bulk of Joseph Smith’s Mormon followers were safely nestled in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. There, one of the highest-ranking church leaders, Jedediah Grant, could speak openly. And he did! Grant reminded fellow Latter-day Saints about the "quaking" which occurred when their late "Prophet" Smith first began to practice his own brand of polygamy. Grant reminisced:

When the family organization was revealed from heaven—the patriarchal order of God, and Joseph began, on the right and on the left, to add to his family, what a quaking there was in Israel [i.e., the Mormons]. Says one brother to another, "Joseph says all covenants are done away, and none are binding but the new covenants; now suppose Joseph should come and say he wanted your wife, what would you say to that?" "I would tell him to go to hell." This was the spirit of many in the early days of the Church....

If Joseph had a right to dictate me in relation to salvation, in relation to a hereafter, he had a right to dictate me in relation to all my earthly affairs....

What would a man of God say, who felt aright, when Joseph asked him for his money? He would say "Yes, and I wish I had more to help to build up the kingdom of God." Or if he came and said, "I want your wife?" "O yes," he would say, "here she is, there are plenty more...."

Did the Lord actually want Abraham to kill Isaac? Did the Prophet Joseph want every man’s wife he asked for? He did not, but in that thing was the grand thread of the Priesthood developed. The grand object in view was to try the people of God, to see what was in them. If such a man of God should come to me and say, "I want your gold and silver, or your wives," I should say, "Here they are, I wish I had more to give you, take all I have got." A man who has got the Spirit of God, and the light of eternity in him, has no trouble about such matters.¹

Since Smith began his "restored" church in 1830, hundreds of sects have based their beliefs on his teachings. The largest of these groups is the Mormon Church or The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The Mormons, headquartered in Salt Lake City, Utah, had nearly 9,000,000 members and nearly 50,000 missionaries worldwide in the mid 1990’s.

Now more than ever, Christians must be prepared to respond to the claims of these many sects which teach that Smith was truly a prophet of God. Many publications are available to help Christians discuss "doctrinal" issues with Mormon missionaries. However, this work will be helpful in discussing the life of Mormon founder Joseph Smith, Jr.

Were Mormon leaders in Illinois being "honest" when they continued to deny that a type of polygamy was practiced in their midst? A summary of LDS beliefs has existed for over one hundred and fifty years.² Some of those stated beliefs are: "We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law....We believe

¹ George D. Watt, *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 2, by Brigham Young, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, His Two Counsellors, the Twelve Apostles, and Others (Liverpool, England: F.D. and S.W. Richards, 1854-86), pp. 13-14.

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Near the turn of the century, Mormons stopped the practice of polygamy (a husband having more than one wife at one time). Still, some Latter-day Saint (LDS) men continued living with their multiple spouses until the 1940's and 1950's.4

Today Mormons are not permitted to practice polygamy, yet the doctrine still remains at the core of present-day LDS theology. Some Mormons even expect the practice of polygamy to be renewed after the return of Jesus Christ. Still, many new LDS converts know little about the Mormon history of "plural wives." Why? Sociologist Kimball Young gives one reason:

...plurality of wives is still a principle of Mormonism...Today [1954] the...Church wants to forget that it is a unique...people....Among other items: that they want to forget is the plural marriage system. [LDS leaders] do not like members to talk about polygamy if they can avoid doing so.2

In the 1840's, Joseph Smith, Jr. (also known as "Joseph Smith") was living on the swampy bottom land of Nauvoo, Illinois, just a stone's throw from the Mississippi River. Near that muddy river bank, he would claim to receive a revelation so controversial that it had to be hidden from most of his 15,000 followers living nearby. Why? The revelation commanded polygamy!

Mormon polygamy did not spring up overnight. In 1827, Joseph Smith married Emma Hale, his legal wife and on April 6, 1830 founded the Mormon Church. Afterwards...

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5 Buck's Theological Dictionary in 1835 stated: "POLYGAMY, the state of having more wives than one at once"—Rev. Charles Buck, A Theological Dictionary Containing Definitions Of All Religious Terms; A Comprehensive View Of Every Article In This System Of Divinity, An Impartial Account Of All The Principal Denominations Which Have Subsisted In The Religious World From the Birth Of Christ To The Present Day Together With An Accurate Statement Of The Most Remarkable Transactions And Events Recorded In Ecclesiastical History (Philadelphia: J.J. Woodward, 1835), p. 346. This dictionary was used by Joseph Smith, Jr. as late as April 1, 1842—also see Times and Seasons, April 1, 1842 and Joseph Fielding Smith, Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 1977), p. 209.

6 See The Doctrine and Covenants (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1977), Section 132. The Doctrine and Covenants mainly consists of revelations given by Joseph Smith and is one of the standard works of LDS scripture published by the Mormon Church. The late Mormon Apostle Bruce R. McConkie claimed that plural marriage "will commence again after the Second Coming of the Son of Man"—Bruce R. McConkie, Mormon Doctrine (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), p. 578.

Nancy Marinda was sixteen years old at the time of the mobbing and her brothers had "clearly suspected an improper association between Joseph and their...sister." 15 During the next decade, Nancy became one of Smith's plural wives.

Around November 1832, according to excommunicated William McLellin, the Mormon Prophet had an affair with a girl named Hill. McLellin, an ex-Mormon Apostle, claimed that Smith confessed to the deed and was forgiven by his wife Emma, as well as by Dr. F.G. Williams, Oliver Cowdery, and Sidney Rigdon. 16

1835—An Affair

During the summer, Fanny Alger was a teenage maidservant in Smith’s Kirtland home. One night upon missing her husband, Emma searched until she found him at the barn with Fanny. While peering through the barn door, Emma saw a “transaction” between the two "on the hay." 17 The Smith-Alger tryst hardly remained a secret. According to LDS Ben Johnson, "It was whispered...that Joseph Loved her [Fanny]." 18 Warren Parrish, Smith’s secretary, reported that Joseph had Fanny "as a wife for They were Spied upon & found together." 19

During August while Smith was away in Michigan, church leaders propagated Doctrine and Covenants Section 101. This section, which no doubt quelled many rumors, promised:

4. All legal contracts of marriage made before a person is baptized into this church, should be held sacred and fulfilled. Inasmuch as this church of Christ has been reproached with the crime of fornication, and polygamy: we declare that we believe, that one man should have one wife; and one woman, but one husband, except in case of death, when either is at liberty to marry again. It is not right to persuade a woman to be baptized contrary to the will of her husband, neither is it lawful to influence her to leave her

A footnote in the History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints claims that Dr. Dennison threatened to do Smith "great bodily harm"—Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 1978), vol. 1, p. 264. Concerning this footnote, a research librarian for the Historical Department of the Mormon Church has stated in correspondence to the author: "...At the time of the 1832 mobbing Joseph Smith was living in the home of John Johnson in Hiram, Ohio. His son, Luke Johnson later inferred that Joseph’s night clothes were torn from him so he could be castrated but that Dr. Dennison at the last moment could not do so. A variant possibility is that while the doctor may have been willing to join the mob when urged to mutilate the Prophet he refused, thereby making him more of a hero than a coward. More research needs to be done about the whole incident!" (Letter to the author—April 15, 1994—Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—Salt Lake City).

15 Newell, p. 65. Also see Appendix I, Note 3.

16 See Appendix I, Note 4.

17 Richard S. Van Wagoner, Mormon Polygamy: A History (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), p. 6. Also see Appendix I, Note 4. Andrew Jenson listed Fanny as one of Joseph's plural wives; see Appendix II—"1835."

18 Ibid., p. 6.

1838

On January 21st, Oliver Cowdery, one of the three Book of Mormon witnesses and bosom buddy of Joseph Smith, was still festering over the prophet’s tryst with Fanny Alger. Privately, Cowdery wrote to his brother Warren:

When [Joseph] was here we had some conversation in which in every instance I did not fail to affirm that what I had said was strictly true. A dirty, filthy affair of his and Fanny Alger’s was talked over in which I strictly declared that I have never deviated from the truth in the matter...just before leaving, he wanted to drop every past thing, in which had been a difficulty or difference—he called witnesses to the fact, gave me his hand in their presence.25

Before long, Oliver Cowdery was excommunicated! On April 11th, one of the charges which led to Cowdery’s excommunication was that he “falsey [insinuated] that [Smith] was guilty of adultery.”26 Also, three months later the church reaffirmed publically:

Question 7th. Do the Mormons believe in having more wives than one [?]  
Answer. No, not at the same time. But they believe, that if their companion dies, they have a right to marry again.27

The August Elders’ Journal warned: “ON THE DUTY OF HUSBAND AND WIFE: It is the duty of a husband to love, cherish, and nourish his wife, and cleave unto her and none else...”28

Some believe that Smith married Lucinda Harris while he was staying at the Harris home in Far West, Missouri during 1838. Lucinda, Mrs. George Harris, was listed by Jenson as one of Smith’s plural wives.29 Fawn Brodie claims:

Perhaps [Smith] remembered his months in Far West at the home of Lucinda...who told a friend in later years that she had been the prophet’s mistress—and concluded that married women as well as virgins must be privileged to join his own circle of spiritual wives....

...B.W. Richmond, a stranger and guest in the Mansion House at the time of Joseph’s death [in Illinois during 1844] noted "a lady standing at the head of Joseph Smith’s body, her face covered, and her whole frame convulsed with weeping....She [was] a short person, with light hair and very bright blue eyes, and a pleasant countenance"....George Harris either knew at the time—or learned later—of the relationship between his wife and the prophet, for he stood as proxy in the Nauvoo temple in January 1846 when Lucinda was sealed to Joseph Smith “for eternity.”30

25 Newell, p. 66.

26 Smith, History of the Church, vol. 3, p. 16.

27 Elders’ Journal of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints [Far West, Missouri]. July 1838. See Appendix III, Document B.

28 Ibid., August 1838.


30 Brodie, pp. 252, 460.
Now if any person has represented anything otherwise than what we now write, he or she is a liar, and has represented us falsely—and this is another manner of evil which is spoken against us falsely....

1840

Mormon proselytizing in England was well under way by this year when LDS missionaries there were criticized for leaving their wives in America to go on mission trips abroad. No doubt to halt rumors of polygamy, the church’s November Millennial Star reprinted Doctrine and Covenants, Section 101.35

Thousands of Mormons had been forced out of Missouri by the non-LDS populace and had found refuge across the Mississippi River in Nauvoo, Illinois. In Illinois, bigamy (“having two wives or two husbands at...the same time”) was a crime under the Revised Laws of 1833 which stated: “...the person so offending shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine, not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisoned in the penitentiary, not exceeding two years.”39

Yet, apparently undaunted by threats of imprisonment or fine, Joseph Smith soon began earnestly to make his polygamous mark. According to an affidavit by Joseph Noble (brother-in-law of Louisa Beaman, a future plural wife of Joseph Smith):

...in the fall of 1840, Joseph Smith taught [Noble] the principle of celestial or plural marriage, or a plurality of wives; and that the said Joseph Smith declared that he had received a revelation from God on the subject, and that the angel of the Lord had commanded him (Joseph Smith) to move forward in the said order of marriage; and further, that, the said Joseph Smith requested him (Joseph B. Noble) to step forward and assist him in carrying out the said principle, saying, “In revealing this to you, I have placed my life in your hands, therefore do not in an evil hour betray me to my enemies.”40

1841

On April 5th, the day before the Mormon Church celebrated its eleventh anniversary, an unusual wedding took place on the banks of the Mississippi River. Joseph Noble crossed the river from Montrose, Iowa in the evening to rendezvous with the expectant couple under an Illinois elm. Most marriages take place in public, but this one had to remain secret.41

Some


35 Doctrine and Covenants, 1835 edition, Section 101:4—“...[We] believe, that one man should have one wife; and one woman, but one husband....” In 1876 this section was finally removed from the Doctrine and Covenants.

39 Van Wagoner, Mormon Polygamy, pp. 229-230. In Nauvoo, wages were about 50 cents per day according to John D. Lee—John D. Lee, Mormonism Unveiled; or The Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop, John D. Lee (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand & Co., 1877), p. 176.

40 Jensen, p. 221.

41 It is doubtful that Emma Smith knew of this ceremony. If this is true, according to Apostle Franklin D. Richards Joseph Smith must have been guilty of bigamy. In 1885 Richards explained: “Wherein consists the crime of bigamy?...When a man [the polygamous husband]...takes another woman, unknown to his [the first] wife; he thus practices fraud upon her [first wife]. This is where the crime comes in. Fraud is perpetrated upon his own family” (Watt, Journal of Discourses, vol. 26, p. 341).
Smith had hoped to elicit sympathy with his illustration of Oriental polygamy; however, few seemed to have been pleased. One disgusted Latter-day Saint was Smith’s own brother, Don Carlos, who railed in response: “Any man who will preach and practice the doctrine of spiritual wifery will go to hell, I don’t care if it is my brother Joseph.”

On July 1st, seven of the church apostles returned from a mission in England. An anxious Joseph Smith eagerly met with them until late that night teaching the secret doctrine of celestial marriage. According to Helen Mar Kimball, daughter of one of those men, “After delivering the keys of the kingdom to the apostles, Joseph jumped and clapped his hands like a schoolboy let out to play.”

In August, Don Carlos died of malaria. The next month, Joseph and Emma’s fourteen-month-old son died. With Emma apparently pregnant again, Smith took two more polygamous wives (one in October and another in December). Both of these new brides were already married when they tied their polygamous marriage knots with the prophet.

During the last half of this year, the church published (or republished) at least four articles reassuring the public that LDS leaders were not permitting immoral practices in the church.

1842--A Tough Year

By 1842 rumors about polygamy were flying!

Sparks about the subject were soon fanned by a newly-arrived English convert named Martha Brotherton. Before long she would state that in January, Brigham Young sought her hand in polygamous marriage by claiming, “Brother Joseph has had a revelation from God...it is lawful and right for a man to have two wives....”

Another reason for rumors was that Joseph Smith seems to have taken several more polygamous wives during the first four months of the year. On February 6th, Emma Smith gave birth to a son who died. Also during February, Smith married Mary Rollins Lightner, the wife

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44 Ibid., p. 96.
45 Ibid., pp. 334, 335. Also, see Smith, History of the Church, vol. 4, p. 381.
46 Ibid., pp. 102-103. Smith married Zina Huntington on October 27, 1841. Her husband Henry Jacobs was to go on a church mission by January 17, 1842 (see Smith, History of the Church, vol. 4, p. 494). The actual date of her sister Prescindia’s marriage to Joseph is listed by Jenson as December 11, 1841 (See above chapter “1838”).
47 See Appendix 1, Note 7.
48 See Appendix 1, Note 8 and Appendix III, Document C.
49 “Emma Smith, overworked and exhausted, gave birth to a child on 6 February 1842, a son who did not survive...In the middle of February, Joseph and Emma buried their child amidst a great deal of sorrow”—Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Jeni Broberg Holzapfel, Women of Nauvoo (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1992), p. 74. Danel Bachman claims that an unfinished affidavit by Sylvia Sessions indicates that Smith may have married her on February 8, 1842. Sylvia was at that time the wife of Windsor P. Lyon. When “Sylvia married...Windsor P. Lyon
"I...shall never tell a mortal I had such talk from a married man," she replied. Mary Elizabeth, who had been in Emma's home often and had taught painting to Julia, was mindful of another complication. She asked if Emma knew about her. Joseph neatly sidestepped the issue with an incomplete answer: "Emma thinks the world of you."

After making Joseph's proposal the subject of prayer, Mary Elizabeth said "an angel" passed silently through her room and out the window one night. After telling Joseph of the experience, she asked him why, if it was "an angel of light," it did not speak to her.

"You covered your face," he told her, "and for this reason the angel was insulted."

"Will it ever come again?"

Joseph thought for a moment, then said, "No. Not the same one, but if you are faithful you shall see greater things than that." He then predicted three signs that would take place in her family. "Every word came true," she wrote. Brigham Young officiated at her marriage to Joseph.50

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50 Newell, p. 100. The ceremony took place upstairs in the red brick store which was very close to where Mary seems to have been living at the time (Ibid., p. 324, footnote 23; see Appendix IV for the proximity of the store to Mr. Lightner's residence). For a "February" marriage date see Bachman, p. 333.
The stories linking Nancy...to that of Joseph Smith disagree widely as to the date of the marriage or
union...The prophet lived for a time at the home of her father, John Johnson, in Hiram [Ohio] in
1832...[Later Nancy] married Orson Hyde....

John D. Lee, bodyguard for Joseph in Nauvoo, wrote in his autobiography: "Report said that Hyde's wife,
with his consent, was sealed to Joseph for an eternal state, but I do not assert the fact." William Hall, a
Mormon convert...wrote that Hyde was anxious to re-enter the church after his apostasy in 1839. "He
returned and desired Joe Smith to reinstate him in his former office as one of the Twelve Apostles. The
conditions imposed by Joe Smith some of us would consider a little tough. They were these: All the money
he had so hardly earned had to be given up to Joe, and, also, his wife, as a ransom for his transgression,
to obtain his former standing. Many jokes were cracked at his expense, and he was despised throughout
the camp for his flicker-mindedness."

Hall's account, if true, would indicate that Nancy Marinda Hyde became Joseph Smith's plural wife in
April 1839 when Hyde was reinstated as an apostle...It may be, however, that she was not taught polygamy
until [later], when Hyde was on a mission to Palestine, and she was favored with a personal revelation
ordering her to move into the rooms above the printing shop, and to "hearken to the counsel of my servant
Joseph in all things."

An eruption of polygamous rumors was no doubt caused by the scandalous conduct of
Nauvoo's Mormon Mayor John C. Bennett. Mayor Bennett, who was secretly married to a woman
living in another state, had pretended to be a Nauvoo bachelor and:
...had approached "some Nauvoo women" who "knew nothing of him but as an honorable man, & began
to teach them that promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, was a doctrine believed in by the Latter-day
Saints, and not only sanctioned, but practiced" by Joseph and others."

Before June, Smith wed Benjamin Johnson's oldest sister, Delcena Johnson. During
June, Mayor Bennett was escorted to a "meeting where judgment was passed on him..." (he

53 Brodie, pp. 463-64. Brodie believes that this marriage may have occurred in December of 1841 (the
revelation concerning Nancy is found in the History of the Church dated December 2, 1841—vol. 4, p. 467).
Nancy Marinda Hyde is not listed as one of the plural wives of Joseph Smith by Andrew Jenson.
Bachman claims: "...Jenson may have skipped Johnson because of embarrassment...that she had...been the wife
of Apostle Orson Hyde" (Bachman, p. 107, footnote 9). Van Wagoner states that Nancy "became a plural wife of...Smith in February 1842 while Hyde was on a
mission to Palestine" (Van Wagoner, Mormon Polygamy, p. 224). A note in the handwriting of Thomas Bulloch,
found in Joseph Smith's journals, states: "April[il] [18]42 Marinda Johnson [Hyde] to Joseph Smith"—Scott Paulring,
ed., An American Prophet's Record—The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith (Salt Lake City: Signature Books,
1987), p. 396. See Appendix II—"1842."

54 Van Wagoner, Mormon Polygamy, p. 17.

55 See Appendix II—"1842." Also see Brodie, p. 468. "Delcena" is included as one of Smith's wives by Daniel
Bachman (Bachman, pp. 112, 113, 333).

56 Juanna Brooks, John Doyle Lee, Zealot—Pioneer, Builder—Scapgoat (Glendale, California: The Arthur H.
Clark Co., 1964), p. 52. See Appendix 1, Note 8. May 25th—"Notice was this day given to...Bennett, that the First
Presidency, Twelve, and Bishops had withdrawn fellowship from him..." (Smith, History of the Church, vol. 5,
p. 18).
Whitney. In trying to arrange a rendezvous, it seems that Smith was more concerned about Emma than about his Missouri enemies. Part of his letter to the Whitney’s stated:

The nights are very pleasant, indeed. All three of you can come and see me in the forepart of the night; let Brother Whitney come a little ahead, and knock at the south-east corner of the house, at the window; it is next to the cornfield. I have a room entirely by myself. The whole matter can be attended to with the most perfect safety.

...The only thing to be careful of is to find out when Emma comes, then you cannot be safe; but when she is not here, there is the most perfect safety; only be careful to escape observation as much as possible.

I know it is a heroic undertaking, but so much the greater friendship, and the more joy.

...I close my letter. I think Emma won’t come tonight. If she don’t don’t fail to come tonight.

I subscribe myself—Your most obedient and affectionate Companion and Friend,
Joseph Smith.

"We The Undersigned...."

On October 1st, the church’s *Times and Seasons* published "From the Book of the Doctrine & Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints—ON MARRIAGE."

This article was followed by:

We have given the above rule of marriage [Section 101] as the only one practiced, in this church, to show that Dr. J.C. Bennett's "secret wife system" is a matter of his own manufacture....

We the undersigned members of the church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints and residents of the city of Nauvoo, persons of families do hereby certify and declare that we know of no other rule or system of marriage than the one published from the Book of Doctrine and Covenants, and we give this certificate to show that Dr. J. C. Bennett’s "secret wife system" is a creature of his own make as we know of no such society in this place nor never [sic] did...  

One of the "undersigned" was Bishop Newel K. Whitney, father of Sarah Ann. Yet, only a few months before, Bishop Whitney had conducted the secret July 27th wedding of his own daughter Sarah Ann and Joseph Smith.

Next was printed another affidavit:
We the undersigned members of the ladies' relief society, and married females do certify and declare that we know of no system of marriage being practiced in the church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints save the one contained in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants, and we give this certificate to the public to show that J.C. Bennett’s "secret wife system" is a disclosure of his own make.

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64 *Times and Seasons*, October 1, 1842. See Appendix III, Document F.


66 *Times and Seasons*, October 1, 1842.
On March 15th, the Times and Seasons announced:

We are charged with advocating a plurality of wives, and common property. Now this is as false as the many other ridiculous charges which are brought against us. No sect have [sic] a greater reverence for the laws of matrimony, or the rights of private property, and we do what others do not, practice what we preach.\textsuperscript{74}

While the Mormon press was denying polygamy and while the state of Illinois was enforcing laws against bigamy,\textsuperscript{75} Joseph Smith just kept taking more wives! Sometime after April 12th, Smith apparently took Olive Grey Frost as his wife. Between spring and fall of this year, he also married another pair of sisters, Maria and Sarah Lawrence.\textsuperscript{76}

Sham Wedding!

A Methodist minister, Samuel A. Prior, who had been skeptical about Mormon morality, visited Nauvoo to investigate the situation for himself. During his stay, he was so unexpectedly pleased with what he had witnessed firsthand, that he wrote a Times and Seasons article complimenting the Latter-day Saints. Reverend Prior sternly demanded from all LDS critics: "Where...is the immorality charged upon the citizens of [Nauvoo]?"\textsuperscript{77} A partial answer to his question took place on April 29th when Joseph Smith conducted a sham wedding! On that date, Smith united his wife of nine months, Sarah Ann Whitney, to Joseph Kingsbury. Apparently this wedding was celebrated to help hide the fact that Smith had been married to Sarah Ann for the greater part of a year. Kingsbury wrote, with crude spelling, the following sketch about his life:

...I according to President Joseph Smith Council & others agreed to Stand by Sarah Ann Whitby as supposed to be her husband & had a pretended marriage for the purpose of bringing about the purposes of God in these last days as Spoken by the mouth of the Prophets Isaiah Jeremiah Ezekiel and also Joseph Smith....\textsuperscript{78}

During May, Smith may have taken three more brides (each, a teenager).\textsuperscript{79} On May 1st, while Emma was accompanied by Lorin Walker on a shopping trip to Saint Louis, Joseph

\textsuperscript{74} Times and Seasons, March 15, 1843. See Appendix III, Document H.

\textsuperscript{75} See Appendix I, Note 10.

\textsuperscript{76} For a "spring" marriage date of Smith to the Lawrence sisters, see Bachman, p. 334. Also see Appendix II--"1843."

\textsuperscript{77} Times and Seasons, May 15, 1843.


\textsuperscript{79} "It was not uncommon for a girl between the ages of fourteen and sixteen to be married...An ordinance passed in Nauvoo in February 1842 established city-wide regulations of marriages. A minimum age of seventeen for males and fourteen for females was established. Anyone under those ages was required to obtain parental consent to marry" (Richard Holzapfel and Jeni Holzapfel, Women of Nauvoo, pp. 78, 80). When John D. Lee took fifteen-year-old Caroline Williams as a plural wife while on the trek west in 1846, "[family] tradition is to the effect that his older wives gave Lee a horsewhipping for marrying so young a girl"—Charles Kelly, ed., Journals of John D. Lee 1846-47 and 1859 (Salt Lake City: Western Printing Company, 1938), p. 30, footnote 32.
misunderstood the true nature of Smith's proposal.

...There is evidence to suggest that on at least one other occasion Smith convinced one of his would-be young wives to accept polygamy by persuading her that it was a "spiritual order and not a temporal one." Helen Mar Kimball, fifteen-year-old daughter of Apostle Heber C. Kimball, reported that the prophet told her: "If you will take this step, it will insure your eternal salvation & exaltation and that of your father's household & all of your kindred". "This promise was so great," Helen felt, "that I willingly gave myself to purchase so glorious a reward". "I thought through this life my time will be my own," she wrote in a letter to be opened after her death, "the step I now am taking's for eternity alone". But she reportedly had misinterpreted Smith's intent. She confided to a close friend in Nauvoo: "I would never have been sealed to Joseph had I known it was anything more than a ceremony. I was young, and they deceived me, by saying the salvation of our whole family depended on it."83

Family House of Helen M. Kimball
(After the death of Joseph Smith)

Initially, the Mormon Prophet was able to keep his polygamy a secret. Even his brother Hyrum, First Presidency member, had been kept in the dark about Joseph’s extra wives. As late as May 14th, Hyrum preached:

...[T]here were many that had a great deal to say about the ancient order of things Solomon & David having many wives & Concubines—but its an abomination in the Sight of God....If an angel from heaven should come and preach such doctrine, [you] would be sure to see his cloven foot and cloud of blackness

83 Van Wagoner, Mormon Polygamy, p. 51.
"Well, I will write the revelation and we will see." Joseph asked Clayton to get paper and prepare to write... 

Joseph "dictated the revelation on Celestial Marriage, " while Clayton wrote it, "sentence by sentence, as he dictated."

Hyrum then took the document to Emma. Joseph and Clayton waited for his return. When Hyrum came back Joseph asked, "How did you succeed?"

"I have never received a more severe talking to in my life. Emma is very bitter and full of resentment and anger," Hyrum answered.

Joseph quietly remarked, "I told you you did not know Emma as well as I did." Joseph then put the paper in his pocket, and the brothers left the office....

The revelation as it was subsequently published contained sixty-six verses....

Smith not only wrote out the revelation in July, but he also put it into practice during the same month by marrying Desdemona W. Fullmer. Sometime during 1843, the Mormon Prophet shared a bedroom with his new wife Almera Johnson. Her brother Benjamin F. Johnson claimed:

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88 Did Joseph Smith have to bribe Emma to calm her down?

[Bold inserted by this author] In part, William Clayton's diary entry for July 12th states: "This A.M. I [Clayton] wrote a Revelation consisting of 10 pages on the order of the priesthood....Joseph & Hyrum presented it and read it to E. who said she did not believe a word of it and appeared very rebellious. J told me to Deed all the unincumbered lots to E. & the children. He appears much troubled about E." [On the 13th Clayton writes] "...This A.M. J. sent for me. & when I arrived he called me up into his private room with E. and there stated an agreement they had mutually entered into they both stated their feelings on many subjects & spent considerable. O may the Lord soften her heart that she may be willing to keep and abide by his Holy law." [On Saturday the 15th Clayton writes] "Made Deed for 1/2 S.B. [steam boat] Maid of Iowa from J. to Emma. Also a Deed to E. for over 60 city lots" (Tanner, Clayton's Secret Writings, p. 20).

The next day, Sunday, Joseph preached about "a man's foes being those of his own household" (see Smith, History of the Church, vol. 5, p. 510).

89 Newell, pp. 151-52. In Utah during the 1850's, Mormons used this written revelation on plural marriage to justify their polygamous practices. The revelation is still found in today's Mormon scripture—Doctrines and Covenants, Section 132—see Appendix III, Document 1.

90 Newell, also Faulring, and also Bachman believe this marriage took place in July 1843 (Newell, pp. 165, 339; Faulring, p. xxxii; Bachman, p. 334). Brodie and Jenson both date the marriage in 1842 (Brodie, p. 474; Jenson, vol. 6, p. 234).

According to William Clayton's diary, on May 13, 1843, Desdemona "came to see if she could board with me. I told her she could on tuesday" (Tanner, Clayton's Secret Writings, p. 18). On December 29, 1843, Clayton records: "I requested [Desdemona] to look out for another home. She said she would not until she had council from J" (Ibid., p. 28).
I cannot believe that Joseph will ever sanction such a doctrine, and should the Mormons in any way engrat
such an article on their religion, that sect would surely fall to pieces, for what community or State could
harbor such outrageous immorality? I cannot think so meanly of my sex as that they could submit to any
such degradation...  

Elder George J. Adams, who had been charged with "adultery," was "honorably acquitted by the High Council in Nauvoo, from all charges...preferred against him." And by the end of September, Joseph Smith had taken at least two more wives.  

Some have questioned whether Smith's plural marriages actually included full sexual relations. However, statements by women such as Melissa Lott, Lucy Walker, Eliza Snow, Emily Partridge and Helen Mar Kimball imply that their marriages to the Mormon Prophet were consummated.  

So secret was initial Mormon polygamy that even John D. Lee, a bodyguard for Joseph Smith, only learned of the practice by accident. Lee recalled:

One day the Chief of Police came to me and said that I must take two more policemen that he named, and watch the house of a widow woman named Clawson. She was the mother of H.B. Clawson, of Salt Lake City. I was informed that a man went there nearly every night about ten o'clock, and left about day light. I was also ordered to station myself and my men near the house, and when the man came out we were to knock him down and castrate him, and not to be careful how hard we hit, for it would not be enquired into if we killed him.

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96 Times and Seasons, August 15, 1843 and Robert Bruce Flanders, Nauvoo Kingdom on the Mississippi (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), p. 276. Brigham Young and Willard Richards had written Adams in February to come to Nauvoo "according to the decision of the council, and answer to charges of adultery" (Flanders, p. 276).

Also during February, according to William Clayton: "One day...the Prophet invited me to walk with him. During our walk, he said he had learned that there was a sister back in England, to whom I was very much attached. I replied there was, but nothing further than an attachment such a brother and sister in the Church might rightfully entertain for each other. He then said, 'Why don't you send for her?' I 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.' To this he answered, 'I give you authority to send for her and I will furnish you with means,' which he did. This was the first time the Prophet...talked with me on the subject of plural marriage" (Jenson, p. 225).

97 See Appendix II--"1843." Sometime between summer and fall Smith married Hannah Ellis. On September 20th he married Melissa Lott.

98 See Appendix I, Note 11.
Later, Smith's brick store was built just west of his original residence. The family of one of Smith's teenage brides, Sarah Ann Whitney, lived above the store for a while. In the block just west of the store lived Smith's wife Mary Lightner and her other husband Adam.

![Smith Mansion House](NE Corner of Main & Water)

1844

Publicly, the *Times and Seasons* on February 1st carried the following "Notice":

As we have lately been credibly informed, that an Elder of the Church of Jesus Christ, of Latter-day Saints, by the name of Hiram Brown, has been preaching Polygamy, and other false and corrupt doctrines, in the county of Lapeer, state of Michigan.

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103 A few years before, the Whitney family, like many others, were very ill when they arrived at Nauvoo. "Soon Joseph Smith...invited them to come live at the Homestead. [According to Sarah Ann Whitney’s mother:] '[W]e went to live in the Prophet Joseph’s yard in a small cottage.' Soon, the sick among the Saints took every available bed in the Smith household, and many more of them were made as comfortable as possible in makeshift bedrolls in the yard. Emma and Joseph moved into a tent erected in the yard of the Homestead..." (Holzapfel, *Women of Nauvoo*, p. 42).

104 See Appendix I, Note 13.
Whereas brother...Hewitt has called me to-day, to know my views concerning some doctrines that are preached in your place [China Creek, in Hancock County], and states to me that some of your elders say, that a man having a certain priesthood, may have as many wives as he pleases, and that [doctrines] is taught here: I say unto you that man teaches false doctrine, for there is no such doctrine taught here; neither is there any such thing practised here. And any man that is found teaching privately or publicly any such doctrine, is culpable, and will stand a chance to be brought before the High Council, and lose his membership also: therefore he had better beware what he is about.

...Let the matter of the grand councils of heaven, and the making of gods, worlds, and devils entirely alone: for you are not called to teach any such doctrine—for neither you nor the people are capacitated to understand any such principles—less so to teach them. For when God commands men to teach such principles the saints will receive them. Therefore beware what you teach...for the mysteries of God are not given to all men....

In April William Law, a leading church member, was excommunicated. About the same time, Law charged Joseph Smith in court with: "living with Maria Lawrence 'in an open state of adultery' from 12 October 1843 to 23 May 1844." In response, on Sunday morning May 26th Joseph preached his message: "Address of the Prophet—His Testimony Against Dissenters at Nauvoo":

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108 Times and Seasons, March 15, 1844. According to William Clayton, some seven months before (August 11, 1843), Joseph Smith had told him concerning polygamy: "You have a right to get all you can" (Tanner, Clayton's Secret Writings, p. 23). Smith had also told Clayton in February of 1843: "It is your privilege to have all the wives you want" (Jenson, p. 225).

109 William Law "a prominent Nauvoo businessman, was solidly devoted to Smith until mid-1843. During the Bennett scandal, he quickly came to the prophet's defense....Law rendered much moral and financial support to the discouraged prophet when Missouri officials were attempting to extradite him....By early 1843, however, Law began to waver in his commitment to Smith. Initial difficulties between the two centered on business matters [real estate]....But a deeper [source] of [Law's] disaffection was [his] destestation of polygamy....Law's refusal to accept polygamy was compounded in the prophet's eyes by Law's lending a sympathetic ear to Emma Smith in her opposition to the principle....This closeness between Law and the prophet's wife gave rise to rumors and caused bouts of jealousy for the prophet....[No] evidence exists to show that the relationship between Emma...and William Law was anything more than platonic....No adultery charges were mentioned during [Law's] excommunication proceedings....Law's charge of adultery against the prophet was apparently his final attempt to get Smith to abandon polygamy....On 18 April 1844 Law and his wife Jane and brother Wilson were excommunicated for 'unchristian conduct.' Ten days later they and other dissenters founded a separatist church, declaring Smith a fallen prophet" (Van Wagoner, Mormon Polygamy, pp. 62-65).

110 Van Wagoner, Mormon Polygamy, p. 64. Maria Lawrence had secretly married Joseph Smith in 1843.
...We have now come to this place [the temple], and all your former covenants are of no account and here is the place where we have to get into a new covenant, and be sealed, and have it recorded. One reason why we bring our wives with us is, that they may make a covenant with us to keep these things sacred.112

John D. Lee, Smith's body guard, put it this way:
...the Saints were given to understand that their marriage relations with each other were not valid. That those who had solemnized the rites of matrimony had no authority of God to do so. That the true priesthood was taken from the earth with the death of the Apostles and inspired men of God. That they were married to each other only by their own covenants, and that if their marriage relations had not been productive of blessings and peace, and they felt it oppressive to remain together, they were at liberty to make their own choice, as much as if they had not been married.113

On June 7th, Smith was in trouble when some of his former followers114 printed their own newspaper called the Nauvoo Expositor. One statement in the paper was by Austin Cowles, who may have been upset because Smith had married Cowles' daughter Elvira twelve months before. Austin stated:

In the latter part of the summer, 1843, the Patriarch, Hyrum Smith, did in the High Council, of which I was a member, introduce what he said was a revelation given through the Prophet [Joseph Smith];...there was contained the following...the doctrine of plurality of wives, or marrying virgins; that "David and Solomon had many wives, yet in this they sinned not save in the matter of Uriah." This revelation...[was] taught and practiced in the Church....115

A few days later, the Nauvoo City Council declared the Nauvoo Expositor to be a nuisance and "issued an order to [Smith, the Mayor] to abate the said nuisance."116 Smith ordered the paper destroyed without delay.

Shortly afterwards, Mormon leaders were publicly denying Cowles' allegation concerning the revelation read before the church council. On June 19th, the local Nauvoo Neighbor printed Hyrum Smith's claim that this revelation mentioned by Cowles "...was in answer to a question

112 See Sunday, December 21, 1845--Jerald Tanner and Sandra Tanner, Heber C. Kimball's Journal—November 21, 1845 to January 7, 1846 (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm, 1982). Also see Bachman, pp. 97-101, 126-128.

113 Lee, p. 146.

114 See footnote 109.

115 Nauvoo Expositor [Nauvoo, Illinois], vol. 1, no. 1, p. 2. See Appendix II—"1843" concerning Elvira Cowles' marriage to the Mormon Prophet.

116 Smith, History of the Church, vol. 6, p. 432. "An ordinance was passed concerning libels. The Council passed an ordinance declaring the Nauvoo Expositor a nuisance, and also issued an order for me to abate the said nuisance. I immediately ordered the Marshal to destroy it without delay, and at the same time issued an order to Jonathan Dunham, acting Major-General of the Nauvoo Legion, to assist the Marshal with the Legion, if called upon to do so. About 8 p.m. [June 10, 1844], the Marshal returned and reported that he had removed the press, type, printed paper, and fixtures into the streets, and destroyed them. This was done because of the libelous and slanderous character of the paper, its avowed intention being to destroy the municipality and drive the Saints from the city" (Ibid.).
During the next century, LDS Apostle John Widtsoe wrote, "The Church ever operates in full light. There is no secrecy about its doctrine, aim or work." 111 Also he claimed:

It is nothing short of miraculous that the enemies of Joseph Smith, who have resorted to almost every untruth about him, have seldom charged him with sex immorality. Forty-seven times he was obliged to defend himself in courts of law against trivial charges which were not sustained by evidence....No woman's name was ever linked, sinfully, with his. He was so clean morally that even those who hated him and his doctrine most did not venture to accuse him of moral wrong.

The record of Joseph Smith's life is one of honesty. He taught honesty in all affairs; he insisted that his people be honest; the verified events of his life show him a man always reaching out for honesty.... 112

One month before Joseph Smith secretly married Louisa Beanman on the banks of the Mississippi in 1841, the Mormons began to advocate their beliefs and practices which are today called "The Articles of Faith." The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints still sets forth these articles in representing itself to the world. These articles include the following affirmations: "We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying, honoring and sustaining the law....We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good...."


112 John Widtsoe, _Joseph Smith—Seeker After Truth_ (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1951), pp. 228, 324.

113 _Times and Seasons_, March, 15 1842. "The Articles of Faith date from March 1, 1841. The Articles were published in the History of Joseph Smith, _Millennial Star_, vol. 19, p. 120....As stated elsewhere, the Articles have been formally adopted by the Church as an authorized summary of its principal doctrines" (Talmage, p. 457).
to another woman, also for eternity, thus reinforcing the notion that in the next life polygamy will continue. Women especially have had problems with the implication that polygamy might be an essential part of celestial marriage and wonder whether they are to be part of a future celestial harem—a picture that does not comport with the image most women have of an ideal heaven (Paul Toscano and Margaret Toscano, *Strangers In Paradox: Explorations In Mormon Theology*, p. 253). Paul Toscano was excommunicated from the Mormon Church in 1993 (*The Inner Circle*, November 1993, p. 2).

**Note 2.** While in Missouri on July 17, 1831, Joseph Smith seems to have predicted that male Saints would one day engage in polygamous marriage with American Indians [Lamanites and Nephites] in order to alter the skin color of Indian offspring. Part of Smith's "revelation" reads:

> For it is my will, that in time, ye should take unto you wives of the Lamanites and Nephites, that their posterity may become white, delightful and just, for even now their females are more virtuous than the gentiles (Collier, *Unpublished Revelations of the Prophets And Presidents Of The Church of Jesus Christ Of Latter Day Saints*, vol. 1, p. 58; also see Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, pp. 3, 4, 223-24).

Corroboration for this revelation is found in a letter written by Ezra Booth, a "prominent Protestant minister-turned-Mormon-turned-apostate, who was in Missouri in 1831" (Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, p. 223). Booth's letter appeared in the *Ohio Star* (December 8, 1831) though it gives a different motive for intermarriage with the Indians.

In addition to this, and to co-operate with it, it has been made known by revelation, that it will be pleasing to the Lord, should they form a matrimonial alliance with the Natives; and by this means the Elders, who comply with the thing so pleasing to the Lord, and for which the Lord has promised to bless those who do it abundantly, gain a residence in the Indian territory, independent of the agent. It has been made known to me, who has left his wife in the state of N.Y. that he is entirely free from his wife, and he is at liberty to take him a wife from among the Lamanites. It was easily perceived that this permission, was perfectly suited to his desires. I have frequently heard him state, that the Lord had made known to him, that he is as free from his wife as from any other woman; and the only crime that I have ever heard alleged against her is, she is violently opposed to Mormonism (Tanner, *The Changing World of Mormonism*, p. 211).

Regardless of what Mormons may have meant privately concerning this matter, *Doctrine and Covenants* Section 42 clearly and publicly commanded: "And now, behold, I speak unto the church....Thou shalt love thy wife with all thy heart, and shalt cleave unto her and none else" (verses 18 and 22).

**Note 3.** Concerning polygamy as a crime, the state of Virginia established the following punishment for polygamy: "Whosoever shall be guilty of rape, polygamy, or sodomy with a man or woman, shall be punished, if a man, by castration" (Padover, *The Complete Jefferson*, pp. 95-96). Yet castration was not a legal remedy for polygamy in the state of Ohio—*Acts of A General Nature, Enacted, Revised and Ordered To Be Reprinted...Of The State of Ohio*, volumes: 18 (1820), 22 (1824), 29 (1831). Columbus.

**Note 4.** 1872 July McLellin, Wm. E. to Joseph Smith III:

Now Joseph I will relate to you some history, and refer you to your own dear Mother for the truth. You will probably remember that I visited your Mother and family in 1847, and held a lengthy conversation with her, retired in the Mansion House in Nauvoo. I did not ask her to tell, but I told her some stories I had heard. And she told me whether I was properly informed. Dr. F.G. Williams practiced with me in Clay Co. Mo. during the latter part
highly esteem the laws of our country, and we challenge [sic] the world to prove by affidavit, or by other creditable testimony, that the society as a body, have ever been, for the first time, insubordinate. There have been unruly members, but for the want of penitence they were excluded from the church. The same may be said of all the Orthodox societies (Times and Seasons, October 15, 1841).

The same edition carried an article entitled "The Mormons," a reprint from the St. Louis Atlas. It also affirmed:

Their [Mormon] religion is a peculiar one...but it is a faith which they say encourages no vice, nor immorality, nor departure from the established laws and usages; neither polygamy, nor promiscuous intercourse, nor community of property (Times and Seasons, October 15, 1841—The December edition of the Millennial Star also reprinted the St. Louis Atlas article "The Mormons." The article was then retitled "THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS" (Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star, December 1841).

LDS in England were also warned during that month about the church's strict stand against polygamy. The Millennial Star:

Again, the ministers of salvation are required to be watchful and careful with all enquiry, not to baptise, nor receive any person into this church who is living in adultery, having two companions living, for no one has a right to put away their companion, and marry another except for the cause of fornication; and those who do so can in nowise have place in the church of the saints (Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star, October 1841).

The December 15th edition of the Times and Seasons cautioned about a "Dr. William Campbell...alias Samuel Rogers...[who] in September last [had] joined a branch of this church." Rogers was not only in debt but he was also a horse and gun thief. The article said, "It has...been ascertained that [Campbell] has two other wives....He undoubtedly joined the church for a cloak to his iniquity" (Times and Seasons, December 15, 1841).

Note 8. The Year 1842.

The Martha Brotherton Affair

An English lass by the name of Martha Brotherton had left her homeland in September 1841. She claimed that soon after her arrival in Nauvoo during January of 1842 she received a warm and private welcome by two high-ranking church leaders. They asked her to be involved with polygamy. Richard Van Wagoner gives some of the details of her story.

In a retrospective newspaper account months later, Martha Brotherton...reported that...she was privately approached by Brigham Young, and asked "Were it lawful and right...could you accept of me for your husband and companion?" Brigham stated that "Brother Joseph has had a revelation from God that it is lawful and right for a man to have two wives; for as it was in the days of Abraham, so it shall be in these last days...if you will accept of me, I will take you straight to the celestial kingdom." Brotherton reported that when she hesitated, Young left the room and returned ten minutes later with Joseph Smith. "Well, Martha," she reported the prophet as having said, "just go ahead, and do as Brigham wants you to...I know that this is lawful and right before God....I have the keys of the kingdom, and whatever I bind on earth is bound in heaven, and whatever I loose on earth is loosed in heaven." Martha begged for time to consider the offer, then left for Saint Louis, where she published her story in the 15 July 1842 St. Louis Bulletin (Van Wagoner, Mormon Polygamy, p. 18).

This incident may have spawned many rumors. During the April 6, 1842 Church Conference, Hyrum Smith:

...then spoke in contradiction of a report in circulation about Elder Kimball, B. Young, himself, and others of the Twelve, alleging that a sister had been shut in a room for several days, and that they had endeavored to induce her to believe in having two wives. Also cautioned the sisters against going to the steam boats [sic] (Times and Seasons,
Hyrum told of a confrontation between Joseph Smith and John Bennett. At a meeting Smith had supposedly asked: "Doctor! [John C. Bennett] why are you using my name to carry on your hellish wickedness? Have I taught you that fornication and adultery were right, or polygamy [sic] or any such practice?" Bennett was reported to have answered in the negative (Times and Seasons, August 1, 1842).

On September 1st, the same church publication stated:
Inasmuch as the public mind has been unjustly abused through the fallacy of Dr. Bennett's letters, we make an extract on the subject of marriage, showing the rule of the church on this important matter. The extract is from the Book of Doctrine and Covenants, and is the only rule allowed by the church...next was printed a portion of Section 101 (Times and Seasons, September 1, 1842).

In England during September, the Millennial Star was protesting:
Where is there another community of thirty thousand in any state, against none of whom there is a record of conviction for crime in any court during the space of three years; and yet there are those who cry out, treason! murder!! bigamy!!!!...without being able to refer to a single case that has ever been proved against the Mormons (Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star, September 1842--Appendix III, Document G).

Note 9.
Sarah Ann Whitney was the eldest daughter of Newel K. Whitney and Elizabeth Ann Whitney; she was born on March 22, 1825, and was married to the Prophet Joseph...on July 27, 1842, by her father....It seems that it took a special revelation to Joseph Smith to win the [parent's] consent.... The following is from a typed copy, the original is in the Church Historian's Office, of the revelation given through Joseph Smith concerning his marrying Sarah Ann Whitney which gives her father, Newel K. Whitney, the words of the marriage ceremony: "Verily, thus saith the Lord unto my servant N.K. Whitney, the thing that my servant Joseph Smith has made known unto you and your family and which you have agreed upon is right in mine eyes and shall be rewarded upon your heads and honor and immortality and eternal life to all your house, both old and young because of the lineage of my Priesthood, saith the Lord.... These are the words which you shall pronounce upon my servant Joseph and your daughter S.A. Whitney. They shall take each other by the hand and you shall say, You both mutually agree, calling them by name, to be each other's companion so long as you both shall live, preserving yourselves for each other and from all others and also throughout eternity, reserving only those rights which have been given to my servant Joseph by revelation and commandment by legal authority in times past.... All these things I do in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, that through this order he may be glorified...." (Marquardt, pp. 1, 2, 23).

Apparently Joseph Smith wanted to meet with Sarah Ann, but his wife Emma became an obstacle. So he wrote a note to Sarah's parents arranging the rendezvous. According to Jerald Tanner, a copy of the letter by Joseph Smith was found in the Church Historian's Office and is dated August 18, 1842.

Dear and Beloved Brother and Sister Whitney,

I take the opportunity to communicate some of my feelings privately at this time, which I want you three eternally to keep in your own bosoms, for my feelings are so strong for you since what has passed lately between us that the time of my absence from you seem so long and dreary that it seems as if I could not live long in this way; and if you three would come and see me in this my lonely retreat, it would afford me great relief of mind.

If those with whom I am allied do love me, now is the time to afford me succor in the days of my exile, for you know I foretold you of these things.
Note 11.

Did Joseph Smith Have Marital Relations With His Wives?

...It has been hotly contested whether Smith's relationships with his plural wives included full sexual intercourse. Some cases certainly did not. Women who were sealed to Smith only for "eternity" presumably had no physical relationship with him while he was alive, although there may be exceptions to this generalization among some of the women whose names appear in the 1846 Nauvoo Temple Record as sealed to him for "eternity." Following Smith's death a total of some 335 women were sealed to him, many of whom he had not even known....

Although admissions of unorthodox marital relations are obviously a highly personal matter, many of Joseph Smith's plural wives testified explicitly that they had had full sexual relations with him...Melissa Lott testified that she was Joseph Smith's wife "in very deed." Lucy Walker, when asked, "Did you live with Joseph Smith as his wife?" replied in irritation. "He was my husband, sir." Joseph Bates Noble went so far as to claim that he saw Joseph Smith and Louisa Beaman, whom he sealed to Smith, in bed together. When pressed, Noble admitted that he hadn't actually seen them in bed together; Smith had told him the next day that they had slept together. Probably Benjamin F. Johnson's statement that he had seen his sister [Alma] in bed with Smith was an extrapolation similar to that of Joseph Bates Noble.

Perhaps more convincing than the direct testimony of Smith's wives is that tacit assumption underlying almost all major existing accounts—that contemporary sealings to him normally implied full marital relations. Eliza R. Snow's statement clearly makes this assumption and suggests the intellectual process by which the new practice could be accepted. When Eliza first heard that plural marriage was to be introduced into the Church, she found the idea "repugnant." She reflected, however, that "I was living in the Dispensation of the fulness of times, embracing all other Dispensations. surely Plural Marriage must necessarily be included, and I consoled myself with the idea that it was far in the distance, and beyond the period of my mortal existence." Shortly thereafter, however, she heard that the time had come. She was sealed to Joseph Smith for "time and eternity." Eliza's sense of repugnance and her entire statement only make sense if something other than spiritual relationships are being discussed here. Moreover, in order to interpret this in a "spiritual" sense, one would have to assume that marriage sealings for "time and eternity" as practiced in the later Mormon Church had changed since Smith's day (Lawrence Foster, Religion And Sexuality, pp. 156-157).

Years later, when asked if she had been Joseph's spiritual wife, Eliza [Snow] retorted, "I certainly shall not acknowledge myself having been a carnal one." She explained that "spiritual wife" was an epithet used to stigmatize "those of us who valiantly moved forward in obedience to the commands of God, in establishing the practice of plurality." Eliza testified that other women also were "the bona fide wives of Pres. Joseph Smith," implying that they were physically intimate with Joseph and enjoyed full conjugal rights. Heber C. Kimball is said to have told her it was his understanding that she was Joseph's wife in name only. "I thought you knew Joseph better than that," Eliza answered....

Emma was not successful in keeping Joseph from meeting with his wives. Emily Partridge would one day testify under oath that she "roomed" with Joseph on the night of her second marriage to him while Emma, she believed, was in the house at the time. She also testified that she had "slept with him" between her first marriage and the second ceremony....

Lucy Walker observed the difficulties surrounding her and learned to be discreet. She said Emma never knew about her own marriage, but emphasized that Emma gave her consent to the marriage of "at least four other girls to her husband, and that she was well aware that he associated with them as wives within the meaning of all that word implies. This is proven," Lucy went on, "by the fact that [Emma] herself, on several occasions, kept guard at the door to prevent disinterested persons from intruding, when these ladies were in the house (Newell, pp. 136, 144-45).
"and if she should have an offspring give out word that she had a husband, an Elder, who had gone on a foreign mission" (George Smith, p. 26).

4. **Fourth, sending pregnant women away.** According to Ebenezer Robinson there was a "place appointed in Iowa, 12 or 18 miles from Nauvoo to send female victims to his polygamous births" (Ibid., p. 26).

5. **Five, sheltering pregnant women locally.** According to Kimball Young, plural wives who became pregnant, including Oscar Young’s mother, Harriet Cook [Kimball’s ancestor], went into seclusion in the second floor of the Erastus Snow home in Nauvoo. The second floor had an entrance that was separate from the remainder of the house. The Snow family was small enough to live entirely on the first floor. Food and other necessities were discreetly brought to the wives who lived on the second floor. The original construction of the Erastus Snow house does correspond with this account of Kimball Young’s. In addition, the fact that an unusual 1846 holograph letter from Brigham Young to “Mrs. Harriet Cook” was sent in care of the Erastus Snow home suggests that she may have been living there at the time as well (Foster, pp. 158-59).

!["Snow-Ashby Duplex" (NW Corner of Parley & Carlin)
Home For "Pregnant" Plural Wives?](image)

**Note 12.** In Utah, Howard Egan killed a man who impregnated one of Egan's wives. Yet, he would be found "not guilty" of murder. His defense lawyer’s plea: "mountain common law" dictates the "man who seduces his neighbor’s wife must die" (Roberts, vol. 4, pp. 135-36, footnote 58).

**Note 13.** Smith eventually resided in two permanent structures at the corner of Main and Water in Nauvoo. First he lived in the Homestead on the southwest corner. By 1843, he had moved to
Joseph Smith repented of his connection with this doctrine, and said it was of the devil…. [He also said, that if it had not been for that accursed spiritual wife doctrine, he would not have come to that [the fate of being in jail—Van Wagoner, Mormon Polygamy, p. 77].

Appendix II


1827

January 18th—Smith marries Emma Hale his life-long legal wife (Smith, History of the Church, vol. 1, p. 17).

1831

Smith gives a July revelation about polygamous intermarriage with the Indians (VW, pp. 3-4). Smith tells twelve-year-old Mary Elizabeth Rollins that one day she will become his plural wife (N & A, p. 65).

1832

On March 24th, an Ohio mob attempts to castrate Smith apparently because of his familiarity with Nancy Marinda Johnson (N & A, p. 42). Smith has an affair, around November, with a girl named Hill (VW, p. 225).

1835

In Kirtland, Ohio, during the summer, Smith has a “nasty” affair with Fanny Alger (later acknowledged as “one of the first plural wives sealed to Smith” (N & A, p. 66; AJ, p. 233; DB, p. 333). George D. Smith dates this marriage in 1842 (GS, p. 14).

1836

Lucinda Morgan Harris—“One of the first women sealed to… Joseph” (AJ, p. 233). She was the wife of George Harris when she married Smith (possibly in Far West, Missouri—FB, pp. 459-60; DB, p. 333). George D. Smith dates this marriage in 1842 (GS, p. 14).

1841

Louisa Beaman—Married Smith on April 5th (AJ, p. 233).
Zina D. Huntington—Was the wife of Henry Jacobs when she married Smith on October 27th (AJ, p. 233; VW, p. 41; DB, p. 333).
Prescindia Huntington—Was the wife of Norman Buell when she married Smith on December 11th (AJ, p. 233; VW, p. 41; DB, p. 333).

1842

Sylvia Sessions—Daughter of Patty Sessions (AJ, p. 234; FB, p. 305) and wife of Windsor P. Lyon since 1838 (Woman’s Exponent 13 [1 November 1884]: 86). For a marriage date to Smith of “February 8” see DB, pp. 108, 335.
Appendix III

On the following pages are found some of the documents from Mormon publications which are referred to in this work.


Document C -- *Times and Seasons*, April 1, 1842.


Document E -- *Times and Seasons*, August 1, 1842.

Document F -- *Times and Seasons*, October 1, 1842.


Document K -- *Times and Seasons*, November 15, 1844.


Document M -- *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 11, p. 5 (November 15, 1864).

Document N -- *The Historical Record*, vol. 6, p. 222 (1887).

Document O -- *The Historical Record*, vol. 6, pp. 233-34 (1887).
Appendix IV

Mormon Polygamy on the Mississippi
Joseph Smith, Jr.

Where did the many Nauvoo polygamous wives of Joseph Smith live during the 1839-1844 period? Based on the best information available to me, the above map locates known residences of some of these women. In other instances, the map locates city properties associated with such women and/or their families (where logically these women could have lived). This map should be considered "preliminary." As further information surfaces, no doubt changes and additions will be made. When referring to this map, it should be remembered that the following women could (and some did) live in other locations, both inside and outside the city of Nauvoo during this period—Tom Forehand.

"A" & "B"

On the map, "A" and "B" respectively represent the locations of Joseph Smith's Homestead and his Mansion House. Smith lived at both locations.

Smith first married his lifelong, legal wife Emma on January 18, 1827.[1] According to Andrew Jenson, these six plural wives of Smith and their purported dates of marriage to him were: Eliza R. Snow—June 29, 1842. Lucy Walker—May 1, 1843. Emily Partridge—May 11, 1843. Eliza Partridge—May 11, 1843. Sarah Lawrence—1843. Maria Lawrence—1843.[2] According to Mormon researchers Newell and Avery, in addition to Emma, six of Smith's plural wives were regular residents at both the Homestead and Mansion House for a while (these women also lived at other locations). [3]
Joseph Smith Homestead. "The Joseph Smith Homestead is near the southwest corner of Main and Water streets. Extant two-story log cabin and frame addition. Frame addition was built during Mormon period. Reconstructed log cabin (summer kitchen) on original site....The Prophet [Joseph Smith, Jr.] lived here with his family until the Mansion House was completed in 1843, though the homestead was in continuous use for several years thereafter by the Smith family."[4]

Joseph Smith Mansion House. "The Joseph Smith Mansion House is at the northeast corner of Main and Water streets. Extant two-story frame home. It originally had twenty-two rooms....Joseph moved his family into the Mansion House on or about 31 August 1843....The Mansion House functioned as the Smith private residence, a hotel, and a meeting place for civic and church councils; and the upper east room served as a prayer room."[5]

"C" On the map, "C" represents the location of Joseph Smith's General Store (Red Brick Store)
Sarah Ann Whitney. According to Andrew Jenson, Sarah Ann Whitney married Joseph on July 27, 1842.[6] Though Sarah Ann's family is located at the store, information at the Latter-day Saint Visitors Center (LDSCVC) in Nauvoo, Illinois, shows that Whitney family was connected with other property in Nauvoo.[7] According to Newell and Avery, about the time Sarah Ann married Smith, her mother and father had an "apartment over the brick store."[8] "The Joseph Smith General Store (Red Brick Store) is on the south side of Water near Granger Street. Reconstructed two-story brick building on original site....The store opened...on 5 January 1842, but Joseph Smith was unable to have an active role in its management after 1842."[9]

"D" & "E" On the map, "D" and "E" respectively represent the locations of Sarah Cleveland's family and Lucinda Harris' family.
"D" Sarah M. Cleveland (wife of John Cleveland) "E" Lucinda Harris (wife of George Harris)
According to Andrew Jenson, both Sarah and Lucinda married Joseph Smith.[10] Although the dates of their marriages to Smith are unknown, Jenson claims that Lucinda Harris was "one of the first women sealed to the Prophet Joseph."[11] Award-winning author Fawn Brodie, who was raised Mormon, placed the Smith/Harris marriage during 1838 at Far West, Missouri. Mrs. Brodie dated the Smith/Cleveland union sometime in 1842 at Nauvoo.[12] LDSCVC records connect a "Jno Cleveland" (possibly spelled "Cleveland") to the northwestern quarter of city block 147 ("lot 2"--northwest quadrant). How long the Cleveland's may have lived on this lot is not known.[13] LDSCVC records connect the Harris family to "BLK [block] 118 LOT 2.""F"

On the map, "F" represents the location of Mary Rollins Lightner's family.
Mary Rollins Lightner (wife of Adam Lightner). According to Andrew Jenson, Mary Rollins Lightner was married to Joseph Smith.[14] Researcher Danel Bachman believes this marriage took place in February 1842.[15] Mary and her husband Adam "moved to Nauvoo in 1840 or 1841 and purchased a lot just below the prophet's home....Some time after July 4, 1842 the Lightners moved to Pontiac."[16] LDSCVC records connect Adam Lightner to block 154 and also to block 145.

"G"

On the map, "G" represents the location of Louisa Beman.
Louisa Beman (Beaman). According to Andrew Jenson, Louisa Beman married Joseph Smith on April 5, 1841.[17] LDSCVC records connect Louisa with block 114.

"H"

On the map, "H" represents the location of Patty Sessions.
Patty Sessions (wife of David Sessions). According to Danel Bachman, Patty married Joseph Smith on March 9, 1842.[18] Fawn Brodie states, "According to her [Patty's] private journal she was sealed to Joseph Smith on March 9, 1842...."I was sealed to Joseph...by Willard Richards....in Newel K. Whitney's chamber...for time
and all eternity....Sylvia, my daughter, was present when I was sealed to Joseph...." [19] LDSVC records connect David Sessions to city block 108 ("lot 2"—northwest quadrant).

"I"

On the map, "I" represents the location of Sylvia Sessions.
Sylvia Sessions (wife of Windsor P. Lyon). According to Andrew Jenson, Sylvia Sessions (daughter of Patty and David Sessions) was also a wife of Joseph Smith. [20] "The Lyon Home and drug and variety store is on the south side of Hotchkiss between Main and Hyde streets. Extant two-story brick home...Windsor P. Lyon...married Sylvia P. Sessions in 1838....Within a year of his arrival in Nauvoo, Windsor...opened a drugstore on the southeast corner of Main and Hotchkiss streets. Lyon constructed a new brick structure east of the old building in 1843...." [21]

"J"

On the map, "J" represents the location of Nancy Hyde.
Nancy Marinda (Johnson) Hyde (wife of Apostle Orson Hyde). According to information at the LDSVC, Nancy Marinda Hyde "was sealed to Joseph Smith, Jr. in 1843...." [22] Nancy is not listed by Andrew Jenson as a wife of Joseph Smith. However, Daniel Bachman does list her as a wife of Smith and explains: "...Jenson may have skipped [Nancy Marinda] Johnson because of embarrassment over the fact that she had previously been the wife of Apostle Orson Hyde." [23] "The Orson Hyde home is at the northwest corner of Hotchkiss and Hyde streets. Extant two-story frame home in the Greek Revival style....Orson Hyde...married Marinda N. Johnson on 4 September 1834....From Nauvoo he left on a mission to dedicate the Holy Land for the gathering of Israel." [24]

"K"

On the map, "K" represents the location of Helen Mar Kimball.
Helen Mar Kimball (fifteen-year-old daughter of Apostle Heber C. Kimball). According to Andrew Jenson, Helen Mar married Joseph Smith in May 1843. [25] "The Heber C. Kimball home is at the northeast corner of Munson and Partridge streets. Extant two-story brick home with both Federal and Greek Revival features. The main two-story structure was erected in 1845, while the one and a half-story addition dates from the post-period....Kimball originally built a log house with three lower rooms and one upstairs, and later built this brick structure." [26]

"L"

On the map, "L" represents the location of Zina Jacobs.
Zina D. Huntington Jacobs (wife of Henry B. Jacobs). According to Andrew Jenson, Zina Huntington was married to Joseph Smith. [27] Daniel Bachman claims that she was married to Henry B. Jacobs on March 7, 1841 and then to Joseph Smith on October 27, 1841. [28] LDSVC records connect Henry Bailey Jacobs to city blocks 159 and 88.

Endnotes

2. Andrew Jenson, The Historical Record (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson, 1887), vol. vi, pp. 233-240.
3. According to Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery: "Latter-day Saint sources have traditionally placed the [Smith] move [from their Homestead to the Mansion House] in the summer of 1843 when the hotel wing was completed and Joseph hung the sign Nauvoo Mansion out front. Architectural studies of the building confirm that it was constructed in two stages. On November 2, 1842, Joseph moved his desk, books, and papers from the red brick store 'to my house.' Since the old Homestead was already overcrowded, he apparently referred to the new home where he could have an office on the first floor. People would sometimes call this the 'Prophet's House' until August 31, 1843, when Joseph said they 'commenced removing into the Nauvoo Mansion,' or the hotel wing. From that time the building would be called the 'Mansion House.' Eliza R. Snow, Eliza and Emily Partridge [one pair
5. Ibid., p. 162.
7. Unless otherwise stated, information from the LDSVC was acquired by the author during the summers of 1992-93.
11. Ibid., p. 233.
13. LDSVC records refer to a letter written by Joseph and Emma Smith (see: History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, vol. 3, p. 362). The May 24, 1839 letter states in part: "Dear Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland:...We [Emma and Joseph Smith] have selected a lot for you, just across the street from our own, beside Mr. Harris; and in the orchard...." The Smith's were living at the Homestead when they wrote this letter. Block 147 is diagonally "across the street" (the corner of Main and Water) from the Homestead. This letter by Emma and Joseph together with records at the LDSVC seem to place the Clevelanders on block 147 ("lot 2"). Fawn Brodie believes that the "Harris" mentioned in this letter refers to Lucinda Harris' family (Brodie, p. 460). If Brodie is correct, the Harris family also apparently lived for a while on block 147. According to LDSVC records, John Cleveland is also connected with block 160.
16. Brodie, pp. 466-67. Block 154 (where the Lightner's are located) is due west of the Smith homestead (on block 155). Block 154 is below the Smith Homestead when one is referring to the higher bluffs on the eastern part of the city (the town slopes downward to the western edge of town next to the river). Thus, the below description fits block 154 well in locating the Lightners. LDSVC records list Adam Lightner as a "Tenant" on block 154 during 1842.
22. See Susan Easton Black, Membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints: 1830-1848, Vol. XXV, IRE-JON, p. 679 (this multi-volume work is available for research at the Nauvoo Latter-day Saint Visitor's Center).
24. Holzapfel and Cottle, p. 113.

Bibliography
This brochure does not attempt to answer the question: Did Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet practice polygamy? Instead, it accepts belief which is held by millions of his followers that Smith did have more than one "wife." According to the late, assistant historian of the Mormon Church Andrew Jenson, Joseph Smith had at least twenty-seven plural wives!

This brochure attempts locate where some of Smith's plural spouses may have lived while they were in city of Nauvoo during the 1839-1844 period. To our knowledge, there is no other map of this kind available to the public.

This map should be consider "preliminary." As further information surfaces, no doubt changes will need to be made. CAUTION: It should be remembered that these women could (and some did) live in other locations, both inside and outside the city of Nauvoo during this period.

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"A & B"

On the map, "A" and "B" respectively represent the locations of Joseph Smith’s Homestead and his Mansion House. Smith lived at both of these locations.

Six of Joseph Smith's plural wives seem to have lived at both the Smith Homestead and Mansion House (these women did live at other locations too). Smith first married his life-long, legal wife Emma on January 18, 1827 (History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, vol. I, p. 17). These plural wives of Smith and their purported dates of marriage to him are:

1. Eliza R. Snow—June 29, 1842 (The Historical Record by Andrew Jenson—vol. VI, May 1887, p. 233).
2. Lucy Walker—May 1, 1843 (Ibid. p. 234).
5. Sarah Lawrence—1843 (Ibid. p. 234).

Joseph Smith Homestead. "The Joseph Smith Homestead is near the southwest corner of Main and Water streets. Extant two-story log cabin and frame addition. Frame addition was built during Mormon period. Reconstructed log cabin (summer kitchen) on original site....The Prophet [Joseph Smith, Jr.] lived here with his family until the Mansion House was completed in 1843, though the homestead was in continuous use for several years thereafter by the Smith family."[1]

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Joseph Smith and Emma lived in both residents.[3]

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On the map, "C" represents the location of Joseph Smith's General Store (Red Brick Store)

7. Sarah Ann Whitney. According to the late, assistant historian of the Mormon Church Andrew Jenson, Sarah Ann Whitney married Joseph on July 27, 1842.[4] Though Sarah Ann’s family is located at the store, information at the Latter-day Saint Visitors Center (LDVSC) in Nauvoo, Illinois, shows that Whitney family was connected with other property in Nauvoo.[5] About the time Sarah Ann married Smith, her mother and father seem to have had an "apartment over the brick store."[6] "The Joseph Smith General Store (Red Brick Store) is on the south side of Water near Granger Street. Reconstructed two-story brick building on original site....The store opened for business on 5 January 1842, but Joseph Smith was unable to have an active role in its management after 1842...."[7]

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   Harris was "one of the first women sealed to the Prophet Joseph."[9] Award-winning author Fawn Brodie, who was
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   Smith/Cleveland union some time in 1842 at Nauvoo.[10] LDSVC records connect a "Jno Cleveland" (possibly
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   Clevelands may have lived on this lot is not known.[11] LDSVC records connect the Harris family to "BLK
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    Mormon Church Andrew Jenson, Mary Rollins Lightner was married to Joseph Smith.[12] Researcher Danel
    Bachman believes this marriage took place in February 1842.[13] Mary and her husband Adam moved to Nauvoo
    in 1840 or 1841 and purchased a lot just below the prophet's home....Some time after July 4, 1842 the
    Lightners moved to Pontiac...."[14]. Records at the LDSVC connect Mary's other husband Adam Lightner to block 154
    (possibly "lot 2"—the northwest quadrant) in 1842.

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On the map, "G" represents the location of Louisa Beman.

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    Smith on March 9, 1842....'I was sealed to Joseph...by Willard Richards...in Newel K. Whitney's chamber...for
    time and all eternity....Sylvia, my daughter, was present when I was sealed to Joseph...."[17] According to
    information at the LDSVC, Patty's other husband, David Sessions, was connected to city block 108 ("lot 2"
    —northwest quadrant).

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13. Sylvia Sessions (wife of Windsor P. Lyon). According to the late, assistant historian of the Mormon
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On the map, "L" represents the location of Zina Jacobs.

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Endnotes

2. Ibid, p. 162.
3. According to Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippett's Avery: "Latter-day Saint sources have traditionally placed the [Smith] move [from their Homestead to the Mansion House] in the summer of 1843 when the hotel wing was completed and Joseph hung the sign Nauvoo Mansion out front. Architectural studies of the building confirm that it was constructed in two stages. On November 2, 1842, Joseph moved his desk, books, and papers from the red brick store 'to my house.' Since the old Homestead was already overcrowded, he apparently referred to the new home where he could have an office on the first floor. People would sometimes call this the ' Prophet's House' until August 31, 1843, when Joseph said they 'commenced removing into the Nauvoo Mansion,' or the hotel wing. From that time the building would be called the 'Mansion House.' Eliza R. Snow, Eliza and Emily Partridge [one pair of sisters and] Sarah and Maria Lawrence [a second pair of sisters], several of the Walker children, including Lucy, William, and Lorin, and Lucy Mack Smith probably moved with them.... On August 31, 1843, Emma and Joseph began moving furniture and supplies into the hotel portion of their house. Joseph put up a sign, Nauvoo Mansion.... Now the Homestead house offered space for meetings and conferences" (Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith by Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippett's Avery, Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City: New York—1984, pp. 132, 160; also see No Man Knows My History by Fawn Brodie, Alfred Knopf: New York—1977, 2nd Edition, p. 345).
4. The Historical Record by Andrew Jenson—vol. VI, May 1887, pp. 233-234.
5. Unless otherwise stated, information from the LDSVC was acquired during the summers of 1992-93.
8. Historical Record, pp. 233-34.
11. County records show that Sarah's other husband, John Cleveland, never registered a deed of ownership to any part of city block 147 (see Grantor-Grantee land sale records at the Hancock County Court House—HCHC—concerning block 147). Cleveland apparently did own other property in Nauvoo according to records at the LDSVC. Such LDSVC records refer to a letter written by Joseph and Emma Smith (see: History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, vol. 3, p. 362). The May 24, 1839 letter states in part: "Dear Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland:....We [Emma and Joseph Smith] have selected a lot for you [Cleveland's], just across the street from our own, beside Mr. Harris; and in the orchard...." The Smith's were living at the Homestead when they wrote this letter. Block 147 is "diagonally" across the "street" (corner of Main and Water) from the Homestead. This letter by Emma and
Joseph together with records at the LDSVC seem to place the Cleveland's on this block (near "lot 2"). Fawn Brodie believes that the "Harris" mentioned in this letter refers to Lucinda Harris' family (No Man Knows My History, p. 460). If Brodie is correct, the Harris family also apparently lived for a while on block 147.

12. Historical Record, p. 234.
14. No Man Knows My History, pp. 466-67. Block 154 (where the Lightner's are located) is "due west" of the Smith Homestead which is located on block 155. Block 154 is below the Smith Homestead when referring to the higher bluffs on the eastern part of the city (the eastern part of town slopes downward to the western or lower edge of town next to the river). For this reason, the below description fits block 154 well in locating the Lightners. Also, records at the LDSVC show Adam Lightner as a "Tenant" on block 154 during 1842. Although the Lightners seemed to have owned other property in Nauvoo, this family never registered a deed of ownership in any part of block 154 (see Grantor-Grantee land sale records at the HCCH).
15. Historical Record, p. 233.
17. No Man Knows My History, p. 468.
22. Old Mormon Nauvoo, p. 113.
23. Historical Record, p. 234.
25. Historical Record, p. 233.
27. Grantor-Grantee land sale records at the HCCH show that Henry Bailey Jacobs never registered a deed to the property on city block 159.