

Member' Reactions



Devout Latter-day Saint Benjamin F. Johnson recalled his reaction when he first learned of plural marriage teachings: “If a thunderbolt had fallen at my feet I could hardly have been more shocked or amazed.”¹

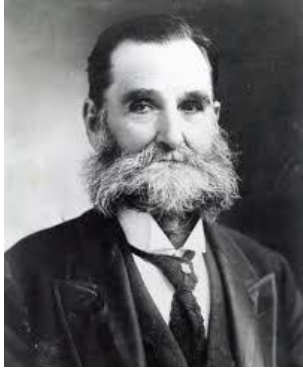


Figure 1: Benjamin F. Johnson

These sentiments are common and skepticism ran high among LDS Church members when they first heard the practice was being introduced.

This essay explores the feelings of the first generation of Mormon polygamists. It includes a number of their recollections, and for that reason, it is longer than other essays on this website.

Revulsion: The Most Common Reaction to Plural Marriage

Non-member historian Lawrence Foster acknowledged that the nearly universal reaction to plural marriage teachings in Nauvoo was revulsion: “In almost all recorded cases, initial presentation of the belief in plural marriage to either men or women produced shock, horror, disbelief, or general emotional confusion. Those who eventually accepted the principle almost invariably went through a period of inner turmoil lasting from several days to several months.”²

LDS historian Kathryn M. Daynes observed that “In every recorded case, the initial attitude toward entering plural marriage was negative.”³

Brigham Young related his feelings upon learning of plural marriage: “My brethren know what my feelings were at the time Joseph revealed the doctrine; I was not desirous of shrinking from any duty, nor of failing in the least to do as I was commanded, but it was the first time in my life that I had desired the grave, and I could hardly get over it for a long time. And when I saw a funeral, I felt to envy the corpse its situation, and to regret that I was not in the coffin.”⁴

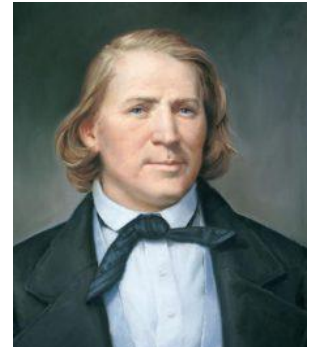


Figure 2: Brigham Young



Figure 3: John Taylor

Apostle John Taylor recalled: “[At] the time when men were commanded to take more wives. It made us all pull pretty long faces sometimes. It was not so easy as one might think. When it was revealed to us it looked like the last end of Mormonism. For a man to ask another woman to marry him required more self-confidence than we had.”⁵

In a discourse delivered on the tenth anniversary of the martyrdom, John Taylor also declared:

I remember being with President Young and Kimball and I think one or two others with Brother Joseph soon after we had returned from England[.] He talked with us on these principles and laid them before us[.] It tried our minds and feelings[.] We saw it was something going to be heavy upon

us[.] it was not that very nice pleasing thing some people thought about it[.] It is something that harried up our feelings[.] Did we believe it[?] Yes we did[.] I did[.] The whole rest of the brethren did but still we should have been glad to push it off a little further[.] We [would have] been glad if it did not come in our day but that somebody else had something to do with it instead of us.⁶

LDS women often responded with surprise and distaste as they learned of polygamy teachings. Bathsheba B. Smith remembered, “We discussed it [polygamy] ... that is, us young girls did, for I was a young girl then, and we talked a good deal about it, and some of us did not like it much.”⁷

Recalling an even stronger aversion, Mary Isabella Hales Horne said, “The brethren and sisters were so averse to polygamy that it could hardly be mentioned.”⁸

Eliza R. Snow wrote that “The subject was very repugnant to my feelings.”⁹



Figure 4: Bathsheba W. Smith



Figure 5: Eliza R. Snow

Lucy Walker, one of Joseph’s plural wives, recorded: “My astonishment knew no bounds. This announcement was indeed a thunderbolt to me. ... Every feeling of my soul revolted against it.”¹⁰

[Mercy Rachel Fielding](#), plural wife of Hyrum Smith, penned: “This subject when first communicated to me tried me to the very core all my former traditions and every natural feeling of my heart rose in opposition to this principle.”¹¹



Figure 4: Mercy Fielding Smith Thompson

Jane Snyder Richards, who was married to Apostle Franklin D. Richards, recalled her more moderated response. She thought it was “a strange thing and ... was uncertain as to the result, but was satisfied that it was a sacred revelation and that [her] religion required its acceptance.”¹²

With such wariness, it is surprising that so many church members eventually accepted the principle. In their remembrances, they mentioned several reasons including their faith in Joseph Smith as a true Prophet and also their own spiritual experiences.

Faith in Joseph Smith as a Prophet

Nauvoo polygamists possessed faith that Joseph Smith was a prophet of God. Otherwise, they would probably not gathered to Nauvoo in the first place. For some, this conviction alone was sufficient.

Benjamin F. Johnson wrote of his spring 1843 introduction to plural marriage by the Prophet:

President Smith took me by the arm for a walk, leading the way to a secluded spot within an adjacent grove, where to my great surprise, he commenced to open up to me the principle of plural or celestial marriage. ... I sincerely believed him to a prophet of God, and I loved him as such.¹³



Figure 5: George A. Smith

Warren Foote related George A. Smith’s struggle in accepting the revelation: “[George A. Smith] related to us what a trial it was to him to receive the revelation on plural marriage. It was first made known to him by the Prophet Joseph. He did not feel at first at though he could receive it as from the Lord. But again he knew that Joseph was a prophet of God, and he durst not reject it. Thus he reasoned with himself, until he obtained a testimony from the Lord for himself.”¹⁴

Eliza Partridge, one of Joseph’s plural wives, wrote: “He [Joseph Smith] taught to us the plan of Celestial marriage and asked us to enter into that order with him. This was truly a great trial for me, but I had the most implicit confidence in him as a Prophet of the Lord.”¹⁵

Emmeline Wells, editor of the *Woman’s Exponent*, described Presendia Huntington’s experience: “Joseph himself taught the principle of plural marriage to Sister Presendia, and her heart was humble, and her mind open to receive the revelations of heaven. She knew Joseph to be a man of God, and she had received many manifestations in proof of this, and consequently when he explained to her clearly the knowledge which he had obtained from the Lord, she accepted the sealing ordinances with Joseph as a sacred and holy confirmation.”¹⁶



Figure 6: Emmeline B. Wells

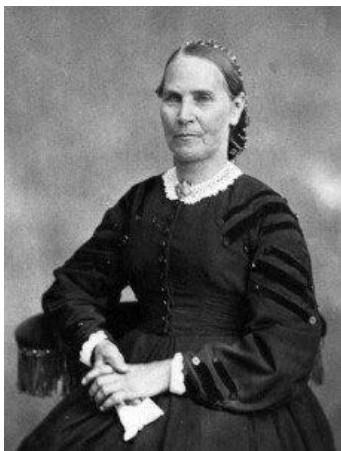


Figure 7: Desdemona Fullmer

Many Members Reported Spiritual Experiences

Several of Joseph Smith’s plural wives left accounts of the spiritual experiences that convinced them plural marriage was of God. For example, [Desdemona Fullmer](#) reported a night vision in which an angel told her that the polygamy doctrine was true.¹⁷

In one of the more dramatic accounts, [Mary Elizabeth Rollins](#) reported her own skepticism and resistance to the teaching: “In 1834, [Joseph] was commanded to take me for a wife. I was a thousand miles from him. He got afraid. The angel came to him three times, the last time with a drawn sword and threatened his life. I did not believe. If God told him so, why did he not come and tell me? The angel told him I should have a witness. An angel came to me – it went through me like lightning – I was afraid.”¹⁸

In another narrative she gave additional details:

I knelt down and if ever a poor mortal prayed, I did. A few nights after that an angel of the Lord came to me and if ever a thrill went through a mortal, it went through me. I gazed upon the clothes and figure but the eyes were like lightning. They pierced me from the crown of my head to the soles of my feet. I was frightened almost to death for a moment . . . The angel leaned over me and the light was very great, although it was night. ...

Joseph came up the next Sabbath. He said, “Have you had a witness yet?” “No.” “Well,” said he, “the angel expressly told me you should have.” Said I, “I have not had a witness, but I have seen something I have never seen before. I saw an angel and I was frightened almost to death. I did not speak.”¹⁹

[Zina Huntington](#) related:

It [plural marriage] was something too sacred to be talked about; it was more to me than life or death. I never breathed it for years. I will tell you the facts. I had dreams. I am no dreamer—but I had dreams that I could not account for. I know this is the work of the Lord; it was revealed to me, even when young. Things were presented to my mind that I could not account for. When Joseph Smith revealed this order, I knew what it meant; the Lord was preparing my mind to receive it.”²⁰

[Emily Partridge](#) reported:

I had thought a great deal about it [plural marriage] in that time [1842–1843], and I had prayed for it to know what it was, and if it was my duty. I thought I ought to have listened to it ... for I was greatly troubled over it, as I feared I had done wrong in not listening to it, – and so I prayed to be enlightened in regard to what I should have done. Well, in time I became convinced that there was nothing wrong about it.²¹

[Eliza R. Snow](#) left this account:

In Nauvoo I first understood that the practice of plurality of wives was to be introduced into the church. The subject was very repugnant to my feelings – so directly was it in opposition to my educated prepossessions, that it seemed as though all the prejudices of my ancestors for generations past congregated around me: But when I reflected 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. It was not long however, after I received the first intimation, before the announcement reach me that the “set time” had come—that God had commanded his servants to establish the order, by taking additional wives—I knew that God ... was speaking. ... As I increased in knowledge concerning the principle and design of Plural Marriage, I grew in love with it.²²

[Helen Mar Kimball](#) remembered:

The Prophet called at our house, and I sat with my father and mother and heard him teach the principle and explain it more fully, and I believed it, but I had no proofs, only his and my father’s testimony. I thought that sufficient, and did not deem it necessary to seek for any further, but had I been differently situated like many were without a father and a mother to love and counsel me, probably my dependence, like theirs, would have been on the Lord, but I leaned not upon His arm. My father was my teacher and revelator, and I saw no necessity then for further testimony; but in after years the Lord, in His far-seeing and infinite mercy, suffered me to pass through the rough waves of experience and in sorrow and affliction, I learned that most important lesson, that in Him alone must I trust, and not in weak and sinful man; and that it was absolutely necessary for each one to obtain a living witness and testimony for him or herself, and not for another, to the truth of this latter-day work.²³

[Lucy Walker](#) shared a detailed story including her hostility to an imposed time limit:

In the year 1842, President Joseph Smith sought an interview with me, and said: “I have a message for you. I have been commanded of God to take another wife, and you are the woman.” My astonishment knew no bounds. This announcement was indeed a thunderbolt to me. He asked me if I believed him to be a prophet of God. “Most assuredly I do,” I replied. He fully explained to me the principle of plural or celestial marriage. He said this principle was again to be restored for the benefit of the human family, that it would prove an everlasting blessing to my father’s house, and form a chain that could never be broken, worlds without end. “What have you to say?” he asked. “Nothing.” How could I speak, or what could I say? He said, “If you will pray sincerely for light and understanding in relation thereto, you

shall receive a testimony of the correctness of this principle. I thought I prayed sincerely, but was so unwilling to consider the matter favorably that I fear I did not ask in faith for light. Gross darkness instead of light took possession of my mind. I was tempted and tortured beyond endurance until life was not desirable. Oh that the grave would kindly receive me, that I might find rest on the bosom of my dear mother. Why should I be chosen from among thy daughters, Father, I am only a child in years and experience, no mother to counsel [she died in January, 1842]; no father near to tell me what to do in this trying hour [he was on a mission to a warmer climate to help his health]. Oh, let this bitter cup pass. And thus I prayed in the agony of my soul.

The Prophet discerned my sorrow. He saw how unhappy I was, and sought an opportunity of again speaking to me on this subject, and said: "Although I cannot, under existing circumstances, acknowledge you as my wife, the time is near when we will go beyond the Rocky Mountains and then you will be acknowledged and honored as my wife."²⁴ He also said, "This principle will yet be believed in and practiced by the righteous. I have no flattering words to offer. It is a command of God to you. I will give you until tomorrow to decide this matter. If you reject this message the gate will be closed forever against you."

This aroused every drop of Scotch in my veins. For a few moments I stood fearless before him, and looked him in the eye. I felt at this moment that I was called to place myself upon the altar a living sacrifice — perhaps to brook the world in disgrace and incur the displeasure and contempt of my youthful companions; all my dreams of happiness blown to the four winds. This was too much, for as yet no shadow had crossed my path, aside from the death of my dear mother. The future to me had been one bright, cloudless day. I had been speechless, but at last found utterance and said: "Although you are a prophet of God you could not induce me to take a step of so great importance, unless I knew that God approved my course. I would rather die. I have tried to pray but received no comfort, no light," and emphatically forbid him speaking again to me on this subject. Every feeling of my soul revolted against it. Said I, "The same God who has sent this message is the Being I have worshipped from my early childhood and He must manifest His will to me." He walked across the room, returned and stood before me with the most beautiful expression of countenance, and said: "God Almighty bless you. You shall have a manifestation of the will of God concerning you; a testimony that you can never deny. I will tell you what it shall be. It shall be that joy and peace that you never knew."

Oh, how earnestly I prayed for these words to be fulfilled. It was near dawn after another sleepless night when my room was lighted up by a heavenly influence. To me it was, in comparison, like the brilliant sun bursting through the darkest cloud. The words of the Prophet were indeed fulfilled. My soul was filled with a calm, sweet peace that "I never knew." Supreme happiness took possession of me, and I received a powerful and irresistible testimony of the truth of plural marriage, which has been like an anchor to the soul through all the trials of life. I felt that I must go out into the morning air and give vent to the joy and gratitude that filled my soul. As I descended the stairs, President Smith opened the door below, took me by the hand and said: "Thank God, you have the testimony. I too have prayed." He led me to a chair, placed his hands upon my head, and blessed me with every blessing my heart could possibly desire.

The first day of May, 1843, I consented to become the Prophet's wife, and was sealed to him for time and all eternity, at his own house by Elder William Clayton.²⁵

Other Nauvoo polygamists related their own spiritual experiences. Lorenzo Snow remembered:

I was personally acquainted with Joseph Smith, the Prophet, during twelve or fourteen years, by whom I was first taught this doctrine, and knew him to be a man of truth and honor. But then, I am not dependent on his word for my knowledge of plural marriage; the Lord gave me a divine testimony confirming His teachings, which no man can give nor take away.²⁶

Vilate Kimball's daughter Helen described her parents' conversion:

My father's heart was raised at the same time in supplication, and while pleading as one would plead for life, the vision of her mind was opened, and as darkness fleeth before the morning sun, so did her sorrow and the groveling things of earth vanish away, and before her she saw the principle of celestial marriage illustrated in all its beauty and glory, together with the great exaltation and honor it would confer upon her in that immortal and celestial sphere if she

would but accept it and stand in her place by her husband's side. She was also shown the woman he had taken to wife, and contemplated with joy the vast and boundless love and union which this order would bring about, as well as the increase of kingdoms, power and glory extending throughout the eternities, worlds without end.

Her soul was satisfied and filled with the Spirit of God. With a countenance beaming with joy she returned to my father, saying, "Heber, what you kept from me the Lord has shown to me."

She related the scene to me and to many others, and told me she never saw so happy a man as father was, when she described the vision and told him she was satisfied and knew that it was from God.²⁷

Elizabeth Whitney recalled her experience with her husband, Bishop Newell K. Whitney:

Joseph had the most implicit confidence in my husband's uprightness and integrity of character, and so he confided to him the principles set forth in that revelation, and also gave him the privilege of reading and making a copy of it, believing it would be perfectly safe with him. ... My husband revealed these things to me. We had always been united, and had the utmost faith and confidence in each other. We pondered upon the matter continually, and our prayers were unceasing that the Lord would grant us some special manifestation concerning this new and strange doctrine. The Lord was very merciful to us; He revealed unto us His power and glory. We were seemingly wrapt in a heavenly vision, a halo of light encircled us, and we were convinced in our own bosoms that God heard and approved our prayers and intercedings before him. Our hearts were comforted and our faith made so perfect that we were willing to give our eldest daughter, then seventeen years of age, to Joseph, in the order of plural marriage. Laying aside all our traditions and former notions in regard to marriage, we gave her with our mutual consent.²⁸

Nauvoo High Councilor James Allred remembered that "he did not believe it at first, it was so contrary to his feelings, but he said he knew Joseph was a prophet of God so he made a covenant that he would not eat, drink or sleep until he knew for himself, that he had got a testimony that it was true, that he had even heard the voice of God concerning it."²⁹

Another high councilor, Thomas Grover recalled a vision of a future plural wife: "On a sudden there stood before me my oldest wife that I have now and the voice of the Lord said that 'This is your companion for time and all Eternity.'"³⁰

Church member Martha Jane Knowlton Coray had a peculiar dream that convinced her of the propriety of plural marriage.³¹

Samuel Amos Woolley, another Latter-day Saint, recounted his own dream-vision verifying the validity of plural marriage.³²

Phebe W. Woodruff, Apostle Wilford Woodruff's first wife, penned this account:

When the principles of polygamy was first taught I thought it the most wicked thing I ever heard of; consequently I supposed it to the best of my ability, until I became sick and wretched. As soon, however, as I became convinced that it originated as a revelation from God through Joseph, and knowing him to be a prophet, I wrestled with my Heavenly Father in fervent prayers-, to be guided aright at that all important moment of my life. The answer came. Peace was given to my mind. I knew it was the will of God; and from that time to the present I have sought to faithfully honor the patriarchal law. Of Joseph, my testimony is that he was one of the greatest prophets the Lord ever called; that he lived for the redemption of mankind, and died a martyr for the truth.³³



Figure 8: Phebe Woodruff

An additional narrative of an unnamed couple in Nauvoo states: “We each began having revelations from Heaven night after night, saying that we must go back to the customs of the patriarchs with regard to marriage. The whole thing was so repugnant to us both that for some time we could not receive it. The revelations, however, became clearer and more emphatic, and at last my wife ventured to communicate to me what the Lord had declared to her. This led to a comparison of experiences all around, and we found the same revelation had come to many; and hence it was received and acted upon as the unmistakable will of Heaven.”³⁴



Figure 9: Martha Jane Knowlton Coray

Howard Coray reported his wife’s experience: “She [Martha Jane Knowlton Coray] had a peculiar dream. ... She desired me to accompany her to Brother Hyrum Smith’s for the purpose of getting him to interpret it. We went the next Sunday to see him, but having company, he was not at liberty to say much. ... The next Sunday we went, but found as many at his house as the Sunday pervious He said to us, Come again the next Sunday. ... But in a day or so he called at our house, and invited us to take a ride with him in his buggy. ... He commenced rehearsing the revelation on [eternal] marriage. ... This was on the 22 of July 1843. The dream was in harmony with the revelation. ... While still in the buggy, Brother Hyrum asked my wife if she was willing to be sealed to me; after a moment’s thought, she answered, yes. He then asked me if I wished to be sealed. I replied in the affirmation. ... He performed the ceremony, then and there.”³⁵

These accounts and others show that early polygamists initially expressed healthy skepticism towards plural marriage when they were first introduced to the concept. Their eventual participation did not reflect a blind obedience, but testimony. They reported their own spiritual experiences prompted them to believe polygamy was divinely inspired, or how their convictions concerning Joseph Smith as a Prophet motivated them to accept the practice.

To continue this brief narrative of the unfolding of the practice of polygamy in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, proceed to the section on [Stories of Faith](#).

Endnotes:

1. Benjamin F. Johnson, *My Life’s Review*, Mesa, Arizona: 21st Century Printing, 1992, reprint, 94–95.
2. Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 153.
3. Kathryn M. Daynes, “Family Ties: Belief and Practice in Nauvoo.” *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 8 (1988): 68 [63–75]; Kathryn Daynes, “Mormon Polygamy: Belief and Practice in Nauvoo,” in *Kingdom on the Mississippi Revisited: Nauvoo in Mormon History*, eds. Roger D. Launius and John E. Hallwas (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 135 [130–46].
4. Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses*, 3:266 (July 14, 1855).
5. John Taylor, Report of the dedication of the Kaysville Relief Society House, November 12, 1876; *Women’s Exponent* 5 (March 1, 1877): 148.

6. John Taylor, "Sermon in Honor of the Martyrdom," June 27, 1854; Papers of George D. Watt, MS 4534, box 2, disk 2, 1854 images 151–52, Sermon not in Journal of Discourses or in CR 100 317, Transcribed by LaJean Purcell Carruth, September 1, 2009. Used by permission. Punctuation and capitalization added.
7. Bathsheba Smith, deposition, Temple Lot transcript, Respondent's testimony, part 3, page 292, question 21.
8. Mrs Joseph Horne [Mary Isabella Hales Horne], "Migration and Settlement of the Latter Day Saints, Salt Lake City, 1884," in "Utah and the Mormons Collection," Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley, page 17; microfilm copy in MS 8305.
9. Eliza R. Snow, "Sketch of My Life," Bancroft Library, Berkely; in Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, ed., *The Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2000), 16; see also Edward W. Tullidge, *The Women of Mormondom* (New York City: n.p., 1877), 295.
10. Quoted in Lyman Omer Littlefield, *Reminiscences of Latter-day Saints: Giving an Account of Much Individual Suffering Endured for Religious Conscience* (Logan: Utah Journal Co, 1888), 46–48; see also testimony in Andrew Jenson, "Plural Marriage," *Historical Record* 6 (July 1887): 229–30.
11. Mercy Rachel Fielding Thompson, [Autobiographical sketch, 1880], MS 4580, CHL, page 5.
12. Jane Snyder Richards, "Autobiography," CHL, MS 1215, 18.
13. Benjamin F. Johnson, Joseph F. Smith Affidavit Books, 4 vols., MS 3423. LDS Church History Library, 2:3–6.
14. Warren Foote (1817–1903), Autobiography and Journal, MS 1123, Folder 1, LDS CHL, 1:83.
15. Eliza Maria Partridge Lyman, *Life and Journal of Eliza Maria Partridge Lyman* (n.p., n.d. [ca. 1877?]), typescript NS 9546, holograph MS 1527, LDS Church History Library. Not paginated but covers pages 7–8 in the holograph.
16. "A Venerable Woman, Presendia Lathrop Kimball," *Woman's Exponent* 11, no. 21 (April 1, 1883): 163.
17. Desdemona Fullmer, autobiography, [not MS 734 in CHL], quoted in D. Michael Quinn papers – Addition – Uncat WA MS 244, bx 1, Yale University, Special Collections.
18. Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, "Statement" signed Feb. 8, 1902 (Vesta Crawford Papers, MS 125, bx1 fd 11. Original owned by Mrs. Nell Osborne (courtesy Juanita Brooks). See also Juanita Brooks Papers, USHS, MSB103, bx16, fd 13; BYU special collections, MS 1132.
19. Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, "Remarks" at Brigham Young University, April 14. 1905, vault MSS 363, fd 6, Harold B. Lee Library, Special Collections, 2.
20. John Wight, "Evidence from Zina D. Huntington Young," Interview with Zina, October 1, 1898, *Saints Herald* 52 (Januray 11, 1905): 29; see also in Martha Sonntag Bradley and Mary Brown Firmage Woodward, *Four Zinas: A Story of Mothers and Daughters on the Mormon Frontier* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2000), 114.
21. Emily D. P. Young, deposition, Temple Lot transcript, respondent's testimony (part 3), pages 350–52, questions 22–24. See also Joseph F. Smith affidavit books, CHL, 1:11, 1:13.
22. Eliza R. Snow, "Sketch of My Life," in "Utah and Mormons" collection, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley, microfilm copy in CHL, under call number MS 8305, Reel 1, Item 11, page 13. See also Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, ed., *The Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2000), 16–17.
23. Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, "Scenes in Nauvoo," *Woman's Exponent* 11, no. 5, (August 1, 1882): 39.

24. Lucy testified in 1892: “Under the circumstances we could not go by his name there. ...[He said eventually] we could be acknowledged as his wives. ... President Smith himself said that day would come ... he proclaimed repeatedly that we would go beyond the mountains.” (deposition, Temple Lot transcript, respondent’s testimony (part 3), page 467, questions 432, 435, 437, 446.)
25. Lyman Omer Littlefield, *Reminiscences of Latter-day Saints: Giving an Account of Much Individual Suffering Endured for Religious Conscience* (Logan: Utah Journal Co, 1888), 46–48; see also testimony in Andrew Jenson, “Plural Marriage,” *Historical Record* 6 (July 1887): 229–30.
26. Eliza R. Snow, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1884), 405.
27. Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, “Scenes and Incidents in Nauvoo,” *Women’s Exponent* 10, no. 10 (October 15, 1881): 74. Reprinted in Jeni Broberg Holzapfel and Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, eds., *A Woman’s View: Helen Mar Whitney’s Reminiscences of Early Church History* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, BYU, 1997), 136–39. See also Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, *Why We Practice Plural Marriage* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1884), 56–59; Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 9th ed. (Salt Lake City: Book Craft, 1945), 326–27.
28. Edward Tullidge, *The Women of Mormondom* (New York City: n.p., 1877), 368–69; Elizabeth Ann Whitney, “A Leaf from an Autoiobiography,” *Woman’s Exponent* 7, no. 14 (December 15, 1878): 105; see also Carol Cornwall Madsen, ed., *In Their Own Words: Women and the Story of Nauvoo* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1994), 202.
29. James Allred, “Statement,” October 15, 1854. CHL. Copy of typescript in Richard Van Wagoner Collection, Marriott Library, University of Utah, bx 13.
30. Thomas Grover to Brigham Young, October 14, 1870, Brigham Young Collection, CR 1234, 1, (Reel 45) LDS CHL, pages 1–2.
31. Howard Coray, “Reminiscences,” CHL; quoted in Richard Neitzel Holzapfel & Jeni Broberg Holzapfel, *Women of Nauvoo* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1992), 96; see also Howard Coray, “Reminiscences,” 25–26, CHL, MS 8142.
32. Andrew Jenson, “Plural Marriage,” *Historical Record* 6 (July 1887): 231.
33. “Autobiographic Sketch of Phebe W. Woodruff, Salt Lake City, 1880,” Phebe W. (Carter) Woodruff, in “Utah and Mormons” collection, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley, microfilm copy in CHL, under call number MS 8305, reel 1, item 7.
34. John C. Kimball in the *Christian Register* quoted in *Anti-Polygamy Standard* 2, no. 6, September 1881: 44.
35. Howard Coray, “Reminiscences,” CHL; quoted in Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Jeni Broberg Holzapfel, *Women of Nauvoo* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1992), 96.