TOO MANY BIOGRAPHIES, TOO LITTLE TIME: GOOD BOOKS TO "THINK WITH", PART 2, CONTINUED FROM SOPHE LAST YEAR

Karen McKellips

Last year I enjoyed so much participating in a panel discussing use of biography in our work, at least what used to be my work before I retired, that I decided to see if anyone would come to hear me tell you about a new biography I recommend highly. I have even worn the same clothes I wore last year to enhance the "continued" experience.

Old retired people on the wrong side of 70 have freedom to read what we want, for enjoyment, not what we must, because of our profession. I am still reading the same sort of stuff I read before, but have no one to tell about the jewels I find. Therefore, I am subjecting you to a review of a book that makes me regret I have no class in which to *require* it be read, supplemented with information gleaned from personal family history research, and my views regarding "Republican Mother" ideology.

A House Full of Females, Plural Marriage and Women's Rights in Early Mormonism 1835-1870

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By Laurel Thatcher Ulrich (also author of Pulitzer Prize winner, *The Midwife's Tale*.)

She is 300th Anniversary Professor at Harvard, former President of the American Historical Association.

A House Full of Females was endorsed heartily eight days ago by **my** feminist book club.

Reading this book, I discovered a trove of misconceptions and gaps in my knowledge and think many of my fellow feminists (is it correct to say **fellow** feminists?) share. (My book club friends say this is an oxymoron.)

The author relies heavily on letters and diaries of both female and male early Mormons, sometimes writing about the same events, and on women's poetry, and minutes and agendas from early Mormon women's meetings. I use the term Mormon because Ulrich does, and it is shorter than "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."

The author compares the book to an actual antique Mormon quilt with blocks made by many women which was later cut apart to share the pieces. Still later, the pieces were reunited with some missing, some faded so they couldn't be read, some impossible to attribute. Ulrich says "The sundering and reuniting of the quilt offers a metaphor for the losses and recoveries that characterize women's history."[i] She also points out that the many quotes in the book were *almost* all recorded when they happened, not a looking back to an earlier time as in memoirs and oral interviews. The book is meticulously end noted.

I knew the basics about early Mormon life, where they lived, the several times in this brief span when they were viciously persecuted, tortured, driven out of where they were living. I didn't understand nuances of the impact of Mormon practice, including plural marriage, on the lives, the restrictions, the opportunities, of these women as compared to those of other American women at this time.

In the interest of full disclosure, I tell you that my husband has direct ancestors who were Mormon from the first months of the faith's founding by Joseph Smith in New York. His great-great-grandmother, the child of a plural marriage, as an elderly woman, came to Oklahoma Territory with her son's family. My father-in-law knew her, actually lived with her. My husband's great-great-great-grandfather, Samuel McKellips was contemporary with Joseph Smith. Samuel's son Dennis and grandson Abner Terral were in the main Mormon group as they moved from New York, to Missouri, then to Nauvoo, Illinois, Mormon headquarters for seven years where all three are buried. The female lines were also Mormon. Some of my husband's ancestor females went to Utah.

Abner Terral McKellips' son, Orlando Daniel, brought his family to Blaine, then to Custer Counties, Oklahoma, during the Territorial period. This family, including my father-in law, said some of the earlier family were Mormon and related to Brigham Young somehow. My husband saw no Mormon religious customs or behavior among Oklahoma McKellips but we read a lot about Mormonism because of that statement.

I have connections to people in this book. Three of my great-great-grandmother's sisters, joined the group, became plural wives, and moved to Utah.

Joseph Smith founded the religion in up-state New York and published the *Book of Mormon* in 1830. Over the next decade, he established communities in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, and other groups in New England, Pennsylvania, Iowa, and elsewhere. A group of 10,000 was viciously persecuted and driven from their Missouri property in 1838-9. They fled to Illinois, bought the small town of Commerce, and renamed it Nauvoo, a word they derived from the Hebrew word for beautiful.[ii] These refugees started over, building homes, businesses, and a temple, only to have part of Nauvoo burned to the ground. Joseph Smith and others were murdered, their property stolen or burned. Some were tortured with the complicity of government officials and law enforcement in 1844. By the winter of 1847, fourteen thousand Nauvoo survivors had fled to other states.[iii]

Re-grouping under Brigham Young's leadership, they established a base for moving west in a place they named "Winter Camp," also called "Camp of Israel," now Omaha, Nebraska. It was Indian land, part of the Omaha Nation, which the federal government let these refugees occupy briefly. Young led the first group to Salt Lake in 1847, one-hundred-forty-two men, two women, and three children—a 1,031-mile journey in 111 days. He then returned to Winter Camp. This group was joined by the "Mormon Battalion," over 500 men who volunteered to fight in the Mexican War, doing so from July 46-July 47, to earn money to facilitate the move to Utah, the only religiously based unit in the history of the U.S. military.[iv] After their stint in Mexico, they disembarked in California, spent a brief time helping build Sutter's Mill, but soon were helping Young's first group lay out Salt Lake City's grid of streets, plant huge gardens, and construct buildings.[v] There were 1,500 in Young's next group; over 50% were female.

Larger groups from the east began arriving, supplemented by Americans and Europeans recruited by missionary men. A fertile area for converting and transporting people to Utah was the Birmingham, Manchester, Lancashire, areas of England with which I am familiar as a result of being in the area with The Beatrix Potter Society and for research related to the Industrial Revolution in the U.K. The majority of these American and foreign-born groups were women.

In 1860 only 40% of Salt Lake Mormons lived in polygamous families, and in 2/3 of them there were only two wives. 15% of the 1846 Mormons never went to Utah, mostly staying in Missouri, Illinois, and Indiana.[vi] Joseph Smith's first wife, Emma Hale Smith, and one of their sons, did not go, and were prominent among the founders of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints whose members practiced much of the theology of the original group but did not endorse or practice polygamy.[vii] Emma's father had been a Justice of the Peace and she his clerk. Before Joseph was assassinated, she edited the first Mormon hymn book and founded a Women's Society two days after the men of Nauvoo established a Masonic Lodge.[viii] A man observing one of these women's meetings remarked, "There was more intelligence in the hearts of the sisters that afternoon than in the hearts of all the crown'd heads of Europe."[ix]

In July 1842, only two men had plural wives. Smith may have had a dozen and Young had just taken his first one. In January 1844, twenty men, and seventy-six women, including five first wives, were involved.[x] When Joseph was assassinated, many of his wives were "sealed" or married to Brigham Young. Emma rejected Young's offer and raised her children to believe their father never had other wives.[xi] While married, 1827 to his death in 1844, she bore him eight children and she adopted twins. Five of these survived childhood.[xii]

A number of Joseph's wives did accept Young's offer. In 1870, Eliza Snow Smith Young was living with a dozen of them in "the Lion house" in Salt Lake and was a powerful leader among the women of Utah.[xiii] Most Mormon men had no more than three wives, some only one. The number of wives one had paralleled status in the Mormon religious hierarchy and wealth for the most part.[xiv]

Plural marriage was first practiced secretly and only among a few leaders. It became known to the general body of Mormons slowly. Many men were shocked when the situation became known and resisted polygamy even after it

became official doctrine and men pressured to take plural wives.[xv] One man with only one wife, promoted to the inner circle of church leadership as Brigham Young's clerk, was taken aside when Young saw the man was attracted to a new English convert and told, "It is your privilege to have as many as you want."[xvi] Young offered to loan the man the money for her passage from England.

Joseph Smith revealed this doctrine to a select few in 1843. It was finally published throughout the entire world, from Liverpool to Hong Kong, to Calcutta, to the Sandwich Isles (Hawaii,) and many other locations around the world simultaneously in 1852.[xvii] By then there were over 3,000 Mormons in 33 congregations in the Manchester England Conference, all working to get as many English Mormons as possible to Salt Lake.[xviii]

The most startling thing I learned from this book is that the situation of women in polygamous Utah can be seen as better than that of other American women of the time. Ulrich doesn't say this, but *I* do, these women, to a surprising extent, broke out of the "Republican Mother" trap, the culture wherein women were held responsible for maintaining morality in our Republic through their roles as wives and mothers, seen as only possible if they had almost no civil, legal, or even human, rights but were totally subservient to fathers, brothers, husbands, even their grown sons. Women supplied morality for the family by their examples of selfless, humble and dependent behavior, gentle examples which would inspire moral behavior by men. The majority of the "founding fathers" seem to have believed the fate of the Republic rested on women as they were responsible for raising sons who wouldn't become despots. Even John Adams ignored Abigail's plea to "Remember the ladies… Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of husbands."[xix]

Joseph Smith had 53 plural wives when he was assassinated. Other than Emma's, he is supposed to have had eight children. DNA has recently shown three weren't his biological children.[xx] The birthrate among plural wives was lower than the U.S. birthrate and may have contributed to Mormon women's longevity.[xxi] Some think it is because of the men's frequent long absences on church business elsewhere. Others postulate men weren't sharing their favors equally, women had more opportunity to reject husband's advances, or that they were practicing some form of birth control.[xxii]

Some advantages of being a Mormon wife, even a "plural" one:
*Suffrage
*Divorce and the Right to Choose One's Own Spouse
*Opportunity to Work Outside the Home, Earn and Keep Wages
*Opportunity to Act as Religious Leaders

Suffrage: Hoping to attract women settlers, Wyoming Territory passed the first woman's suffrage bill in 1869. Wyoming had only 9,118 white citizens, and 6 times as many men as women. In 1870, Utah gave women the right to vote. There were 86,000 white citizens in Utah Territory, over half of them female.[xxiii] U.S. anti-polygamist forces thought women would vote out polygamy in their state if they could vote. They didn't. In 1887 the U.S. Congress revoked their right to vote. It was restored when written into the constitution of the new state in 1895.[xxiv]

Divorce and the Right to Choose One's Own Spouse:
Nothing in the U.S. *Constitution* improved political and legal rights of women. *Coverture* is the legal doctrine which says when a woman married, she no longer existed except as an extension of her husband and he controlled all decisions regarding her life. Marriage caused her to disappear as an independent entity. Everything she brought to the marriage, including the clothes on her back, now belonged to him. Women could not sue or be sued. Early U.S. courts ruled that since Republican law, unlike earlier English law, was intended to prevent governments, or any other entity *including female dowries*, from taking away a man's right to do whatever he wished with his property, the traditional English 1/3 widow's dowry was abolished. Men who killed their wives were charged with murder, wives who killed husbands with murder and *petit treason*—treason against the state.[xxv]

Two generations later, in 1848 as the Mormons began their move to Utah, women in Seneca Falls were using the wording from the *Constitution* to demand relief from *coverture*. There was variety among states as to the right of a

woman to sue for divorce, but in some she had no such right. In some states divorce for a woman was a legislative action only granted through an individual bill, specific to her case, introduced into, and passed by, the state legislature.[xxvi]

My great-great-great aunt got one of the rare divorces granted to women in Virginia under these conditions. The bill of divorce for Nancy Rowland resulted from proving to the legislature that her husband squandered the dowry of money, enslaved people, land, jewelry, and household goods she brought to the marriage on fine horses, fine wine, other women, and land speculation and then sent her back home to get more of her father's enslaved people. For over twenty years, beginning long before he married her, he had not been sharing a wife's bed, but that of a mistress, an enslaved woman. Nancy's 80-year-old father feared he would die, his daughter inherit, and the son-in-law's creditors get the inheritance. Adultery and desertion were also charged. Adultery required two eye-witnesses to be produced and her father found two neighbors willing to so testify. Twenty-seven neighbors signed a petition supporting the divorce, with several giving sworn statements as to how she had been treated.[xxvii]

In 1861, Elizabeth Cady Stanton testified in the New York courts about the need for desperate women, trapped in brutal marriages with husbands who beat them and their children and failed to supply their basic needs while squandering dowry property brought to the marriage, to obtain a divorce. There was no way for a woman to obtain a divorce in South Carolina until 1868.

Mormon women had no trouble getting a divorce. How did they do that? They petitioned Joseph Smith or, after his death, Brigham Young to give them one. When Smith died, about 20% of plural wives had living husbands.[xxviii] If a woman told Young she didn't love the man to whom she was married, he gave her a divorce.[xxix] The Mormon Utah legislature abolished use of common law, making marriage matters only church matters.[xxx]

According to a summary of Young's sermons made in the diary of Wilford Woodruff, the most prolific of all the diarists whose writings Ulrich discusses, in an 1851 sermon Young said an unloving marriage is a form of adultery.[xxxi] Marriage was about mutual happiness. The father did not "give" his daughter in marriage.[xxxii] Young's divorces dissolved marriages by "mutual consent," with no judgment of guilt. Fathers were required to continue to support their children. He granted at least 1,645 divorces.[xxxiii] Ulrich writes that "some scholars believe ¼ of polygamous wives divorced their husbands and most re-married, often another polygamist.[xxxiv] Mormon women, and Mormon patriarchs believed women had both the right, and the obligation, to choose their own husbands.[xxxv] Both parties should be happy in a marriage.[xxxvi]

Occasionally it worked the other way. One Mormon took as plural wives two teen-aged girls he had employed as household helpers. They began spending the night with "certain wicked young men camped across the river." They "manifested a disposition to live els whare [sic.]" These plural marriages lasted less than a month.[xxxvii]

My great-great-grandmother had three sisters, Mary, Electa, and Laura Beal, lived near a Mormon group in Ohio preparing to go to Utah. One was blind and unmarried. The other two were widowed with several young children and only a few acres of poor farm land. When the second husband dropped dead, these women went to the Mormon settlement. The sighted ones volunteered to become plural wives to men leaving for Utah to save their children from starvation. Two men took them as wives. After arriving in Utah, the blind woman was married in the Salt Lake Temple. Two of them divorced these husbands within a few years. All stayed and died many years later in Utah, one remarried, one not. I did not learn this from Mormon records. Doing family research in the 1990s, in a small Ohio county library, I found a local history book published in which a descendant of a brother of these women, not a Mormon, contributed my first hint of this Mormon connection in the family history section of the book. Until I read Ulrich's book, I did not realize my great-great-great aunts weren't unusual.[xxxviii]

Women getting divorces in Ulrich's book had deserted, or been deserted by, living husbands. Some had been brutally abused and had no hope of divorce or support if they stayed.[xxxix] Some just didn't like their legal husband or had been convinced by Mormon missionaries that plural marriage was in keeping with God's plan.[xl]

Opportunity to Work Outside the Home, Earn and Keep Wages: In 1871, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony visited Salt Lake City. Stanton told the press that outsiders attacking polygamy on the basis of women's rights "missed the point…polygamy and monogamy were both oppressive systems… 'The condition of women today is slavery and must be so as long as they are shut out of the world of work—helpless dependents on man for bread.'"[xli] Anthony was annoyed by babies some women brought to the suffragists' five-hour speech. She said, "The church should appoint some bishops to dish out soothing syrup for anyone under three…for the comfort of those who wanted to hear the speaker."[xlii]

A plural wife of Brigham Young's wrote to him saying since she didn't get to see him very often she would write him letters advising him on women's issues. She once wrote, "Is there such a thing as an independent woman in the *economy* of God? If there is, I want to be that woman."[xliii] Another one wrote him to tell him she wished to bear children and if he did not "wish to further this goal, [he should] supply a proxy."[xliv]

Missionary men in Europe often lived comfortably with converts. Those women "washed his shirts, cooked his meals, and lifted his spirits at the end of the day,"[xlv] and their wives in America knew that. The American women often struggled to do the same for themselves, their children and elderly family while also producing the income a non-Mormon family man is expected to provide. Some thrived on it and were very successful, accumulating land, operating dairies, running boarding houses, publishing books that were "best sellers" in Mormon circles, practicing midwifery, serving as doctors, as dressmakers, developing spinning, weaving, and similar businesses.[xlvi] There was a Council of Health which operated like a Medical Association that both men and women could attend and another one for women.[xlvii] Once when a man came to unlock the women's council room, the woman presiding asked him to stay and take minutes so no woman would have to do that. He did.[xlviii]

When Amelia Bloomer was first wearing her bloomers, Utah women were designing and making comfortable women's dresses, reducing the length and breadth of their skirts and removing uncomfortable boning.[xlix] They taught in their own or others' schools. They often generated enough income to do much charity work, sometimes among the Native people of the area. From the beginning in New York, women had charitable societies which men sometimes criticized as not devoted enough to religious matters and too much to charitable matters, but most men approved of the charity work. A Mormon newspaper printed a letter saying women were "getting out of control" and needed to spend more time reading scripture to understand God's plan for them. The editor responded by saying he should stop worrying about the women and read the scriptures for "admonitions directed to himself."[l] Young said women had "the same variety of taste and character" as males and "should be allowed to follow their own interests, whether they choose to become artists, musicians, mathematicians, naturalists, or bookkeepers."[li]

Opportunity to Act as Religious Leaders:[lii]
Women voted in church meetings.[liii] They wrote and delivered sermons, counseled, prophesied, healed the sick,[liv] participated in feet washing,[lv] even "spoke in tongues," an important religious practice for both male and females at the time.[lvi] Male missionaries in England consulted a Manchester woman convert they called, "Katherine Bates the Prophetess," who told them of her visions of troubles ahead.[lvii]

Sometimes one woman would sing "in tongues" and another sing the translation in English. They did this in women only meetings, and in meetings of both women and men. In winter camp the year before the first group went to Utah, women's diaries record fourteen meetings attended by at least 50 women, most plural wives or relatives of plural wives of two prominent Mormon leaders, Brigham Young and Heber Kimball. Glossolalia was the main attraction and Eliza Snow Smith Young was its chief promoter, writing in her published book of poetry, "We must redeem the gift from long abuse/when by the gentiles shared."[lviii] Learning a neighbor woman was ill, three of the most powerful Mormon women at the time went to her bedside and sang in tongues as a trio. They were then joined in song by the woman's husband and his other wife.[lix] Dances, religious and non-religious, which were attended by both women and men, would sometimes go on until two a.m. Women visiting each other in "Winter Camp" entertained themselves and their guests with poetry writing contests.[lx]

Women and men could receive "endowments," from Mormon leaders. Those chosen participated in an elaborate, lengthy ceremony, a sort of reenactment of God's dealings with his offspring since the time of Adam, followed by anointing with oil. The endowed, once they arrived in heaven, would be among the elite and have a better afterlife than others. All would definitely not find themselves in equal circumstances once they arrived, and not everyone was chosen to become a member of this "Quorum of the Anointed."[lxi] Women who did not accept the doctrine of plural marriage did not receive endowments.

Has Ulrich anything to say specifically about schools and teachers and opportunities for female education? I want all of you to read this book so I'm not telling you all the book includes about this. While she finds clues to these matters by analysis of such factors as their use of language in their written work which more commonly found in literature than in everyday speech and writing, their spelling, penmanship, and grammar, their references to published material read, etc. She does include some direct references to schooling. The University of Deseret became co-ed its second year, for example.[lxii]

One of Brigham Young's wives lived in a two-room house which her brother owned. One sixteen-foot room she used as a school. There were 56 pupils at the beginning of the term and 69 at the end. At the end of the day, she, for an extra fee, taught spelling and writing lessons. Later she taught a smaller group, who were some of Young's children.[lxiii]

To further whet your educator's appetite, you should know there is a visit to the school attended by the Africans who took over the *Amistad*.[lxiv] Justin Morrill, responsible for the bill funding A&M colleges, led the anti-Mormon forces.[lxv] The man in charge of the New England congregations lived in Cambridge near Harvard.[lxvi]
Mormon women ran Boston boarding houses recruiting converts at the time Margaret Fuller, Horace Mann, the Peabody sisters with their bookstore and publishing house, lived nearby. The Alcotts' school was near, also.[lxvii]
There is still a Mormon boarding house in the vicinity, Bowdoin Boarding House, near my favorite Boston boarding house, The Parker House hotel. I found many surprises and learned much from this book. I hope if I have motivated you to read this book, you will enjoy the experience as much as I did.

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[i] Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A House Full of Females Plural Marriage and Women's Rights in Early Mormonism, 1835-1870* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2017), xx.
[ii] Ibid, 31.
[iii] Ibid, 135.
[iv] Ibid, 185. Ulrich's endnotes refer the reader to Kenneth N. Owens, *Gold Rush Saints: California Mormons and the Great Rush for Riches* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004). I was also surprised to learn from Ulrich's book and others to which she refers her readers the scope and impact of early Mormons in California.
[v] Ibid, 186-7.
[vi] Ibid, xix, xvii.
[vii] Ibid, xvii, 362, 376-377. In 1859 a group of dissenters in Iowa formed what they claimed was the "true" Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints led by Joseph Smith's first wife and one of his sons. In 1863 missionaries they sent to Utah were calling plural marriage, "slavery." Brigham Young's response called Emma Smith a "damned liar." (See page 377.)
[viii] Ibid, 63-64.
[ix] Ibid, 195.
[x] Ibid, 84.
[xi] Ibid, xvii.
[xii] Ibid, 63.
[xiii] Ibid. xvii.
[xiv] Ibid, 441.
[xv] Ibid, 113-4.
[xvi] Ibid, 88. Ulrich endnotes this quote to a William Clayton Affidavit in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, and to William Clayton's Journal, 1842-1846, also in this library.

[xvii] Ibid, 239-241. The announcement was prepared in advance and 100 missionaries left Salt Lake instructed to reveal it on the same day in many locations. Only 1/3 of these men had more than one wife. Determining how many men had plural wives and how many they had is difficult before the public announcement of the doctrine. Ulrich explains her sources in an endnote on p. 415.
[xviii] Ibid, 251.
[xix] Letter, Abigail Adams to John Adams, March 31, 1776.
[xx] Carrie A. Moore, "DNA Tests Rule Out 2 as Smith Descendants," *Deseret News,* November 10, 2007.
[xxi] Ulrich, 386.
[xxii] Ibid, 95, 269-271.
[xxiii] Ibid, xii-xiii.
[xxiv] Ibid, 386. The Utah Constitution also gave women the right to hold office.
[xxv] Information in this paragraph I have been gathering for several years and for the sake of brevity have chosen not to end note for this lecture. Most of it is readily available on line, especially through various law journals and women's history sites.
[xxvi] Ancestry's "Roots Web" has good information about women's legal status relating to divorce, property rights, child custody, etc.
[xxvii] My great-great-grandfather, Wade Hampton Rowland's brother, Washington Rowland, is the man described in this divorce situation which occurred in Henry County, Virginia. A descendant of Washington Rowland's only child of this marriage researched the various archives and Virginia state and Henry County records on this case and obtained copies of the sworn statements and actions taken leading to the passage of the bill of divorcement for Nancy Clark Bouldin Rowland. She later published for the family an account of this matter. Both Nancy and Washington were born in Henry County, he in 1783, she in 1793. They were married there in 1815 and the divorce procedure began in 1820. The "neighbors," (they had to be residents of the county,) signed sworn statements and petitions before a Henry County Justice of the Peace. These were addressed to "the honorable, the general assembly of Virginia." Washington disappears from the Henry County records after the divorce until 1827 when he comes back in regards the estate of his father, armed with powers of attorney of his siblings. His widowed mother and siblings had migrated to Kentucky so I assume he did, too. Even later there is a law suit filed among this group of siblings, regarding his mother's estate. My ancestor, Wade Hampton Rowland is on one side and Washington Rowland on the other.
[xxviii] Ulrich, 105.
[xxix] Ibid, 214, 350.
[xxx] Ibid, 212.
[xxxi] Ibid. Woodruff kept a "meticulous record (over 5,000 pages in typescript.)" He wrote in what he called his Journal almost daily beginning in 1835 and continuing until 1875. It was very important to him, and he encouraged others to do the same. He also composed "end of year summaries." See page xxi, the chart on page xxii, and the index for many references to this journal.
[xxxii] Ibid, 16, 280. During the early Mormon period, Smith's and Young's wedding ceremonies had no rings, veils, or promise to obey, with both husband and wife making the same pledge. There was some change in the ceremony later. Smith introduced before his death the notion that one must be married for salvation, and required belief that plural marriage was "divine order." See page 16.
[xxxiii] Ibid, 279-280. A pre-printed form is described here. Young issued, but did not sign, the certificate. It established what the couple were doing and their witnesses attested to, the couple mutually agreed upon.
[xxxiv] Ibid, 435.
[xxxv] Ibid, xv, xiv, 131.
[xxxvi] Ibid, 212, 282.
[xxxvii] Ibid, 157.
[xxxviii] In the Urbana, Ohio, public library, I found the following in a book published by Urbana's Champaign County Genealogy Society in 1991. It is the last paragraph of a long Beal family history beginning several generations before, but following the descendants of these women's brother into the generation contributing the article. "Electa Beal married Alexander Westover and had two children. After Alex died, Electa, the children and Laura adopted the Mormon religion and moved to Salt Lake City. Hannah may have done the same. We know nothing further about Polly [Mary.]" (I am descended from Polly who had moved earlier to Illinois.) Using this bit of

information added to appropriate sources listed in the Ulrich book, I have found these women in Mormon records and now know some about their lives in Salt Lake.

[xxxix] Ulrich, 105, 352, 419. Ulrich's Mormon History Association Presidential Address, published as "Runaway Wives, 1830-1860," is found in "The Journal of Mormon History 42 (April 2016): 1-26.

[xl] Ibid, 14-15, 105, 187, 267-268, 285, 350.

[xli] Ibid, xiii, 375. Earlier, in 1868, Sarah Kimball, an important and powerful Salt Lake Mormon woman, while dedicating a Women's Relief Society Hall building had said something very similar to what Anthony said. "Woman's allotted sphere of labor is not sufficiently extensive, and varied to enable her to exercise all her God-given powers and faculties…Nor are her labors made sufficiently remunerative to afford her that independence compatible with true womanly dignity." See page 375.

[xlii] Ibid, 383.

[xliii] Ibid, 212, 221.

[xliv] Ibid, 229. She suggested Apostle Ezra Taft Benson with the proviso that *she* would decide when the relationship began and ended. Benson was selected for the powerful Quorum of Twelve Apostles soon after the death of Joseph Smith. His great-grandson of the same name was Secretary of Agriculture during Eisenhower's Presidency, also a long time member of the Quorum, serving as its President from 1985 to 1994.

[xlv] Ibid, 38.

[xlvi] Ibid, 234-235. The George Smith family women are described on these pages as "prodigies in economic production." They certainly were. It makes one tired just to read what they accomplished. They also produced a small number of children which may have contributed to their ability to do it.

[xlvii] Ibid, 218-219, 290-291. One of Young's wives shared with him a dislike of doctors and preference for herbalists, and midwives. When he spoke disparagingly of doctors attending childbirth by using animals and Native American women as examples of Nature's way of bearing children, his plural wife Augusta Cobb Young was angry that he would use these examples. She told him she "was committed to ascending, not descending…happy to have an Indian chop her wood, but she did not want to live like a squaw." She also told him that women should be sent on missions just as men were.

[xlviii] Ibid, 290.

[xlix] Ibid, 291, 293.

[l] Ibid, 40.

[li] Ibid, 376.

[lii] Ibid, 372.

[liii] Ibid, 378.

[liv] Ibid, 193, 369-370.

[lv] Ibid, 110.

[lvi] Ibid, 41, 175, 179-182, 291.

[lvii] Ibid, 41-42.

[lviii] Ibid, 179.

[lix] Ibid, 181.

[lx] Ibid, 172.

[lxi] Ibid, 109.

[lxii] Ibid, 212.

[lxiii] Ibid, 222-223, 437. Today's standards for an elementary class with 20 students recommends four times as much space as she had for her 69.

[lxiv] Ibid, 55.

[lxv] Ibid, xi. Many other instances of governmental office holders and government documents attacking Mormon polygamy are referenced in the footnote to this quote. See p. 399, note 2.

[lxvi] Ibid, 185, 198.

[lxvii] Ibid, 23. Ulrich lists sources for information on the lives of Boston Mormon women in her endnotes. See page 405.