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Post-Manifesto Polygamy

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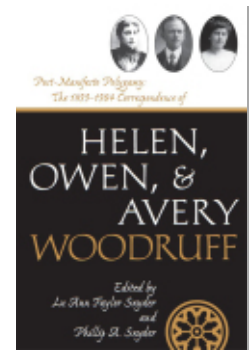
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Notes

Introduction

1. *Doctrine and Covenants* 132: 3 (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), 281. This verse of LDS scripture from Section 132 on the new and everlasting covenant of marriage embodies the divine imperative Joseph Smith felt regarding the establishment of plural marriage among the Latter-day Saints
2. Gerry Avant and Douglas D. Palmer, “A Love Story, A Drama, A Miracle,” *Deseret News*, July 24, 1993.
3. Avant and Palmer, “Love Story.”
4. *Doctrine and Covenants* 132.
5. Richard L. Bushman with the assistance of Jed Woodworth, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Knopf, 2005), 437.
6. Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 440.
7. *Ibid.*, 526–27.
8. Avery’s account of Owen’s behavior during their courtship reflects this pattern.
9. Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 492–93.
10. R. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 18.
11. Wilford Woodruff, “Manifesto,” *Proceedings at the Semi-Annual General Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, October 6, 1890, 2–3.
12. B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 341.
13. *Doctrine and Covenants*, “Official Declaration 1.” According to Robert J. Woodford in “The Story of the Doctrine and Covenants” (*Ensign*, December 1984), “Most usually, the Manifesto was on a separate page that was glued in; some printings, especially vest-pocket editions, didn’t contain the Manifesto as a regular part of the text until the 1921 edition” (37). Hardy, in *Solemn Covenant*, notes there is some evidence that the voting to sustain the Manifesto was not unanimous and that some in attendance abstained from voting (135).
14. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 218.
15. Kenneth Godfrey, Audrey M. Godfrey, and Jill Mulvey Derr, *Women’s Voices: An Untold History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900*. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1982), 341.
16. Eliza Avery Clark (Woodruff) Lambert, “Autobiography and Recollections of Eliza Avery Clark (Woodruff) Lambert, 1882–1953.” Abraham Owen Woodruff Collection, box 6, folder 21. L. Tom Perry Special Collections & Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. 69–70.
17. Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1901), 1: 172–73.

18. *Ibid.*, 1: 173.
19. Interestingly, this story is told in the Clark family, not the Woodruff family. It was told to Richard Lambert by his uncle, Heber Clark, Avery's brother.
20. *Deseret News*, June 30, 1897.
21. Scott G. Kenney, ed, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal: 1833–1898 Typescript*, vol. 9, 1 January 1, 1889, to September 2, 1898 (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983), 489.
22. May Boothe Talmage, "Helen Winters Woodruff," *The Young Woman's Journal: Organ of the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Associations* 15 (1904): 292.
23. *Ibid.*, 293.
24. Hulda Augusta Grant, ed, "Mothers in Israel: Autobiography of Mary A. S. Winters," *The Relief Society Magazine* 3(1916): 577–78.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Susa Young Gates, ed., "Notes about Women," *The Young Woman's Journal: Organ of the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Associations of Zion* 10 (1899): 287–88.
27. Talmage, "Helen Winters Woodruff," 293.
28. Abraham Owen Woodruff, "Diary," June 30, 1899, Woodruff Collection, box 1.
29. *Ibid.*, October 31, 1899.
30. *Ibid.*, December 31, 1900.
31. Perhaps the most comprehensive treatment of post-Manifesto polygamy based on primary archival materials and related to the Woodruff's experience is found in an article by D. Michael Quinn, "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890–1904," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18, no. 1 (1985): 9–105. As some of the documents Quinn consulted in his research for this article have subsequently been made inaccessible to scholars by the LDS Church, we cannot verify either his research or his conclusions. See also Hardy's *Solemn Covenant*, which relies heavily on archival materials as well as on Quinn's seminal article.
32. Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 190.
33. Kurt D. Graham, "The Mormon Migration to Wyoming's Big Horn Basin" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1994), 20–21.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*, 7.
36. *Ibid.*, 24.
37. *Ibid.*, 40.
38. According to the Register of the Woodruff Collection, Owen married Avery in January 1901, although Woodruff Family Group Sheets list their marriage date as November 1, 1900. Quinn also identifies January 1901 as the month of the marriage, with January 13 being the likely day (89). It is possible that Quinn read Owen's journal entry for that date and found, as Lu Ann indicated in an earlier draft of this introduction, that he had drawn a temple in connection with that entry to commemorate the marriage, though he made no other reference to it. Owen's journal entry for November 1, 1900, included in the Woodruff Collection, makes no reference to a marriage having taken place that day. Further, there is a reference in Letter 67 (Owen to Avery) suggesting that January 18 may be the marriage date: "On the evening of the eighteenth (I suppose you will remember the day) I took Mary out to Neff's to a delightful party. As I could not celebrate this day with you I thought the next would be your sister."

39. Graham, "Mormon Migration," 82.
40. *Ibid.*
41. Woodruff, "Diary," May 27, 1900.
42. Woodruff, "Diary," August 28, 1900.
43. Woodruff, "Diary," August 30, 1900.
44. Lambert, "Autobiography and Recollections," 34.
45. *Ibid.*, 37.
46. *Ibid.*, 41–42.
47. Again, Quinn indicates January 13, 1901, to be the probable date (89), although Letter 67 suggests January 18 to be the date.
48. Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 389.
49. *Ibid.*, 209.
50. Lambert, "Autobiography and Recollections," 12.
51. Lambert, "Autobiography and Recollections," 44.
52. Quinn, "LDS Church Authority," 89.
53. Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 389.
54. *Ibid.*, 209.
55. Woodruff, "Diary," January 11, 1900.
56. Quinn, "LDS Church Authority," 89.
57. Fortunately, Avery did not destroy every letter from Owen, as many are extant in the Woodruff Collection.
58. Lambert, "Autobiography and Recollections," 44.
59. *Ibid.*, 46.
60. Helen May Winters Woodruff, "Be Ye Not Unequally Yoked," *Young Woman's Journal* 13 (1903): 205.
61. Zina Diantha Jacobs Huntington Smith Young and Bathsheba W. Bigler Smith were distinguished women in the LDS community. Both had been polygamous wives of LDS leaders and had held high church positions. It is significant that Helen knew both of them well and that she had confided in them her polygamous secret. Helen's use of the title "Aunt" also demonstrates a familiarity with them, because children in polygamous households used this title to refer to other wives/mothers in the immediate family. At this time, LDS women were beginning to forfeit the privilege of pronouncing blessings, a practice that was once fairly common but now does not occur.
62. Helen mentions this point in a letter to Avery on January 1, 1904.
63. Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 175.
64. *Ibid.*, 174.
65. Lambert, "Autobiography and Recollections," 48.
66. *Ibid.*, 49.
67. *Ibid.*, 44–45.
68. Milton R. Merrill, *Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics* (Logan: Utah State University Press and Department of Political Science, 1990), 20.
69. Wayne Stout, *History of Utah*, Vol. 2, 1896–1929 (Salt Lake City: Wayne Stout, 1968), 148.
70. Merrill, *Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics*, 30–31.
71. Woodruff Collection, box 4, folder 11.
72. Merrill, *Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics*, 42.
73. *Ibid.*
74. Harvard S. Heath, "Reed Smoot: The First Modern Mormon" (PhD dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1990), 107.
75. *Ibid.*, 108.

76. *Ibid.*, 109.
77. Quinn, “LDS Church Authority,” 89. Quinn’s position on this issue cannot be verified by available documentation.
78. Carrie A. Miles, “Polygamy and the Economics of Salvation,” *Sunstone* 111 (August 1998): 41.
79. *Ibid.*, 36.
80. *Ibid.*, 37.
81. Heath, “Reed Smoot: The First Modern Mormon,” 109.
82. Hans P. Freece, “Mormon Chiefs Confess.” Printed and distributed by Hans P. Freece, Attorney at Law, 35 Wall Street, New York City, NY.
83. Merrill, “Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics,” 48.
84. *Ibid.*, 56.
85. Woodruff Collection, box 4, folder 11.
86. Lambert, “Autobiography and Recollections,” 50. Avery notes that, according to Owen’s journal, he voted to uphold President Smith contrary to his personal feelings. Because the 1904 portion of Owen’s journal is unavailable to scholars, this vote cannot be verified.
87. Quinn, “LDS Church Authority,” 100.
88. *Ibid.*, 100.
89. Lambert, “Autobiography and Recollections,” 50.
90. *Ibid.*
91. As discussed in Eric Bluth’s BYU master’s thesis, “Pus, Pox, Propaganda and Progress: The Compulsory Smallpox Vaccination Controversy in Utah, 1899–1901,” the Utah legislature and two of Salt Lake City’s newspapers fought a heated battle over compulsory vaccinations. The LDS Church never publicly opposed voluntary vaccinations, but because the *Deseret News* was viewed as the church’s mouthpiece, its anti-vaccination stance was perceived as an official church statement. Church authorities differed in opinion regarding the issue. Opponents of compulsory vaccination believed exaggerated stories circulating from Europe regarding vaccinations’ side effects and also feared loss of American liberties. Proponents of compulsory vaccinations, including the *Salt Lake Daily Herald*, championed science to control the dreaded disease. Ironically, the most outspoken anti-vaccination individual, Charles Penrose, editor of the *Deseret News*, replaced Owen in the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles upon his death from smallpox.
92. Lambert, “Autobiography and Recollections,” 53–54.
93. Ruth May Fox, “Helen,” *Young Woman’s Journal* 15 (1904): 291.
94. Woodruff Collection, box 4, folder 7.
95. Avant and Palmer, “Love Story,” 3–4.

1899

1. Florilla Woodruff Daynes, daughter and eldest child of Joseph J. Daynes and Blanche Woodruff, and niece of Helen and Owen. Florilla was born November 18, 1896, and died July 17, 1899. Family information such as this comes primarily from LDS family group sheets from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Family History Library.
2. Winifred Blanche Woodruff Daynes was born April 9, 1876, and was married to Joseph J. Daynes Jr. on December 18, 1895. Blanche was Owen Woodruff’s younger sister. Blanche was just twenty years old when Florilla died.

3. Emma Smith Woodruff was born March 1, 1838, in Adam-Ondi-Ahman, Missouri, and was married as the third wife to Wilford Woodruff on March 13, 1853. She gave birth to eight children.
4. Joseph John Daynes Jr. was born November 7, 1873, in Salt Lake City, Utah. He married Winifred Blanche Woodruff on December 18, 1895, in the Salt Lake Temple.
5. Asahel Hart Woodruff was born February 3, 1863, in Salt Lake City, Utah. He married Naomi Abbott Butterworth on December 14, 1887. Asahel was the third child born to Wilford Woodruff and Emma Smith and was the elder brother of Owen.
6. Ovando Collins Beebe was married to Clara Martisha Woodruff, Owen's sister, on August 3, 1887.
7. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 746. John J. Daynes Sr. was born April 2, 1851, in Norwich, England. He was the father of Joseph John Daynes Jr., brother-in-law to Helen and Owen. Daynes was the tabernacle organist for thirty years.
8. *Deseret Evening News*, July 18, 1899. John J. Daynes, the tabernacle organist and Florilla's grandfather, played several numbers on the new organ as part of the dedication ceremony for the Sevier Stake tabernacle. Interestingly, Owen's journal indicates that in August of 1900 he "had an interview with Professor J. J. Daynes who feels bad towards me thinking I have been the means of his removal as church organist. This is not true."
9. Possibly Nellie Eva Todd Taylor, who was born January 13, 1869, and became a polygamous wife of John W. Taylor September 25, 1888. She had eight children and died February 11, 1945.
10. Susan Marian Winters Bennion, Helen's sister, was born June 25, 1859, and married Heber Bennion on September 11, 1885.
11. Mary Ann Stearns Winters, Helen's mother, was born April 6, 1833, in Missouri. She married Oscar Winters on August 16, 1852.
12. Probably Sterling Alfred Bennion, seven months old, born January 27, 1899.
13. Arthur Ray Winters, Helen's brother, was born May 16, 1871, in Pleasant Grove, Utah.
14. Hulda Augusta Winters Grant, Helen's sister, was born July 7, 1856, in Payson, Utah. She married Heber J. Grant in 1884 as his second wife.
15. *Deseret Evening News*, August 19, 1899. A "grand welcome" was given for the Utah volunteers returning from Manila, after being away for approximately fifteen months. They were returning from America's war with Spain over control of Cuba and the Philippines. The welcome included parades, speeches, and presentations of badges.
16. *Deseret Evening News*, August 14, 1899. The stake conference was held in the Heber City tabernacle. Elder Amasa Lyman spoke on the end of plural marriage, that it was "revealed by God but rejected because of the small percentage who were willing to accept it and observe it."
17. Delia Ina Winters Booth, Helen's sister, was born May 16, 1854, in Pleasant Grove, Utah. She married John Edge Booth in 1887.
18. Apparently, Avery began her "Autobiography and Recollections," on January 17, 1951, and finished it on May 5, 1952. In this excerpt, she recounts her first encounter with Owen during the summer of 1900 and details the events that are referred to only obliquely in the 1900 correspondence that follows this excerpt. Avery's recollections, unlike the correspondence, were written many years after the events, so they lack the immediacy of the letters and are

mediated by Avery's retrospective purpose. In addition, Avery undoubtedly told these stories many times over the years, so their narrative performance has a rehearsed, canonized quality about it. She seems very sure about her version of this part of her life.

19. Mary Minerva Clark, Avery's sister, was born December 1, 1883. She would marry Edwin T. Bennion in a 1903 polygamous marriage
20. *Valley means Star Valley, Wyoming. B.Y.C. is Brigham Young College in Logan, Utah.
21. Ann Eliza Porter Clark, Avery's mother, was born October 22, 1862, in Porterville, Utah, and married Hyrum Don Carlos Clark on November 11, 1880, in Salt Lake City. She had fourteen children.
22. Hyrum Don Carlos Clark, Avery's father, was born February 13, 1856, in Farmington, Utah, and married Ann Eliza Porter November 11, 1880, in Salt Lake City. He also married Mary Alice Robinson December 27, 1903, in a polygamous marriage. He died July 2, 1938.
23. Jensen, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:216. Joseph W. McMurrin was ordained an apostle in 1898 and shared the Bighorn Basin development assignment with Owen. He was born September 5, 1858. He served as one of the Seven Presidents of Seventy in 1897 and served also on the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association (YMMIA) General Board.
24. Hyrum Taylor Clark, Avery's brother, was born October 3, 1885, in Oakley, Idaho. Heber Don Carlos Clark, another brother, was born July 16, 1887, in Oakley, Idaho.
25. Round dancing is choreographed group ballroom dancing in which movements are called or cued by a "cuer," in a manner somewhat similar to square dancing.

1900

1. Avery and her sister Mary were attending Brigham Young College in Logan, Utah. They began their studies in 1899. Avery writes in her "Autobiography and Recollections," (17–18), "We were thrilled to be in college but in truth this was the beginning of our high school training. Mary and I were so thrilled with school that at the end of the second term that first year we wrote home begging out parents to let us stay on just six weeks longer for summer school. . . . Our enthusiasm for learning pleased them and I think influenced their decision when in the Fall we were again ready to return to B.Y."
2. Avery wrote of this experience in her autobiography (43), "In a week or so but without warning I answered a knock on our door. There stood Owen Woodruff as white as a sheet — he was frightened and so was I. . . . He treated me as if I were a queen tenderly touching my hand. There was no love making, just beautiful, lofty words of devotion to the principle we were contemplating living and for each other and Helen."
3. According to early Mormon doctrine, the first wife must give her consent to subsequent polygamous marriages, following the pattern of Abraham and Sarah when Sarah gave Hagar to wife. On July 12, 1843, the Prophet Joseph Smith received a revelation concerning the marriage covenant, including the plurality of wives. This revelation is recorded in Section 132 of the Doctrine and Covenants. Verses 64 and 65 explain the "law of Sarah": "And again, verily, verily, I say unto you, if any man have a wife, who holds the keys of this power, and he teaches unto her the law of my priesthood, as pertaining to

these things [plural marriage], then shall she believe and administer unto him, or she shall be destroyed, saith the Lord your God; for I will destroy her; for I will magnify my name upon all those who receive and abide in my law.

“Therefore, it shall be lawful in me, if she receive not this law, for him to receive all things whatsoever I, the Lord his God, will give unto him, because she did not believe and administer unto him according to my word; and she then becomes the transgressor; and he is exempt from the law of Sarah, who administered when I commanded Abraham to take Hagar to wife.”

4. Historian Thomas Alexander, Brigham Young University, explains that temple fast meetings were held monthly up to the early years of the twentieth century. Participants included family members of general authorities, as well as prominent church members.
5. Lorenzo Snow was born April 3, 1814 in Ohio. He was ordained an apostle in 1849, served as a counselor to Brigham Young, and was set apart as president of the church in 1898. He died in 1901. *Deseret News Church Almanac*, 1991–1992 ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Press, 1992), 38
6. *Ibid.*, 40–44. Counselors to President Snow were Joseph F. Smith and Rudger Clawson.
7. Ruby Freeman was born November 7, 1890, and was the daughter of William Freeman and Mary Ann Winters. She was Helen’s niece.
8. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 563. Frank Young Taylor, the son of President John Taylor and brother of Annie Taylor Hyde, was born November 4, 1861. He was called to serve as the first president of the Granite Stake on January 28, 1900. He was also one of the architects for the Manti Temple.
9. William McEwan, born November 16, 1871, and Mary Alice Woodruff, born January 2, 1879, were married November 16, 1897. They had eleven children. Mary Alice was Owen’s younger sister.
10. Louis A. Kelsch, born November 28, 1857, was married to Rosalia Esther Atwood, born October 18, 1858. Kelsch was a friend and an associate of Apostle Matthias Cowley.
11. Wife of Nelson A. Empey. His first wife, Ella, died in 1890. Empey’s second wife, Emma Jane Evans, was born June 11, 1835, and died October 24, 1919.
12. Helen’s veiled remarks about her state of mind in this paragraph refer to Owen’s impending marriage to Avery Clark as a plural wife. Her anxiety over losing her exclusive marriage relationship with Owen informs this and her subsequent letters.
13. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 174. Owen was called as an apostle to head the colonization of the Bighorn Basin in Wyoming. He was given this assignment by the First Presidency.
14. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 541–42. Jesse W. Crosby was born June 22, 1848. He was married to Sarah Pauline Clark. Crosby was called in 1900 to help colonize the Big Horn Basin and was called to serve as first counselor to Byron Sessions in the Big Horn Stake presidency.
15. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 311. Anthony W. Ivins, born in 1852, was married to Elizabeth Ashby Snow, daughter of Erastus Snow, in 1878. He served as president of the Juárez Stake in Mexico and was called to be an apostle in 1907.
16. *Deseret News Church Almanac*, 41. George Quayle Cannon was born January 11, 1827, in England. He was ordained an apostle in 1860 and served as a counselor to Brigham Young, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and Lorenzo Snow.

- President Cannon left for the Sandwich Islands to attend their fiftieth anniversary of missionary work. He died in 1901, shortly after returning from this trip.
17. Caroline “Carlie” Young Croxall Cannon, a daughter of Brigham Young, was born February 1, 1851, and married George Q. Cannon in 1884. Caroline had been married previously to Mark Croxall and was the mother of eight children, only five surviving childhood. George Q. Cannon adopted these five children. She accompanied Cannon to the fiftieth anniversary celebration, along with three of her sons.
 18. Sarah Ann Prichard, born November 29, 1826, was married to Lorenzo Snow on April 21, 1845, and was his third wife.
 19. Miscellaneous references to the “Heber” who lives with Helen while he goes to school and helps around the house probably are to Heber Bennion Jr., nephew to Helen, born January 30, 1888.
 20. Wilfred Owen Woodruff was born October 31, 1899, in Salt Lake City.
 21. Maria Young Dougall, daughter of Brigham Young, was born December 10, 1849. Maria was eight years old when her mother died, so she was raised by Zina D. H. Young. She was called in 1887 to serve as a counselor to Elmina Taylor on the General Board of the YLMIA. Maria attended the suffrage convention in 1887 in Washington, D. C., and was married to William B. Dougall. Susa Young Gates, *History of the Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Association* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1911), 98.
 22. *Ibid.*, 21, 26. Zina D. H. Young was born January 31, 1831, in Watertown, New York. Zina and Bathsheba Smith traveled thousands of miles organizing branches of the Retrenchment Association. Zina was president of the LDS Relief Society from 1888 to 1901. Bathsheba W. Smith was born May 3, 1822, in West Virginia and was the fourth president of the Relief Society. She received her endowments from the Prophet Joseph Smith and was a charter member of the first Relief Society when Emma Smith presided. Bathsheba was married to George Albert Smith.
 23. Rachel Ridgeway Ivins Grant was the mother of Heber J. Grant. Born March 9, 1821, in New Jersey, she married Jedediah M. Grant November 29, 1855.
 24. *Deseret News Church Almanac*, 49. Matthias F. Cowley was born August 24, 1858, in Salt Lake City, Utah. He was called as an apostle in 1897. Cowley was instrumental in converting Helen to the idea of plural marriage, and he later left the church over polygamy in 1905. He was reinstated in 1936 and died in 1940.
 25. *Deseret Evening News*, October 28, 1900. Ella Hickman, thirty-four years old, was the wife of professor J. E. Hickman of the Brigham Young Academy. She died of dropsy (edema) and other ailments, leaving seven children.
 26. Obviously, Helen and Owen kept his impending polygamous marriage to Avery a secret even from close family members at this time.
 27. *Deseret Evening News*, November 10, 1900. The Wilford Woodruff monument in the Salt Lake City Cemetery was donated by funds from the YMMIA and from the Woodruff family, at a total cost of \$1,500. It is made of solid granite and was erected by Elias Morris & Sons. On the north side is inscribed, “Fourth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1889–1898.” On the west side is inscribed the names of his wives. The dedicatory prayer was offered by Joseph F. Smith, with George Q. Cannon, Heber J. Grant, and Anthon H. Lund present.
 28. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2: 477–78. Joseph and Blanche Daynes were serving a mission in Great Britain from 1899 to 1901.

29. Ida Elizabeth Bowman was the wife of Apostle Hyrum Mack Smith. This line probably refers to their baby, Joseph Fielding Smith, who was born January 30, 1899.
30. Gates, *History of the Young Ladies*, 193–94. May Booth Talmage was born in 1868 and was married to James E. Talmage. She was called to serve on the YLMIA in 1892.
31. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 702. Annie T. Hyde, daughter of President John Taylor, was born October 20, 1849. She was married to the son of Orson Hyde. She was considered the founder of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers. Annie was called to serve as first counselor to Bathsheba Smith on the General Board of the Relief Society in 1901.
32. These shadow allusions may refer to an analogy communicated earlier to Helen by Owen, perhaps to explain polygamous relationships.
33. This sentence undermines the sentiments Helen expresses in the foregoing paragraphs in response to Owen’s “beautiful” letter, illustrating the dramatic shifts in the emotional swings she is experiencing.
34. *Deseret News Church Almanac*, 50. Hyrum Mack Smith, son of Joseph F. Smith and Edna Lambson, was born March 31, 1872. He was called to serve as an apostle in 1901 and was ordained by his father.
35. *Deseret News Church Almanac*, 38. Joseph F. Smith, son of Hyrum Smith and Mary Fielding, was born November 13, 1838, in Far West, Missouri. He was ordained an apostle and named counselor to the First Presidency in 1866 (age twenty-seven) by Brigham Young. He also served as a counselor to John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and Lorenzo Snow. He was ordained as president of the church in 1901 and died in 1918.
36. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 200. Seymour B. Young, son of Joseph Young and Jane Bicknell, was born in Kirtland, Ohio, on October 3, 1837. He was a physician and surgeon and also served as a president of the Seventies and later as an apostle.
37. *Deseret Evening News*, November 6, 1900. In the presidential election with Bryan and Stevenson on the Democratic ticket and McKinley and Roosevelt on the Republican, the Republicans made a clean sweep, taking control of both houses.
38. Emeline Woodruff Burrows, daughter and second child of Wilford Woodruff and Sarah Delight Stocking, was born July 26, 1863, in Salt Lake City. She was married to David Creeland Burrows on August 18, 1887. Their last child was born in 1897, so perhaps this line refers to an illness.
39. Sarah Delight Stocking Woodruff was born June 26, 1838, and was the fifth wife of President Wilford Woodruff. She was the mother of eight children and died May 28, 1906.
40. John Jay Woodruff, son of Wilford Woodruff and Sarah Delight Stocking, was born August 14, 1873. He was married to Annie L. E. Nielsen on January 24, 1903.
41. Joshua Hughes Paul was born January 20, 1863, in Salt Lake City. He was president of the LDS University in Salt Lake City. Professor Paul taught for nine years at the University of Utah, was associate editor of the *Salt Lake Herald*, president of the Brigham Young College at Logan, president of the Agricultural College of Utah, and, for a short time, editor of the *Deseret News*.
42. Colonia Juárez, Chihuahua, Mexico, consisted of those residing on the Río Piadres Verdes in the state of Chihuahua, ten miles southwest of the Mexican town of Casas Grandes, sixteen miles southwest of Dublán, 150 miles west of

El Paso, Texas, and 120 miles west-northwest of Galego, the nearest accessible railway station on the Mexican Northwestern Railway. Colonia Juárez was the headquarters of the Juárez Stake of Zion.

The townsite was dedicated January 1, 1887, and named Juárez after the Mexican patriot and general. A ward was organized June 5, 1887, with George Sevey as bishop. Bishop Sevey was succeeded in 1898 by Joseph C. Bentley, who presided until the exodus to Arizona in 1912. The Juárez Stake included Colonia Chuichupa, Colonia Dublán, Colonia Garcia, Colonia Juárez, and Colonia Pacheco. It also included the settlements of Colonia Oaxaca and Colonia Morelos, which no longer exist.

43. Obviously, Owen gave Avery instructions to destroy his letters as evidence of their relationship, although it is clear by this collection that she did not destroy all of them.
44. The LDS University in Salt Lake City later became a high school.
45. *Deseret News Church Almanac*, 49. John Whittaker Taylor, son of John Taylor, was born May 14, 1858, in Provo, Utah. He was ordained an apostle in 1884, but resigned over polygamy in 1905 and was excommunicated in 1911.
46. *Ibid.*, 41. Anthon Henrik Lund was born in Denmark on May 15, 1844. He was ordained an apostle in 1899 and served as a counselor to Joseph F. Smith.
47. Heber Bennion was born November 28, 1858, in Salt Lake City. He married Susan Marian Winters, Helen's sister, on September 11, 1885. He married two other wives, one in 1902 (Mary Bringhurst) and one with no date available (Emma Jane Webster). Heber Bennion was the brother of Edwin T. Bennion.
48. *Deseret Evening News*, November 17, 1900. A band of about fifty Yaqui Indians escaped from their reservation in southern Arizona and tried to drive away some livestock from a Mormon settlement. The Mormons gave chase. According to the article four Mormons and twelve Indians were killed.
49. Walter Graham and his bride-to-be, Julia Sessions, daughter of Byron Sessions, born 1883, were residents of the Bighorn Basin community.
50. Undoubtedly, Helen is referring to the time before Heber returned home.
51. Probably Rulon Oscar Bennion, born November 14, 1900. There is some confusion on the date of birth in the family history data.
52. Gates, *History of the Young Ladies*, 90–94. Elmina Shepherd Taylor was born September 12, 1830, in Middlefield, New York. She taught school until marrying George Hamilton Taylor in 1856. Elmina was called to serve as the president of the YLMIA in June of 1880, which calling she held until her death in 1904.
53. *Ibid.*, 113. The *Young Women's Journal* had previously been edited by Susa Young Gates, but upon her resignation, President Elmina Taylor, after earnest prayer and consideration, decided to appoint a committee that would have direct supervision over the journal's business and literary interests. May Booth Talmage was chosen as editor, with Augusta W. Grant and Emma Goddard as assistants. When President Taylor invited Sister Talmage to take over this position, he said, "It is my earnest desire that you should undertake this work; go home and say to your husband that you have been called to do it, and that if you will accept the call the Lord will bless you in your effort." Sister Talmage agreed on the condition that her name not be announced as editor, rather than that it say "edited and published by the General Board."
54. *Ibid.*, 209–11. Emma Goddard was born April 19, 1861, in England and emigrated to Utah with her parents. She was called to serve on the YLMIA General Board in 1896 and served on the Journal Committee. She was married to Benjamin Goddard in 1883.

55. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 361. Joseph Royal Murdock was born August 11, 1858, in Salt Lake City, Utah. His vocations were farming, stock raising, and merchandising. He served as a member of the state constitutional convention and was elected state senator in 1900.
56. Apparently, Owen was not as regular a correspondent as Helen would have liked, as this letter demonstrates. Her displeasure may have been accentuated by her latent jealousy, although Avery is not alluded to here.
57. A reminder of the toll Owen's traveling had on his relationship with his family. Helen's support of Owen in his duties rarely wavered, as this gentle observation indicates.
58. *Deseret Evening News*, November 23, 1900. The opera opened with *The Singing Girl*, with Miss Nielson, Viola Pratt Gillette, Eugene Cowles, and Joseph Cawthorn.
59. *Ibid.*, November 24, 1900. J. J. McClellan, tabernacle organist who replaced Daynes, gave an organ recital in the Salt Lake City Tabernacle to honor Viola Pratt Gillette and the opera company. There were approximately two thousand people in attendance. Miss Gillette was a former member of the tabernacle choir. Her voice was not entirely recovered from an illness that had settled in her vocal chords.
60. *Ibid.*, November 22, 1900. The headlines declared, "Killed in Fight with Mormons. Apache Kid Meets His Death. A. O. Woodruff Present at His Burial." The article gave the following details: "Mr. Woodruff was one of the party that pursued the retreating Indians and assisted at the burial of the Kid. Mr. Woodruff said they will put in an application for the reward offered for him in the United States." The article also clarified with a dispatch from A. Ivins that no Mormons were killed in the raid.

Owen recorded this event in his journal: "It happened to my lot to come onto the first two Indians lying together dead. I passed over them without saying anything and next found a full quiver with 60 well made arrows in it and a fine bow also. Next in my search I found a dead squaw. After the ground for some distance around had been searched to be sure there were no live Apaches in the bush we took off the belts, pistols, moqisons and the Chiefs Cap, then found a good, deep crevice in the rocks, spread out a blanket and laid it in the bottom, then placed the Chief (who was no doubt the famous "Apache Kid") in first, then the little girl down by his legs and the squaw on top. We covered them with another good blanket and then laid about three feet of rock on top of them. These Indians were all well clad in native attire, the old chief wore a belt filled with 45–70 shells, the squaw carried a knife, pistol and many trinkets. The little one had a knife in the belt. They were the most savage looking group I have ever seen. We followed the trail of those who escaped but did not find them nor their tracks. We returned to the Harris Ranch, had a dance and spent the night."
61. The problems of keeping up a regular correspondence while Owen was traveling must have been enormous, as Helen had to guess where to send her letters based on the schedule Owen provided her. As this letter indicates, Helen's letters often missed Owen.
62. The secret Helen refers to here may refer to Owen's impending marriage to Avery.
63. It would appear that "tea party" was an idiom for childbirth. At this time Helen was pregnant with Helen Mar, who would be born January 1, 1901.

64. Asahel Hart Woodruff Jr. was born February 13, 1893, and was a nephew to Owen and Helen. He would have been about eight years old.
65. Helen's reaffirmation of her love for Owen here, with the caveat of "something changed" in her, obviously as a result of his impending marriage to Avery, and her reference to "duty" and "true happiness in the Eternal World," underline the notion that their entering into polygamy was fundamentally a religious decision.
66. David Patten Woodruff was born April 4, 1854, to Wilford Woodruff and Sarah Brown. He became one of the first Mormon settlers in Wyoming in 1892. Woodruff died January 24, 1937.
67. Arabell Jane Hatch Woodruff was born April 2, 1859. She was married to David Patten Woodruff February 19, 1877, and was the mother of twelve children. She died January 13, 1923.
68. Willard C. Burgon, born November 4, 1854, served as the bishop in the Union Ward from 1900 to 1910. He was trained as a mason. Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneers Book Publishing, 1912), 672.
69. Martha Lambert was Helen's nurse, as mentioned in Owen's October 31, 1899, journal entry recording Wilford Owen's birth.
70. Avery was selecting names for the codes they would use in letters so people wouldn't suspect that she and Owen were entering into a polygamous union.
71. Avery's recollections here are mediated, of course, by the time between these events and her recording of them. The passage of time can have a way of ameliorating past events, but it can also have the opposite effect. Here and in the passages to follow, it is clear that in 1952 and 1953 Avery insists on the elevated nature of her polygamous relationship with Owen and Helen.
72. In a way, Mary did find herself in Avery's shoes when she married Edwin T. Bennion in a 1903 polygamous marriage.
73. George Gibbs's father, also named George Gibbs, was serving as secretary to the First Presidency.

1901

1. In 1901, an anti-vaccination debate raged in Utah. Educational leaders were convinced that a vaccination act would be the best measure to prevent the spread of smallpox in the public schools. This conviction led the State Board of Health to issue a proclamation to all schools in the state requiring that all pupils be vaccinated as a condition to their admission into all public schools. This proclamation went into effect 1 January 1901. Utahans protested, viewing the proclamation as a violation of human rights and liberties. Citizens placed heavy pressure on lawmakers to enact legislation which would supersede the public health regulation. The legislature passed the new act, but Governor Wells vetoed it, saying, "The bill would be a step backwards, with disastrous consequences." Stout, *History of Utah*, vol. 2, 120. Ironically, Owen's later refusal to be vaccinated against smallpox would result in his and Helen's deaths from the disease.
2. Probably Helen Mar Woodruff, born January 1, 1901.
3. Karl G. Maeser was born January 16, 1828. He was called by Brigham Young in 1875 to organize the Brigham Young Academy in Provo. Maeser died February 15, 1901, in Salt Lake City.
4. Avery was born March 9, 1882.

5. George Q. Cannon died April 2, 1901.
6. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 722–23. Heber M. Wells, the son of Daniel Wells, was born August 11, 1859, and was the first governor of Utah, serving two terms.
7. Since 1896, a racket had developed in Utah involving the alleged violators of Chapter 7 — “That if any male person, hereafter cohabits with more than one woman, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$300.00, or by imprisonment for not more than six months” — and the paid informer who sought out these violators and reported them to the prosecuting officials. This business had become very lucrative to a Mr. Charles M. Owen. Abel John Evans of Lehi, the president of the Senate, in an attempt to stop Owen in his campaign to harass the polygamists, wrote and submitted the Evans Bill to the State Senate. Stout, *History of Utah*, vol. 2, 121–24. The Evans Bill was proposed as a way to offer a measure of amnesty to a few surviving polygamists. The proponents of the bill felt that Utahns had proved themselves as loyal Americans who could be trusted. Opponents of the bill, and many politicians and citizens outside of Utah, perceived it as a way for the Mormons to re-establish polygamy. The governor vetoed the bill, which had previously been sustained by the Senate with a vote of 9 to 9. *Deseret Evening News*, March 16, 1901. In defense of his veto, Governor Wells was quoted in the *Senate Journal*: “In my opinion nothing can be clearer than that this bill, if passed, would be welcomed and employed as a most effective weapon against the very classes whose condition it is intended to ameliorate . . . I find also the solemn feeling that this bill holds out only a false hope of protection, and that in offering a phantom of relief to a few, it, in reality, invites a deluge of discard and disaster upon all.” Stout, *History of Utah*, 124.
8. Stout, *History of Utah*, vol. 2, 124. Charles M. Owen also later became a prominent figure in the anti-Smooot campaign, traveling to Washington, D.C., to testify against the church. He even posed for the press cameras with Mormon temple garments.
9. Since Apostle Matthias Cowley was a polygamist, there is insufficient data to know which Sister Cowley this entry refers to.
10. Ethelyn Bennion, the daughter of Heber Bennion and Susan Winters, was born August 6, 1886. She was fifteen years old at this time and was Helen’s niece.
11. Idella Winn Twombly Sessions, born June 16, 1856, was married to Byron Sessions in 1870. She was the mother of twelve children.
12. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 563. Elizabeth Campbell was married to Frank Young Taylor in May 1884 and was the mother of eight children.
13. *Deseret News Church Almanac*, 39. Heber Jeddy Grant was born November 22, 1856, in Salt Lake City. He married Lucy Stringham in 1877, Hulda Augusta Winters in 1884, and Emily Wells in 1884. Grant was called to serve as an apostle in 1882 and was set apart as the president of the LDS Church in 1918.
14. Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1941), 373–74. The Japan Mission was opened in 1901 by Apostle Heber J. Grant, assisted by elders Louis A. Kelsch, Horace S. Ensign, and Alma O. Taylor. They arrived in Yokohama, Japan, by the steamship *Empress of India*, from Vancouver, British Columbia, on August 12, 1901. Grant dedicated the land of Japan for missionary work on

September 1, 1901, and he baptized the first convert, Hijime Nakazawa — a former Shinto Priest — on March 8, 1902. Gusta Grant and Apostle Grant's daughter Mary joined them later that month. Grant and his family left Tokyo on September 8, 1903, succeeded by Horace S. Ensign as president of the mission.

15. Helen was pregnant.
16. The Dayneses completed a two-year mission to Great Britain.
17. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3: 380–81. Emma Lucy Gates was described as Utah's greatest singer. Gates studied at the Royal Conservatory of Music in Berlin, Germany, and made her debut at the Royal Opera House in Berlin. Gates also played the piano and violin. She married Albert E. Bowen in 1916 and lived in Logan.

1902

1. The groundbreaking for the Big Horn colony's first canal, the Sidon Canal, took place on May 27, 1900.
2. Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, 163. The town of Cowley, Wyoming, is seven miles northwest of Lovell, eight miles northeast of Byron, and about ninety-five miles south of Billings, Montana. Cowley was founded by Latter-day Saint settlers in 1900 when the Shoshone Branch of the LDS Church was organized with William C. Partridge as presiding elder. Soon after the organization of the Big Horn Stake in 1901, the Shoshone Branch was reorganized into the Cowley Ward, in honor of Apostle Matthias F. Cowley, with Partridge as the bishop. On this same occasion, the townsite of Cowley was dedicated.
3. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3: 74. Henry Webster Esplin was born October 20, 1854. He was married to Philena Cox and they were the parents of twelve children. Esplin was the bishop of Orderville from 1884 until 1910.
4. While the details to this specific incident are unavailable, it appears from Avery's later writings that Emma Woodruff was an assertive and formidable woman. Living in such close proximity to Owen's mother and sisters may have led to the usual family problems for Helen.
5. The site for the new Cowley meetinghouse had been dedicated and the cornerstone laid on November 19, 1901.
6. Charles A. Welch was a polygamist, having three wives: Mary Louis Hinckley, Abbie Burton, and Emma Rosetta White Bull. Once established in the Big Horn Basin, Welch had his other wives join him. D. Kurt Graham, "The Mormon Migration to Wyoming's Big Horn Basin" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1994), 82.
7. *Ibid.*, 65. Charles A. Welch served as second counselor to Byron Sessions in the Big Horn Stake Presidency. Owen appointed Welch to keep the books of the Big Horn Basin project and run the commissary.
8. Torrey Brigham Newton Woodruff, the son of David Patten Woodruff and Arabell Jane Hatch, was born November 15, 1894, at Sunshine, Wyoming, in the Bighorn Basin. He married Ruby Stone Asbury in 1922 and died January 17, 1947.
9. David Patten Woodruff had recently been called by Owen to serve on the stake high council.
10. Helen was pregnant with their third child, June Woodruff.
11. Possibly Wilford Woodruff Jr., Owen's half-brother.

12. Wedding announcement in Abraham Owen Woodruff Collection. Josie E. Bailey married Frank F. Allred on August 20, 1902.
13. Emma Woodruff McEwan, daughter of Alice and Will McEwan, was born July 9, 1862, in Sunshine, Wyoming, in the Bighorn Basin.
14. It appears that Avery Clark was moving to Colonia Juárez, perhaps because of pregnancy.
15. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 709–10 and Lambert, “Autobiography and Recollections,” 13. Joseph Marion Tanner was born March 26, 1859, in Payson, Utah. He received a university degree from Harvard, chiefly in the study of law. Tanner served as president of the Agricultural College in Logan until 1900 when he resigned over issues of polygamy. He also served as general superintendent of church schools and was a member of the LDS General Sunday School Board, serving with Owen. Tanner had four wives, one of which, Annie Clark Tanner, was a relative of Avery, staying with the Clark family for a period of time while living on the underground.
16. Lovell, Wyoming, is situated on the Shoshone River. It was an important station on the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad. The city came into existence in 1900, and, at the same time, a ward was organized with Haskell S. Jolley as the bishop. Lovell is about twenty miles south of the Montana border.
17. Brigham Young Jr., son of President Brigham Young, was born December 18, 1836. He was ordained an apostle February 4, 1864.
18. T. Earl Pardoe, *The Sons of Brigham Young* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Alumni Association, 1983), 223–24. Guy C. Wilson was born April 10, 1864, in Fairview, Utah. He was a polygamist, having three wives: Elizabeth Hartsburg, Agnes Melisda Stevens, and Anna Ivins. Wilson was chosen as the principal of Juárez Academy in 1897. He was also named the supervisor of the LDS Church School System, where he served from 1897 until 1912, traveling thousands of miles to set up new schools for the church. Wilson was also a counselor to Anthony W. Ivins in the Juárez Stake Presidency.
19. Young died eight months after this talk, on April 11, 1903.
20. It would appear from Owen’s remarks that Avery has had a miscarriage while living in Colonia Juárez.
21. Owen (AOW) is referring to his brother Asahel Hart Woodruff (AHW).
22. After Avery’s miscarriage in September, she moved back to Logan from Colonia Juárez to continue her schooling.
23. Apostle Reed Smoot’s campaign for senator was in full swing, with a vote to be held in January 1903. The issue of polygamy was one of the attacks against Smoot during this time.
24. Owen was planning to have Avery and their future children live in Colonia Juárez after she finished up her schooling.
25. Apparently, Owen sees birth control as a positive side effect of their separation because it would be difficult for Avery to stay in school if she were to become pregnant again.

1903

1. Reference to the border customs house at El Paso, Mexico.
2. Edwin T. Bennion was born April 8, 1868, in Salt Lake City. He was Heber Bennion’s brother and Susan Winters Bennion’s brother-in-law.

3. Mary Elizabeth Lindsay Bennion was born September 29, 1870, in Salt Lake City. She married Edwin T. Bennion in 1892 and gave birth to twelve children.
4. Mary Minerva Clark, sister to Avery, became Edwin Bennion's polygamous wife in 1903, when she was not quite twenty years old. This letter appears to concern the establishing of that polygamous relationship.
5. Possibly Sister Edwin "Teddy" Bennion.
6. Naomi Butterworth Woodruff was born March 21, 1864, in England. She married Asahel Hart Woodruff in 1887 and was the mother of six children.
7. Emma Rose Woodruff was the daughter of Asahel Woodruff and Naomi Butterworth. There is no birth date listed, but she was born in 1896 at the earliest. She was approximately seven years old at this time and was Owen's niece.
8. Letterhead in Abraham Owen Woodruff Collection. The Logan Knitting Factory was located in Salt Lake City and manufactured "Union Suits, L.D.S. Garments, and Hosiery." Joseph Morrell was the president, with Melvin J. Ballard as vice president. The board of directors also included Owen Woodruff and Matthias Cowley.
9. George M. Cannon, cashier of the Zion's Savings Bank and Trust Company in Salt Lake City. Abraham Owen Woodruff Collection. He was born December 25, 1861, in St. George and was serving with Asahel Woodruff in the stake Sunday school of the Granite Stake. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 566.
10. Anna Rosenkilde, a house girl employed by Helen Winters Woodruff.
11. Joseph Donald Daynes, son of Joseph Daynes and Blanche Woodruff, was born October 1, 1898. He was Owen's nephew and cousin to Wilford Owen.
12. Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, 382. Juárez Stake Academy grew from a one-room log cabin in 1897 to a modern school building in 1904. Approximately three hundred students could take courses from twelve teachers. The school closed in 1930.
13. Owen and Avery had made plans for Avery to relocate to Colonia Juárez, Mexico.
14. This may be another reference to complaining polygamous wives living in Colonia Juárez.
15. Avery had relocated to Colonia Juárez, Mexico.
16. Helen was about seven months pregnant.
17. Possibly, Avery and Mary's mother, Ann Eliza Clark, was pregnant at this time. Family group sheets show three children born after 1899 but the dates are unavailable.
18. Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, 373–74. The Grants were returning after Heber J. Grant had opened up the Japan Mission for the church.
19. Eshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men*, 372. Dr. Samuel H. Allen, a physician in Salt Lake City, was born in Mt. Pleasant, Utah, on August 15, 1862.
20. *Deseret Evening News*, November 1, 1903. The play *Ben Hur* was presented at the Salt Lake Theater for seven nights. It was a major production presented by a traveling company that had recently performed in Denver. The Salt Lake Theater usually presented smaller productions because of the time and costs involved.
21. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 494. John Edge Booth, born June 29, 1847, in England, married Delia Ina Winters in 1887. Booth was judge of the Fourth District Court. Milton Booth, eldest child of John

Booth and Delia Winters, was born May 21, 1888, and was about fifteen years old at the time. Delia was Booth's third wife, the other two wives being deceased; she cared for her own four children and four children from Booth's previous marriages.

22. Helen is expecting another child in December 1903. Rhoda was born December 28, 1903.
23. The house in Colonia Juárez for Avery.
24. Rhoda Welling Taylor lived in Colonia Juárez and was married August 29, 1901, to John W. Taylor as a plural wife.
25. Avery has been teaching school at the Colonia Juárez Academy. She is pregnant and will deliver Ruth April 11, 1904.
26. These sisters were plural wives of Apostle John W. Taylor.
27. Because this section of Owen's journal is not included in BYU's Special Collections, Avery's comments on this issue cannot be verified.

1904

1. Rhoda Woodruff was born December 28, 1903.
2. Avery had moved from the Ivins home to share a home with Roxie and Rhoda Taylor, John W. Taylor's polygamous wives.
3. Helen wrote Avery in early December 1903 to suggest a Christmas gift of a stallion for Owen from the both of them. Apparently, they followed through with this gift.
4. Apparently, Owen decided to cross out the code name and substitute Avery's real name.
5. A reference to Avery's pregnancy.
6. The eighteenth of January is obviously an important anniversary for Owen and Avery, probably of their marriage, despite Quinn's claim for the thirteenth.
7. Heath, *Reed Smoot: The First Modern Mormon*, 120. The Reed Smoot hearings conducted by the Committee on Privileges and Elections in the U.S. Senate in Washington, D.C., had been scheduled to begin in February 1904 but were postponed until March to allow the prosecution more time to prepare.
8. Merrill, *Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics*, 47. The Committee on Privileges and Elections was preparing a list of potential witnesses, including many apostles, to testify regarding the church's involvement in polygamy and politics. The committee chairman, J. C. Burrows, made it clear that his investigation was "to be as wide as the ocean and that the protestors could present a general pattern of church activity without being required to make any definite and personal tie with Smoot."
9. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 714–15. George H. Brimhall was born December 9, 1852, in Salt Lake City. He was educated as a teacher and became a professor of pedagogy at Brigham Young Academy.
10. Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, 296. The Granite Stake Presidency included Frank Y. Taylor (president) and Edwin "Teddy" Bennion (first counselor) at this time.
11. *Deseret Evening News*, February 9, 1904. This dramatization of Westcott's novel about "rural life" was presented at the Salt Lake Theater on February 8, 1904. The audience was a bit disappointed in the production because the actor who usually played the lead was not on this tour. The replacement was not nearly as good.

12. Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, 345. Thomas Kearns was born April 11, 1862, and was a member of the Utah constitutional convention. He became a millionaire in the mining industry in Park City and built what is now the Utah governor's mansion on South Temple Street. Kearns was elected by the Republican legislature as a United States senator in 1901. It was charged, however, that Mr. Kearns, a non-Mormon, was elected senator because of the influence of President Lorenzo Snow.
13. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 300. Byron Sessions was born November 7, 1851, in Bountiful, Utah. He was the son of Perregine Sessions and the grandson of Patty Bartlett Sessions. He was called to help colonize the Bighorn Basin in 1900 and in 1901 was called to serve as the Big Horn Stake President.
14. Charles A. Welch served as second counselor to Byron Sessions in the Big Horn Stake presidency.
15. Gates, *History of the Young Ladies*, 217. Julia M. Brixen was born in Sweden and baptized a member of the church at age thirteen. She was sent to work in Utah to raise money to emigrate her family. She met and married Andrew Brixen and was called to serve in the YLMIA in 1898.
16. *Ibid.*, 213. Elizabeth Claridge was born in England in 1842. She later married Alfred W. McCune, a wealthy businessman, in 1872. She was called to the YLMIA Board in 1898.
17. *Ibid.*, 421. An earlier party given at the McCune home was described in the *Young Woman's Journal*, giving a sense of the magnificence of their parties: "The spacious rooms were profusely decorated with flowers and palms. The rich treasures of the McCune home, the statuary, rugs, pictures and bric-a-brac, were an education to many whose souls hunger after beauty and who rarely see it amplified in artistic creation.
 "In the far corner of the long parlor suite, a delightful Japanese retreat was formed, and here was an inexhaustible well of iced lemonade served out by two lovely girls clad in gorgeous Japanese raiment.
 "Out on the west lawn, a large floor was laid, waxed and smooth. Seats surrounded this floor, a fine band discoursed quadrilles and reels all the evening; seats were everywhere, on porches, under trees, beside the shrubbery, while over all there sparkled and flashed innumerable electric lights, making the scene like an illuminated fairy-land. Bunting and flags draped the pillars and swung from corner to corner. Over the door glittered an electric star, which paled and dulled the light of the moon, shedding warmth and welcome to all."
18. The First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints consisted of President Joseph F. Smith, John Rex Winder (first counselor), and Anthon H. Lund (second counselor).
19. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 174. Rudger A. Clawson was born in Salt Lake City, Utah, on March 1, 1857. He was called to be an apostle in 1898. Clawson was one of the first victims under the Edmunds Act and thus served a four-year prison term for unlawful cohabitation. He also married Pearl Udall well after the second Manifesto was issued in 1904.
20. *Ibid.*, 1: 37. George Albert Smith was born June 26, 1817, to Patriarch John Smith and Clarissa Lyman, a cousin to Prophet Joseph Smith. He served as first counselor to President Brigham Young and was called to serve as an apostle in 1868. Husband of Bathesheba Smith.

21. *Ibid.*, 1: 212. Rulon Wells was born July 7, 1854. He was called to serve as one of the Seven Presidents of the Seventy in 1893 and also served on the General Board of the Young Men.
22. *Ibid.*, 1: 210. J(onathan) Golden Kimball, son of Heber C. Kimball, was born in Salt Lake City on June 9, 1853. He was called to serve as one of the first Seven Presidents of the Seventy in 1892. He also served on the General Board of the Young Men.
23. Ivy Freeman was born October 6, 1883, to William Freeman and Mary Ann Winters. She married John Winifred Adams March 15, 1905, and died November 14, 1922.
24. *Deseret News Church Almanac*, 179. The Granite Stake was divided to form three additional stakes: the Liberty Stake (February 26, 1904), the Pioneer Stake (March 24, 1904), and the Ensign Stake (April 1, 1904), making a total of four stakes.
25. The Utah Sugar Company was located in Lehi, Utah. The board of directors included Thomas Cutler, Heber J. Grant, Joseph F. Smith, David Eccles, W. B. Preston, James Jack, George M. Cannon, Barlow Ferguson, George H. Taylor, and J. R. Winder.
26. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 244–45. John R. Winder was born December 11, 1821, in England. He was called to serve as a counselor in the Presiding Bishopric in 1887 and was called as first counselor to President Joseph F. Smith in 1901.
27. *Deseret Evening News*, February 20, 1904. A reunion of the missionaries who had served in the Sandwich Islands was held in the Granite Stake tabernacle on February 19, 1904. Joseph F. Smith and Frank Y. Taylor were in attendance. There was a dance following the entertainment.
28. This letter was probably deliberately written so that no one outside of Helen and Owen's inner circle of friends would be able to decode it easily.
29. According to a letter written on February 27, 1904, from Reed Smoot to Owen, the subpoena that Owen received was to act as a witness in the Smoot case.
30. Clara Leone Horne was born October 10, 1878, in Salt Lake City. She was Martha Horne Tingey's niece. Leone married Ambrey Nowell in 1904.
31. Gates, "Notes About Women," 287–89. Martha H. Tingey was born October 15, 1857, in Salt Lake City. She was called to serve as Elmina Taylor's second counselor in the YLMIA in 1880. With the death of Elmina Taylor in 1905, Martha was called to assume the presidency.
32. Possibly Florence Ivins, daughter of Anthony and Elizabeth.
33. *Deseret Evening News*, February 24, 1904. The article reported that the subpoenas were starting to be served by Marshal Heywood in the Senator Smoot case. Those subpoenaed would have to testify in Washington, D. C. Apostle John Henry Smith was the first one served and it was suspected that President Joseph F. Smith would likely be served some time during that same day.
34. The play *A Chinese Honeymoon* had a very successful engagement at the Salt Lake Theater. It was a musical comedy in two acts, written by George Dance with music composed by Howard Talbot. *Deseret Evening News*, February 24, 1904, and *A Chinese Honeymoon* sheet music, 1901.
35. Gerald Bordman, *The Oxford Companion to American Theatre* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 263. *Floradora* is an 1899 English musical comedy based on the book by Owen Hall, with the lyrics written by E. Byrd Jones and Paul Rubens and the music composed by Leslie Stuart. The story is about a

- young heiress, her rights to a famous perfume, and an attempt to cheat her out of those rights. Its opening run in New York was one of the longest of its era in the American theater.
36. Francis Marion Lyman was born January 12, 1840, in Illinois, the eldest son of Amasa M. Lyman. He was called to be an LDS apostle in 1880 and also served on the General Board of the Young Men. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 136. Apostle Lyman's testimony in the Smoot case did not go well. Reed Smoot suggested that Lyman did not grasp the meaning of the questions asked him. Heath, *Reed Smoot: The First Modern Mormon*, 81. Apostle Lyman admitted his guilt in the matter of cohabitation and also admitted his intention to continue the practice of polygamy, knowing that this practice was against the laws of the land and the law of God as revealed in the Manifesto. Merrill, *Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics*, 48.
 37. Mary Clark, now a plural wife of Edwin T. Bennion, was making plans to move to Colonia Juárez to be with her sister Avery and away from anti-polygamy conflicts. Apparently, Mary would be taking some of Avery's belongings to Mexico.
 38. *Salt Lake City Telephone Directory*, 1902. Edward M. Ashton was an insurance salesman and stockbroker in Salt Lake City.
 39. Nineteen of Owen's thirty-two letters to Avery are typed, perhaps to help him maintain his anonymity. None of his five letters to Helen are typed.
 40. Avery was due to deliver her daughter, Ruth, who was born April 11, 1904. Unfortunately, Owen was not present at the birth.
 41. Edward Christian Eyring, a resident of Colonia Juárez, was born May 27, 1868. He married Caroline Cottam Romney in 1893 and her sister Emma Cottom Romney in 1903, and was the father of eighteen children. Caroline and Emma were sisters of Junius Romney. Eyring died December 18, 1957.
 42. Lenora Taylor was born March 28, 1885, and married Matthias Cowley as a plural wife September 16, 1905. Lenora died January 8, 1971.
 43. Gates, *History of the Young Ladies*, 221. In 1896, the General Superintendency of the LDS Young Men's Association suggested that the Young Ladies' Association join them in a conference once a year. Prior to that time, the two associations had always met separately. This pattern on the general level was set for the stakes to follow.
 44. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 205–06. Brigham Henry Roberts was born March 13, 1857, in England. He was ordained to the First Council of the Seventy in 1888. He was a prolific writer of history and biography.
 45. Owen and Helen have left their children, with the exception of Rhoda, with Avery while they tour Mexico on church business.
 46. Avery had many postpartum complications and was very unwell at the time.
 47. MS 9604, Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.
 48. Account of Kate Pearl Spilsbury in Brown, *The Life and Posterity of Alma Platte Spilsbury*, 159–61.