Exposé of Polygamy
DeSimone, Linda, Stenhouse, Fanny

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Notes

Introduction


2. Arrington and Bitton’s comment is in The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 230. The conclusion that “the reality for most women was probably a mixture of faith and frustration” is that of Kahlile Mehr, “Women’s Response to Plural Marriage,” Dialogue 18 (fall 1985): 87. Mehr’s article (84–98) focuses on women’s motivations in entering into polygamy. The most common justification he finds is obedience to church revelations and authority along with hope of salvation, but notes that some women married polygamously in hopes of a higher celestial glory as well as for romantic or economic reasons. The examples he cites also show a great deal of heartache, resistance, and stoic acceptance on the part of the women. He notes (95) that the divorce rate among polygamists was 9 percent compared to 1 percent among monogamists, an indication of greater struggles and unresolved issues in polygamous marriages. Other authors have drawn similar conclusions. B. Carmon Hardy, in his massive study of Mormon polygamy, Doing the Works of Abraham, provides in chap. 4, “‘Her Comfort Must Be Wholly in Her Children’—Polygamy at Home” (145–84), extensive examples of private attitudes toward polygamy that are largely at odds with the public statements of happiness often attested to mostly by men but also by women. These accounts of private feelings are quite remarkable, given the general defensiveness among Mormons about the doctrine and the Victorian reluctance to discuss intimate affairs publicly. Hardy concludes that “The emotional burdens of those living the Principle, especially women, seem undeniably wounding. At the same time, religious conviction clearly played an immense role in Latter-day Saint responses to plural marriage. The succinct conclusion of Samuel Bowles may have said it best: ‘Their religion is of course the great reason for polygamy; it is the excuse of the men; it is the reconciliation of the women’” (184). For other detailed examples of the differences between women’s public and private expressions about polygamy see Van Wagoner, Mormon Polygamy, especially chap. 9, “Women in Polygamy,” 89–104. Van Wagoner says that “Mormons
nearly always entered polygamy because they believed it was essential to their salvation, that God required it of them” (90) and quotes George S. Tanner, a “prominent Utah educator and polygamous son,” who stated, “I doubt there was a woman in the church who was in any way connected with Polygamy who was not heartsick. . . . They would not admit it in public because of their loyalty to the church and their brothers and sisters. . . . the women try to be brave, but no woman is able to share a husband whom she loves with one or more other women” (93). The accounts provided by Van Wagoner emphasize the emotional distress of the women, their resolve to bear the burden of polygamy because of the religious command, and the loss of a truly loving relationship between a husband and wife. An excellent book-length firsthand account by a polygamous wife is Annie Clark Tanner, A Mormon Mother (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1973), which was originally published in 1941. Tanner, who remained a faithful member of the Mormon church, is forthright in portraying the heartache, disappointment, and anguish she experienced as a plural wife and describing the personal and social repercussions of the practice. See also Jessie L. Embry, Mormon Polygamous Families: Life in the Principle, Publications in Mormon Studies, vol. 1 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), especially chap. 13, “Participant Evaluation of Polygamy” (187–94), which has several accounts essentially saying that while women generally accepted polygamy as a commandment, they felt that it was a great trial even though in most cases they found ways to accept the heartache and learned to live in relative peace. It is quite clear, then, that Stenhouse’s description of polygamy as she observed and experienced it—most obviously in terms of the motivation in agreeing to enter polygamy and the emotional effects experienced—is validated by the abundance of other personal stories now available.


4. T. B. H. worked for newspapers most of his life, maintaining a relationship with the New York Herald, for one, long after he left Utah. He also wrote and published a massive history of Mormonism, Rocky Mountain Saints: A Full and Complete History of the Mormons (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1873), perhaps the most authoritative Mormon history of its time and still valuable today.


7. She also said Stenhouse was “born a Frenchwoman,” which is not entirely inaccurate, since many Channel Islanders were bilingual and since political control of the Channel Islands has changed hands many times. Thus Stenhouse might have been “French” depending on governance at the time, although her heritage was English. Olympe De Joaaral Audouard, “A Travers L’Amérique: Le Far West [Crossing America: The Far West],” translated by Hugh McNaughton, in Michael W. Homer, ed., On the Way to Somewhere Else: European Sojourners in the Mormon West, 1834–1930, Kingdom in the West: The Mormons and the American Frontier, vol. 8 (Spokane: Arthur H. Clark, 2006), 123–24, 136.
8. See the Deseret News, December 7, 1864, for a complimentary review of her performance. The information about Stenhouse’s midwifery comes from the John Lyon family. Lyon knew the Stenhouses well, spent time in New York during the time they lived there, and traveled to Utah in the same company with them. T. Edgar Lyon provided the midwifery information to LeJeune Young Decker, Carolyn Young Hunsaker’s aunt. Carolyn Young Hunsaker, email to Linda DeSimone, April 26, 2007.

9. Carolyn Young Hunsaker, Stenhouse family records, copy in possession of Linda DeSimone.

10. See chapter 15, note 1.

11. From The Revolution, July 5, 1871, printed in the Salt Lake Daily Tribune, July 19, 1871, p. 4; Salt Lake Herald, July 8, 1871.

12. Salt Lake Tribune, July 12, 1871; August 10, 1871.


15. Salt Lake Herald, March 30, April 4–11, 1872; Salt Lake Daily Tribune, April 11, 1872.


18. Deseret Evening News, April 11, 1872, p. 3.


20. Winifred Young Rosenthal, “The Profit,” microfilm of typescript, 1973, 127, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Church History Library-Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter cited as LDS Church History Library-Archives). Stenhouse says only that “a lady-friend, with whom I was visiting, suggested again ‘the book;’ and she would not permit me to leave her house, until she had exacted from me a promise that it should be written.” “Tell It All,” viii.


27. Salt Lake Daily Tribune, April 16, 1874, p. 4; November 4, 1874, p. 4.

28. Salt Lake Herald, June 28 and July 3, 1874; Salt Lake Tribune, June 25, June 30, July 3, and November 20, 1874.

29. Salt Lake Daily Tribune, February 23 and November 2, 1875; July 23, 1876; Van Wagenen, 113.

30. Interestingly, Ann Eliza Webb Young’s first Mormon visitor after breaking with her former life was none other than Stenhouse’s daughter, Clara Stenhouse Young, who came to see her at the hotel where she was staying. A second visit was more strained, and Ann Eliza didn’t invite her back, since by then “I felt sure that she had come to spy.” Irving Wallace, The Twenty-Seventh Wife (London: Arthur Barker, 1961), 235–36, 247–48; Van Wagenen, 187–88. Clara’s granddaughter Winifred Young Rosenthal (daughter of
Walter Stenhouse Young, Clara’s oldest son) says that her great aunt, Susa Young Gates, once passed on this information about Ann Eliza during a visit to the family just before World War I broke out: “You know, Walter,’ Aunt Susa went on more confidentially, ‘Major Pond told me years ago that Ann-Eliza never wrote one word of her book or lectures. She used your Grandmother Stenhouse’s first pamphlet as a starter, and memorized it, she admitted to me. Then Major Pond secured a ghost-writer or two, and away they went.’” Rosenthal, 152.

31. Wallace, 235. Since Ann Eliza left Brigham Young in 1873, it is not likely that she is here describing “Tell It All,” which was not published until 1874. It is also possible that this account refers to a book written by someone other than Stenhouse. Still, it is a revealing view of the effect of critical writings on Brigham Young.

33. Salt Lake Daily Tribune, June 12, 1875, p. 4.
34. Salt Lake Daily Tribune, November 2, 1875, p. 2.
35. Ibid.; Salt Lake Daily Tribune, July 23, 1876, p. 4.
36. Charles R. Savage, Diary, June 5, 1877, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
37. Savage, Diary, March 5, 1878.
38. Savage, Diary, following a date of November 23, 1895.
40. Carolyn Young Hunsaker, “Dear Father . . .”: The Life of Clara Federata Stenhouse Young Agramonte, 1850–1893,” typescript, 1991, 18. Copy in possession of Linda DeSimone, also available at the J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah; Utah History Research Center (Utah State Historical Society); LDS Family History Library, and other locations.
42. Hunsaker, Stenhouse family records; Walker, Wayward Saints, 15–16.
43. Rosenthal, unpaged introduction to Part II, between pages 128 and 129; Winifred Young, “The Third Wish,” typescript, 23–24, in possession of Carolyn Young Hunsaker.
44. Winifred Young, 28, 46.
45. Obituary, Deseret News, April 19, 1904.
46. Salt Lake Tribune, April 19, 1904, p. 4.
47. Douglas Simms Stenhouse, III, 16. Actually, although her given name does not appear on the marker, it does say “Stenhouse” on the top, at least in one photograph, although another photograph shows no name. The story goes that the name was cut into the top of the stone but has eroded over time, so family members have “painted” it again, either on the marker or on the photograph (or perhaps both). In some photos a faint outline of the letters can be discerned with imagination and a sharp eye. The marker also shows a birth year of 1830, which was calculated based on the best guess of whoever (probably her children) provided the information for her death certificate, which lists her age as 74 “as nearly as I can ascertain.” Hunsaker, Stenhouse family records; email from Carolyn Young Hunsaker to Linda DeSimone, April 18, 2007, and conversation in person with Hunsaker, May 31, 2007.
Chapter 1

1. Fanny Stenhouse’s parents were John Warn, a “florist and gentleman’s gardener,” and Elizabeth (Betsy) Hill. John Warn’s death certificate says “formerly a gardener,” and his wife’s identifies her as “widow of John Warn gentleman’s gardener.” Stenhouse was somewhere in the middle of the eleven children in the family. (Birth dates of the children are sometimes approximate or missing in the family records.) Hunsaker, Stenhouse family records, and email of April 25, 2007, from Carolyn Young Hunsaker to Linda DeSimone.

Chapter 2

1. Stenhouse’s date of birth has been reported variously as anywhere from 1826 through 1829 (and even 1830 on her cemetery marker). Her own reckoning in this book points to an 1828 birth, assuming that her birthday was in April, as reported elsewhere, because she would have been twenty-one years old in the summer of 1849 if, as she reports, she left for France at age fifteen and stayed there six years. Her *Deseret News* obituary notes her birth date as 1829, which Stenhouse herself claims as the year of her birth in the expanded version of her story (“Tell It All,” 32), and which may explain why many later sources cite this year. She also states there (33) that she left for France at age fourteen. Both the Southampton LDS records (right after her baptism on August 11, 1849) and her marriage certificate (February 6, 1850) claim she is twenty-two, which would mean an 1827 birth year. The following year, thirteen months after her marriage, the 1851 census showing Clara as three months old (which would have been in March 1851) lists Stenhouse as being twenty-three, which would again support a birth year of 1827—unless, given her April birthday, she was jumping ahead a month and was considered “almost” twenty-three, in which case we are back to 1828. Emigration records showing her as twenty-seven in November 1855 also support the 1828 date. The family historians have used various years but often come back to 1826 based on parish records which show Stenhouse’s birth date as April 12, 1826, and her christening date as April 23, 1826. (The family hired a professional researcher to extract information on the Warn family from the St. Helier parish records.) If the christening date is correct, it seems that Stenhouse knocked one year off her age at the time of her baptism and marriage (to make her birth year 1827), another year off by the time she emigrated a few years later (1828), and a third year off by the time she wrote her second book, citing an 1829 birth year, in 1874. Or, she simply had a poor memory. Southampton records of members, LDS Family History Library, microfilm #087,032; Hunsaker, “Dear Father . . . ,” 5, 22; Hunsaker, Stenhouse family records, and telephone conversation with Hunsaker March 28, 2007.

2. Stenhouse’s rapid attachment to the Mormon church must have also been a strong one, since she doesn’t mention here the Frenchman, Constant De Bosque, to whom she was engaged and who hoped to marry her. “Tell It All,” 36–38.
3. Thomas Brown Holmes (T. B. H.) Stenhouse had also baptized Fanny six months earlier. Born in Dalkeith, Midlothian, Scotland, in 1824, the twelfth child of a large family, he had converted to Mormonism in 1845 at the age of twenty-one and had become a diligent and charismatic missionary by the time he met the Warn family. His birth records show his name as Thomas Brown Stenhouse. He added the “Holmes” later in tribute to Milton Holmes, the elder who baptized him. Hunsaker, Stenhouse family records.

Chapter 3

1. Stenhouse’s description of her attitude at the time is affirmed by the account of Thomas Margetts, president of the London Conference, in the *Millennial Star* (12:219): “I must say a word in regard to Sister Stenhouse. The resignation with which she bore the trial of parting with her husband, was praiseworthy indeed—a resignation which proved she loved her partner, and at the same time showed she loved her God more, and was willing to give the choicest treasure on earth for the cause of God.”

2. This was Thomas Margetts, who (see previous note) had praised Stenhouse’s response to her husband’s call to the Italian mission. See also “Tell It All,” 104–5. Margetts had married in 1845 and had four children between 1846 and 1850. He died a few years later, on September 4, 1856, along the North Platte River. I could find no record of a second marriage by him to a young woman after the time of which Stenhouse writes. www.FamilySearch.org.

3. Lorenzo Snow left Italy for England in late January or early February 1851. Along the way he spent a month with T. B. H. Stenhouse in Geneva. (Stenhouse had been transferred to Switzerland the previous November, when he was also ordained a high priest.) Snow was in England at least by April, and T. B. H. was there at least by mid-May. Thomas C. Romney, *The Life of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1953), 124, 128–29.

Chapter 4

1. Stenhouse reported that at this London Conference in June 1851 “Mr. Stenhouse and I were ordained and set apart by four of the Twelve Apostles—namely Lorenzo Snow, John Taylor, Franklin D. Richards, and Erastus Snow.” This may be the first instance of a Mormon woman being “ordained” or set apart for missionary work. Fanny Stenhouse, personal letter to “My dear sister,” November 4, 1898, microfilm, LDS Church Library-Archives.

2. Clara Federata, named after one of Stenhouse’s sisters, Federata or Fredreta, was born December 13, 1850. Stenhouse does not mention the death of her father, John Warn, on June 9, 1851, in Southampton. He had been living in a home for the aged and infirm and would have been about sixty-three years old. Hunsaker, “Dear Father . . . .” 3, 22.

3. The second child was Lorenzo, most likely named after Lorenzo Snow. He was born April 5, 1852, and would have been a few months old when they moved in June. “Tell It All,” 121.
4. Stenhouse’s benefactor, Mr. B., was Serge Louis Ballif, cultured and well educated in Switzerland and Russia. He was a great support to the Stenhouses in their missionary efforts in Switzerland and emigrated to Utah with a Swiss company in 1854.

Chapter 5

1. This took place in January 1853. Fanny was given a copy of the revelation printed in the *Millennial Star*. “Tell It All,” 131. Polygamy had first been admitted publicly in a speech at the Salt Lake City Tabernacle, the site of gatherings of the general church membership, by Orson Pratt on August 19, 1852.

2. Clara became the fourth wife of Joseph A. Young, Brigham Young’s oldest son, on March 4, 1867, at the age of sixteen. He was thirty-two. Besides those Stenhouse mentions, two more sons were born to Clara and Joseph before his untimely death in 1875. Their sons were Walter Stenhouse (1868); Junius (1870); Kane Lester (1872), later known as Lester K.; and Eugene Jared (1874). Hunsaker, Stenhouse family records.

3. This was Madame Ballif, the former Elise Lacoultre. She was married to Serge Louis Ballif in 1848, and they had three daughters in Switzerland before emigrating to Utah. Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1920), 3: 305–6.

Chapter 6

1. James Marsden was president of the London Conference at this time.

Chapter 7

1. The fourth child was Serge Marsden, named after Serge Ballif and James Marsden. The second daughter (and third child) was Emelia Eliza, also known later as Minnie, born September 7, 1853, and probably named after Lorenzo Snow’s sister, Eliza Roxcy Snow, who had written a poem of praise and encouragement addressed to Stenhouse the month before this daughter’s birth:

   “TO MRS. STENHOUSE, SWITZERLAND.

   Sister, you are counted worthy
   Toils and sufferings to partake,
   Which your dear devoted husband
   Now endures for Jesus’ sake.

   Be not fearful or desponding,
   Though from home you’re far away,
For the Lord our God will give you
Grace according to your day.

Wreaths of honor, crowns of glory,
Robes of pure, celestial white,
Will be given to all the faithful—
All who in the truth delight.

Be not weary in well-doing;
Be thou blest—be of good cheer,
For your name is known in honor
By the Saints—the faithful, here.


Chapter 8

1. The Stenhouses sailed on the ship Emerald Isle, with T. B. H., who was listed as a “photographic artist,” serving as a member of the presidency among the 350 Mormons on board the ship. The account from the Millennial Star of the voyage describes a reasonably uncomplicated passage, with no sickness except sea-sickness, two deaths of children, and three marriages. Hunsaker, “Dear Father . . . ,” 5.

2. Stenhouse describes these four men more fully in “Tell It All,” 186–89. The Apostle was John Taylor, who married Margaret Young in Westport, Connecticut, September 27, 1856. One of the High Priests was William Ivins Appleby, who married Margaret’s sister, Mary Young, November 6, 1858, after returning to Salt Lake. He died in 1870. I have not been able to definitively identify the other two, but Charles C. Dulin and Alexander Ott are possible candidates, as both worked on The Mormon. Dulin did not become a High Priest until April 1857, so may well have been the Seventy at this time, and seems to have disappeared from Mormon society after his time with The Mormon. Ott traveled around the Eastern Mission a great deal and worked especially among the German saints. John Taylor’s son, George, also worked for The Mormon but, as he never married, would not have been one of the four polygamous brethren described here by Stenhouse. The Mormon, Papers, 1857–1858, LDS Church Library-Archives; Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, October 5 and November 2, 1856; April 5 and 15, May 28, July 7, 9, 11, 16, and 18, August 24, September 5, 1857; Dec. 15, 1914; Samuel W. Taylor, The Kingdom or Nothing: The Life of John Taylor, Militant Mormon (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1976), 183; www.FamilySearch.org.

3. By this time Stenhouse had six children. Ida Lulu arrived on March 8, 1857, and George Thomas, born March 10, 1859, was only a few days old when the family was told to be ready to leave New York in two weeks to join emigrants from England, with Stenhouse’s husband being put in charge of that company. Preparations and the trip to Florence required time, and
Stenhouse was also peeved at having to wait there in camp an additional three weeks, due to “mismanagement” by church agents. They left Florence June 26, 1859, with the Edward Stevenson company of 350 people and 54 wagons, arriving in Salt Lake City September 16, 1859. “Tell It All,” 238–41; Hunsaker, “Dear Father . . . ,” 6.

Chapter 9

1. Stenhouse comments further on the revelation in the appendix to her book, where she provides a full text for the reader. Also see chapter 14 for her description of how she came to read the revelation a second time.

Chapter 10

1. Brigham Young, however, was not averse to granting divorces, and in chapter 18 Stenhouse describes how easily divorces could be obtained by wives unhappy in their marriages.

Chapter 11

1. Stenhouse identifies this man as Orson Pratt in “Tell It All,” 521–24. The wife described here (actually his ninth) is Eliza Crooks, whom he married in Liverpool in 1857. She died in Tooele on January 9, 1869. Orson Pratt married Margaret Graham on December 28, 1868, when he was fifty-seven and she was not quite seventeen. www.FamilySearch.org.
2. Not quite. T. B. H.’s first polygamous marriage took place November 28, 1863, a little more than four years after the Stenhouses arrived in Utah.

Chapter 12

1. The date of her endowment and sealing to her husband was October 29, 1859, only about a month after their arrival in Salt Lake City. Index card to Endowment House Temple Records, no. 2237, Book C, page 94. A full chapter in “Tell It All” (Chapter 25, 352–69) gives a more detailed account of Stenhouse’s experience in the Endowment House.

Chapter 13

1. This was Serge Ballif, who had eventually settled in Cache County. This visit as well as Stenhouse’s visit to Madame Ballif likely occurred in 1860. “Tell It All,” 385–86, 393, 405–6.

4. Stenhouse notes in "Tell It All" (346–51) that she began her millinery work in 1859, only a month after arriving in Salt Lake, and describes there how Brigham Young purchased several of her hats for his wives. Less than a year after her arrival, she was advertising as a “milliner, dress and cloak maker,” located at “First House west of Tabernacle.” Deseret News, August 8, 1860. Later she had a millinery shop on 1st South “between E & W Temple.” Salt Lake City Directory, 1873, 69.

5. Caroline (Carrie) Grant was then the sixteen-year-old orphan daughter of Jedediah M. Grant, Brigham Young’s counselor, who had died in 1856. Her mother, Caroline Van Dyke Grant, had died in September 1847 on the trail to Utah, when Carrie was only two years old. See “Tell It All” 409–32 for a full account of the relationships among Fanny, Carrie, and T. B. H. Although Stenhouse always refers to her as “Carrie,” others say she was always known as “Caddie” (or Caddy), at least as a small child. Mary Grant Judd, Jedediah M. Grant: Pioneer—Statesman (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1959), 68, 116; Gene A. Sessions, Mormon Thunder: A Documentary History of Jedediah Morgan Grant (Chicago, Urbana, London: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 294.

6. She was Belinda Marden Pratt, daughter of Parley P. Pratt (deceased—see chapter 18, note 7) and Belinda Marden. Born in 1848, she was fifteen years old when she and T. B. H. married.

7. See note 5 above. After her ten-month illness, Carrie asked to be sealed to T. B. H. following her death. A more detailed account of Fanny’s relationship with Carrie in her dying days is in “Tell It All” 440–51. Carrie died June 20, 1863.

Chapter 14

1. Stenhouse’s seventh child, Thomas Brown Holmes Jr., had been born February 13, 1862, around the time that all the events involving Belinda Pratt began. The marriage date of T. B. H. Stenhouse and Belinda was November 28, 1863. Fanny Stenhouse was at this time pregnant with Walter, her eighth child, who would be born the following June.

2. T. B. H. was also sealed to Caroline Grant on this occasion, with Fanny acting as proxy. “Tell It All,” 454.

3. Actually she had been married just short of fourteen years, from February 1850 to November 1863.

4. The “favoured damsel” this time was sixteen-year-old Zina Presendia Young, daughter of Brigham Young and Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs Young.

5. Stenhouse never explains the outcome of the courtship here but does to some extent in “Tell It All” (536–47). Zina apparently had a dream which convinced her to break off her engagement to T. B. H. Soon thereafter in October of 1868, she married forty-year-old Thomas Williams, a clerk in her father’s office, becoming his third wife. He died unexpectedly six years later, and she was left a widow with two young sons. A decade later, Zina became the third wife of Charles O. Card, founder of Cardston, Alberta (Canada), and had several more children by him. She died in Salt Lake City.

6. In “Tell It All” (541) Stenhouse describes this re-reading as taking place around the time of her husband’s courtship of Zina. But since Zina was married to Thomas Williams in 1868 and Stenhouse first read the revelation in 1853, it was closer to a fifteen-year gap at most, rather than seventeen years, unless Stenhouse actually did the re-reading at a later time than she describes here.

7. Some early Mormon leaders suggested decades later (1870s and 1880s) that the revelation was actually received at an earlier time, as early as 1831, and only written down in 1843. See Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith*, 2nd ed. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 64. Richard Van Wagoner has pointed out that Joseph Smith “never claimed to have received the sealing power of plural marriage until 3 April 1836.” *Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 292. Van Wagoner also believed that “while Smith may have justified biblical polygamy at an early period in his life, the revelation on celestial marriage was a document contemporary to 12 July 1843.” *Mormon Polygamy: A History*, 57.

Chapter 15

1. Fanny and T. B. H. Stenhouse were already associated with a group of English-born Mormon intellectuals in a reform movement, often called the New Movement, also referred to as Godbeites, after the leader, William S. Godbe. The movement had both secular and spiritual elements. Godbeites advocated the separation of church and state in Utah and the development of the state’s mineral resources. They opposed Brigham Young’s authoritarian rule, especially in economic concerns. They were also spiritualists and mystics and hoped to reform Mormon theology along more modern and intellectual lines. See Ronald W. Walker, *Wayward Saints: The Godbeites and Brigham Young* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998).

2. It was probably not all that unusual for Joseph A. Young to drop in to visit the Stenhouses, as he was their son-in-law. But it is notable that Stenhouse describes him here as Brigham Young’s son and not her son-in-law.

3. It seems inexplicable why Stenhouse would do this and deliberately “out” her husband. Perhaps it was her way of moving the process along in the direction she desired, but it is not clear whether her husband was in agreement with her action.


5. T. B. H. Stenhouse was excommunicated as requested on August 17, 1870, while Fanny’s request was not acted upon until several years later on October 5, 1874. Excommunication File, LDS Church Archives, as noted in Walker, “The Stenhouses,” 62.

6. Stenhouse describes in “Tell It All” how she and her husband were squirted with “disgusting filth” (580), actually “diluted excrements,” according to a newspaper account. *Salt Lake Herald*, August 23, 1870, p. 3.
7. In response to the claim that the attack may have been because of a “personal difficulty,” the *Salt Lake Tribune* (August 27, 1870) said that “religious fanaticism was at the bottom of the whole transaction. Men don’t utter such phrases as the sanctimonious, ‘Do your duty brethren’ in relation to matters of private pique or personal animosity.”

Chapter 16


Chapter 17

1. Martha Brotherton was a young English convert who had arrived in Nauvoo late in 1841. The experience described here took place in January 1842. Martha may have spoken of her experience or written letters back to England, as rumors were circulating about it in Nauvoo shortly afterward. Hyrum Smith, Joseph’s brother, spoke in an April church meeting to try to contradict this story, and Martha was labeled a “mean harlot” by the Nauvoo newspaper, *The Wasp*, in August. Still, after her death she was sealed by proxy to Brigham Young at the Endowment House in Salt Lake on August 1, 1870. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History*, 20, 26, 39.

2. The book was John C. Bennett’s *The History of the Saints*. Bennett had asked Martha to tell her story publicly, which she did in the affidavit provided here. The “Dear Sir” refers to Bennett, as the asterisks at the beginning originally read “General John C. Bennett.” Bennett describes Martha Brotherton as “a very good-looking amiable, and accomplished English lady, of highly respectable parentage, cultivated intellect, and spotless moral character.” John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints; or An Exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism*, 3rd ed. (Boston: Leland & Whiting, 1842), 236–40.

3. The letter first appeared on July 15, 1842, in the *St. Louis Bulletin* and was later published widely in both America and Europe.

Chapter 18

1. The woman who worked herself up from a domestic in Brigham Young’s household to a wife was Eliza Burgess, Young’s only English wife. She married Young in 1852, and her son Alfales was born in 1853. The other woman mentioned here, the wife in name only living in “married spinsterhood,” is harder to identify, since Leonard Arrington notes that about thirty women were sealed to Brigham Young but had no marriage relation at all. However, Stenhouse probably was referring here to Martha Bowker Young, since she describes Martha in “Tell It All” as follows: “Martha Bowker Young is a quiet little body, with piercing dark eyes, and very retiring. Brother Brigham acts toward her as if he had quite forgotten that he had ever married her, and she lives in all the loneliness of married spinsterhood.” “Tell It All,” 279, 280; Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 329, 420–21.
2. Stenhouse identifies her as Augusta Adams Cobb (“Tell It All,” 290), whom Brigham Young married for time only.

3. This wife is likely Emily Partridge, the only one of Brigham Young’s wives previously sealed to Joseph Smith who had a “very large family” by Young. (Emily had seven children.)

4. This is Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs, and her “one daughter” by Young is Zina Presendia, who was courted unsuccessfully by Stenhouse’s husband, T.B.H. Stenhouse.

5. It is interesting that Stenhouse does not mention here that this is exactly how her husband’s divorce from Belinda Pratt came about in November 1869, shortly after the financially disastrous experiment of publishing the Telegraph in Ogden, the return of the newspaper to Salt Lake, and the beginning of the Stenhouses’ involvement with the Godbeite reform movement. As Fanny tells it, Belinda was jealous that Fanny, rather than she, had been invited to accompany T. B. H. to San Francisco where Fanny’s eldest son, Lorenzo, was critically ill. Belinda filled out the divorce papers, and T. B. H. was summoned to Brigham Young’s office. T. B. H. waited for a time when he knew Brigham would not be in the office and, while out riding with his son-in-law Joseph A. Young, had him stop at the office, persuaded Joseph to sign as one of the witnesses, paid the ten-dollar fee, and brought his copy of the bill of divorce back to Fanny, telling her to take good care of it, “for it makes me a free man again.” “Tell It All,” 554–57. The years of T. B. H.’s marriage to Belinda (1863–1869) were fruitful ones for him in terms of fatherhood, as his two wives produced six children, in alternating years. Fanny’s final three children arrived at two-year intervals. She delivered her eighth child, Walter, with whom she was pregnant at the time of T. B. H. and Belinda’s marriage, on June 22, 1864; her ninth child, Fanny Maud, on June 27, 1866; and her tenth and final child, Blanche Hortense, on July 30, 1868. Belinda’s daughters, born in the odd rather than even years, were Louisa, born on January 12, 1865; Florence Pratt, born on July 16, 1867 (she died on August 5); and Flora Bella, born on May 23, 1869. After her divorce from T. B. H., Belinda married Henry Julius Smith in 1871, had one son by him, and after divorcing him married Amos Milton Musser in 1872, by whom she had six additional children. Hunsaker, Stenhouse family records and email to Linda DeSimone, April 26, 2007; www.FamilySearch.org.

6. Stenhouse identifies her as “Harriet Barney Seagers Young.” Harriet was born in 1830 so was still relatively young—just past forty—and had been married to Brigham Young in 1856. An “Elder Sagurs” was the leader of the “liberal” Godbeite group in Tooele in 1870. “Tell It All,” 279; Arrington, 420; Walker, Wayward Saints, 205.

7. Parley P. Pratt was killed on May 13, 1857, in Arkansas by Hector McLean. McLean’s wife, Eleanor Jane McComb McLean, had converted to Mormonism in San Francisco and eventually left McLean because of his abuse. She became Pratt’s twelfth wife in November 1855. A good account is Steven Pratt, “Eleanor McLean and the Murder of Parley P. Pratt,” BYU Studies 15 (winter 1975), 225–56.

8. One of these women is certainly the aforementioned Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs Young, the mother of Zina Presendia, whom Stenhouse’s husband, T.B.H., courted unsuccessfully. The second might be any one of a number of women, since Todd Compton has pointed out that ten other women were polyandrous wives of Joseph who continued to live with their

9. Stenhouse’s arithmetic seems to be off by six hundred. Subtracting the total females in the territory (42,665) from the total males (44,121) gives a difference of 1,456, not the 2,056 that Stenhouse claims.

Chapter 19

1. These are Elizabeth and Vilate, daughters of Miriam Angeline Works. They were in their forties at this time. Each married and bore eight children and lived in Salt Lake City into old age. Arrington, 120; www.FamilySearch.org.

2. Mary Ann Angell Young was two years younger than Brigham, having been born in 1803.

3. Although Joseph A. Young had made Stenhouse’s daughter Clara his fourth wife in 1867, an earlier plural wife, Thalia (or Athalia) Elizabeth Grant, whom he had married during the Reformation (1856–57), was, according to the 1860 census, back living at her father’s home in Bountiful and had reclaimed her maiden name. So, Joseph only would have had three wives at this time. Letter from Barbara Young Brown to Carolyn Young Hunsaker, July 22, 2004, copy in possession of Linda DeSimone.

4. All of the wives listed here are described in more detail in “Tell It All,” 275–90.

5. Since the “reigning favourite” at this time was Amelia Folsom, whom Brigham Young married in 1863, the only more recent wives who might fit this description are Mary Van Cott Cobb (married 1865) and Ann Eliza Webb (married 1868). Arrington, 420–21.

Chapter 20

1. This is likely Emmeline Free, a previous favorite and the mother of ten.

Appendix

1. These are Joseph Smith III, born 1832; Alexander Hale Smith, born 1838; and David Smith, born 1844.

2. This quotation is found in Orson Pratt, *The Seer*, vol.1, no.10 (October 1853; Photo reprint, Salt Lake City: Eborn Books, 1990), 155. In the last paragraph of her comments Stenhouse attributes this passage to “Apostle Pratt” when she quotes briefly from it.