

**Sweet Counsel and Seas of Tribulation:  
The Religious Life of the Women in  
Kirtland**



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Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery

The Mormons fused their church leadership, developed their strong sense of community, and organized their unique ecclesiastical structure while they lived in Kirtland, Ohio, from 1831 to 1838. The women worked beside the men as they struggled with preparation for Zion's Camp, built the temple, and experimented unsteadily with securing financial stability. At the same time as the temporal building of the community progressed, both the men and the women sought expression for their religious fervor. Motivated by spiritual force, many of the women sacrificed to get to Kirtland, and many of them experienced unusual spiritual phenomena while there. The combination of sacrifice and continued religious exhilaration provided faithful women with the determination to remain with the Saints when the Kirtland era came to an end.

Emma and Joseph Smith's arrival in Kirtland on a crisp February day in 1831 signaled the beginning of that era. They had traveled over 300 miles from Fayette, New York, in a windblown sleigh. Emma was pregnant with twins. As she settled into temporary quarters over the Gilbert and Whitney store, she began a new life pattern that the unsettled Kirtland years would offer her and her sisters in the Church.

Loyalty to conviction was pitted against loyalty to family as bitter prejudice forced men and women to choose between the Church and their parents, spouses, or children. A year earlier Emma Hale Smith had said farewell to a saddened mother and embittered father who said he would rather have "followed her to her grave"<sup>1</sup> than see her cast her lot with the controversial Joseph Smith. There is no indication that she ever saw or heard from her parents again. Joseph's own grandmother, Mary Duty Smith, never joined the Church because of the opposition of her eldest son, Jesse, though her daughter claimed she died "firm in the faith of the gospel."<sup>2</sup>

Other women felt the wrenching emotions of family conflict that came with their difficult conversion decisions. Their accounts are sprinkled throughout Kirtland diaries and letters; Phoebe W. Carter, who later married Wilford Woodruff, is a case in point. She joined the Church in 1834 and about a year later left home for Kirtland:

I . . . journeyed . . . a distance of one thousand miles—a lone maid, sustained only by my faith and trust in Israel’s God. My friends marveled at my course, as did I, but something within impelled me on. My mother’s grief at my leaving home was almost more than I could bear. . . . My mother told me she would rather see me buried than going thus alone. . . . Especially was she concerned about my leaving home to cast my life lot among the Mormons.<sup>3</sup>

Why would a mother rather see her daughter dead than Mormon? What caused such hostility toward this fledgling church? While answers to these questions are very complex, one factor may have pertained especially to women. Although conversion patterns of men and women differed little, there are indications that once some women joined the Church they may have faced insinuations that they were more interested in Joseph Smith than in the restored gospel. Joseph Hervy recalled: “I well remember hearing it talked that women left their husbands and families to [go] with Smith.”<sup>4</sup> Max Parkin, in his essay “Kirtland: Stronghold for the Kingdom,” lists three reasons for the tar-and-feathering attack at Hiram, Ohio: fear that the Law of Consecration and Stewardship would gain acceptance in Hiram, concern that Hiram might become another major center for the Church, and disgruntlement “*because a man’s wife from Shallerville had joined the Mormons and gone to Missouri.*”<sup>5</sup> It may be significant in light of the above, that a physician by the name of Dennison took part in the attack on Joseph for the reported purpose of emasculating him but refused to do so at the last minute.<sup>6</sup> Accusations about Joseph’s appeal to women were prevalent during the Kirtland period. They ranged from anti-Mormon attacks like those of E. D. Howe<sup>7</sup> to rumors of polygamy.<sup>8</sup> That the men who tarred and feathered Joseph had heard—and apparently believed—those rumors is suggested by Dennison’s assigned role in the attack.

Whatever the reasons for family schisms, once the commitments were made and baptism was behind them, the new converts looked for ways to express their new convictions and searched out paths which would teach them more. Helen Mar Kimball, daughter of Heber C. and Vilate, recalled attending a Sunday School where she loved “to go and recite verses and whole chapters from the New Testament.” She also remembered that her Sunday School teacher was a woman.<sup>9</sup> There are accounts of women singing in the choirs, but there were few, if any, other formal outlets available to them in the Church.

Filled with the fervor of their convictions, women were obliged to manifest much of their spirituality in their duties at home, and chief among these duties was the rearing of families. What seems to be the earliest recorded lecture concerning the importance of the proper care and training of Mormon children was given by the Prophet’s mother, Lucy Mack Smith. She counseled a group of women on “doing their duty to their

children. . . . They should consider [them] a blessing, and if they did not treat them as such, they would be taken from them.”<sup>10</sup>

The arrival of babies brought great expectations to parents who sometimes expressed their own hopes in the naming of their offspring. Nancy Naomi Alexander Tracy gave birth to a son in October 1834. “We wanted him to have a big name out of the Book of Mormon,” she related, “so we called him Lachoneus Moroni after two great men.” Hopefully the babe had more going for him than his name, and it seems that he did, as Naomi reported, “He was a beautiful child.”<sup>11</sup>

There were many “beautiful children” who died in Kirtland, and parents who had given them the best possible care found themselves grieving over small graves. Death was no stranger in the Smith family, nor was it to any family in that era. Three of Joseph and Emma’s children died in Kirtland, their own infant twins and their adopted son Joseph Murdock Smith. They had lost their first baby, Alvin,<sup>12</sup> while residing in Harmony, Pennsylvania. In the summer of 1832, Joseph wrote to Emma: “I was grieved to hear that Hiram had lost his little child. I think we can in some degree sympathise with him but we all must be reconciled to our lots and Say the will of the Son be done.”<sup>13</sup> It wasn’t until January 1836 that Joseph’s vision brought a new comfort to mothers and fathers who lost infant children: “And I also beheld that all children who die before they arrive at the years of accountability, are saved in the celestial kingdom of heaven.”<sup>14</sup>

Women’s roles, of course, also included their relationships with their husbands. Organized missionary work was a man’s calling except for contacts made by women among local family and friends. But the support—more often encouragement than cash—came from the women left at home. It was regarded as an act of faith to stay behind, maintain the home, and rear the children. It was also an act of sacrifice and love.

Caroline Barnes Crosby arrived in Kirtland with her husband, Jonathan, in January 1836. she later described her feelings:

Shortly after our arrival my husband was ordained to the office of an elder and chosen into the second quorum of seventies. I well recollect the sensations with which my mind was actuated when I learned the fact that my husband had been called and ordained to the Melchizedek priesthood and would undoubtedly be required to travel and preach the Gospel, to the nations of the earth. I realized in some degree the immense responsibility of the office and besought the Lord for grace and wisdom to be given him that he might be able to magnify this high and holy calling.<sup>15</sup>

It appears that, for a woman, sending a man into the mission field was a vicarious religious experience.

Emma knew what it was to be left behind, sometimes without a home of her own, to be shifted with little Julia (Julia Murdock Smith, the remaining adopted child) from household to household. As wife of the Prophet

her lot differed somewhat from that of other sisters. She was, whether she liked it or not, the model Mormon woman—the example. When others arrived in the burgeoning town and had to move in with someone else while a cabin was built, though, they could see that Emma also had to wait. When she finally did have a house of her own, Emma and Joseph had little privacy. Meetings took place in their house, streams of curious people came to see the mummies kept there after Joseph purchased them from Michael Chandler, and a continual influx of men boarded there while working on the temple. Lucy Mack Smith described conditions in Emma's home: "How often I have parted every bed in the house for the accommodation of the brethren, and then laid a single blanket on the floor for my husband and myself, while Joseph and Emma slept upon the same floor, with nothing but their cloaks for both bed and bedding."<sup>16</sup>

The building of the temple became another part of everyday life, and women added their strength to the task. Arvet Lucius Hale as a child in Kirtland remembered that "all that was not on Mishons did work all most constant from the time it was commenced till it was completed. Some women and chrelden labord and tended mason. One sister I have forgot the name drove two yoak of cattle and haled rock."<sup>17</sup> Lucy Mack Smith mentioned two young ladies in this regard: "Mary Bailey and Agnes Coolbrith were then boarding with me; they devoted their time to making and mending clothes for the men who were employed on . . . the building of the Lord's house."<sup>18</sup> Other women "spun wool, made clothes for craftsmen, and made drapery and carpets for the temple."<sup>19</sup> Polly Angell, wife of Truman O. Angell, related that she and group of sisters were working on the veils in the temple when Joseph and Sidney Rigdon stopped by. "'Well, sisters,' observed Joseph, 'you are always on hand. The sisters are always first and foremost in all good works. Mary was first at the resurrection; and the sisters now are the first to work on the inside of the temple.'"<sup>20</sup>

Tradition has the women sacrificing their fine china and glassware to be crushed and mixed with the stucco which covered the outer stone walls, thus giving a sparkle to the exterior. However, we have not found any contemporary accounts relating such a sacrifice. There is no doubt that dishes and glassware were mixed with the stucco, but whether they were old or discarded dishes or the ladies' best is not known.

As rooms in the temple were completed, they were put into use. Soon the brethren attended the School of the Prophets where Jonathan Crosby learned Hebrew with the other brethren; his wife studied it too, but she had to do it at home. Later, washings and anointings along with a partial endowment took place in the temple. These activities and ordinances were exclusively for the brethren.

It soon became apparent to the sisters that they were to be excluded from use of the temple except for public gatherings, and they would have

no part in the dedication ceremonies. Understandably, a few of the women who had worked so hard for the completion of the House of the Lord were disgruntled over the situation. According to George A. Smith, later an apostle and a First Counselor to President Brigham Young, "Some of them were right huffy about it."<sup>21</sup>

Although the sisters did not participate directly in the dedication of the temple, they were present. They probably sang the songs from Emma Smith's small hymnal, published just prior to the dedication, and they witnessed many of the spiritual manifestations that took place. About the dedication of the temple, one woman reported:

They were two of the happiest days of my life. . . . It was verily true that the Heavenly Influence rested down upon that house. . . . Heavenly beings appeared to many. Solemn assemblies were called. Endowments were given. The Elders went from house to house, blessing the Saints and administering the sacrament. Feasts were given. Three families joined together and held one at our house. We baked a lot of bread and had the best of wine.<sup>22</sup>

Many spiritual experiences occurred in and around the completed temple. Prescindia Huntington told of several spiritual gifts manifest during this time and described a Thursday fast meeting where the entire congregation knelt and prayed softly. During the praying both Prescindia and her sister, Zina, heard "a choir of angels singing most beautifully" overhead and toward one corner of the room. Neither of them saw the angels, but "myriads of angelic voices seemed to be united in singing some song of Zion."<sup>23</sup>

On another fast day Prescindia was at home when a child came to her door and told her there was a meeting on top of the temple:

I went to the door, and there I saw on the temple angels clothed in white covering the roof from end to end. They seemed to be walking to and fro; they appeared and disappeared. The third time they appeared and disappeared before I realized that they were not mortal men. Each time in a moment they vanished, and their reappearance was the same. This was in broad daylight, in the afternoon. A number of children in Kirtland saw the same.<sup>24</sup>

That evening when the members of the congregation went home they related the events that had taken place in the temple that day. There had been "prophesying and speaking in tongues. It was also said, in the interpretation of tongues, 'That the angels were resting down upon the house.'"<sup>25</sup>

There were those who were curious about the Church and considered it a source for a good laugh. The Huntington sisters had a cousin visit them who, for that very reason, wanted to attend a fast meeting and hear someone sing or speak in tongues. Prescindia related the incident: "Accordingly we went with our cousin to the meeting, during which a Brother McCarter rose and sang a song of Zion in tongues; I arose and sang simultaneously with him the same tune and words, beginning and ending each verse in

perfect unison, without varying a word. It was just as though we had sung it together a thousand times."<sup>26</sup> The cousin did not go home laughing. Instead, she never felt so solemn in her life.

Others described similar experiences. Mary Fielding, later the wife of Hiram Smith, told of meetings where many prophesied, spoke in and interpreted tongues.<sup>27</sup> For Mary and her associates, these times were the peak of their spiritual life in Kirtland. Denied other expressions of their religiosity, the Kirtland women seemed to turn increasingly to spiritual gifts.

Although women relate spiritual manifestations throughout Mormon history, these accounts subsided during the heavy persecution in Missouri, and in the Nauvoo period after the Relief Society was organized. When the Relief Society was disbanded, however, and the followers of Brigham moved to Winter Quarters, the mystical occurrences among women increased. At that time direct threats of persecution were less frequent, and there were no formal outlets or organizations for the sisters within the Church. Once the Saints settled in the Rocky Mountains, the Relief Society was reestablished and other auxiliaries were organized. As women took a larger role within the church framework, unusual spiritual phenomena faded again. Certainly official displeasure and cultural changes had their effect. But it might also be concluded that when women did not have ways within the church structure to fulfill their needs, or when they were not preoccupied with their immediate survival and safety, they developed other means to satisfy their spiritual yearnings. Unfortunately, diaries and records of women in the early period of the Reorganization are too sparse to determine if this trend held true for the women who followed Joseph Smith, III.

Spiritual gifts were not confined to speaking in tongues, nor did mystical experiences occur only in the temple in Kirtland. Sarah Leavitt, her husband, and family lived outside of Kirtland. Their daughter Louisa had been ill for over a year. As Sarah grew more concerned about her daughter's condition, she pleaded with the Lord for help. An angel appeared and instructed her to get Louisa out of bed, "lay . . . hands upon her head in the name of Jesus Christ and administer to her and she should recover." Unsure of her authority, but emboldened by the experience, Sarah woke her husband and told him to prepare Louisa for the blessing. Though it was near midnight and Louisa was weak, she arose from her bed and Sarah administered to her. Louisa was soon "up and about."<sup>28</sup>

That these spiritual powers among women were endorsed by the brethren is clearly emphasized by three examples: (1) Church Patriarch Joseph Smith, Sr., in 1837 pronounced a blessing on the head of Edna Rogers: "In the absence of thy husband thou must pray with thy family. When they are sick thou shall lay hands on them, and they shall recover. Sickness shall stand back."<sup>29</sup> (2) Some questioned Joseph later in Nauvoo

concerning women venturing into areas believed to be reserved for the priesthood. He responded by “showing how the sisters would come in possession of the privileges, blessings and gifts of the Priesthood, and that the signs should follow them, such as healing the sick [and] casting out devils.”<sup>30</sup>

(3) Eliza R. Snow’s minutes quote the Prophet as saying “there could be no more sin in any female laying hands on and praying for the sick, than in wetting the face with water.”<sup>31</sup> He did caution them about speaking in tongues; they were to speak in their own language if they had “matter to reveal” and “not indulge too much in the exercise of the gift of tongues.” It was all right for them to exercise that particular gift for their own comfort but teaching “by the gift of tongues . . . is not to be received for doctrine.”<sup>32</sup>

On balance, however, there are more accounts of women being blessed with faith to be healed than there are of women actually healing others. For example, the crippled arm of John Johnson’s wife was healed by Joseph Smith; Joseph’s sister Sophronia was healed by a blessing given her by her father and brothers after the doctor had given up hope of her recovery; and Lucy was healed of blindness resulting from an eye infection.

Each sister responded differently to religious happenings around her. There does not seem to be any indication that Emma Smith spoke in tongues or experienced other mystical phenomena. She was a practical woman and her religious experiences served her, and she in turn served others, in that light. Although glimpses are all we get of her spiritual involvement, it is clear from her letters to and from Joseph that she relied on both faith and prayer.

There is no question that the early Saints occasionally became overzealous in the practice of their religion. The women were no exception, and mystical experiences were only one of several types of enthusiasms that sometimes brought chastisement. Jared Carter became alarmed in the summer of 1831 by incidents in the Amhurst, Ohio, branch that detracted from the spirit. He attended one meeting in which a woman, just as the sacrament was to be administered, was “taken with an exercise that brought her to the floor.” Jared was not impressed. With great difficulty he tried to rid the meeting of the alien spirit he believed had invaded the gathering. He related that it “was very trying to the brethren present, as nearly all of them believed that it was of God.”<sup>33</sup>

About that same time Parley P. Pratt, who had been sent to visit the branches in the Kirtland area, was finding the same kind of situation there. Parley reported these happenings to the Prophet, who inquired of the Lord. The revelation he received warned of false spirits which deceive. “That which doth not edify is not of God and is darkness.”<sup>34</sup> Rolling on the floor, unusual body movements, and fits of screaming and yelling were in the category of “that which doth not edify” and such practices soon came to an end.

Not long after Joseph arrived in Kirtland a woman by the name of Hubble became the topic of much conversation. It seems that she fancied herself a prophetess and “professed to have many revelations.” She bore testimony of the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon and, John Whitmer said, “deceived some, who were not able to detect her in her hypocrisy.”<sup>35</sup> Again, Joseph inquired of the Lord:

And this I give unto you, that you may not be deceived; that you may know they are not of me. . . . He that is ordained of me shall come in at the gate and be ordained as I have told you before, to teach those revelations which you have received, and shall receive through him whom I have appointed.<sup>36</sup>

Attendance at church meetings was expected and Joseph thought his wife should set an example for the other women to follow. He felt it necessary, at one point, to reprimand Emma “for leaving the meeting before Sacrament; she made no reply, but manifested a contrition by weeping.”<sup>37</sup> The interpretation of Emma’s tears is Joseph’s.

If the Saints were reprimanded, they were also blessed. Evenings were often filled with gatherings where Joseph Smith, Sr., who was then Patriarch to the Church, pronounced promises and blessings upon the heads of the faithful. It was not uncommon for several families to assemble for the blessing occasion. These gatherings held much significance for the women. Again, it was a way of becoming involved in the religious-social community; consequently, these experiences were relished and described at length in their writings. Caroline Barnes Crosby’s recollection of her blessing is typical:

These blessings cheered and rejoiced our hearts exceedingly. I truly felt humble before the Lord. . . . They led me to search into my own heart, to see if there was any sin concealed there, and if so, to repent, and ask God to make me clean, and pure, in very deed. The Patriarch conversed with us some. . . . Mother (Lucy Mack) Smith was in the room. She added her blessing or confirmed what we had already received.<sup>38</sup>

Emma Hale Smith was also given a patriarchal blessing by her father-in-law in December 1834. Oliver Cowdery was there to record it. Emma was blessed and comforted. She was told that the Lord had heard her prayer for Joseph’s deliverance from his enemies. She was reminded of her father’s family and told that some of them would “see their folly and repent of their sins”; but only “by affliction” would they be saved.

Thou has seen much sorrow because the Lord has taken from thee three of thy children; in this thou art not to be blamed, for he knows thy pure desires to raise up a family, that the name of my son might be blessed. And now, . . . thou shalt yet be blessed and thou shalt bring forth other children, to the joy and satisfaction of thy soul, and to the rejoicing of thy friends. Thou shalt be blessed with understanding, and have power to instruct thy

sex. Teach thy family righteousness, and thy little ones the way of life, and the holy angels shall watch over thee, and thou shalt be saved in the kingdom of God.<sup>39</sup>

The word *ordination* is seen from time to time in connection with blessings given to women of the Church. Emma was “ordained” by the Prophet to expound the scriptures and to exhort the Church. Later, in Nauvoo, Joseph spoke of the sisters’ being “ordained to preside over and lead”<sup>40</sup> the other women in the Relief Society. They were also ordained to heal the sick. These ordinations when conferred on women were, apparently, independent from the priesthood; they were what might be termed “callings.”<sup>41</sup>

Emma’s role as the Prophet’s wife often took an interesting turn. Newly converted sisters looked to her to set the standard they expected to find throughout the Church. Vesta Crawford, an early editor of the *Relief Society Magazine*, in her unpublished manuscript of Emma Smith, told of one such encounter.

An old lady drove up to the Prophet’s house, desiring to look at God’s mouthpiece before she had even washed the dust from her eyes. Emma thought a cup of strong tea would revive her for she had traveled far over ruddy roads. And to be sure she did smack her lips over the cup, but when she went about town she whispered that “Emma did not keep the Word of Wisdom, and if Joseph couldn’t control his own household” . . . She left the Church and left it in company.<sup>42</sup>

Others left the Church, too, but for more serious reasons. By 1837 apostasy was rampant. Eliza R. Snow reflected on conditions during that time:

For see, ah, see! in yonder eastern land—  
In Kirtland City, a promiscuous band,  
Where wheat and tares to such a height had grown  
That Saints could scarce from hypocrites be known!<sup>43</sup>

Mary Fielding’s letters provide some excellent insights into the schisms among the leaders of the Church. She told of attending meetings in the temple where Parley P. Pratt vied with Sidney Rigdon over Joseph’s leadership, while the Prophet lay deathly ill. Caroline Crosby heard rumors that her neighbors were leaving the Church:

We had taken sweet counsel together, and walked to the house of God as friends. . . . I met sister Riggs and asked her if it was true that she had apostatized. She said she was dissatisfied with some things in the Church, but that she still believed in the Book of Mormon and thought she always should. I felt very sorrowful and gloomy, but never had the first idea of leaving the Church or forsaking the prophet.<sup>44</sup>

Hepzibah Richards’s letters also serve to illuminate those last volatile months that closed the Kirtland era. “I care not how soon I am away from this place,” she writes; “I have been wading in a sea of tribulation ever since

I came here. For the Last three months we as a people have been tempest tossed; and at times the waves have well nigh over-whelmed us.”<sup>45</sup>

For Lucy Mack Smith the nightmarish episodes of the New York era repeated themselves—her home searched, her husband arrested, and her sons forced into hiding. Undaunted, she prepared to leave for New Portage where Joseph, Sr., was safe after his escape from Kirtland.

Seven years after her arrival, Emma Smith left Kirtland to join her husband who awaited her sixty miles west in Norton. In outward appearance, she left as she had arrived—expecting another child, traveling overland in the dead of winter to a new gathering place, and abandoning three more infant graves.

But Emma Smith, Phoebe Carter, Caroline Crosby, Sarah Leavitt, Mary Fielding, and the other women who joined them as the Church moved to Missouri were changed by their experiences. The sense of community, the strong bonds of shared testimonials, the triumphs over apostasy, and the knowledge that they had almost made the first experiment work buoyed them on. These women moved from Kirtland with the firm conviction that sweet counsel could meet seas of tribulation and their spiritual strength would triumph. The tares had been weeded from the wheat.

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3. Phoebe Carter Woodruff, “Reminiscence,” *Mormon Collection*, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley. (Microfilm at Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; hereafter cited as Church Archives.)

4. Oneonta (New York) Herald, 18 January 1900, as cited in Larry C. Porter, “The Colesville Branch and the Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon,” *Brigham Young University Studies* 10 (Spring 1970): 382.

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8. Danel W. Bachman, “A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage before the Death of Joseph Smith” (Master’s thesis, Purdue University, 1975), pp. 75–76.

9. Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, "Life Incidents," *Woman's Exponent* 9 (15 August 1880): 42.

10. Lucy Mack Smith, *History of Joseph Smith*, p. 197.

11. Diary of Nancy Naomi Alexander Tracy, "Incidents, Travels, and Life of Nancy Naomi Alexander," typescript, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

12. This baby's name has traditionally been referred to as Alva, but Emma's Bible lists his name as Alvin (see Buddy Youngreen, "Joseph and Emma: A Slide-Film Presentation," *BYU Studies* 14 [Winter 1974]: 199).

13. Joseph Smith to Emma Smith, 6 June 1832, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago (photocopy of original in Church Archives).

14. B.H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 2:75.

15. Caroline Barnes Crosby, "Memoirs," holograph, Utah State Historical Society. The authors are indebted to Jill Mulvay Derr for her assistance in locating many of the sources for this article as well as offering insights and suggestions. She also provided us with a typescript of the Caroline Barnes Crosby memoirs. Some punctuation has been added.

16. Lucy Mack Smith, *History of Joseph Smith*, pp. 231–32.

17. Arvet Lucius Hale, "Reminiscence," in "First Book or Journal of the Life and Travels of Arvet L. Hale," MS, Church Archives. Some punctuation has been added.

18. Lucy Mack Smith, *History of Joseph Smith*, p. 231. Both of these women became Lucy's daughters-in-law; Mary became the wife of Samuel H. Smith and Agnes married Don Carlos Smith.

19. Parkin, "Kirtland," p. 86.

20. Edward W. Tullidge, *Women in Mormondom* (1877; reprinted, Salt Lake City: n.p., 1965), p. 76.

21. George A. Smith in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1855–1886), 2:215 (18 March 1855).

22. Diary of Nancy Naomi Alexander Tracy.

23. Tullidge, *Women in Mormondom*, p. 208.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 207.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 208–9.

27. Mary Fielding to her sister, 8 July 1837, Church Archives.

28. *History of Sarah Studevart Leavitt*, copies from her history by Juanita Leavitt (n.p., 1919), pp. 7, 9–10.

29. Blessing given to Edna Rogers by Joseph Smith, Sr., as cited in Carol Lynn Pearson, *Daughters of Light* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1973), p. 65.

30. Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2nd ed. rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1959–60), 4:602; hereafter cited as HC.

31. HC, 4:604.

32. HC, 4:607.

33. *Journal History of the Church*, July 1831, Church Archives.

34. Joseph Smith, Jr., *Book of Commandments* (Zion [Missouri]: W. W. Phelps and Co., 1833), chap. 53:20 (reprint Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1972).

35. John Whitmer, *The Book of John Whitmer*, carbon copy of typescript, Church Archives, p. 4.

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37. HC, 2:304.
38. Crosby, "Memoirs."
39. Joseph Smith, Sr., blessing given to Emma Smith, Emma Smith Papers, Archives of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Mo.
40. HC, 4:607.
41. HC, 4:603 (see also *Journal of Discourses*, 21:367–68).
42. Vesta Crawford, MS, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, p. 53.
43. Eliza R. Snow, "The Gathering of the Saints, and the Commencement of the City of Adam-ondi-ahman," *Poems, Religious, Historical, and Political*, 2 vols. (Liverpool: R. James, 1856), 1:10.
44. Crosby, "Memoirs."
45. Hepzibah Richards to Friends, 23 March 1838, Richards Family Correspondence, Church Archives.