

Manifestos and Ambiguity: Joseph Hyrum Grant and Plural Marriage

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When a researcher is exploring the history of LDS plural marriage, late, post-Manifesto polygamy is especially important. It is the beginning of a major turning point in LDS doctrine and practice. In this period, new plural marriages were overtly ended in 1890, when the first Manifesto was released, but new authorized plural marriages continued to be performed, both in Mexico and in Canada, but sometimes in America. Like Nauvoo polygamy, post-Manifesto plurality was secret and publicly denied. The secrecy of the practice led to many complex, difficult, sometimes tragic, dramatic and surprising events. Yet the highest Church leaders, members of the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve, participated in plural marriages after 1890 or authorized them. According to D. Michael Quinn, there were at least 325 post-Manifesto plural marriages authorized by General Authorities from 1890 to 1907.¹

While some LDS historians ignore this period, or give it at best a cursory glance, the writings of exceptional historians such as D. Michael Quinn, Thomas Alexander, and B. Carmon Hardy have provided a well-documented foundation for serious study.²

*Links in this paper are live at journalofmormonpolygamy.org.

¹D. Michael Quinn, "Appendix: LDS Officials Involved with New Plural Marriages from September 1890 to February 1907," in *The Reed Smoot Hearings: The Investigation of a Mormon Senator and the Transformation of an American Religion*, ed. Michael Harold Paulos and Kondon Smith Hansen (Utah State University Press, 2021), 245-88, a chronological list without footnotes, but with very useful comments. See also an alphabetical list, "Post-Manifesto Polygamous Marriages," in B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: the Mormon Polygamous Passage* (University of Illinois Press, 1992), Appendix II, with documentation, [LINK](#). Often it is possible to find further documentation for these marriages in the other writings of Quinn and the text of *Solemn Covenant*. In addition, Signature Books is planning to publish a posthumous book on post-Manifesto polygamy by Quinn.

²D. Michael Quinn, "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18, no. 1 (Spring 1985), 9-105, [LINK](#); Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*; Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: a History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1890-1930* (University of Illinois, 1986),

The story of Joseph Hyrum Grant, a son of First Presidency Counselor Jedediah Morgan Grant and the half-brother of eventual Church President Heber J. Grant, offers a useful case history of post-Manifesto polygamy.³ In 1892, while he was Second Counselor in the Stake Presidency of Davis Stake (just north of Salt Lake City), he married a plural wife. Later, after the Second Manifesto (released in April 1904), while he was President of Davis Stake, a Patriarch in his stake, Judson Tolman, was performing plural marriages and Joseph Hyrum and his half-brother Heber were involved in the investigation of these marriages by the Lyman Committee, a group of apostles.

Quinn wrote that the 1890 Manifesto “inherited ambiguity, was created in ambiguity, and produced ambiguity.”⁴ The case history of Joseph Hyrum Grant will reflect this ambiguity, even after the Second Manifesto. But it will also show that the practice of new authorized plural marriages lessened after the Second Manifesto. While that document promised that all participants in new plural marriages would be excommunicated,⁵ the reality was more ambiguous. Nevertheless, Church discipline for new plural marriages increased and new plural marriages decreased.

Just as Latter-day-Saints of that period had to live with that ambiguity, so historians today also have to work with this ambiguity. When plural marriages are not legal, and are not documented with public records and notices in newspapers, an important documentary source is missing. And other documentary information can be cryptic: traditions handed down by relatives are useful but sometimes contradictory, or lacking important details that historians would like to know. Late evidence is often very valuable, but it frequently gets dates wrong. This principle has application to post-Manifesto plural marriage, and also to Nauvoo plural marriages. Post-Manifesto plural marriages and Nauvoo plural marriages were not legal, were secret, and were not publicly documented. Historians have to work with that situation.

Even with this ambiguity there is still a substantial amount we can piece together about post-Manifesto polygamy from the life of Joseph Hyrum Grant. He was born on October 17, 1853, the son of Jedediah Morgan and his second wife, Susan Noble Grant. Joseph Hyrum, often known simply as Hyrum, lived in Woods Cross (just south of Bountiful), and served as

LINK. See also Samuel Woolley Taylor, *Family Kingdom*, revised ed. (Western Epics, 1974, originally 1951), *LINK*; Lu Ann Faylor Snyder and Phillip A. Snyder, eds., *Post-Manifesto Polygamy: the 1899-1904 Correspondence of Helen, Owen, and Avery Woodruff* (Utah State University Press, 2009), *LINK*. More bibliography in Todd Compton and Patricia Lyn Scott, “Wrestling with the Principle: A Historical Bibliography of Mormon Polygamy,” in *The Persistence of Polygamy: Fundamentalist Mormon Polygamy from 1890 to the Present*, ed. Newell G. Bringhurst and Craig L. Foster (John Whitmer Books, 2015), 574-611, especially 599-603.

³Joseph Hyrum Grant is my great grandfather. See Addendum.

⁴Quinn, “LDS Church Authority,” 15.

⁵Joseph F. Smith, “Official Statement,” 74th Annual Conference April 1904, 75, *LINK*.

President of the Davis Stake from 1904 to 1915. During this period, a number of other leaders in the Davis Stake were involved in plural marriages, including Joseph Hyrum's counselors in the Stake Presidency.⁶

On October 18, 1875 he married his first wife, Eliza Evaletta Eldredge (1855-1911), the daughter of Vermont-born Sarah Waterous Gibbs Eldredge and Seventy President and financial leader, Horace Sunderlin Eldredge.⁷ Joseph Hyrum and Eliza had ten children, born from 1876 to 1895.



Figure 1:
Joseph Hyrum Grant and Eliza Evaletta Eldredge from family collection

⁶Reed Smoot diary, March 16, 1911, in *In the World: The Diaries of Reed Smoot*, ed. Harvard S. Heath (Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1997), 95-96, [LINK](#).

⁷Apostle Reed Smoot also married an Eldredge, Alpha ("Allie") May Eldredge, daughter of Horace S. Eldredge and Chloe Antoinette Redfield Eldredge. Kathryn Smoot Egan, "My Darling Allie, Your Reed Letters 1903-1907," in Paulos and Hansen, *The Reed Smoot Hearings*, 155-81.

Both Joseph Hyrum and Eliza Evaletta were raised in polygamy. Joseph Hyrum's mother Susan Grant was the second of seven wives that Jedediah Morgan Grant married.⁸ As Jedediah's first wife, Caroline Van Dyke Grant, died while crossing the plains, Susan acted in many respects as the first wife in the Grant family. Heber J. Grant (1856-1945) was the son of Jedediah's last wife, Rachel Ivins. Sarah Gibbs Eldredge, the mother of Joseph Hyrum's wife Eliza, was also the second of seven wives.⁹

Joseph Hyrum worked as a rancher in Bountiful. Author Frank Esshom gives his profession as "Farmer; stockraiser."¹⁰ Jedediah Grant's biographer Gene Sessions writes that Joseph Hyrum "grew up in Davis County, where he farmed and raised stock on the original Grant estate."¹¹ According to Ron Walker, Heber J. Grant's biographer, "Hyrum's fine eye and gentle way with horses made him for a time the manager of the Grant Brothers Livery and Transfer Company."¹²

He was also an important local LDS leader, serving as Bishop of the West Bountiful Ward in 1888 and 1889. He became Second Counselor in the Stake Presidency of Davis Stake, under Stake President William R. Smith, from 1890 to 1893. He became First Counselor to Stake President John W. Hess in 1894.¹³ He was called as President of the Davis Stake on September 25, 1904, and served as President, with counselors James Eldredge (a half brother of Eliza Evaletta) and Jesse M. Smith, until the stake divided in 1915.¹⁴

Marriage to Louisa Coltrin

After having remained a monogamist for some twenty-five years, Joseph Hyrum married a plural wife, the widow Louisa Winegar Coltrin, on December 21, 1892.¹⁵

⁸D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Signature Books, 1994), 549, [LINK](#); Gene A. Sessions, *Mormon Thunder: A Documentary History of Jedediah Morgan Grant* (University of Illinois Press, 1982), [LINK](#).

⁹D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1997), 654.

¹⁰Frank Ellwood Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Utah Pioneers Book Publishing Company, 1913), 897, [LINK](#).

¹¹Sessions, *Mormon Thunder*, 357.

¹²Ronald W. Walker, *Qualities That Count: Heber J. Grant as Businessman, Missionary, and Apostle: Essays* (Brigham Young University Press, 2004), 7-8, [LINK](#).

¹³Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men*, 897.

¹⁴Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Deseret News Publishing Company, 1941), 174-75, [LINK](#).

¹⁵Logan Temple sealings for the dead (Dec. 21, 1892), Vol. D 28 Oct. 1891-Apr. 1896, 170, no. 3196, Microfilm 178,063, Family History Library, transcription in author's possession. See also Quinn, "Appendix," 251.

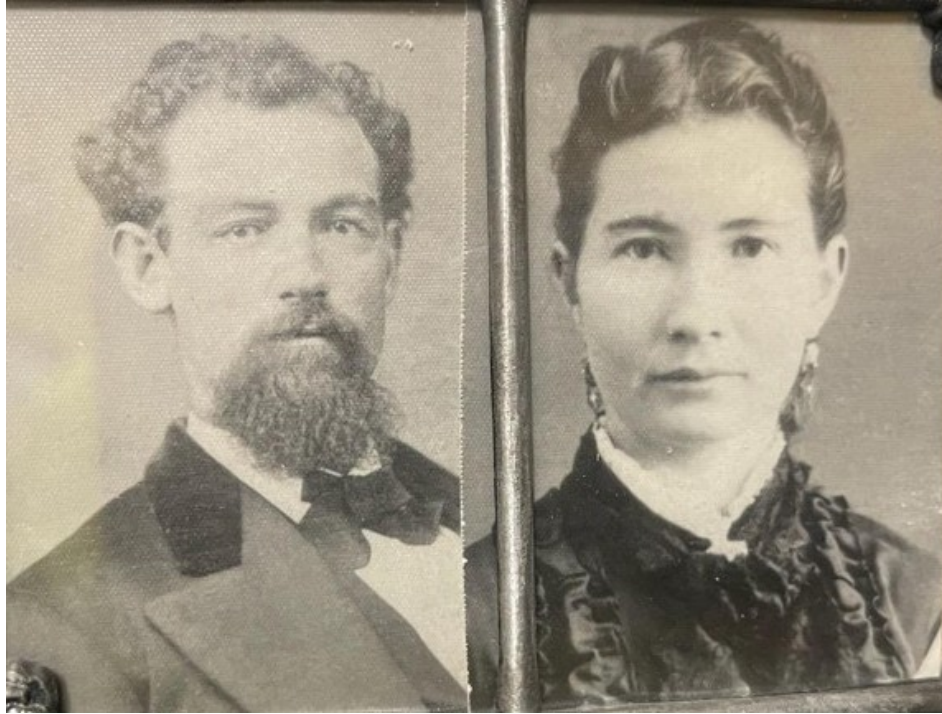


Figure 2: *Ether Coltrin and Louisa Winegar, from family collection*

Louisa Coltrin was born on August 30, 1851. She married Ether Joseph Coltrin (1845-1892) on October 5, 1873, in Randolph, Rich County, Utah. They moved to Woods Cross, where they built a fine brick house that was one of the oldest houses built in the Bountiful area.

Ether was born in Nauvoo, but his mother and father died in 1850 and 1851. So he was raised by an uncle, Heman Coltrin, who was not a churchgoer, and as a result Ether tended in that same direction, though he lived in Utah. He was baptized as a boy, but never confirmed. According to a family history, “He was a lover of horses and had many horses that raced in Montana, Wyoming and Utah.”¹⁶ He had a ranch up in the Bear Lake area. According to a daughter, Louisa was also a good rider from a young age, and “became quite a horsewoman.”¹⁷

Ether Coltrin’s love of horses probably led to a friendship with Joseph Hyrum Grant. There is a photograph of Joseph Hyrum and Ether together.¹⁸ An old biography of Ether’s

¹⁶Orla Louisa Coltrin Platt Hillhouse, “Ether Coltrin 1845-1892,” in *Ether Coltrin, his Ancestry and Life Story*, comp. Delbert W. Argyle, 5-6. Footnotes by Argyle were added “in about 1990.” *LINK*.

¹⁷Orla Hillhouse, “Louisa Winegar,” *LINK*.

¹⁸Untitled photograph in “Memories” section of FamilySearch database, Ether Joseph Coltrin,

son Harvey Coltrin, the oldest child in the family, records that after the boy's baptism, he was confirmed in the church by Joseph Hyrum.¹⁹ Later in the biography, we learn that Joseph Hyrum and Harvey reported together to Joseph F. Smith for Harvey's mission call. At that point, Joseph Hyrum was instrumental in getting Harvey's mission changed from the southern states in America to Scotland.²⁰ Later, after Harvey suffered a serious accident, Joseph Hyrum administered to him and Harvey felt that his quick recovery was miraculous.²¹

While the biography of Harvey Coltrin gives the impression that the Coltrin family was active in the LDS faith, evidently Ether was not. He had not participated in the various rites and callings that mark a typical Mormon man's ecclesiastical progress. He and Louisa had apparently not been married for eternity in a temple or the Endowment House in Salt Lake City.

Ether died on October 13, 1892, after being kicked by a horse. In death, he and Joseph Hyrum Grant were connected, as the accident happened when the two were driving a cart to Salt Lake City.²²

Joseph Hyrum, then second counselor in the Davis Stake Presidency, under William R. Smith, spoke at Ether's funeral. "He said that the deceased was a very intimate friend of his. He related that he [Ether] was baptized, when he was a boy, but never was confirmed into the church; but thought he had faith in the gospel and that he would have joined if he had got around again. The speaker said that the deceased requested him and the Bishop to administer to him which they did."²³

This feeling that Ether needed to have ordinances performed for him led to Harvey Coltrin performing some of them on December 7, 1892 in the Logan Temple.²⁴ His biography says that Joseph F. Smith gave him special permission to do these ordinances for his father.

This sense of urgency to do the necessary temple work for Ether apparently also led to the marriage of Joseph Hyrum Grant and Louisa Winegar Coltrin on December 21, 1892, just two months after Ether's death. This was a proxy marriage, also performed in the Logan Temple.²⁵ In a proxy marriage, a living person stands proxy for a person who has died; so in this marriage, Louisa and Ether were sealed together for eternity, with Joseph Hyrum

1845–1892, KWNT-W99, [LINK](#).

¹⁹Bruce Jay Coltrin, ed., "Harvey Ether Coltrin, 1874-1966," 3, [LINK](#).

²⁰Bruce Jay Coltrin, ed., "Harvey Ether Coltrin, 1874-1966," 5.

²¹Bruce Jay Coltrin, ed., "Harvey Ether Coltrin, 1874-1966," 9.

²²"Passed Away, Ether Coltrin died Last Thursday," *Davis County Clipper* 2, no. 33 (Oct. 19, 1892): 3, [LINK](#).

²³"Passed Away, Ether Coltrin died," 3.

²⁴Bruce Jay Coltrin, ed., "Harvey Ether Coltrin, 1874-1966," 4.

²⁵Logan Temple sealings for the dead (Dec. 21, 1892), D:170. Record not fully open to all researchers, but transcribed by a trusted historian friend of the author. Transcription in author's possession. See also Quinn, "Appendix," 251.

standing proxy for Ether. It was customary, in proxy marriages, that the woman would then be married to the man who stood proxy, but only for time. And children born in this marriage for time would be sealed to the first husband for eternity.²⁶ Thus after the ceremony, Louisa and the deceased Ether Coltrin were married for eternity, and Louisa and Joseph Hyrum were married for time. Apostle Mariner W. Merrill, the Logan temple president, performed the marriage.²⁷ Merrill was a dedicated supporter of post-Manifesto plural marriage and he himself took a plural wife on April 7, 1901.²⁸

There is a substantial amount of evidence that supports the Grant-Coltrin plural marriage:

1. Wiley Nebeker, a resident of Star Valley, Wyoming, wrote to Apostle John Henry Smith on May 27, 1903, and mentioned that it was well known that Louisa Coltrin was a post-Manifesto plural wife of Joseph Hyrum Grant. Nebeker wrote, “Doubtless you have heard within the last ten years of Dr Stringham, of Bountiful, taking another wife, as also Bro. Grant of Davis Stake marrying Ether Coltrin’s widow, and many others.”²⁹

2. In March 1911, Apostle and Senator Reed Smoot wanted to pressure Church leaders, especially President Joseph F. Smith, to agree that high Church leaders who had married plurally after the Manifesto would be released from office. But there were two stakes in which all the members of the stake presidency were post-Manifesto polygamists: Davis and Granite.³⁰ Smoot wrote:

The immediate cause of the renewal of the discussion of this subject is the many magazine articles on the mormon question charging a return to the practice of

²⁶For proxy marriages, see Lyndon W. Cook, *Nauvoo Marriages Proxy Sealings 1843-1846* (Grandin Book Company, 2004), xvii-xviii. This book quotes extensively from “A Book of Proxey,” an important record of Nauvoo proxy marriages. Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Signature Books, 1997), 2-9 and index. Rachel Ivins was sealed to Joseph Smith for eternity, and to Jedediah Grant for time, on November 29, 1855. Thus Heber J. Grant felt that he was connected to Joseph Smith as father for eternity, not to Jedediah. Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 26; Cherry Bushman Silver and Sheree Maxwell Bench, eds., People: “Rachel Ridgeway Ivins,” in *The Diaries of Emmeline B. Wells*, The Church Historian’s Press website, fn. 7, *LINK*.

²⁷Logan Temple sealings for the dead, D:170; Quinn, “Appendix,” 251.

²⁸Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 208, 210, index. According to Quinn’s research, Merrill officiated in at least eight plural marriages from 1892 to 1905, including two for fellow apostles. Quinn, “Appendix.”

²⁹Wiley Nebeker to John Henry Smith, May 27, 1903, John Henry Smith Letters, George A. Smith Family Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah. Thanks to archivists in the Marriott Special Collections for tracking down this letter. Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, Appendix II, #80; Dan Erickson, “Star Valley, Wyoming: Polygamous Haven,” *Journal of Mormon History* 26, no. 1 (2000): 123-164, especially 157, *LINK*. Nebeker mentioned two men in Star Valley who were preparing to marry plural wives in Mexico. He was troubled by the LDS Church’s contradictory stance on this issue. He stated that he was thoroughly convinced that polygamy was a true, basic principle of the gospel, “but what I cant understand is why, if this principle is practiced, that the church denies it.”

³⁰Smoot diary, March 16, 1911, Heath, *In the World*, 95-96, *LINK*.

polygamy by the church members. I again insisted that the only way the church can clear its self is to handle every new case of polygamy and remove [polygamists] from any position in the church. The church or church authorities cannot or will not be believed as to their sincerity in abolishing polygamy if men [are] violating the rules and[, after] promis[ing] that it should cease[,] are sustain[ing polygamists] as officers of the church, such as Bishops and Presidents of Stakes, etc.³¹ . . .

I again called the question of new polygamy cases up for consideration again told them of the danger to the church of holding men entering into polygamy since the manifesto in office and stated it was my opinion that we should drop them from all positions where people are asked to vote for them. . . . With Ed Callister [I] called on the Presidency and discussed the Roosevelt letter to Isaac Russell and both of us impressed upon them with as much force as we could the necessity of dropping men who have entered into polygamy since the manifesto. No other data will answer. We looked over the Stake authorities and found there was not over 14 or 15 in office and by the removal of a President of Stake in some cases we removed three. This is the case in Davis and Granite stakes.³²

Smoot was correct – all the members of the Davis Stake Presidency were post-Manifesto polygamists. Joseph Hyrum Grant was the President of Davis Stake from 1904 to 1915. As was discussed previously, he had married Louisa Coltrin in 1892. His counselors were James A. Eldredge, who had married a plural wife, Lucretia May Cooley, after September 2, 1906³³ and Jesse Moroni Smith, who had married a plural wife, widow Priscilla Smith Gibbons, on January 5, 1904.³⁴

Joseph F. Smith would not agree to Smoot's plan, to Smoot's dismay. The senator-apostle wrote:

The Presidents answer was a disappointment. He does not understand the feeling of the people. The country will not accept excuses and they will not consider new polygamy cases in any other light than bigamist marriages and will not consider it humiliating a man to punish him for the same. It is evident no action against the persons taking polygamist wives before 1904 will be taken. If there is another investigation I do not know how present position will be justified in face of the testimony given in my case before Senate Committee. We are in a bad position for an examination or investigation.³⁵

³¹Smoot diary, Mar. 14, 1911, Heath, *In the World*, 94.

³²Smoot diary, Mar. 16, 1911, Heath, *In the World*, 95-96.

³³Quinn, "Appendix," 287. Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, Appendix II, #69; Smoot diary, Oct. 1, 1910, Heath, *In the World*, 70.

³⁴Quinn, "Appendix," 280. Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, Appendix II, #175.

³⁵Smoot diary, Mar. 2, 1911, Heath, *In the World*, 99.

This is solid evidence that Joseph Hyrum was a post-Manifesto polygamist in March 1911. (His first wife, Eliza Evaletta Eldredge, died on October 16, 1911.)

3. Joseph Hyrum Grant died on November 7, 1917. The *Davis County Clipper*, in its obituary for Grant, frankly writes, “He is survived by a widow Louisa and ten children by his wife, the late Eva Eldredge Grant.”³⁶

4. After Joseph Hyrum Grant’s death in 1917, Heber J. Grant wrote three letters of consolation addressed to “Louisa C. Grant.”³⁷ After her death three years later, Heber J. spoke at her funeral.³⁸ Heber J. Grant certainly knew about his brother’s post-Manifesto marriage.

5. On Joseph Hyrum’s death certificate in 1917, a source for the information on his death is “Mrs. J. H. Grant.” He is put in the “Married” category on the certificate.³⁹

6. There is a consistent tradition of Joseph Hyrum marrying Louisa among his descendants and the descendants of Louisa Coltrin. In an anonymous, short biography of Louisa, we read, “Her husband, Ether Coltrin, died October 13, 1892. She later married Joseph Hyrum Grant, who died a number of years later, and once more she was left a widow.”⁴⁰

According to a descendant of Ether, Joseph Hyrum and Louisa would sometimes travel together. Once they went up to Burley, Idaho, where Louisa had family. “This will be a good marriage,” he told her relatives.⁴¹ Louisa’s youngest, Ira Coltrin, was born on November 20, 1890, so was about two when his father died. However, he looked to Joseph Hyrum as an adopted father. He called him “Uncle Hy.”⁴²

In the Grant-Eldredge family tradition, there are references to Joseph Hyrum marrying Louisa. In a standard Family Group Sheet for Joseph Hyrum, Louisa is listed as a second wife.⁴³ According to a great-granddaughter of Joseph Hyrum, her mother told her that Joseph Hyrum had married a plural wife while Eliza Evaletta was alive, and Eliza had been devastated.⁴⁴ One of Joseph Hyrum’s grandchildren said in a memoir that he moved into the Coltrin home at some point, and as children they called Louisa “Aunt Louisa.”⁴⁵

³⁶“Joseph Hyrum Grant Called By Death,” *Davis County Clipper* 27, no. 36 (Nov. 9, 1917): 1, [LINK](#).

³⁷Louisa Winegar Letter from Heber J. Grant Nov. 29, 1917, [LINK](#); Letter to Louisa From Heber J. Grant, her husband’s half brother–December 1917, [LINK](#); Heber J. Grant to Louisa Coltrin Grant, December 29, 1917, [LINK](#).

³⁸“Bountiful Resident Dies at Burley, Ida.” *Davis County Clipper* 30, no. 43 (Dec. 24, 1920): 5, [LINK](#).

³⁹Joseph Hyrum Grant, Utah, Death Certificates, 1904-1966, at Family Search, [LINK](#). As was mentioned above, Eliza Evaletta had died in 1911.

⁴⁰“Life History of Louisa Winegar Coltrin,” [LINK](#).

⁴¹Personal communication, November 2023.

⁴²*Ibid.*

⁴³Family group sheet in the author’s possession: “2) Louisa WINEGAR COLTRIN (widow of Ether COLTRIN) (time only).”

⁴⁴Personal communication, July 2024.

⁴⁵Jane Schulze, “I Remember Papa,” 4. Copy in possession of author.

Joseph Hyrum Grant, Judson Tolman, and the Second Manifesto

Joseph Hyrum Grant thus participated in post-Manifesto polygamy. However, his story unexpectedly led to plural marriages after the “Second Manifesto.” In connection with the Reed Smoot hearings in Washington DC, which threatened to unseat Senator Smoot and cause the LDS church great embarrassment, Joseph F. Smith (a partisan Republican and thus a firm supporter of Smoot, yet also a supporter of post-Manifesto polygamy) released the Second Manifesto on April 6, 1904. In this document, the message of the first Manifesto was re-affirmed and serious penalties were added: “if any officer or member of the Church shall assume to solemnize or enter into any such marriage, he will be deemed in transgression against the Church, and will be liable to be dealt with according to the rules and regulations thereof and excommunicated therefrom.”⁴⁶

Joseph Hyrum was connected with post-Second Manifesto plural marriages largely through a patriarch in his stake, Judson Tolman (1826-1916), a prominent Latter-day Saint in Bountiful. Tolman married his first wife in 1846 in Nauvoo, then married three wives from 1852 to 1869, as well as the later wives during the post-Manifesto era. He became a patriarch in the Davis Stake in 1897.⁴⁷

He was an important figure in the transition from authorized post-Manifesto polygamy to non-authorized plural marriages, the beginnings of Fundamentalism.⁴⁸ Some Latter-day Saints believed that patriarchs had a sealing authority,⁴⁹ and Tolman performed a number of marriages after the Second Manifesto, and himself took two more plural wives.⁵⁰

As Tolman told his story, he at first regarded Woodruff’s 1890 Manifesto as absolute Church policy. When his son, Jaren, married a plural wife in 1899,⁵¹ Judson opposed this

⁴⁶Joseph F. Smith, “Official Statement,” 75, *LINK*.

⁴⁷Andrew Jenson, *Latter-Day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (A. Jenson History Co., Western Epics, 1914), 2:78, *LINK*; E. Dennis Tolman, *Judson Tolman: Pioneer, Lumberman, Patriarch July 14, 1826 - July 6, 1916* (Family History Publishers, 1995), 4, 39, 47, 52, 58, 88-90, *LINK*. For his post-Manifesto marriages, see Quinn, “Appendix,” 286; Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 291, Appendix II, #198, *LINK*.

⁴⁸Brian Hales, *Modern Polygamy and Mormon Fundamentalism: the Generations after the Manifesto* (Greg Kofford Books, 2006), 110; Craig L. Foster and Marianne T. Watson, *American Polygamy: A History of Fundamentalist Mormon Faith* (The History Press, 2019), 266.

⁴⁹Heber J. Grant Journals, Vol. 31, at Oct. 5, 1914, 328, MS 1233, LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City, UT (hereafter CHL), *LINK*. See also Heber J. Grant diary, transcript of excerpts, privately printed, in author’s possession, October 5, 1914. “Prest Lyman spoke of Patriarchs performing marriages unlawfully.” For the role of patriarchs in post-Manifesto polygamy, see Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 168, 209, 322, 328. Patriarch Alexander F. Macdonald performed a number of post-Manifesto marriages in Mexico in 1900 and 1901. Quinn, “Appendix,” starting at 265.

⁵⁰Hales, *Modern Polygamy*, 100-102.

⁵¹Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, Appendix II, #197; Quinn, “Appendix,” 261.

“bitterly.” However, one day Joseph F. Smith preached in Bountiful, and sought Judson out.

President Smith shook hands with me and asked if Jaren Tolman were my son. I replied that he was. He then said, ‘You let him alone; he is all right,’ I assumed from this that my son had done no wrong in the eyes of the President of the Church. On the other hand, concluded that it was still the policy of the Church to countenance polygamous marriages.⁵²

According to Tolman, at one point after the Second Manifesto, a woman named Evelyn Babbett approached him and asked him if he would perform a plural marriage for her and her prospective husband. Tolman at first refused to do this. But he then talked with Joseph Hyrum, and felt that this Stake President gave him permission to perform this marriage. Joseph Hyrum later denied this, so there is a direct conflict in testimony here.⁵³ In addition, one wonders if a stake president had sufficient authority to allow or request someone to perform post-Second Manifesto plural marriages. As if seeing the weakness of this argument, in a 1910 affidavit, Tolman said that he also conferred with an apostle on these marriages. “Then I asked one of the Apostles, Matthias Cowley, what to do in such cases and he replied that it was all right, but they could only hint at it.”⁵⁴ Of course, Cowley had been removed from the Quorum of the Twelve in 1905.

Tolman proceeded to perform about fifteen plural marriages.⁵⁵ Two of them were closely connected with Joseph Hyrum Grant—the marriages of Dan Muir, Bishop of the West Bountiful Ward⁵⁶ (where Grant lived), and James Eldredge, first counselor to Grant in the Davis Stake Presidency.⁵⁷ Apparently Muir also officiated as Tolman married two plural wives.⁵⁸

⁵²Judson Tolman, June 22, 1916 Affidavit, pp. 11-12; and ca 1910-11 Affidavit, p. 20, in *The Excommunication of Judson Tolman, the Unpublished Manuscript*, Don R. Mabey, Mar. 5, 2011, pdf, copy in possession of author. Don Russell Mabey (1927–2015), was a great grandson of Tolman. There is a section written by Charles Mabey, Appendix A, pp. 10-16 of the pdf. Charles Mabey (1877-1959) was a grandson of Judson Tolman; a teacher, banker and politician, and he became fifth governor of Utah in 1921. He said that Jaren Tolman told him that he “had asked President Smith, to intercede with Grandfather Tolman and satisfy the latter that the son had committed no wrong.”

⁵³Tolman, 1916 Affidavit, p. 11 of the pdf; Tolman, ca 1910-11 Affidavit, p. 20 of the pdf.

⁵⁴Tolman, ca 1910-11 Affidavit, p. 20 of the pdf.

⁵⁵Smoot diary, Oct. 1, 1910, Heath, *In the World*, 70.

⁵⁶Tolman, ca 1910-11 Affidavit, p 20 of the pdf. Tolman sometimes dated marriages he had performed after the Second Manifesto, as if they had been performed before that document had been released. Quinn, “Appendix,” 286-87. This paper follows the dates used by Quinn. Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, Appendix II, #139; Smoot diary, Oct. 1, 1910, Heath, *In the World*, 70.

⁵⁷Tolman, ca 1910-11 affidavit, p. 20 of the pdf; Quinn, “Appendix,” 287; Smoot diary, Oct. 1, 1910, Heath, *In the World*, 70.

⁵⁸Quinn, “Appendix,” 286. These were Tolman’s marriages to Eleanor Maude Odd (Williams) in February 1906 and Marie Margaret Forsman (Laxman) on June 14, 1906. See also Hardy, *Solemn*

Quinn dates the marriage of Muir to Georgena Barlow on June 14, 1906, and the marriage of Eldredge to Lucretia May Cooley at some point after September 2, 1906.⁵⁹

The Lyman Committee

On July 14, 1909, three apostles, Francis M. Lyman (the President of the Quorum of the Twelve), John Henry Smith, and Heber J. Grant, were called to investigate unauthorized plural marriages after the Second Manifesto.⁶⁰ They were called the Lyman committee. Apostle Lyman had become a committed opponent of new polygamous marriages.⁶¹ John Henry Smith and Heber J. Grant had been involved in performing post-Manifesto marriages in 1897,⁶² but apparently now were entirely opposed to new plural marriages. In 1909 the Committee began investigating and questioning Tolman; and Joseph Hyrum, as Tolman's stake president, was often asked to be present at these meetings.

Heber J. Grant was close to his older half-brother Joseph Hyrum. Heber's connections with polygamy in general and with post-Manifesto polygamy are ambiguous. At one time he was married to three wives (he was the last Church president to be a polygamist), but his first wife, Lucy Stringham, died in 1893, and his third, Emily Wells, died in 1908, leaving Grant with one wife, Augusta Winters Grant, from then on.⁶³ Heber started as a devoted believer in polygamy, and an active supporter of post-Manifesto polygamy. He officiated in two post-Manifesto plural marriages in Mexico in 1897, when he and apostle John Henry Smith were visiting the colonies.⁶⁴ However, Heber J. ended up as a strong opponent of post-Second Manifesto polygamy, and as Church president from 1918 to 1945, he worked hard to bring Mormonism into the American mainstream politically, economically, and to a

Covenant, Appendix #198; E. Dennis Tolman, *Judson Tolman: Pioneer, Lumberman*, 90; and "Life Sketch for Eleanor Odd," at *LINK*. For further information on Marie Forsman, see Family Search at *LINK*; and obituary at Find a Grave, 184588251.

⁵⁹Quinn, "Appendix," 286-87.

⁶⁰George F. Richards, July 14, 1909, *The Journal of George F. Richards*, Church Historian's Press, *LINK*; Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Signature Books, 1992), 267, *LINK*, cites Richards and the Joseph Musser Journal, July 22, 1909, MS 1862, CHL; Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 67-68; Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 290-91.

⁶¹Hardy records a case in which Joseph F. Smith authorized a plural marriage in Mexico, but told the messenger, traveling with Francis M. Lyman, not to let Lyman know about it. Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 318. But there are ambiguities in Lyman's story, see Hardy, 207.

⁶²John Henry Smith diaries, Feb. 22, 1897, in *Church State and Politics: The Diaries of John Henry Smith*, ed. Lisa Bickmore (SLC: Signature Books, 1990), 368, *LINK*.

⁶³Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 9-13, 33, 175-94; Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions*, 657-69.

⁶⁴John Henry Smith diaries, Feb. 22, 1897, in Bickmore, *Church, State, and Politics*, 368, *LINK*; Heber J. Grant Journals, Feb. 28, 1897, 43, MS 1233, CHL, *LINK*; Quinn, "Appendix," 255.

certain extent religiously. Thus he was a transitional figure. When, exactly, and how this transition in his religious outlook took place awaits a good biographer to record in detail.

The Twelve met and questioned Tolman on October 1, 1910. The Patriarch said that he had married about fifteen couples, and that he could not remember their names. Reed Smoot wrote, in his diary, “He told us the first marriage he performed was Bp Muir and he insisted all were before April 1904, the year of the declaration of President Smith.”⁶⁵ Smoot was not impressed: “It was evident to all that he was not telling the truth.”⁶⁶

The Twelve summoned Bishop Muir, who had been released as bishop of the West Bountiful ward earlier in the year, for an afternoon session. Muir admitted that his post-Second Manifesto marriage had taken place, but:

He would not inform on anyone else—did not believe the declaration of President Smith was made in good faith nor the Woodruff manifesto was ever intended to put a stop to polygamy—claimed they had been going on ever since 1890 and no action taken.⁶⁷

This is a remarkably frank declaration for a lowly bishop facing apostles.

In the Heber J. Grant diary for October 1, 1910, he wrote, “Met J.H.G. [Joseph Hyrum Grant] Pat[riarch] Tolman He Tolman confsd [confessed] to doing [a] lot of illegal work. 3 P.M. Dan Muir—”⁶⁸

Two days later the Apostles talked with Tolman again. Now he admitted that the marriages had taken place after the Second Manifesto. Smoot wrote:

He told a little more about how he came to perform the illegal marriages and had been instructed to put them all back of April 1904, by Henry S. Tanner and others because it was necessary to save himself and others. He continued to evade and even lie about certain actions of his. After he was excused it was unanimously agreed to excommunicate him from the church for performing plural marriages and also for having married a woman himself contrary to the rules and order of the church.⁶⁹

The excommunication was announced publicly on the first page of the *Deseret Evening News* that same day.⁷⁰

⁶⁵Smoot diary, Heath, *In the World*, 70.

⁶⁶Smoot diary, Heath, *In the World*, 70.

⁶⁷Smoot diary, Heath, *In the World*, 70. For Muir’s term as bishop, Priscilla Muir Hatch, “History of West Bountiful Ward 1848 1931,” available at FamilySearch, [LINK](#).

⁶⁸Heber J. Grant Journals, Vol. 24, at Oct. 1, 1910, 278, MS 1233, CHL, [LINK](#).

⁶⁹Smoot diary, Heath, *In the World*, 71

⁷⁰“Excommunication,” *Deseret Evening News*, October 3, 1910, 1. [LINK](#); see also Bountiful First Ward, Davis Stake, Historical Record Book A, 1909-19, Oct. 3, 1910, as cited in Hales, *Modern Polygamy*, 114 n41.

Patriarch Tolman and his family were deeply hurt by this action. Charles Mabey noted that other people had been involved in post-Second Manifesto marriages, such as Bishop Dan Muir and Stake Presidency Counselor James Eldredge, but only two people were excommunicated, Judson Tolman and Israel Barlow.⁷¹ Of Eldredge, Charles Mabey writes,

Before Grandfather went into this star session, James A. Eldredge, who had heard of the summons, came to him and said, “For heaven’s sake. Brother Tolman, don’t implicate me.” Mr. Eldredge, an excellent man, was then First Councillor in the Presidency of Davis Stake. He had been married to Frances Cooley by Judson Tolman. When the outcome of the meeting was told to Eldredge, he immediately went before the committee, made a clean breast of his “sins” and was forgiven and told to go home.⁷²

In this case the officiator, Tolman, was excommunicated, while some of the people who Tolman had married, Muir and Eldredge, were not. But it is not possible to make broad generalizations based on the Tolman case alone. In some cases during this period, persons who participated in post-Second Manifesto marriages (not officiators) were excommunicated or disfellowshipped.⁷³ Daniel Muir acted as an officiator in marrying Tolman to two plural wives in 1906, but was not excommunicated. Aspects of the cases and testimony for each case (such as secret authorization by a General Authority, less than truthful testimony in Church trials, and if the secret marriage had started to gain publicity in newspapers and magazines) may have been factors in the level of discipline applied.

Less than two years after his excommunication, Judson Tolman was re-baptized on February 14, 1912. His son Jaren performed the baptism, and Joseph Hyrum Grant confirmed him.⁷⁴ This shows both Tolman’s commitment to the formal LDS church, and Joseph Hyrum’s continued friendship with him. On March 29, 1914, Heber J. Grant wrote in his journal, “Called and b[lessed] Judson Tolman—Prest Lyman blessed him to win a place in the Celestial Kingdom.”⁷⁵

Joseph Hyrum Grant and the rest of the Davis Stake Presidency continued in their callings until the Davis Stake was split in 1915.

⁷¹For the excommunication of Israel Barlow Jr., aka Israel Barlow II, another patriarch in the Davis Stake, see Heber J. Grant Journal, Vol. 24, Sep. 28, 1910, 275, MS 1233, CHL, *LINK*. Joseph Hyrum was present at this session. Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, Appendix II, #9, puts the date of Barlow’s marriage to Belva Welling as June 3, 1909, and Tolman as the officiator. Tolman sometimes performed plural marriages in Barlow’s home.

⁷²Mabey, *The Excommunication*, p. 13 of the pdf.

⁷³Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 313, 315, 323.

⁷⁴E. Dennis Tolman, *Judson Tolman: Pioneer, Lumberman, Patriarch*, 87.

⁷⁵Heber J. Grant Journal, Vol. 31, Mar. 29, 1914, MS 1233, CHL, *LINK*. This Lyman was Francis Lyman, who was President of the Quorum of the Twelve.

Conclusion

The first part of Joseph Hyrum Grant's story shows typical ambiguities in post-Manifesto marriages. There are no "official" public records of the marriage (in this case, the marriage was performed as a proxy marriage in a temple). The fact that it was performed by an apostle shows that church leaders approved of it. But at the same time, church leaders were publicly denying new plural marriages. This contradictory messaging left many Saints (and non-Mormons) in a state of uncertainty and ambiguity. As Hardy points out, some General Authorities accepted the 1890 Manifesto thoroughly, while others continued to perform plural marriages, and took plural wives themselves.⁷⁶ The fact that the First Presidency authorized many post-Manifesto marriages in Mexico shows that this was not just a case of a few rogue apostles performing unauthorized marriages.

However, Joseph Hyrum Grant's involvement with patriarch Judson Tolman shows ambiguities in post-*Second* Manifesto plural marriages. First, Tolman stated that Joseph Hyrum authorized him to perform plural marriages. Joseph Hyrum denied this. A case in contrasting testimony like this is difficult to solve with certainty.

Second, some historians have accepted the Second Manifesto as a definite cutoff, and that plural marriages after that April 6, 1904 date were not authorized and those participating in such marriages were excommunicated. In the case of Tolman, he was indeed excommunicated. But in the case of two plural marriages he performed, those of James Eldredge, first counselor to Joseph Hyrum Grant in the Davis Stake Presidency, and of Daniel Muir, Grant's bishop, Eldredge and Muir were not excommunicated, and Eldredge was not even released from his position in a stake presidency. However, Eldredge and Muir openly confessed their plural marriages to the apostles, and did not give deceptive answers; perhaps this was a factor that allowed them to be passed over. Tolman, following the advice of influential judge and church leader Henry Tanner, did give deceptive answers to the apostles.⁷⁷

Participants in post-Second Manifesto polygamy were now keeping their marriages secret from apostles, and were giving false dates of marriages to investigating apostles. It is a striking contrast to post-first-Manifesto marriages, which were often authorized and sometimes encouraged by apostles and members of the First Presidency. However, some participants in post-Second Manifesto marriages were not punished. For examples of "accepted" post-

⁷⁶Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 244-83.

⁷⁷Henry Smith Tanner (1869-1935), an attorney and judge, served as the President of the California Mission from 1894 to 1895 and on the Y.M.M.I.A General Board. He married three post-Manifesto plural wives from 1901 to 1904 and one plural wife after the Second Manifesto, in February 1909. He was released from the Y.M.M.I.A General Board in October 1909, and was disfellowshipped two years later. Hales, *Modern Polygamy*, 101; Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, Appendix II, #185; Chad M. Orton, *By Reason and by Faith: The Life of Henry S. Tanner* (NP: 1998).

Second Manifesto plural marriages, Ruder Clawson, an apostle, was married to Pearl Udall on August 3, 1904, and remained an apostle. Two daughters of Anson “Bown” Call and Theresa Call married plurally after the Second Manifesto and continued as valued church members after this.⁷⁸

Thus, to paraphrase Quinn, the *Second* Manifesto also “inherited ambiguity, was created in ambiguity, and produced ambiguity.”

This is not the place to consider in any depth authorized vs. unauthorized plural marriages after April 6, 1904, the Second Manifesto. Though there is a difficulty in documenting such secret marriages, or their authorization, Hardy briefly deals with the subject.⁷⁹ Some Latter-day Saints felt that just as the first Manifesto was merely a public statement for non-Mormons, while limited authorized polygamy would continue in secret, the Second Manifesto was in the same tradition. Bishop Dan Muir expressed this perspective while being investigated by the Lyman Committee.⁸⁰

However, the occurrence of authorized post-Manifesto marriages was certainly greatly reduced after the Second Manifesto. One important factor leading to a steep decrease in plural marriages was the composition of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, which had changed significantly. Some apostles were strongly antagonistic to polygamy, notably Francis M. Lyman and Reed Smoot.⁸¹ James Talmage became an important spokesman for the concept that plural marriage was not required for exaltation, an important doctrinal development.⁸² New apostles tended to be monogamous. Most importantly, John W. Taylor and Matthias F. Cowley were removed from the Twelve in 1905, and were later disciplined: Taylor by excommunication, Cowley by loss of his priesthood. According to some testimony, President Joseph F. Smith continued to be secretly sympathetic to polygamy.⁸³ However, after Smith’s

⁷⁸Barbara Jones Brown, “Manifestos, Mixed Messages and Mexico: The Demise of Mainstream Mormon Polygamy,” in *The Persistence of Polygamy: Fundamentalist Mormon Polygamy from 1890 to the Present*, ed. Newell G. Bringhurst and Craig L. Foster (John Whitmer Books, 2015), 23-57, especially 45-46. See also Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 313-15.

⁷⁹Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 311-29.

⁸⁰For a similar statement defending the moral justification for post-Manifesto marriages, see Orton, *By Reason and by Faith*, 175; Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 150.

⁸¹For Lyman, see Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 318. For Smoot, see Kenneth L. Cannon, “Do I Hear an Echo? The Continuing Trial of the Mormon Church after Smoot’s Retention,” in Paulos and Hansen, *The Reed Smoot Hearings*, 133. See also the excerpts from Smoot’s diary quoted above.

⁸²He wrote, in 1901, “But that plural marriage is a vital tenet of The Church is not true. What the Latter-day Saints call celestial marriage is characteristic of The Church, and is in very general practice; but of celestial marriage, plurality of wives was an incident, never an essential.” “The Story of Mormonism,” *Improvement Era* 4, no. 12 (October 1901): 909, [LINK](#); James E. Talmage, *The Story of Mormonism and the Philosophy of Mormonism*, 7th ed. (Deseret News Publishing Company, 1920), 89, [LINK](#).

⁸³Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 318, [LINK](#); Joseph Summerhays testimony, in Charles Penrose diary, Oct. 12, 1910, in Minutes of the Twelve Apostles, privately printed; see transcript of a short excerpt here: [LINK](#).

death in 1918, the new President, Heber J. Grant, seemed to be entirely and energetically opposed to new plural marriages.⁸⁴ Part of this seeming about-face may have been Joseph F. Smith's and Heber J. Grant's feelings that plural marriages after the *first* Manifesto had been generally authorized by Church leaders, by members of the First Presidency and by apostles. But most plural marriages after the Second Manifesto in 1904 were not authorized by General Authorities. Tolman and similar post-1904 plural marriage officiators were working in such a way as to keep their marriages secret from the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve, and when called by apostles to account for their actions, refused to testify, or sometimes gave deceptive answers. Some unauthorized marriages resulted in excommunications, but others were not punished, and some local church leaders who had participated in plural marriages after 1904, such as James Eldredge, were not even released from their Church callings. However, as was mentioned above, Eldredge openly confessed his plural marriage to the Lyman Committee, and did not give deceptive answers.

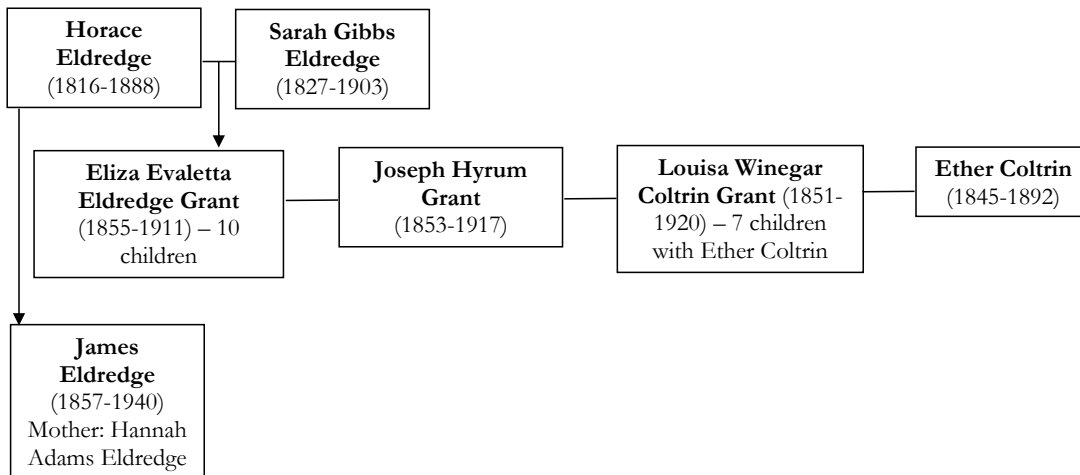
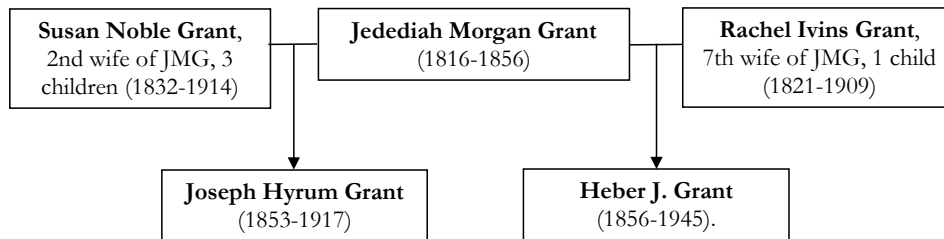
In any event, working with his second counselor J. Reuben Clark and his first counselor, Anthony Ivins, Heber J. Grant helped produce what is known as the Third Manifesto in 1933.⁸⁵ Grant, Ivins, and Clark, as well as apostles such as Francis Lyman, Reed Smoot and James Talmage, led the Church away from a strong polygamist heritage, in doctrine and practice, to a strongly monogamist Church. This was one of the major transitions in LDS history.⁸⁶ It was a painful transition, sometimes tragic, full of ambiguity, but the "Manifesto period" finally ended.

⁸⁴Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 336-52.

⁸⁵First Presidency, "An Official Statement," *The Deseret News*, Church Section, June 17, 1933, 1-4, [LINK](#); B. Carmon Hardy, *Doing the Works of Abraham, Mormon Polygamy : Its Origin, Practice, and Demise* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2017), 383-86; D. Michael Quinn, *Elder Statesman: A Biography of J. Reuben Clark* (Signature Books, 2002), 237-54.

⁸⁶Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition* is a classic work on this period. See also Kathleen Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity: the Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 336-62; Hardy, *Doing the Works*, 378-88; Paulos and Hansen, *The Reed Smoot Hearings*. The second part of the title of this book is revealing: *The Investigation of a Mormon Senator and the Transformation of an American Religion*.

Family Diagrams



Addendum

I've always been fascinated by the "late" history of LDS polygamy, and I have read the work of Quinn, Alexander and Hardy with great interest. But I've never felt a need to research that period myself, as those historians had already covered it well. Also, though I have written biographies of a number of nineteenth-century Mormons, I've never written about my own ancestors.

However, one day, on a whim, I started reading Carmon Hardy's list of post-Manifesto polygamists in his appendix to *Solemn Covenant*. I was leafing quickly through it when I stopped — one name sounded vaguely familiar. Joseph Hyrum Grant. Where had I heard that name? Was it in my own family history? So I checked, and sure enough, Joseph Hyrum Grant, a Stake President in Bountiful, a half brother of Heber J. Grant, was my great grandfather. He had married a plural wife after the Manifesto. This was a surprise to me, and to many in my family.

Later, Newell Bringham was organizing an MHA panel on one of his ancestors in post-Manifesto polygamy, and asked me to talk about Heber J. Grant and Joseph Hyrum Grant during that period. So I began doing actual historical research on one of my own ancestors. This also led me to do research on Heber J. Grant.

It was fascinating to have a subject who was just a couple generations away from me. My grandmother, Jessie Grant Reed Allen (1877-1960), who I knew when I was a boy, was one of Joseph Hyrum Grant's older daughters. My mother knew all of Jessie's siblings well. One of my aunts, whose family I spent quite a bit of time with, knew Joseph Hyrum when she was a little girl. She loved him, and called him a "jolly, happy man." She told stories of him singing funny songs to her when she was a child. It was startling to do research on someone that close to me. I knew people who had known him. It gave me a strong sense that he was a real person.

One of the dangers of researching your own ancestor is that you may find flaws as well as strengths in his or her character. I found some possible evidence that Joseph Hyrum was not a wise steward of money. That story awaits further research.

One of my cousins, a daughter of this aunt, told me of Joseph Hyrum's marriage to Louisa Coltrin from the viewpoint of the first wife, Eliza Evaletta Eldredge Grant — as was mentioned above, she said her mother (my aunt) told her that Eliza was devastated. She almost felt betrayed.

I got to know a descendant of Ether and Louisa Coltrin who had done a great deal to document the Joseph Hyrum-Louisa Coltrin marriage, including preserving the letters from Heber J. Grant to Louisa. He explained reactions to the Grant-Coltrin marriage among Coltrin descendants.

While I learned that Joseph Hyrum was a post-Manifesto polygamist from Carmon

Hardy, I learned the date of his marriage from D. Michael Quinn, first from his appendix in Paulos and Hansen's *The Reed Smoot Hearings*. Then Barbara Brown, at Signature Books, allowed me to look at the Heber J. Grant section of Quinn's forthcoming book on post-Manifesto polygamy. This gave me important documentation on the Grant-Coltrin marriage.